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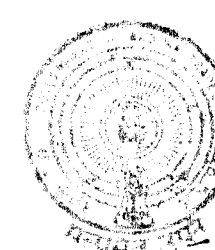
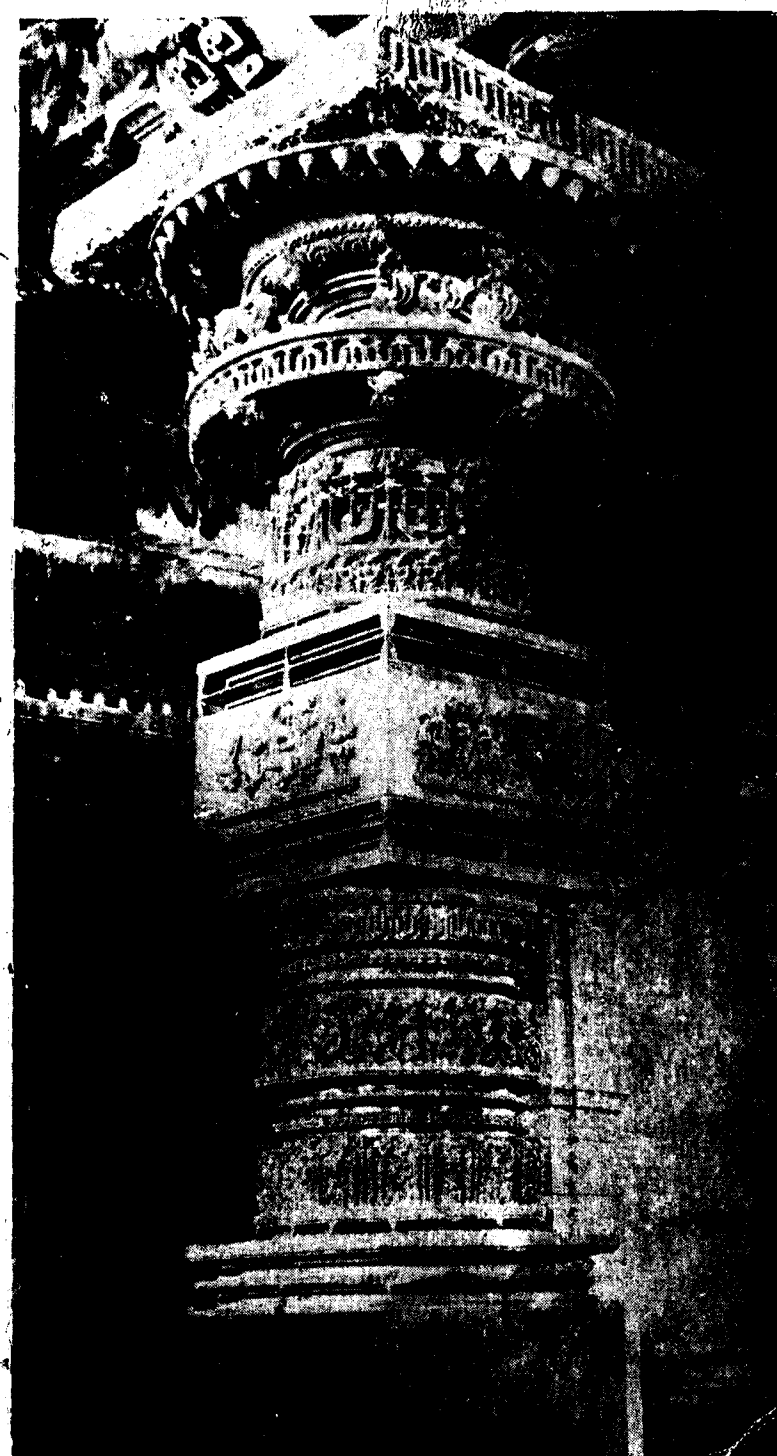
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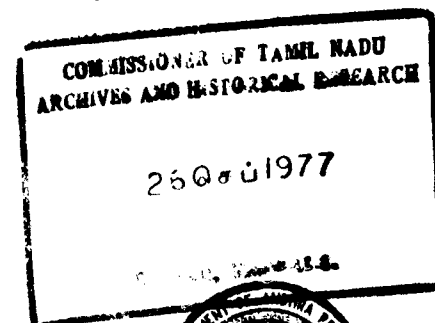
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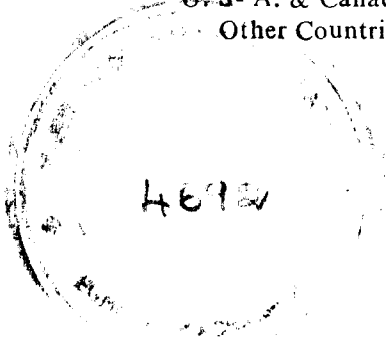
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MODES OF TRANSPORT ILLUSTRATED IN THE GĀNDHĀRA SCULPTURES

Dr. K. Kṛṣṇamūrthi

GENERALLY, the conveyances are of two kinds, namely, those for land transport such as horses, elephants, camels, mules etc. and wheeled vehicles like carts, carriages and others for water transport, like boats etc.

The conveyances represented in the reliefs, though scanty, include both the means of transport namely, the land and the water.

Land Transport :

The means of land transport illustrated in the reliefs include (I) beasts of burden, such as (a) horses, (b) elephants, (c) camels and (d) rams as also (II) wheeled vehicles like carts, carriages and waggons:—

I) Beasts of Burden :

(a) Horses :

Among the beasts of burden used as a mode of transport, the horse is important. The Gandhara Sculptures reveal it as being used for both riding and pulling the carts and carriages. However, the usage of the horse for riding appeared to be more common than for the other use.

Horse riding appeared to be very popular among the Gandharas. The reliefs depict the horse riders very frequently. The princes, and the soldiers are shown in the reliefs riding the horse. The horse Kanthaka is represented in the reliefs¹ six times. As it would appear from the sculptural representations of the horses at Gandhara, they seem to be of excellent breed and were probably of

central Asian and Persian origin. In two instances², the reliefs depict Sassanian and Parthian horses which are robust and of excellent breed.

However, the effective use of the horse as a riding-animal was largely developed by the nomadic people of the steppelands of Asia during the last millennium B.C.³ In Greek, by 8th century B.C., the horse-riding was a developed art as is evident from the recorded evidence on the vases. In classical times cavalry had superseded chariotry as an instrument of war. At Gandhara, the horse-riding possibly came with the Persians and Greeks.

The horses revealed in the reliefs are having rich trappings. The panel⁴ illustrating "*Visvantara Jataka*" illustrates two well caparisoned horses pulling the carriage. The horse has trellised saddle (*parayana*). The saddle⁵ could have been a piece of cloth probably stuffed or of leather. The bridle consists of a thin strap, presumably of leather and include a forehead band, check-piece and nose-band. The rein is simple and plain and appears to have been knotted or sewed on to the bit.⁶

Apart from the saddle and the bridle, the horse is further embellished with a breast band (*kakshya*) and another similar band at the back passing from round the tail. Near the front line of the saddle and in the side bands are to be seen the decorations of huge rosette-shaped bosses called *chakrakas*. A fly-whisk or yak-tail crest is adorning the crest of the head of the animal. The mane is not hacked as seen in the cases of Assyrian horses. One noteworthy feature, however, is that from the breast-band slings a row of little figurines just like toy-figurines of deer facing front (Plate I, fig. 1). These are possibly *lavaṇakalāyi* mentioned by Bāṇa. Sivaramamurti takes them only as decorative pieces. Agarwala⁷ is of the opinion that this word *lavaṇa-kalāyi* is perhaps originally Sassanian and borrowed in a corrupt form into Sanskrit.

Similar decorations of *lavaṇa-kalāyi* occur at Amaravati,⁸ Nāgarjunakonda⁹, cave paintings at Ajanta¹⁰ and on the Gupta coins.¹¹

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That the horses were used for drawing carriages or waggons can also be known from the panels¹² revealing "Maya and Siddhartha to Kapilavastu" and an unidentified panel. In all the cases two horses are seen pulling the carts. The horses drawing the carriages and carts are also met with in the sculptures of Sanchi¹³, Amaravati¹⁴, caves of Bhaja¹⁵, Nāgarjunakonda¹⁶ and Ajanta¹⁷.

An idea of a royal horse stable of the period under review can be had from the relief¹⁸ illustrating "Birth of Chandaka and Kāṇṭhaka". Here the mother of Chandaka is giving milk to her foal while she herself receives a bran mash from the hand of a royal groom. The entire scene is a realistic picturisation of the proceedings in a royal stable of horses.

(b) Elephant :

Elephant appears in the reliefs as a state elephant in royal processions. It was one of the symbols of sovereignty and was therefore, mostly favoured by the kings in ancient times.

In one panel¹⁹ a state elephant is depicted. The housing of the elephant consists of a thick padding. It is secured by means of a strong rope from which a bell-clapper slings. As the elephant moved gaily the bell-rang. Similar examples are met with in the sculptures of Amaravati²⁰ and Goli²¹. Again, the forehead of the elephant is decorated with a strand of pearls or beads. A noteworthy feature is the presence of a *howdah*²². The legs, the exquisite decoration of the exterior of the howdah with floral design is clearly visible (Plate I, fig. 2).

In another panel²³ depicting 'Transportation of the Relics' a State elephant, is shown carrying a chief on its back. The chief is in the act of transporting the relics of the Buddha. The *howdah* on which the chief is seated is clearly sculptured. The *howdah* is shown secured by means of a rope.

A well caparisoned elephant is however met with in the relief²⁴ depicting 'Mounted elephant plucking lotus'. The forehead of the elephant is exquisitely ornamented with strap decked with beads or pearls. At the intervals can be seen *chakras*. The *mukha patti* is well

garnished and extends even to the trunk of the elephant (Plate I, fig. 3). This richly caparisoned elephant bears witness to the importance of that powerful creature in the region even in the ancient times.

(c) *Camel* :

The camel as being used for riding in royal processions or for transporting objects like relics etc. occurs in the reliefs more than once. Two panels²⁵ depicting 'Transportation of Relics' reveal camel with its rider.

The camels that appear in the relief are of Bactria camels²⁶. They are mounted as if on horse back as is like wise the case in palmyra²⁷. They belong to two-humped species. Similar two-humped camels are available at present in Sahara desert. In India, only, single humped camel can be seen in the Great Indian desert. Evidently, the camels depicted in the reliefs are of foreign origin: Gandhara and Bactria²⁸.

(d) *Rams* :

Ram also appears in the reliefs as being used for riding²², and pulling the cart³⁰. The panel depicting "Siddhartha Rides to School" occurs more than once in the reliefs. The bridle, the saddle the breast-band, the side band with *chakras* are clearly sculptured. The trapping of the ram is simple and plain.

In another instance³¹ two rams are shown pulling a cart (Plate I, fig. 4). This incidentally throws light on the practice of using the rams for pulling carts by the Gandharas. The two rams shown pulling the cart have been provided with trapping. It consists bridle decorated with *chakras* on its side band. The child Siddhartha is shown sitting in the cart pulled by these two rams. He is going to the school along with his school mates.

II. Wheeled Vehicles :

The wheeled vehicles, illustrated, in the reliefs include cart and chariots. The carts were used for short journeys or joyrides³² and chariots were used for royal processions & wars.

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(a) *Bullock cart* :

The bullock cart (*Go-ratha*) is perhaps the oldest and commonest wheeled vehicle known in India as also to the Gandharas. An excellent example of a bullock cart comes from the panel illustrating "Two Merchants Offer Food To Buddha"³³. The bullock cart depicted in this panel consists of a box-like frame mounted on wheels having lotus-petal-shaped spokes. It is covered with a vaulted roof of bamboo work for protecting the occupants from Sun and rain. The covering is raised over the body frame itself with an opening in the front and back.

The components of the cart³⁴, the wheel (*Cakra*), the spoke (*Ara*), the rim (*Nemi*), axle (*Akṣa*), axle-pin (*Āṇi*) etc. are distinctly visible.

The exterior of the covering is seen decorated with check pattern (Plate II, fig. 5).

Similar type of carts can be seen in the sculptures of Sanchi³⁵, Barhut³⁶, Amaravati³⁷, Nagarjunakonda³⁸ and Goli³⁹. (?) At Sanchi, the merchants Trapasu and Bhalla are shown with a cart exactly similar to the one noticed at Amaravati. At Nagarjunakonda, the cart has an opening both at the rear and the front as at Gandhara, Amaravati and Goli. Thus, one can see the continuation of the basic form of the bullock cart through all the phases of Indian Art. It is interesting to note that the modern carts have not undergone much change⁴⁰.

(b) *Chariots* :

Excellent representations of a chariot comes from an unidentified panel⁴¹. It also contains box-like frame mounted on a set of two wheels having lotus-petal-shaped spokes. The exterior of the box frame is decorated with a criss-cross pattern. From the rear end of the box frame raises a curved top probably meant for giving shade to the occupants of the chariots (Plate II, fig. 6). However, the other details, such as, the pole of the car (*Ratha-īśa*)⁴², the yoke (*Yuga*) to which the two horses are tied are not visible. Only two horses are shown in front of the chariot.

Another example of a royal chariot is met with, in the panel⁴³ illustrating the "Visvantara Jataka". In this case the chariot is partly

visible. Two horses are shown pulling the chariot. Two horses and the front portion of the box-frame of the chariot are visible. The box-frame is latticed. The bridles of the horses are shown held by the driver of the chariot with his left hand, while his right hand is seen holding possibly a whip high to urge the animals (Plate II, fig. 7).

The chariots found in the Gandhara reliefs have similarities to those found in Sanchi⁴⁴, Bodhgaya⁴⁵ and the chariot depicted in Rameses III at Thebes⁴⁶.

(c) *Ram-car*⁴⁷

The ram-car occurs only once in the whole range of Gandhara reliefs⁴⁸. It is a single seater, where Siddhartha is shown going to the school. Evidently, this car is meant for short distances. The body-frame of this car is mounted on two wheels. It has an opening in the front as shown in the illustration without any top. It has a latticed design. The pole of the car (*rathāisa*) is fastened to the body of the car and to the double yoke (*yuga*) that is tied horizontally to the pole of the car. Actually, the yoke is made to rest on the napes of the rams. Presumably the yoke and the pole have been fastened (*chakrabandha* or *rathabandha*) with a leather strap, (Plate I, fig. 4).

(d) *Litter or Palanquin (Sibika)* :

It is twice represented in the reliefs. In the panel⁴⁹ representing "Bridal Procession", Yasodhara is shown riding in a litter, carried by two bearers. In another panel⁵⁰ illustrating "Maya and Siddhartha Return to Kapilavastu," Maya appears as being carried in a litter or palanquin carried by four men (Plate II, fig. 8). In both the examples, the litter is in the shape of a trefoil arch. This practice of using the litter or palanquins for bridal processions, among the nobility still survives in some of the rural areas in India.

However, a different variety is met with in another instance⁵¹. It resembles a covered cart with vaulted roof. In this case the long horizontal poles meant to be borne by the palanquin bearers on

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shoulders are absent, instead four small verticle sticks have been provided.

Water Transport :

Although the reliefs do not depict any boat or other devices as a means of water transport, the depiction of sea or river deities in, one of the panels⁵² with broad bladed boat paddle (Plate II, fig. 9) (such as one which can be still seen in use in Kashmir), indirectly establishes the presence of a boat in the Gandhara region under study.

Conclusion :

As it can be seen from the sculptural representations, the Gandharas were in the know of many conveyances to go about. Apart from the horses, elephants, camels and rams were also used for riding. As for the wheeled vehicles, besides the carts, carriages and waggons drawn by bullocks and horses, the ram carts also constituted an important vein of conveyances. However, the indirect evidence of the prevalence of the boats during the period under study cannot be ruled out.

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2. Herald Ingholt, *op. cit.*, XXIII, I and XIII, 4.
3. Singer, *History of Technology*, Vol. I, p. 555.
4. Marshall, *op. cit.*, pl. 93, fig. 130.
5. The horse cloth or saddle originally appeared to be on animal-skin and was used by the Scythians somewhere in 6th to 3rd century B.C. However, the saddle

- can be seen only on the chertomlyk vase of the 4th cent. B.C. Bare back riding was common in Greek. As early as in 9th cent. B.C., Assyrians used horse-cloth. It had become a usual part of Greek soldier's equipment by the 4th cent. B.C. It was in general use in Rome from 1st cent. B.C. There is no evidence that the Romans used padded saddles until the fourth cent. A.D. (Singer, *op. cit.*, p. 556).
6. The earlier snaffle-bit had two links. The unique of the three link bit was used by Greeks and became common among the Celts. Check-pieces, nose-bands and check straps were introduced in Assyria (Singer, *op. cit.*, vol. i, fig. 523) whence the Greeks took them. If, also Sanchi specimen. See also Xenophon on the Art of Horsemanship, X, 8, 11 (Loeb ed., *Scripta minora*, p. 348, ff. 1925).
 7. V. S. Agarwala, *A Note Lavanakalāyi*, IC, vol. XII, No. 1-4, pp. 33-35. Also see V. S. Agrawala's book, *The Deeds of Harsa (Being a cultural study of Bana's Harsa Carita)* (Varanasi, 1969, p. 176, fig. 69).
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 16. Krishnamurthy, *op. cit.*, p. 677.
 17. Motichandra, *Prāchīna Bharat Ki Patha Paddati*, (Patna, 1953), fig. 29, 30.
 18. Marshall, *op. cit.*, pl. 72, fig. 104.
 19. Herald Ingholt, *op. cit.*, 26, also see Hargreaves, *ASI*, 1926-24, Pl. XLVIIIb.
 20. Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. XI, fig. ii.
 21. Ramachandran, *Buddhist Sculptures from a Stupa near Goli, Madras*, 192, pls. III, I, pl. IV.
 22. cf. A. R. A. S. I., 1909-10, pl. 18c: In the Mahabharata similar boxes are mentioned as *Yantra, hasti-macā*, (vide, Mahabharata Sabha; 38, p. 89 (Gita press Ed.); *Jaiminiyasamedha*, 30, 14.
 23. Herald Ingholt, *op. cit.*, 149. Cf. Foucher, *L'Art grecoboudhique du Gandhara*, I, Paris, 1905, fig. 29, d-e.
 24. *Ibid.*, 450, cf. Foucher, *AGBG*, I, pp. 217-18.
 25. *Ibid.*, 145, 150.
 26. The double humped Bactrian variety is also sculptured at Sanchi (vide Marshall, Sanchi, pls. 47, 48, 86, 66c. Vide also N. P. Joshi, *Life in Ancient Uttarāpathā*, (Material civilization of North India from c. 200 B.C. to 300 A.D. as revealed by sculptures, Terracottas and coins), Lucknow, 1907, p. 109, fig. 28).
 27. Ingholt, *Berytus*, III, 1936, p. 119, pl. XXIV, 2.

28. The Persians also used the dromedary and the camel for riding and packs (Forbes, R. J. "The Coming of the Camels" in "Studies in Ancient Technology". In late Neolithic times the camel was domesticated in central Asia and the Dromedary in Arabia. The Egyptians knew the dromedary from the predynastic period. The camel transport grew in Persian times from 5th cent. B.C. onwards. The Palmyra and Petre were the two great desert emporia at that time. The Palmyra flourished in Persian times but declined in Hellenistic times. By 1st cent. A.D. the Romans and Parthians fully recognised the importance of desert trade and camel transport (see Singer and others, *A History Technology*, vol. II, p. 497).
29. Herald Ingholt, *op. cit.*, 23. See also Spooner, *ASI*, 1906-07 pp. 109-10, pl. XXXI, Hargreaves, *JRAS*, 1951, pp. 131-33, pl. IV, 1, Aurelstein, *ASI*, 1911-12, p. 105, pl. XXXVIII, fig. 5.
30. Marshall, *op. cit.*, pl. 66, fig. 95.
31. *Ibid.*, pl. 66, fig. 95.
32. The *Mrchchaktika* refers to such roofed (*apavārita*) carts (Act. VI, p. 141).
33. Vide P. K. Gode, "The Indian Bullock-cart; its prehistoric and vedic ancestors", *PO*, vol. V, nos. 2, and 3, pp. 144-151.
34. For the different parts of the chariots. See Macdonell and Keith, *op. cit.*, pp. 201.
35. Marshall, *op. cit.*, I, XIX, c. 3.
36. Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. LXIII, fig. 5-c, X, fig. 19.
37. Barua, *op. cit.*, pl. LXIX, fig. 86.
38. Krishnamurthy, *op. cit.*, pl. XII, 4.
39. Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, (Goli sculptures) pl. V-c, 2.
40. However, bullock carts have a long history. It is said about the primitive vehicle that "the earliest type of vehicle was the sledge having no wheels and mounted on runners. From the sledge was evolved a rude cart with wheels made of wooden discs. Such carts are still to be seen in Spain, Portugal, Mexico drawn by a pair of Yakedoxen". About 1500 B.C. we find the Egyptian two wheeled chariot in a high state of perfection while the chariots of Assyrians, Greeks and Romans were the first carriages known to us. (For greater details of Egyptian chariots see Wilkinson, J. G., *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, (London, 1836), vol. I, p. 67, P. 342f.
41. Herald Ingholt, *op. cit.*, 174.
42. Hopkins, *JAOS*, vol. XIII, pp. 235ff.
43. Marshall, *op. cit.*, pl. 93, fig. 130.
44. Marshall, *op. cit.*, pl. XV.
45. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, Pl. XVII, fig. 61 (London, 1927).
46. R. E. Oakeshott, *The Archaeology weapons*, pp. 62-63, fig. 31 (London 1960).
47. This vehicle also comes under variety discussed earlier since this car is drawn by two rams instead of horses, it has been dealt separately.

48. Marshall, *op. cit.*, pl. 66, fig. 95.
49. Herald Ingholt, *op. cit.*, 34 or 35.
50. *Ibid.*, 148. Cf. John Bingham, *A collection of Gandhara sculpture*, No. XIII.
51. Foucher, *L' Art Greco-Bouddhique*, fig. 160.
52. Marshall, *op. cit.*, pl. 30, fig. 47.

VISṆUKUNḌINS

Genealogy and Chronology – A Reassessment

Dr. O. Ramachandraiya

My Paper on the above subject appeared in “Itihas”, the journal of the Andhra Pradesh State Archives Volume I No. 1 in July 1973. Over six months later, the Andhra Pradesh department of Archives and Museums brought out a Monograph in Telugu on the Viṣṇukunḍins by Dr. N. V. Ramanayya. An English redaction by the Doctor was published in July 1975 in the Journal of the Madras University (Volume XLVII, No. 2), under William Meyer Endowment Lecturer Series in History, 1972–1973.

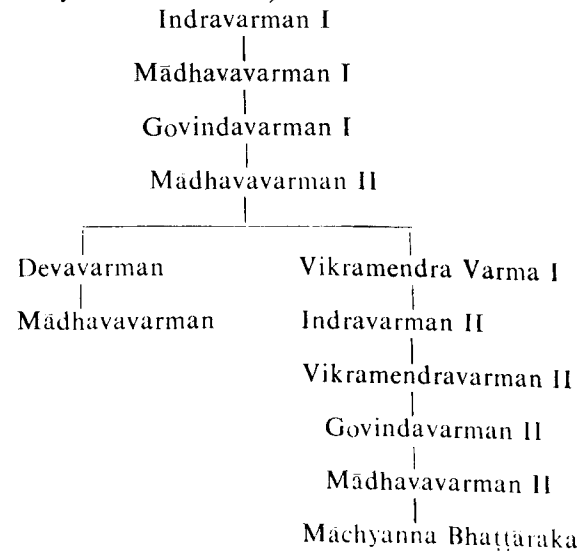
The Monograph sums up the results of Dr. N. V. Ramanayya's own Study and of his “interminable” discussions, “with his colleagues of the A.P. Department of Archaeology and with Drs. R. Subrahmanyam and R. Narasimha Rao of the Osmania University. But “the views propounded in the monograph are exclusively” Doctor Venkataramanayya's.¹

His draft runs parallel to mine, In so far as it goes, even to spotting the significance of the “Asraya” terminals of the names of the later Viṣṇukunḍin Kings. But then our views deviate and run contrary. Dr. N. V. Ramanayya does not so much as mention mine, were it even to reject them. And that heartens me for, in their approach to problems, specially of genealogy and chronology, the scholars who joined the discussions “never reached any agreement.”² I would like, therefore, to enquire where we differ and wherefore. If naught else be achieved I would have at least clarified my own slant on the subject.

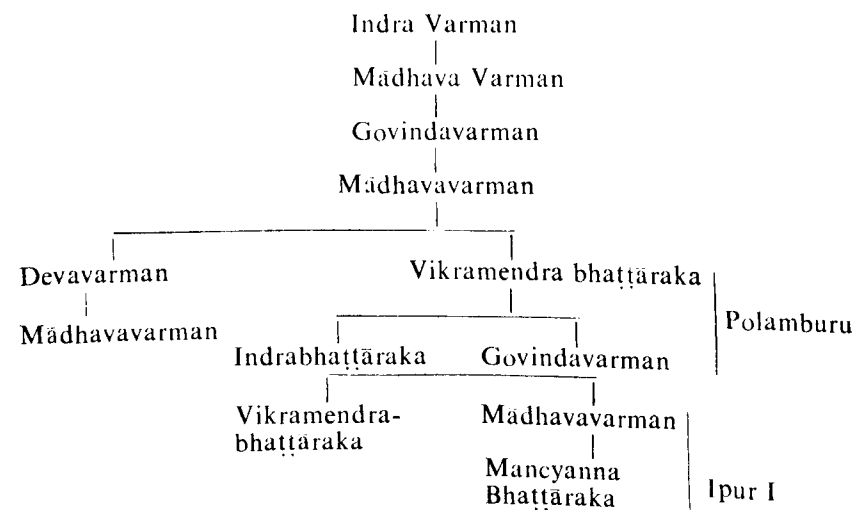
To base contemporary political History on uncertain genealogy and chronology is to confuse the issue. Mutually non-exclusive and even complimentary, they have their strict priorities. Genealogy unquestionably stands first. And yet, even when agreed upon, it may offer small solace with disputed order of royal succession. These and

such others confront us in our quest. I shall, however, try to keep the issue straight and confine myself to what is most salient and critically selective.

Here is the Viṣṇukundin Genealogy stipulated by me³ (The same as suggested by Sri B. N. Sastri):—



Compare this with the Doctor's Scheme :



Itihas-IV, 2.

The differences appear total. But they stem from a single and singular identification by the Doctor. Of Vikramendravarma of Polumburu grant with the son of Madhava Varman II and not with the son of Indrabhaṭṭāraka Varman and issuer of the Chikkulla, Tundi and the Tummalagudem (II)⁵ plates for "it militates known historical facts." He argues, "We know from the Tummalagudem II and Tundi, that he (Vikramendra (II)) ruled at least upto A. D. 570. Allotting a 25 year rule to Govindavarman and adding to it the 48 years of rule of his son Madhavavarman, we get A.D. 643 as the last known year of the latter. This is impossible; for.....the Chalukyan conquest (of Vengi) took place.....in A.D. 616-617".⁶

When the Historians know of a King, but not how long he ruled, their convention is to assign him a twenty five year reign. While kings like Vikramendrarman II, who leave imprints on History should content themselves with shorter rule, the Govindavarman-like get off with reigns, no shorter than twenty five years. The twenty five years stipulated for Govindavarman is not a known fact of history; it is the historian's surmise into the unknown. What is interesting, this Govindavarman, his "Vikramāśraya" title notwithstanding, gets a short shift and does not figure at all in the Doctor's scheme of Viṣṇukundin chronology. But then this should terminate the Viṣṇukundin rule by 618 A. D. (643-25) and render it synchronic with the Chalukyan Conquest of Vengi. The Doctor, however, would overlook this.

Dr. Venkataramanayya holds that the Polumburu line of Kings were Viṣṇukundin Collaterals, contemporaries of Vikramendra of the Tundi, Chikkulla and Tummalagedem plates (II) and of his predecessors. Firstly "The Characters of the Polumburu plates resemble those of Tummalagudem plates," he observes, "Secondly Mādhavarman and his father, Govindavarman bear titles with the suffix 'āśraya' like Vikramendrabhaṭṭāraka and his father Indrabhaṭṭāraka. It seems, therefore, reasonable to think that Vikramendra of the Polumburu plates is identical with Vikramendra, the son of Mādhavarman and Vakaṭka Mahādevi."⁷

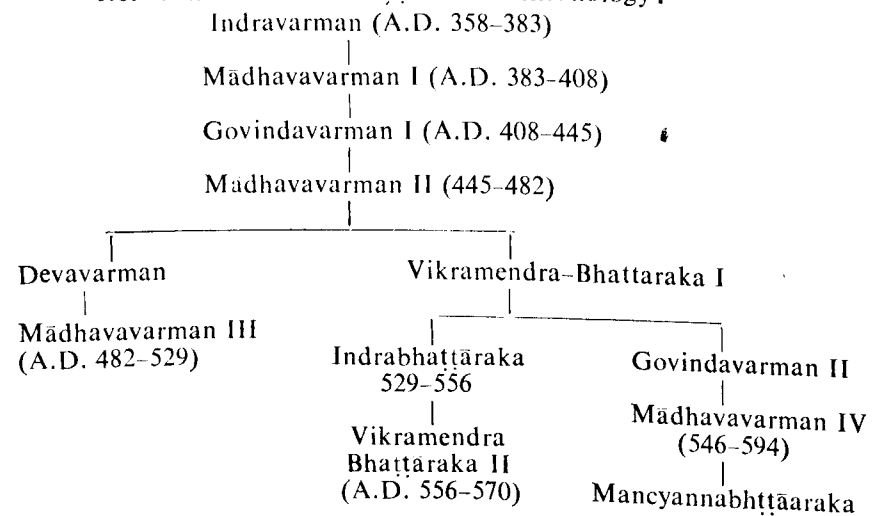
The Doctor knows, as well as any, that palaeographical similarity by itself is least conclusive and should be relied on, in the last resort. More mystifying is his inference from the "āśraya" suffixes. How do they prove concurrence of the exclusion of succession?

This is all so unconvincing. Four out of the nine Viṣṇukundin grants notice Vikramendra, the father of Indrabhaṭṭarakavarman, the Ramatirtham plates describe him as "Ubhaya Vamṣatmajalankara bhute". The Chikkulla and the Tundi records detail him as the "Viṣṇukundi Vakaātka Vamṣadvayālamkṛita janmanah". For the Tummalaḡudem grant (II) he is just the "Vākāṭakāmahadevi-suta". The only other record to mention a Vikramendre or Vikramahendrarvarman is the Polumburu grant and it does not stipulate any Vākāṭaka connection for him. This omission is significant. No less so is their difference in religious affinities. Vikramendra of the Polumburu plates is a "Śrīparvata Svāmi Padānudhyāta". This is not avowed of the son of Vakatakamahadevi in any of the records. The Tummalaḡudem (II) record on the other hand specifically styles him a "Parama Saugata". There is no denying, therefore, Vikramendra Varman of the Polumburu list was identical with the donor of the Chikkulla group of records. He was the son and could in no wise be the father of Indrabhaṭṭarakavarman.

II

As with the genealogy, so with his chronology for the Viṣṇukundins, Dr. Venkataramanayya gets the issues consequentially confused. This is evident from which of the Viṣṇukunding he would deem sovereign and to whom he denies that honour, and also from the order of succession he fixes for his select few.

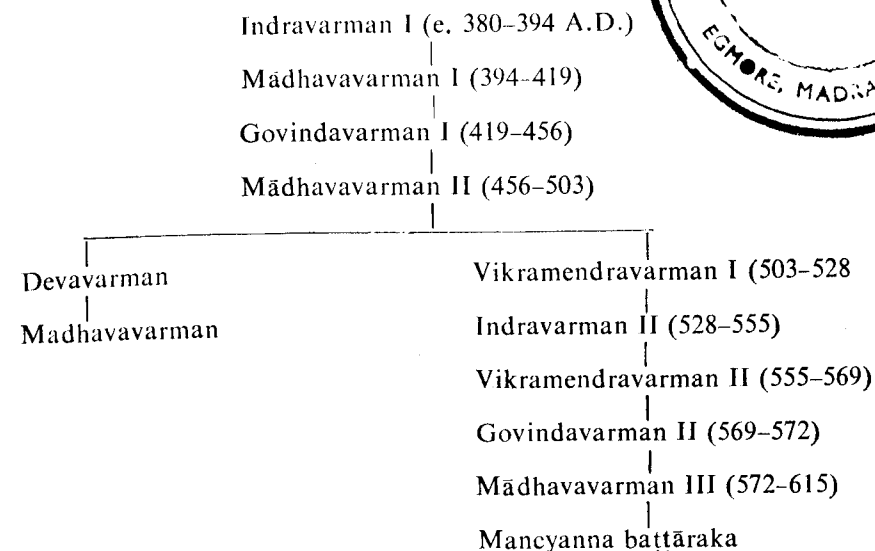
Here is his scheme of Viṣṇukundin chronology :



Itihas-IV, 2.

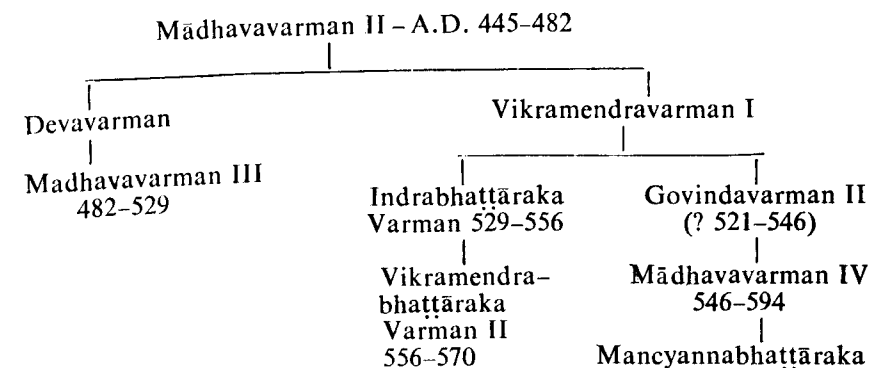
VISNUKUNDINS

This is in contrast to the one I⁹ advanced in my main paper viz.,



The dates apart, differences between the two schemes are glaring. As may be expected, the Ipur I line of Kings figure as collaterals: Vikramendrabhaṭṭāraka I and Govindavarman II are denied any rule while Mādhavarvarman, son of Devavarman, is invested with a fortyeight year reign.

Here is what Dr. N. Venkataramanayya's chronology for them would look like with the conventional twenty five years, shown against Govindavarman :-



The Polumburu and Ipur I records present Madhavavarman as fond of sporting the choicest belles of palatial Trivaranagara. Dr. Venkataramanayya approvingly identifies the city with modern Tevar on the banks of the Narmada, which was in all probability the Headquarters of a tract of territory *granted to his family as an appanage by the Sovereign*.¹⁰ Madhavavarman was not the grantee. "He succeeded to the family estate" in 546 A.D. So the beneficiary must have been his father, Govindavarman. Vikramendravarman I, held by the Doctor as the "common ancestor" for both the Tundi and Polumburu lines,¹¹ could not be the giver on the grant, for he was not a sovereign. If Govindavarman were permitted the earlier conceded twentyfive years, at least to keep the appanage, if not to rule over the Visnukundin dominions, he should have received it in 521 A.D.¹² and the donor, as the Doctor would have it, should be Madhavavarman, the son of Devavarman.

Now the realms on the Narmada were of the Vakatakas and should have more reasonably formed the patrimony for both Govindavarman and Indrabhattarakavarman, if their "common ancestor" were Vikramendra I, the son of Vakataka Mahadevi. If that was a gift from Deva Varma Madhavavarman, was it that Vikramendra I, like his cousin Devavarman, predeceased his father? Even so, Madhava Varman delayed giving it for full 39 years of his 48 year reign. Nine years thereafter Indrabhattarakavarman made himself king. What were these 'cousins' viz. Indrabhattarakavarman and Govinda, all those long years earlier? If Vikramendra I had survived Madhavavarman II, it is inconceivable his nephew should be preferred for King, to this Ubhayavamsalankara Janmanah—a title, which according to Dr. Venkataramanayya, announces him as the rightful heir to both Visnukundin and Vakataka kingdoms.¹³

The argument could be that Madhavavarman II, before he died, gave the Visnukundin crown to his grandson, and allowed his son, Vikramendra Varman I to keep his mother's legacy of the Vakataka territory. If so, Govindavarman would come into it as his patrimony and not as a gift of the new Visnukundin sovereign. This is so, unless it is further argued that on the death of Vikramendravarman I, the Vakataka provinces were resumed by Madhava Varman III and several years later, about the 39th year of his reign, in C. 521 A.D. he conferred them on Govindavarman II. One may, however, note

that Madhavavarman III, Govindavarman and Indrabhattarakavarman, all grandsons of Madhavavarman II were of the same age group, born (as per the Doctor's data) late in the 50's or early in the 60's of the 5th century A.D. Govindavarman was around 60 years in age when he was given the Rewa "Appanage" in 521 A.D. by Madhavavarman. This would mean between him and his son, Madhavavarman IV, they were in possession there for the last nine years of Madhavavarman III's reign and through the reigns of Indrabhattarakavarman and Vikramendra Varman II and for 24 years thereafter upto A.D. 594. Dr. Venkataramanayya goes even farther to assert "He (Madhavavarman IV) must have repudiated his allegiance and considered himself independent.....from A.D. 546.....; and his reign naturally ran parallel to those of Indrabhattarakavarman and his son Vikramendrabbhattarakavarman for the duration of their rule."¹⁴ The Doctor finds nothing incompatible in this; Madhavavarman IV was "a native of Trivaranagara and this estate lay far away from the capital on the northern side.....in the vicinity of Maukhari territories."¹⁵

But the Doctor speaks of matrimonial alliance and peace between Indrabhattarakavarman and the Maukhari Isana Varman.¹⁶ This would render any revolt of Madhavavarman IV implausible. Dr. Venkataramanayya himself notices, in this very context, that Chikkulla, Tummalagudem II and the Tundi plates of his son Vikramendra II, acclaim Indrabhattarakavarman that the mere "knitting of his brows sufficed to extirpate his *dayadas* in their entirety".¹⁷

The Doctor attributes the end of Madhavavarman III's rule to Indrabhattarakavarman's prowess,¹⁸ but is not willing to deal the same fate to Madhavavarman IV. "Madhavavarman IV was obviously one of the *dayadas* referred to in these inscriptions. He may have suffered defeat at the hands of Indrabhattarakavarman but was not destroyed by him."¹⁹ Convenient, no doubt, to sustain the theory of the collaterals, but otherwise the conjecture has nothing to stand on.

The identification of the Trivaranagara of the plates with modern Tewar on the Narmada is open to question. If ever any Visnukundin ancestors were in possession of that region, it might be perhaps before the rise of Pravarasena I Vakataka. Since then to the end of the rule of Prithvisena II there is no suggestion that the

Vākātakas lost control of the area. Any Viṣṇukundin intrusion there under Mādhavavarman II is only indirectly inferred, not positively attested. Five of their records proclaim him an Asvamedhayaji; Four of them hail his son, Vikramendravarman, as the crowning glory of both the Viṣṇukundin and the Vākāṭaka lineages. The only other, Tummalagudem II styles him Lord of the land, girdled by the waters of the Eastern, Southern and the Western seas and of the river Reva (the Narmada). This title viz., "Pradakṣiṇaparambhonidhi Reva Salila Vibhūṣanaya bhuvō bhartuh" means no more than that the Viṣṇukundins were the most dominating power in the whole of Dakṣiṇāpatha, South of the river Narmada. It does not necessarily command the bounds literally to reach those waters, or else *birudas* like "Chaturudadhinrpatimakuta mani mayukha vichehuritapadam-buruha applied to Indravarmān of the Rāmatirtham plates have to be sustained and that is impossible-Madhavavarman II, the Asvamedhayaji would certainly have made several conquests. could be, he was the enemy from whom, Prithvisena II, the last Vākāṭaka of the main line, recovered his kingdom twice.²⁰ Evidently they were equally matched and they would wisely align themselves through matrimony and a Vākāṭaka prince became Mādhavavarman's queen. But then that would denote anything but "the ousting of the Vākātakas" by the Viṣṇukundin. Vikramendravarman I's title "Viṣṇukundina-Vākāṭaka Vamsadvayalamkṛta janmanah" would not suggest any stepping down in status of the Vākāṭaka Vis the Viṣṇukundin. Dr. Venkataramanayya proceeds, "Prithvisena II gave his daughter, Vākāṭaka Mahadevi, in marriage to Madhavavarman II and agreed that, after his demise, his Son-in-law should become the master of his territories. The Vākāṭaka kingdom must have passed into the hands of the Viṣṇukundins in this manner."²¹ This is a surmise, wholly unwarranted by historical evidence. It ignores the normal human predilection. In case of such transfers, where the son-in-law could have more wives than one, the intended beneficiary should more likely be the *dauhitra* rather than the son-in-law. Even so the Viṣṇukundin assumption of that territory should first await the death of Prithvisena II and had to reckon with a stiff challenge from the Vākātakas of the Bassin branch. If Prithvisena's Provinces ever passed into the hands of the Viṣṇukundin, the latter did not retain them for long. For, the upsurge of Harisena Vākāṭaka soon inundated the Andhra dominion, along with Kuntala, Avanti, Kalinga,

Itihas-IV, 2.

Kosala, Trikuṭa and Lata.²² This must be quite a few years before Harisena's death in 510 A.D. If Mādhavavarman II had not lost the Reva area in his life time, whosoever held it after his-grandson Madhavavarman III or son Vikramendra Varman II lost it by the end of the 5th century A.D. The loser, as per Dr. Venkataramanayya's chronology must be Mādhavavarman III. The Ipur II plates style him as the "Trikuṭa Malayadhipati." Dr. Venkataramanayya believes it reasonable to identify Trikuṭa with a peak of the Sahyadri near Nāsik in Mahārāṣṭra.²³ If so Mādhavavarman II must have doubly lost. There is nothing to show that he ever recovered those areas he was deprived of by Harisena. The political vacuum, consequential to the disappearance of the Vākātakas of both the branches—was soon getting filled up, by the Maukharis in the north and by the W. Chalukyas of Vātapi to their South and Southwest. The latter rapidly grew in strength, so that, by the middle of the 6th century A.D., their ruler, Raṇavikrama Prithvi Vallabha, Satyāśraya Polakesi I could easily match his Viṣṇukundin contemporary, Indrabhaṭṭarakavarman Satyāśraya. How then could Mādhavavarman III confer any realm for an appanage to the "collateral" Govindavarman, if the latter's capital, Trivaranagara, were really the Tewar on the Reva?

The theory based on the Polumburu-cum-Ipur I line of Viṣṇukundin Kings as collaterals, growing up in favour with "Sovereign", Madhavavarman III has to be abandoned. It offers the 'Dayadas' for victims of Indrabhaṭṭaraka's fury; but then suffers prevarication. It needlessly makes of Mādhavavarman III a casualty of war; over twenty years at his accession and credited with a forty-eight year reign, and with no evidence at all of any confrontation with Indrabhaṭṭaraka, Mādhavavarman III could have a natural and peaceful end. The other *dāyāda*, Govindavarman, is left unaffected and against the latter's son, Mādhavavarman IV, Indrabhaṭṭaraka knitted his brow in vain. He not merely flouted allegiance to, but even vaunted his independence of Indrabhaṭṭaraka for the last ten years of the latter's rule. This is history got wrong. If a theory does not satisfactorily explain the facts, it is not for the facts and their meaning to be manipulated; it is the theory that is to be given up.

The Viṣṇukundin records know of twelve members of the Royal family. The donors evidently know the distinctions among terms

like Bhaṭṭāraka, Adhirāja, Raja and Maharajah. None of these terms of power and status go with Devavarman (Ipur II); Manoyanna (Ipur I) was a more bhaṭṭāraka (yuvarajah) Devavarman's son, Mādhavavarman (Ipur II) was an Adhirāja and the other mine got styled as Mahārājas.²⁴

Historians are agreed that Devavarman and Manoyanna-bhaṭṭāraka most certainly were not rulers. All the nine of the Mahārājas should be deemed crowned kings. But Dr. Venkataramanayya dissents in the case of Vikramendravarman I and Govindavarman II, for reasons already indicated. Govinda is bespoken of by the Polumburu plates as a "Vikramāśraya, victor of many a battle, his feet aglow with the gem-studded crowns of prostrating Kings." The Tundi record extols Vikramendra I as a "Maharaja, his feet enclustered with the bowed heads of countless *samantas*." They cannot be denied their royal crowns.

Argumentation is over the accession to sovereignty of Mādhavavarman, son of Devavarman and grandson of Madhavavarman (II) referred to in the Ipur Plates (2nd set). The grant is dated in year 47, but it is not clear of whose reign. This has to be cleared in the context of the following passage in the text:—

"Ajnapati" says (Sasa) nasyajna
Visnuku (ndyadhi) rajadhyānodatta".

was the son of Devavarman the donor in his own right, or the executor of the grant (Asya (Sasa) nasyajna). The "adhirāja" could be his suzerain, and grandfather Mādhavavarman II. Devavarman, presumably, predeceased his father, Madhavavarman II, who now grew fonder of his grandson (Priyanapta). "Adhirajadhyānodatta" could mean that the latter believed himself "blest by his devotion to the Adhirāja, his grandfather, or that "he occupied a high place in the thoughts of the Adhirāja." In a different context, Dr. Venkataramanayya effectively argued that the biruda "Adhirāja" bears no special significance. It could and was associated with Indra, a brahman warrior of Manalkundi, who migrated to coastal Andhra in search of a military career.²⁵ If then the "Adhirāja" of Ipur II were Devavarman's son himself, it is nothing conclusive, to prove him sovereign. Curiously enough, that record pronounces not a single other term

suggestive of royalty about that prince. The year 47 of the record, therefore, should be reckoned as of the reign of his grandfather, Mādhavavarman II.

Along with other historians, Dr. Venkataramanayya counts Mādhavavarman, son of Devavarman as "the senior half-brother of Indrabhaṭṭāraka".²⁶ The implication is that, as son of Devavarman, the succession was his by right. There is nothing to show that Devavarman's mother was the *agramahishi* of Mādhavavarman II. The claim could only be that he was the senior half-brother of Vikramendra Varman I. How do we know that, except that the historian earliest to treat them as half brothers, presented the genealogy with Devavarman's name to the left of Vikramendravarman's and that we write the Brahmi way, from left to right?

The Ipur II plates speak of Madhavavarman, son of Devavarman, as Trikute-Malayadhipati". Dr. Venkataramanayya observes "we have probably to understand (he) was the ruler of the territory extending from the Trikūṭa in the West to Malaya in the East".²⁷ A fief holder could not possibly bestraddle the peninsula, from Nasik to Nāgārjunakonda. The phrase 'Triṣūṭa Malayādhipati' should connote a ruler of Triṣūṭa of the Malaya area. "Malaya is the ancient name of the E. Ghats included in the two Godavaris." The Doctor writes, "This region is spoken of in the early inscriptions as Malayamāṇḍalam in Vengi."²⁸ Mādhavavarman issued the Ipuru record from Amarapuram the same as Amaravati which was his capital. This should lend greater evidence to the view of Bhāvaraju Krishna Rao that Triṣūṭa could be the Koṭappa Konda in the Guntur District.²⁹ Madhavavarman son of Devavarman was no king; he was a fief holder, more dear and near than most others to the Viṣṇukundin Sovereign, Mādhavavarman II.

I would, therefore, reiterate my earlier view of Viṣṇukundin pedigree and succession that would still leave a point or two of Viṣṇukundin chronology to be considered. The Tummalagūḍem II plates and the Tundi plates referring to the 11th (Saka 488) and 14th years of his reign respectively unalterably fix Vikramendravarman II's reign from 555 A.D. to A.D. 569. The Ramatirtham plates of his father, Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman dated in year 27, would start his rule in A.D. 528. Differences in chronology, therefore, must rest outside

these limits, viz. A. D. 528–569. The problem is how to reconcile these dates with the date available for Mādhavavarman of the Polumburu-cum-Ipur I plates. The latter belongs to his regnal year 37, Grishma 7 paksa 15 dina. The Plumburu plates of year 40 (48?) of his reign date a lunar eclipse of Phalguna, Purnima. Such a one around the period under discussion, occurred in the xian years 575, 593, 594, 612 and 621. Of them, Sri K. J. Lakshmana Rao, the earliest to formulāte Viṣṇukunḍin chronology, settled for A. D. 594. He rejected A. D. 575 as too early and 621 as too late for the Cālukyan conquest of Vengi, which he places about 610 A. D. Also were discarded A. D. 593 and A. D. 612, for the eclipses thereof were not visible in India. That leaves only A. D. 594 for Mādhavavarman to issue the Polumburu plates, his rule, however, continuing upto the Cālukyan conquest of Vengi.

Here is Sri Lakshmana Rao's Scheme of Viṣṇukunḍin Chronology:—		
Mādhavavarman I	A. D. 357–382	
Devavarman	A. D. 382–407	
Mādhavavarman II	A. D. 407–444	
Vikramendra Varma I	A. D. 444–469	
Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman	A. D. 469–496	
Vikramendra Varma II	A. D. 496–521	
Govindavarman	(A. D. 521–546)	
Mādhavavarman III	(A. D. 546–610)	
Mānyannabhaṭṭāraka	(A. D. 610–?)	

Sri Lakshmana Rao was not under the restraint of the chronological detail in the Tummalagudem II plates. These were discovered very much later. Circumscribed by that information, Dr. Venkataramanayya further tied himself down to Sri Lakshmana Rao's date, A. D. 594 for the Polumburu grant. If that stands for year "48" of the last Mādhavavarman his father, Govindavarman can be accommodated only after A. D. 569–70, the terminal date for Vikramendravarman II. Hence Dr. Venkataramanayya's need to treat them as collaterals with partly concurrent and partly successive, partly subordinate and partly independent rule—a theory that is palpably wrong.

The end of Mādhavavarman's rule could be checked against the time of the Cālukyan conquest of Andhra. There is no evidence

of it any time before A. D. 617. That year, which was the 8th of his reign, Pulakesin II seized Piṣṭapura³⁰ but it is not clear that the loser was the Viṣṇukunḍin. Dr. Venkataramanayya cites quite a few of later Vengi Cālukyan inscriptions to show that it was from the Durjayas that the Chalukyans conquered Vengi.³¹ So then the Durjayas should have displaced the Viṣṇukunḍin earlier. That is another reason why, while rejecting all else of Sri K. V. Lakshmana Rao's in this context, Dr. Venkataramanayya stuck to his date for the Polumburu grant viz., A. D. 594. Inevitably this led to his theory would not stand scrutiny.

III

The difficulties of Dr. Venkataramanayya only emphasise the need for a serious review and recount of the story of the Cālukyan conquest of Vengi.

Dr. Venkataramanayya proceeds on simple propositions. The Durjaya seizure of Vengi was evidently an act of rebellion, for they had been the *sāmantas* of the Viṣṇukunḍins. The only Durjaya presumably so capable could be one Prithvimahārāja, grandson of Rāpa Durjaya and son of Vikramendra. His Tandivada plates³² and Golavalli grant³³ dated respectively in his years 46 and 49 show him "ruling over the western Kalinga," from his capital Piṣṭapura. Of no specified era, they are palaeographically assigned to the first half of the 7th century A. D.³⁴ "If it is supposed it was from Prithvi Maharaja that Pulakesin II conquered Piṣṭapura and Kolleru, the 49th year of the former must have coincided with 8th regnal year (A. D. 616–17) of the latter. In that case the former must have commenced his rule in A. D. 567–68, when evidently he threw off Viṣṇukunḍin yoke and asserted his independence."³⁵ Dr. Venkataramanayya postulates one more appearance for Prithvi-mahārāja in the 37th regnal year of the last Mādhavavarman, (A. D. 583) during the latter's campaign about Kuḍavada.³⁶ "The identity of the enemy... is not known," writes the Dr. "It is not unlikely that he was the Durjaya Chief, Prithvi Mahārāja..... Mādhavavarman seems to have been successful ultimately..."³⁷

That is Dr. Venkataramanayya's story, raised on the "dubious" basal of Palaeography. It is true the Cālukyan inscriptions "do not even remotely allude to the Viṣṇukunḍins". But then they do not

allude to the Durjaya either, until after a century and a half of Cālukyan rule in Vengi. Even so, the Cālukya contender was Kubja Viṣṇu and not Pulakesin II. Nothing connects Pulakesin II with Prithvimahārāja. The latter should no doubt, precede him in Piṣṭapura. But there is little to show he was in sovereign possession thereof or that Pulakesin II tolled the end life, in A.D. 617.

In fact, Prithvimahārāja is made to pluck out the rabbit out of the historian's hat. He flaunts independence of Vikramendra II Viṣṇukundin in 567–68 A.D. but inflicts on him no loss of territory, either about Piṣṭapura or in Kalinga. Vikramendra's Tundi Plates of A.D. 569–70 suggest no unrest in that area, do not even mention Prithvimahārāja, let alone the latter's bid to independence. He fades out and as suddenly re-emerges from nowhere, in A.D. 583 about Kudayada, to answer to the 'unknown enemy' of Visnukundin Mādhavarman. He does the vanishing trick again leaving Mādhavarman in undisturbed possession of the whole of the Kṛṣṇa-Godavari regions. Some 31 years later, and according to Dr. Venkataramanayya, 20 years after the end of Viṣṇukundin rule, he appears in full authority, issuing a grant from Piṣṭapura and three years later is swept away by Pulakesin II.

Dr. Venkataramanayya's theme would require :-

- 1) A successful revolt and a 49 year independent and sovereign rule by Prithvimahārāja.
- 2) His territory to comprise, besides West Kalinga, the whole of Vengi, from 594 A.D. to 617 A.D. – from the death of Mādhavarman to the conquest of Vengi by Pulakesin II.
- 3) The completion of the Cālukyan conquest of Vengi by A.D. 617.

No doubt, the Tandivada and Golavalli inscriptions refer to Prithvimahārāja's years 46 and 49 as *Vijayarajya Samvathsara*. His own appellation, 'Prithvimahārāja and appraisal that he was bedecked with fame won by his victorious and valourous arms that brought many a samanta low (Pratapopanata Samasta Samantamandala Nijabhujā Vijayodayadhigata yesovibhushanah) add up to Prithvimahārāja's image as independent of any suzerain. But feature for

Itihas-IV, 2.

feature, the same type of attributes go with Prithvimahārāja of the Godavari plates and who figures in Vikramendravarman II's Tummalagudem plates (II). Rāṇadurjaya, the grandfather of Prithvimahārāja was a Māharaja : So was Prithvimula's grandfather, Prabhakara.³⁸ Yet Prithvimahārāja is rated no higher than an honoured feudatory. It should be noted that the appellation "Prithvimahārāja" was his proper name, not a title significant of royalty. Indrabhattāraka's conquest of Kalinga, at least upto Rāmatirtham, must have brought him and Rāṇadurjaya together. Since then, that family was bound to the Visnukundin's in devotion and fidelity. Rāṇadurjaya's son, Vikramendra, named after the Visnukundin prince, should bear this out.

There is no reason why Prithvimahārāja should have fallen out with his suzerain except that the Prithvimahārāja Pulakesin II sychronism worked up by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya requires it. If we must still have him revolt, we have to find him a habitat and kingdom, for the Tundi and Polumburu plates leave no place for him as an enemy. It could be argued that sometime after Vikramendrarma he recovered Piṣṭapura W. Kalinga; but they chase those surmises when we do not have evidence for either?

"The Calukyan conquest of coastal Andhra was not effected, as stated in the Aihole inscription in the course of a single campaign... the conquest of Kalinga and Vengi preceded that of Karmarastra at least by a decade. As Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana appears to have reckoned his regnal years from A.D. 624, it is certain that the conquest of Vengi and Kalinga took place either during that year itself or a little earlier."³⁹

"Though no inscriptions of Viṣṇuvardhana I are found in the region between the Kṛṣṇa and the Godavari... his authority was recognised on the north and south of Vengi. The records of his immediate successors leave no room for doubt that the whole coastal region..... was under the sway of the Eastern Calukyas since the time of the foundation of their power in the Telugu country."⁴⁰

That was Dr. Venkataramanayya in 1950. In 1975, in his William Meyer's lectures, he observes, "The recently discovered Maruturu grant of Pulakesin II shows that he invaded Vengi for the first time in his 7th regnal year (A.D. 616–17), (but)...his (Kubja-

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Viṣṇuvardhana,s) association with Vengi began some seven years later in A.D. 624 from which... he reckoned his regnal years".⁴¹

Sri N. Ramesan, who published the Maruturu grant in 1962 has no doubt that in 616 A.D. corresponding to the eighth regnal year of Pulakesin II the invasion and conquest of Vengi had become an established fact...⁴² The King, personally present at Kallura, made the grant "immediately after the Conquest by seizure"⁴³ of Piṣṭapuraka. The phrase used is 'Piṣṭapurakadana Grahaṇanāntaryena'.⁴⁴ *Adana* means a seizure and *Grahaṇa* means a capture and *Anantaryena* means 'immediately after'. This phrase, therefore, clearly proves that the grant was given immediately after Piṣṭapuraka was captured'.⁴⁵

Except for Piṣṭapura, all the places mentioned in the grant "fall within the Kammarasāstra, corresponding to Guntrur District".⁴⁶ How then does the conquest of Vengi come in? The places are all either south of the Kṛṣṇa or north of the Godavari. Sri Ramesan offers a solution incredibly simple. "*Piṣṭapuraka* mentioned in the grant he writes, is the modern *Pithapuram* of East Godavari district which was the capital of Vengi".⁴⁷ This is too demanding even of the credulous. "Piṣṭapuraka Mahendra... Vaingeyaka Hastivarman..." of Samudragupta's Allahabad pillar inscription should keep these two kingdoms, distinct and apart.

Nor is there any suggestion of immediacy in the word "Anantara". It means 'letter' or 'after'. But it should be soon enough. Soon after the conquest of Piṣṭapura, Pulakesin repaired to "Kallura", where he took steps to stabilise his hold on those areas of Guntur, abutting the Viṣṇukundin possessions on the Kṛṣṇa. Might be it was to prevent a Viṣṇukundin-Pallava alignment against their common enemy, the Western Chalukya, or it could be to deny the Pallavas a chance to exploit the growing weakness of the Viṣṇukundin, who suffered loss of territory, north of the Godavari. Presumably this brought Mādhavavarman on to Gudivada during year 37 of his reign (Ipur I). This should be about A.D. 618.

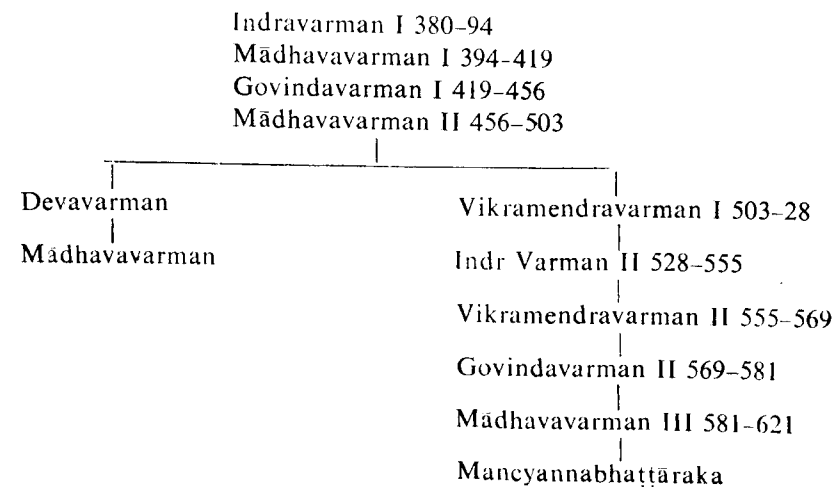
The defences of the border secured, under chiefs most of whom could be the Durjayas, King Mādhavavarman III set off for the reconquest of his eastern provinces on the Godavari. On crossing

the river and on the occasion of a lunar eclipse of Phalguna Purnima of his 40th regnal year, the King issued his Polumburu grant. This was in A.D. 621, three years after his visit to Kudavada. He is heard of no more, nor anything is known of the enemy he encountered. By then Kubja-Viṣṇu must have been drafted from the West to the east coast, to accompany his brother, Pulakesin II, in the conquest of Vengi. Their records are silent over what befell the Viṣṇukundin monarch. Their king now dead, his Durjaya feudatories, fought bitterly for Vengi and for themselves, but in vain. Their chiefs like Daddara were slain by Kubjaviṣṇu's generals, like Kalakampa⁴⁸ and Buddhavarman; others, like Aṭavidurjaya, transferred their allegiance to the Chalukya.⁴⁹ The Aihole inscription records "the water of Kunala coloured with the blood of men killed..... like the cloud covered sky in which the red evening twilight has risen".⁵⁰ The crucial and decisive role of Kubjaviṣṇu in this war, initiated his autonomous rule in Vengi in A.D. 624. Pulakesin II himself pays a handsome compliment, in his Koppam plates⁵¹ to his brother the Prithviduvaraja "who, having defeated the circle of enemies by his arm... has secured the kingdom to the lineage of his son".

IV

The story of Chalukyan conquest of Vengi as retold by me requires a change in the dates I assigned earlier to Govindavarman (II) and Mādhavavarman (III) of Ipur I and Polumburu plates.⁵² Now that the Polumburu grant is taken to equate with A.D. 621 and year 40 of Mādhavavarman, his rule should start in A.D. 581. That gives Govindavarman a rule of 12 years, from A.D. 569 to 581.

The genealogy and chronology of the Visnukundins would thus be:-



REFERENCES

1. A. P. G. A. S. No. 40, Visnukundinulu by Dr. N. V. Ramanayya Preface
2. Ibid.
3. Itihas, Vol. I No. 1
4. 'The Visnukundins', Jr. of the Madras University Vol. XLVII, No. 2, July 75, Reprint, p. 16.
5. "Tummalagudem Plates is how Dr. N. Venkataramayya names the "Indrapalanageram copper plates", originally published by Sri B. N. Sastri in *Bharati* Vol. 42, Nos. 6 & 7.
6. Jr. of Madras University, Vol. XLVII, No. 2. Reprint pp. 13-14.
7. Ibid p. 14.
8. Ibid p. 24.
9. Itihas, Vol. I, No. 1.
10. Jr. of Madras University July 1975 Reprint p. 22.
11. Ibid, p. 14.
12. This would suggest Govindavarman was older than Indrabhattaraka.
13. APGAS, No. 40, p. 27.

14. Jr. of Madras University, July 1975, Reprint, p. 23.
15. Ibid, p. 23.
16. Ibid, p. 37.
17. "Bhrubhangakara Vinirdhuta Samagra dayada".
18. Ibid 35.
19. Ibid, p. 23.
20. Ibid p. 34; Balaghat Plates, E. I. IX, p. 267.
21. Ibid.
22. E. I. XVII, p. 338.
23. Jr. of Madras University July 1975, Reprint, p. 35.
24. Indravarman I. Madhavavarman I & Govindavarman I (Tummalagudem I). Madhavavarman II (Ipur II, Ramatirtham, Chikkula Tundi and Tummalagudem II).
Vikramendra I (Tundi & Tummalagudem II).
Indrabhattaraka (Chikkula, Tundi). Vikramendra II (Chikkula) Govindavarman (Ipur I). Madhavavarman (Ipur I and Polumburu).
25. Jr. of Madras University, July 1975, Reprint pp. 37-38.
26. Ibid, p. 23.
27. Ibid, p. 35.
28. Ibid, p. 35.
29. 'Early Dynasties of Andhradesa', pp. 428.
30. 'Maruturu Copper plate' Copper Plate Inspns. of A.P. Govt. Museum, Vol. 1, pp. 36-39.
31. a) Katlaparru grant of Gunaga Vijayaditya (S. T. V. N. High School Annual 1939-40, p. 24).
b) Pandipaka grant of Chalukya Bhima I. Madras Govt. Or. Mss. Lib. Elliot Collection 15-4-26 pp. 185 f.
c) A. P. Govt. Museum plates The Kakamanu grant of Chalukya Bhima I.
d) The Kandyam plates of Danarnava (JAHRs, XI, p. 35) All. from Jr. of Madras University, Reprint, p. 21.
32. J. O. R. ix, pp. 188-94.
33. E. I. XXXI, pp. 221 f.
34. E. I. XXIII, No. 15, p. 88.
35. Jr. of Madras University July 75, Reprint pp. 42-43.
36. E. I. XVII, pp. 334-337.
37. Jr. of Madras University July 75, Reprint pp. 43-44.
38. Kattucheruvu, C. P. of Hariuarma - APGAS, No. 6, Vol. I.
39. Dr. N. V. Ramanayya. "Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi, p. 58.
40. Ibid, p. 59.
41. Jr. of Madras University July 75, Reprint, p. 20.
42. APGAS, No. 6, p. 25.
43. Sri Ramesan re-forms it as "the seizure by capture". Ibid, p. 12. The place name is Pishtapura, not Pishtapuraka, except when it means "of Pishtapura." The passage could more reasonably be Pishtapura-Kadanagaahananatarayena "after taking Pishtapura in war."

44. Dr. N. V. Ramanayya reads it differently – as “Pishtapura Kutana (Ra) grahananantaryena” – See APGAS No. 40, P. 77.
45. APGAS, No. 6, p. 14.
46. Ibid, p. 16 See also p. 25.
47. Ibid, p. 16.
48. The Ederu Plates of Amma I, S. I. I., i. 36.
49. The Chipurupalle Plates.
50. E. I. VI, p. 11.
51. E. I. XVIII, p. 260.
52. ‘Itihas’, Vol. I, No. 1.

Ed. NOTE :

For IPUR & POLAMURU Plates of VIṢṆUKUNDINS — see Sri Mallampalli Somasekhara Sarma commemoration volume— Jr. of Andhra Historical Research Hyderabad, vol. XXXV; 1975-76, P. 165.

NEW LIGHT ON SOME INCIDENTS IN THE EARLY LIFE OF HARṢA

Dr. V. V. Mirashi

Fortunately we have more and reliable sources of information for the life of Harṣa than for any other king of ancient India. We have first the *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇa, who lived at his court for some years. He gives detailed information about the political, religious and social condition of the age such as is found nowhere else about any other ancient period, though he sometimes indulges in hyperbole or is carried away by his *penchant* for paramnesia. Then we have detailed account furnished by the Chinese pilgrim who travelled in North India during Harṣa's reign and was a keen observer of the country. Lastly, we have some inscriptions and coins of Harṣa and of the contemporary kings who ruled over different regions of North India such as Uttar Pradesh, Assam, Bengāl, Central India and Kathiawad. Still, there are some incidents in the early life of Harṣa about which there is a diversity of opinion among scholars. It is proposed to discuss some of them and try to throw some new light on them with the available sources.

In *circa* A. D. 605 Prabhākaravardhana, the father of Harṣa, fell ill. His sons Rajyavardhana and Harṣa, who had gone to the north – the former for fighting against the Hunnās who had invaded the territory, and the latter for hunting in the region of the Himālayas – were called back. Harṣa reached the capital Thāneśvar in time to be by the side of his father when he breathed his last. Rājyavardhana reached some time later; but he was so much overpowered by grief that instead of taking up the reigns of Government, he preferred to go to the forest for practising penance. Just then there came Saṁvāhaka, the personal attendant of Harṣa's sister Rāṣyaśrī, who communicated to them the heart-rending news that immediately after

the death of Prabhākaravardhana, the king of Mālava invaded Kānyakubja (Kanauj), killed the Maukhari king Grahavarman, (Harṣa's brother-in-law,) and threw Rājyaśrī into prison 'like a brigand's wife with iron fetters kissing her feet.' It was further reported that he was thinking of invading the kingdom of Tḥaṇeśvar as the military forces there had no capable leader after the death of Prabhākaravardhana.

At this heart-rending report Rajyavardhana flew in to rage and immediately resolved to proceed against the king of Mālava taking only his cousin Bhaṇḍi with a mobile force of ten thousand horse. A few days later, there came Kuntala, the Commander of Cavalry, who had the confidence of Rajyavardhana. He reported to Harṣa that though Rajyavardhana easily routed the army of the Mālava king, he was lured to meet the king of Gauḍa, alone and unarmed, and was treacherously murdered in cold blood. Harṣa then resolved to conquer the whole world so that no such heinous crime should be committed thereafter.

After a few days during his campaign, he received the envoy Hamsavega of Kumāra or Bhāskaravarman, who brought him the proposal of his master the king of Kāmarūpa, (*Assam*) for a political alliance. Harṣa gladly accepted it and sent the envoy back with an invitation to the king of Assam to meet him.

Soon thereafter there came Bhaṇḍi, who had accompanied Rājyavardhana in his campaign against the Mālava king. He told Harṣa that after Rājyavardhana's treacherous murder by the king of Gauḍa, some one named Gupta invaded Kusasthala (Kanauj). In the confusion caused thereby, Rājyaśrī escaped from prison together with her maids, and entered the Vindya forest. Harṣa then asked Bhaṇḍi to take charge of the army and march against the Gauḍa king, and himself proceeded in search of his sister. Later, he found her just as she was going to throw herself into fire in the Vindhya forest.

In his account of the incidents given above, Bāṇa has not named either the king of Mālava or that of Gauḍa; because as said by Harṣa, the utterance of their names would have contaminated his tongue with sin.² The identity of the Gauḍa king is, however, proved beyond doubt by the statement of Yuan Chwang that he was Śaśaṅka. The Mālava king who occupied Kanauj after the death of Prabhākaravardhana and the Gupta king who later invaded it in the confu-

sion, consequent on which Rājyaśrī escaped are still unidentified. Various views have been held by scholars about the identification of the former, while no attempt has so far been made to identify the latter. It is proposed to discuss the identification of both in the present article.

1. *The king of Mālava*

Who was the king of Mālava, who killed Grahavarman and occupied Kanauj for some time as stated by Bāṇa? Bāṇa gives no further details. The Chinese pilgrim also does not render any help in identifying him or the territory over which he was ruling. He mentions Molapo as the country which he reached after travelling 2000 *li* from Bharukaccha (Broach). This Molapo would correspond to Sanskrit Malava and the description he gives of this country would suit present Malwa; for, he says, "Molapo in the north-west and Magadha in the north-east were the two countries in India in which learning was prized".³ This suits Malwa, which, from very ancient times, has been a renowned seat of learning. But the pilgrim says later that the king of Valabhī is a nephew of Śilāditya, formerly king of Molapo. Its capital was situated to the south-east of a great river (or the Mahī, according to another reading). This description is understood as applying to "the basin of the Mahī river, with the region to the east of the Sābarmatī and a portion of the hilly tract of Rājputāna, perhaps extending as far east as Rutlām."⁴ This region was called Ānarta in ancient time, not Mālava. Besides, the pilgrim later mentions Wu-she-ya-na (Ujjayini), the famous capital of Mālava, where, he says, a Brahmana king was ruling. This also is not corroborated by any other evidence. Yuan Chwang's account, therefore, renders no help in identifying the king Mālava.

It has been suggested that the Mālva king who invaded Kanauj and killed Grahavarman was the Kalacuri king Budharāja.⁵ The latter was, no doubt, a contemporary of Harṣa and was ruling over a vast territory extending from Central India to the bank of Godāvarī. One of his grants⁶ was issued from Vidiśā and is dated A. D. 610. But he was the ruler of the Anūpa country with his capital at Māhiṣmatī (modern Maheshwar on the Narmada). So he cannot be called a king of Mālava. His grant mentioned above was made in the course of his raid on Vidiśā. That city was not his capital. Besides, Buddha-

rāja could not have dared to invade North India and press as far as Kanauj in *circa* A.D. 605, as he had suffered a defeat at the hands of the Cālukya king Maṅgalēsa only four years earlier in A. D. 601.⁷ Though the Cālukya king did not follow up the victory and annex Buddharāja's kingdom, the danger of a Cālukya invasion had not passed altogether. So Buddharāja could not have been the Mālava king who invaded Kanauj and killed Grahavarman.

Harṣa's inscriptions give a clue to the identification of this Mālava king. While describing Rājyavardhana, his elder brother, they state that he had defeated Devagupta and others and whipped them into submission like unruly horses.⁸ The only campaign in which Rājyavardhana took part after his accession was that against the Mālava king. So Bühler identified this Devagupta with the unnamed king of Malava who was responsible for the invasion of Kanauj and the killing of Grahavarman.

But have we any evidence that this Devagupta was ruling in Mālwa? Bāṇa mentions that the contemporary king of Mālava had sent his sons Kumāragupta and Madhavagupta to Thaneśwar, and Prabhākaraśardhana had directed them to serve his sons Rājyavardhana and Harṣa. This shows that there was a Gupta family ruling in Malwa at the time. Devagupta may have been a younger brother of Kumāragupta and Madhavagupta. Further, this Gupta family is identified by some scholars with that mentioned in the Aṃśad stone inscription of Ādityasena.⁹ The mention of one Madhavagupta in the genealogy of that record and the description that he was longing for the company of Harṣa lent colour to this identification. This family is usually known as the Later Guptas of Magadha because its stone inscriptions have been found in Bihar,¹⁰ but in view of the afore-mentioned identification of Madhavagupta mentioned in the *Harṣacarita* as a prince of Malava with his namesake in the Aṃśad stone inscription, some scholars prefer to call this Gupta family the Later Guptas of Malava.¹¹ They think that Devagupta may have usurped the throne of Malava. After his destruction, Harṣa made Madhavagupta king of Magadha. Hence the later inscriptions of the family have been found in Bihar, but there is no doubt that the family originally belonged to Malava.

This view is, however, open to some serious objections. For their clear comprehension, we give below the genealogy of the kings mentioned in the Aṃśad inscription :-

Kṛṣṇagupta
Harṣagupta
Jivitagupta (I)
Kumāragupta
Dāmodaragupta
Mahāsenagupta
Mādhavagupta
Ādityasena

We get some details about the victories of some of these kings. Kumāragupta is said to have obtained a brilliant victory over the army of Iśānavarman, evidently the contemporary Maukhari king of Kanauj. Later, he ended his life by plunging into fire at the holy city of Prayāga (Allahabad). Dāmodaragupta also fought with the Maukharis, breaking up their elephant force which had previously routed the army of the Hūṇas. His son Mahāsenagupta achieved a memorable victory over Susthitavarman, which was long glorified in songs sung on the banks of the Lauhitya (Brahmaputra). The latter king is now known to have belonged to the family traditionally supposed to have descended from Narakasura which was ruling over Kamarupa (Assam).¹² These particulars about the rulers of this family clearly indicate that it was ruling in Bihar, not in Mālava. As far back as 1928, R.D. Banerji attacked the view that this family was ruling in Malwa in the following forceful words:-

"A king of eastern Malwa would have to pass through Bundelkhand, the United Provinces, Bihar and Bengal to reach Assam. Even if he had chosen the extremely difficult route through the C. P. Balāghāt, as the Musalman historians call it, he would have had to pass through Dabhāla or Dāhala, Magadha, Gauḍa or Raḍha and Vanga or Eastern Bengal. None of these countries are mentioned in the Aṃśad inscription. Therefore, the only logical conclusion that remains possible is that in order to reach the borders of Assam, Mahāsenagupta had not to pass through so many provinces. Though he was a ruler of Magadha, Assam very probably lay on his frontier, and Raḍha and Vanga or Mithila and Varendra were included in his

kingdom. In this case only it is possible for Mahāsenagupta to have fought with Susthitavarman of Assam."?

R. C. Majumdar has tried to circumvent the objection mentioned above by supposing that the Mahāsenagupta was ruling over Magadha and Gauḍa with suzerainty over Mālava.¹³ After his victory over Susthitavarman he suffered a defeat from the king of Assam, who invaded Gauḍa. He also suffered a defeat at the hands of the Maitraka Śīlāditya of Valabhi and the Kalacuri king Śankaragana. This resulted in the loss of Magadha and Gauḍa. He then sent his sons Kumāragupta and Mādhavagupta to the court of Prabhākara-vardhana. Later, Devagupta occupied the throne of Mālava and invaded Kanauj, but he was defeated and killed by Rājyavardhana. After defeating Śaśanka, Harṣa crowned Kumāragupta king of Magadha, and after him, gave the throne to Mādhavagupta.

This view also does not seem plausible. If Mahāsenagupta had been ruling over Magadha with suzerainty over Mālava, he would have been referred to as the king of Magadha rather than that of Mālava. There is no evidence that he was ever ruling over Mālava. On the other hand, there are weighty reasons why he should be differentiated from the king of Mālava. From the grants of Harṣa we know that his grandfather Ādityavardhana had married Mahāsenagupta. This is generally believed to be the sister of Mahāsenagupta mentioned in the Aṃśad inscription. Bāṇa tells us that Prabhākara-vardhana deprived the king of Mālava of his royal fortune and prestige.¹⁴ If we identify this Mālava king with Mahāsenagupta, we must suppose that Prabhākara-vardhana defeated his own maternal uncle. This is very unlikely. Further, Bāṇa tells us that the king of Mālava sent his sons Kumāragupta and Mādhavagupta to the court of Prabhākara-vardhana and the latter asked them to serve as personal attendants of his sons Rājyavardhana and Harṣa. This implies that the two Mālava princes were sent more or less as hostages. Again, we learn that they were almost of the same age as Harṣa. Bāṇa states explicitly that the elder of the two viz. Kumāragupta was eighteen years of age.¹⁵ His younger brother Mādhavagupta must have been at most sixteen years old. He cannot be identified with the homonymous king mentioned in the Aṃśad inscription; for the latter was much older, being the cousin of Harṣa's father, Prabhākara-vardhana. The Mālava king defeated by Prabhākara-vardhana could not, there-

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fore, have been Mahāsenagupta. The latter was thus ruling in Magadha, not in Mālwa. Like several other royal families of ancient India, the Gupta family also had several branches which were ruling in different parts of North India. The Aṃśad inscription mentions the family which was ruling in Magadha. It was different from that ruling in Mālava. Besides these, we know of some other kings like Harigupta¹⁶ who held sway in other parts of North India.

So the Mālava king who was responsible for the invasion of Kanauj, the murder of Grahavarman and imprisonment of Rājyaśrī was probably Devagupta, but he did not belong to the branch ruling in Magadha. He may have been ruling over Eastern Mālava (Akara) or Eastern Akaravanti, since Yuan Chwang tells that Ujjayini (in Western Mālwa) was under the rule of a Brahmana king.

II The Gupta king — The person who came to the rescue of Kuśasthala (Kanauj) has also not been named by Bāṇa. He only says that he was a Gupta.¹⁷ Scholars have not discussed his identification at all. As he defeated the Mālava king who was occupying Kanauj, he may have been ruling over a neighbouring country and may have been related to the Vardhana and Maukharī families; for he rushed to Kuśasthala as soon as he heard of the treacherous murder of Rājyavardhana by Śaśanka,¹⁸ evidently to rescue Rājyaśrī, who was imprisoned there. In the confusion caused by the invasion, however, Rājyaśrī escaped from prison and fled to the Vindhya forest. So he was not successful in rescuing her; but there is no doubt that it was his object in invading the capital of the Maukharis.

I identify this unnamed Gupta king with Mādhavagupta, son of Mahāsenagupta, mentioned in the Aṃśad inscription. His ancestors had, no doubt, fought with the Maukharis who were their neighbours on the west. But the hostilities had evidently ended with the marriage of Maukhari Grahavarman with Rājyaśrī; for the latter was Mahāsenagupta's sister's grand-daughter. Mādhavagupta, the son and successor of Mahāsenagupta, was thus closely related to Rājyaśrī. It is but natural that he should rush to her rescue when he heard of her brother Rājyavardhana's treacherous murder by Śaśanka and her imprisonment by the Mālava king.

This Mādhavagupta, king of Magadha, cannot be identified with the Mālava prince of that name who was serving Harṣa as his

personal attendant. The reasons are obvious. Firstly, he was much older than the latter for he was a cousin of Harṣa's father Prabhakaravardhana, and therefore much older than his namesake, the Malava prince who was only about sixteen years old. Secondly, the Mālava prince Madhavagupta was all along an attendant of Harṣa. Bāṇa mentions that he accompanied Harṣa to the Vindhya forest when he visited the hermitage of Divakaramitra in search of his sister Rājyaśrī.¹⁹ So he cannot be identified with the homonymous Gupta king of Magadha mentioned in the Aphaṣṭ inscription.

One of the reasons for identifying Madhavagupta of the Aphaṣṭ inscription with the Malava prince of that name is the description in the Aphaṣṭ inscription that he longed for the company of Harṣadeva. The passage is as follows:-

आजौ मया विनिहता बन्दिना द्विव्यस्तः
कृत्यं न मेह मयमग मित्यवधार्थं यौवः ।
श्रीरुद्रदेव हर्षमगमवाञ्छया न
.....V...VV.....U.....UU.....

Unfortunately, the passage is fragmentary. The preserved portion states that Madhavagupta, thinking that his mighty enemies had been subdued and there was nothing left for him to achieve, did some thing as he longed for the company of the illustrious Harṣadeva. What exactly he did in the circumstances is not known; but the description shows that he had not met the illustrious Harṣa before. He wanted to meet him and enjoy his company. This description does not suit the Malava prince of that name who was a close associate of Harṣa for a long time.²⁰ The two Madhavaguptas were evidently different one was a young prince of Malava, being of the same age as Harṣa, and the other was a king of Magadha, who was cousin of his father and, therefore, much older than he. It seems that having heard of the brilliant victories of Harṣa which made him the lord of the whole Uttarapatha, Madhavagupta of the Aphaṣṭ inscription longed to meet him. The last quarter of the verse may have stated how he repaired to Harṣa's capital to meet him.

The foregoing discussion has shown that the Gupta kings mentioned in the Aphaṣṭ inscription were ruling over Magadha, and not in Malwa and that one of them viz. Madhavagupta, was the un-

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named Gupta king who invaded Kuśasthala (Kanauj) apparently with the object of rescuing Rājyaśrī.

REFERENCES

1. See देव, देवभूयं गते देवे राज्यं धने गुप्तनाम्ना च गृहीते कुरास्थले. Furher's/ed. (B.S.S.) This reading is based on Kashmir MSS and has been adopted by the editor. Some Southern MSS read गौड गृहीते.
2. See नामापि च गृह्णतोस्य पापवाग्निः पापभलेन लिप्यत इय मे जिह्वा ।
Ibid. p. 256.
3. Watters, *On Yuan Chwan's Travels in India*, II, 242.
4. V. Smith, *Early History of India* (1914), p. 323.
5. *JBORS.*, XIX, -06 f. See also *CH*, IV, xlix f.
6. *CH*, IV, 47 f.
7. *Ibid.*, IV, xlix f.
8. See his grants, *EI*, IV, 20s f. and VII, 155 f.
9. *CH*, III 202 f.
10. *Ibid.* 200 f; 208 f; 211 f; 213 f.
11. *JAH*, III, 47.
12. See the Nidhanpur plates of Bhaskaravarman, *EI*, 65 f. etc.
13. *HCIP*, III, 126 f.
14. See मालव लक्ष्मीलता परशुः ... प्रभ करवर्धनो नाम राजाधिराजः । हर्षचरित, P. 174.
15. See राज्य चर्चन्तृषौ प्रतीकारेण मह प्रविशन्तमग्रतो डयेष्ठमष्टा दशवर्षं वयसं...
कुमारगुप्तं पृष्ठतस्तस्थ कनीयाम्. . माधवगुप्तं दद्वरातुः । हर्षचरित १९७-९८
16. Sircar, *Studies in Indian Coins*,² 225
17. See the passage cited in n. 1 above. Another reference to the same event occurs on p. 33!
भुक्तवांश्च बन्धनात्प्रभृति स्वम्: कान्यकुब्जादौश-
मंभम् (u. l. मस्रमं गुप्ततो गुप्तनाम्ना कुलपुत्रेण
मिष्टामन निगोतायाश्च राज्यं धनमरणश्रवणं मृ.
18. Bāṇa refers to him as a *Kulaputra* (a respectable person) named Gupta but does not give his personal name. He must have been sufficiently powerful to capture Kanauj.

19. See अवलम्ब्य च चित्तं हृदयेन दक्षिणेन च हस्तेन माधवगुप्तमंशो p. 116.
He was probably the Malava prince, dear to Harṣa, who was sitting behind him when Bana attended the court for the first time. See परिवृत्यं प्रेष्ठस्य पृष्ठतो निषण्ण इत्य मालचराजमूनोर कथं यत् । महानयं भुजङ्ग इति । हर्षचरित ।
20. Bana's *Harsacarita* does not give definite evidence about the second invasion of Kusasthala (Kanauj). The Kashmiri MSS. tell us that it was by a person named Gupta, while some Southern MSS. derived from one *codex archetypus* state that the invasion was by the Gaudas. See the passage cited in n. 1, above and Dr. Furher's Preface to the edition in B.S.S. (1909). The second relevant passage cited in n. 17 above also refers to the commotion caused by the Gaudas (*Gauda-sambhrama*), but states explicitly that Rājyasri was released by a *kulaputra* (nobly born youth) named Gupta. In neither passage is the name of the person of the Gupta lineage mentioned. If he himself captured Kanauj, he must have been sufficiently powerful to conquer and occupy the capital, and in that case most probably belonged to the Later Gupta family of Magadha. If the invasion was by the Gauda king (Sasanka) after he treacherously murdered Rajyavardhana, he may have been his associate in the campaign. There is however, no doubt that he was instrumental in releasing Rajyasri from prison and may have been related to her as suggested in the present article.

SOME OUTSTANDING HISTORICAL MONUMENTS IN ANDHRA PRADESH

I. Karthikeya Sarma

I. BUDDHIST SITES IN ANDHRA.

1. Amaravati.
2. Nagarjunakonda.
3. *Rock-Cut Monuments*.
 - a) Guntupalli.
 - b) Salihundam.
 - c) Sankaram.

II. SOME OUTSTANDING ANCIENT TEMPLES OF ANDHRA.

1. *Rock-Cut Monuments*.
 - a) Akkanna Madanna Caves.
 - b) Mogalrajapuram.
 - c) Undavalli.
 - d) Bhairavakonda.
2. *Structural Temples*.
 - e) Chezerla.
 - f) Gudimallam.
 - g) Mukhalingam
 - h) Amaravati
 - i) Draksharama.
 - j) Bhimavaram (Samalkota).
 - k) Biccavolu.
 - l) Early Chalukyan Temples, Alampur.

3. *Kakatiya Temples.*

- m) Hanumakonda.
- n) Palampet.
- o) Hemavati

4. *Late Chola and Vijayanagara Temples.*

- p) Tadipatri
- q) Lepakshi.
- r) Sompalle.

III. FORTS AND LATE MEDIEVAL MONUMENTS.

- 1. Warangal.
- 2. Golkonda.
- 3. Gooty.
- 4. Chandragiri.
- 5. Udayagiri.
- 6. Gandikota.
- 7. Charminar.

Andhra Pradesh is endowed with natural bounty of beautiful ancient centres of art and culture. Appayya Dixita (16th Cent. A.D.) longing for a rebirth in Andhra Pradesh-extols-“*Andhratvam āndhra-bhāshācha Prabhākara Parisramah : Tatrapī Yajushisākha Nālpasya Tapasah Phalam*”. The Telugu speaking people have imbibed in them all the best of the ancient India's heritage, primarily due to the geographical position of the land. Being sandwiched between the north and south, the commingling of people, their social, religious and cultural institutions and thoughts moulded the life pattern. Hence no wonder this ancient *Dakshināpatha* of unsurpassing beauty and natural wealth turned out to be a great centre receiving, nurturing, absorbing and transmitting many new trends in sciences, arts, religion and philosophy from times immemorial.

Out of a bewildering variety of Ancient Monuments, Sites and Remains-pertaining to Hindu, Buddhist, Jaina, Muslim and Christian, the Archaeological Survey of India, has, under its control, 146 protected Monuments of National Importance.

In the past, right from the pre-historic times, the long stretch of coastal belt, is open landscape, sympathetic and wealthy nature, attracted people from distant parts, both from within and outside the country. We know of Greek Ambassador Megasthenese, (300 B.C.) at the Mauryan Royal Court, Pliny (1st Cent. A.D.), the author of *Periplus* and Ptolemy (2nd Cent. A.D.), Chinese travellers like Huan Tsang (6th-7th Cent. A.D.), Itsing (7th Cent. A.D.), living and learning here and writing about the great towns and temples, forts and ports, other centres of fine arts, jewellery precious objects, spices etc.

As a result of incessant labours of love, thanks primarily to the German and British Indologists, there is greater awareness, understanding and appreciation of India's rich cultural heritage now. The chief centres of tourist attraction in Andhra Pradesh, as is the case with other sister states, are its standing monuments and sites of historical period.

It is a formidable task to give an account of all the examples and hence more distinguished and less known ones are dealt with here, so that the pilgrims as well as interested tourists may get a clear insight into the great cultural heritage of Andhradēśa.

1. BUDDHIST SITES IN ANDHRA

Buddhism spread like wild fire and engulfed the Āndhra country during the Mauryan period, more specifically from the times of Aśoka's momentous tergiversation towards *Dharmavijaya*.

The fertile Godāvari-Kṛṣṇa rivers, *Dakṣiṇāpath's* location i.e. midway between Magadha—the home of Buddhism and Ceylon—the strong hold of this religion; the long east coast with sea-borne trade, accelerated this cultural conversion and progress. The result was that the wealthy commercial classes patronised the *Dhārmika* missionaries of non-Vedic religions like Buddhism and Jainism.

Several magnificent stupas were built in the lower valleys of Godāvari, Kṛṣṇa and its tributaries. From Śālihundam (District Srikakulam) in the north-east; to Rāmāthirtham (District Nellore), Chandavaram (District Prakasam) in south-east; Phanigiri (Karimnagar), Kondāpur (Dist. Medak) in Telangana; to Erraguḍi and Rājulamandagiri (places of Aśoka's edicts) in Kurnool District, one can see plenty of Buddhist remains, that have very early beginnings (2nd–3rd Cent. B.C.). Such monuments as Sankaram (Vizag Dist.), Guṇṭupalli (West Godavari) are a few examples worthy of developing as tourist resorts. Āndhra Pradesh is also rich, like Mahārāṣṭra, in cut-out rock monuments. More famous and attractive tourist centres are Amarāvati and Nāgarjunakōṇḍa both in Guntur District. Other famous sites which have stupas and monasteries are Bhaṭṭiprōlu, Gōli, Jaggayapēṭa, Garikapadu, Guḍivada, Ghantasala in Guntur and Kṛṣṇa Districts.

1. Amaravati :—

In the realms of early Indian art, and Āndhra sculpture in particular, the names of Amarāvati and Dharaṇikōṭa remain immortal. These two rich villages which lie 35-kms. from Guntur R. S. once formed part of the *Andhrapatha* (coastal Āndhra), right from Mauryan times. A renowned centre of early Buddhism, it equals in its sacredness to the places lived and preached by Buddha Himself. Its Mahā chaitya (popularly known as *Amarāvati Stūpa*) and monasteries, were seats of Buddhist learning. Mahāyāna sects such as *Pūrva*, *Aparaśaila* and *Chaityaka* grew here and earned the name *Chaityakānam mahāchetiyasa* (The greatest among the chaityas) to the main stūpa.

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Shorn of its grandeur, now the site of this great Stūpa at Amarāvati presents a desolate look. During the Āndhra Sātavahana rule, it was a monument of great beauty—a piece of artistic excellence (Pl. III). Even in the period of Kōṭa Chiefs (1182 A.D.), it was a *Chattiyam atyunnatannānā citṭa sucitritam*. Who then was responsible for its present shape? In the last quarter of the 18th Cent., the ill-informed local zamindar and the villagers have dug deep into these mounds—ransacked the bricks and powdered the beautiful sculptures. This is the case with many great Buddhist sites of Āndhra, for example Guḍivada, Ghantasala, Bhaṭṭiprōlu and Jaggayapeta.

Eversince its first rediscovery by Col. Mackenzie (1797), efforts were made by archaeologists like Sewell, Burgess, Rea, R. Subrahmanyam and the author (1974-75) to get its full account—architectural, sculptural and historical of the *Mahāchaitya*. A rich treasure of sculptural wealth found its way to the Museums of repute both Indian and Foreign. Only a portion of these collections can be seen, now exhibited in the Site Museum at Amarāvati. The famous British Museum London, Museum Guimet Germany, New York Museum and the Government Museum, Madras, exhibit them in their front galleries. The glorious Amarāvati Art School with its beginnings from 3rd. Cent. B.C. unfolds its chapters through the galaxy of these sculptures, which are priceless pieces in any museum of Indian art. Look at this 2nd. Cent. B.C. Yakṣiṇi. See the subtle rhythm, grace and mellowed charm of the world famous Amarāvati beauties. The tall, splendidly decorated *Vedika*, (rail) and gateways are added attractions in the Museum. More specially the Pūrnakumbha (Pl. IV) of Amarāvati is the greatest gift to the early Āndhra Art. It is at this place that we find that the entire *anda* (dome) of the Stūpa covered splendidly with this auspicious sculptural motif. It symbolised the quintessence of Āndhra's natural bounty and beauty. It stood as an "*anka*", emblem of the present Government of Āndhra Pradesh. What is more exhilarating is the fact that this *Pūrnaghaṭa-paṭa* was caused by one *Charmakāra* (leather worker) named Vidhika, the son of a householder named Naga, for the well being of all his kinsfolk.

Acārya Nāgārjuna (1st-2nd Cent. A.D.) according to inscriptions and literature caused the great railing to the *Dhānyakṛtaka*

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Caitya at the munificence of the Satavahana ruler. Thanks to this great Acārya-the exponent of *Mādhyamikavāda* of *Māhāyānism*, a remarkable sense of equality distinguished outlook, respect and tolerance to all irrespective of caste, creed, profession and social status were observed in matters of religious and cultural life of the community. We can find at this Mahācaitya that the various sculptural and architectural members were not only donated by very ordinary people viz., *Charmakarās* (leather workers), *gopālakas* (Cowherds), flower vendors, householders and Royal attendants but also by the ruling monarchs, the princess of royal blood, śrēṣṭhis, *vaṇiyās* – some cases the entire village or town folk all side by side contributed without any disparity.

Recent excavations Pl. V have added new facts. Buddhism in Āndhra appears to be pre-Aśōkan. Stūpas existed much earlier in the Aśōkan period itself—a rare pottery N. B. P. found at 16-Mahajana-pada sites of north (Ujjaini, Kōśāmbi, Vidiśa, Rājagriha, Benaras of 6th Cent. B.C.) was also encountered at Amarāvati in its earliest habitations. A latest Tibetan manuscript edited by Prof. Helmut Hoffman, a German Scholar has revealed that Buddha himself set in motion the *Kālachakra Mulatantra*, (the method of spells), at the Mahācaitya of Śrī Dhānyakataka. Earlier scholars were of the view that Buddhist monks from Godavari met Buddha at Rajagriha and the Lord never visited Dakṣiṇāpatha, Āndhra-Buddhism was at best considered as of Aśōkan date. But these new discoveries have pushed back the beginnings of organized city life and the spread of Buddhism to an early period as of Pre-Mauryan date (Circa. 4th Cent. B.C.). Further, Dharaṇikōṭa, the emporium of ancient trade in Āndhra, contained remains of an ancient port with navigation channel, wharf, platforms etc. – from 2nd Cent. B.C. onwards.

Apart from these, the visitor is charmed at the beauty of Kṛṣṇa river here, which gently winds northwards and is presently navigable through motor-boats downstream right upto Vijayawada. On its banks lie the great historical hillocks and mounds—Vaikunthapuram, Undavalli on the right, Jaggayyapeta and Gummaḍidurru etc. on the left.

The lofty Amasēśvara temple (double storied) PL. VI. with a tall linga of limestone is a famous *Saivar Ārama Kṣhetra*: seat of a

Sinhaparishad of the Śaivas. The Amarēśvara linga is believed to be an installation by Indra. 35 epigraphs in this temple, ranging from 1129-1626 A.D., reveal how the great rulers and chieftains of the later Chālukya, Kōṭa, Velanādu, Kākatiya and Vijayanagara kings endowed it and worshipped. The great Vijayanagara king Śrī Kṛṣṇa-dēvarāya visited the Temple in 1515 A.D., after the grand victory of Konḍaveedu and performed *Tulāpurusa* ceremony, while his queen Cinna Dēvi performed *Ratnadhenu*, Tirumala Devi did the *Saptasāgara mahādāna*.

Perhaps, there is no other single historical site in India, where great art treasures, temples and monuments continued to be sacred all through several centuries. Given some facilities for visitors for stay and boarding—and the river spot developed well with gardens, features like boat journey, this would be a place of great attraction to the people from all walks of life. More so, for students of all classes – a visit to Amaravati must be made compulsory.

2. Nagarjunakonda :—

Another renowned place in Palnad taluk of Guntur District, (just 165 Km. to Hyderabad) is Nāgarjunakonda,

Consequent to the decision of raising a dam, this great historical site was threatened with total submergence. The Archaeological Survey of India conducted large-scale excavations in the vast valley during the years 1954-60 and has brought to light cultures of man or cultural life from “Early Stone Age to Late Medieval Period”. A number of standing monuments such as Stūpas, Chaityas and monasteries and associated relics such as Brāhmī inscriptions, limestone sculptures of the Amarāvati tradition were salvaged. The city which once stood in the valley was called *Śrīparvata Vijayapuri*—an extensive fortified capital town of the Ikṣvāku kings (3rd-4th Cent. A. D.), who ruled after their powerful masters, the Imperial Śātavāhanas. Under their patronage, both Buddhism and Brāhmanical religion flourished in this part of the country. While Prākṛt was mainly the language used for propagation of Buddhist learning and religion, Sanskrit became court language and assumed great significance. For the first time in the south we get excellent metrical compositions in Sanskrit in the Brahmi records dateable to 3rd Cent. A.D. at this place.

All the sculptural wealth and other important antiquities outlined above are now preserved in their totality for public view in the Museum on the hill named Nāgārjunakoṇḍa amidst the lake and hallowed with the name of the great Buddhist teacher "Acārya Nāgārjuna", the founder of the Mādhyamika School.

Approach to this hill is through launches. The visitor can also see reconstructed monuments such as University, Stadium, Vihāras Bathing Ghat at 11/2 (Anupu) on the east bank of the lake. Nāgārjunakoṇḍa is a unique and picturesque site of absorbing interest to the scholar—a peaceful resort for the superannuated and full of thrill and merry making to the teenager. The sculptures, some of them true to life, supple and sensuous unfolding before us eventful lives—social, religious and cultural. Amusing and quite unique are the sculptural depiction of sports and pastimes of these times—such as scenes of free style wrestling (PL. VII A, B), animal fights—cock fights, man and ram, horse and ram fights, dancing, drinking and dice play etc. Assembly Halls, Clubs, Royal Bathing Ghats and public stadiums existed in the city of Vijayapuri on the same lines as the Roman ones and all these outdoor and indoor games and sports were widely popular and formed part of the seasonal festivities in the capital. No one should miss to see this place in one's life.

3. Rock Cut Monuments :—

(i) Guntupalli :—

Guntupalli belongs to the village of Jilakarragudem in West Godavari District and is 10 Kms. west of Kamavarapu Kōṭa in the Ellore Taluk of West Godāvari District and 45 Kms. north of Eluru railway station.

The picturesque hill near the village with its two scraps projected in the form of a horse-shoe, contain rare architectural ventures of a very early period. Though not elaborate and handsomely carved, like the Western and Central Indian caves, the *Vihāras* here have a speciality of their own. They are simple rectangular halls with cells inside all in a row north to south, in two series facing east with arched facades. Their archaic character lends support to their early origin.

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The cut-out *Vṛtta Caitya* (circular monolithic stūpa) in the main cave, is a version on stone, of a circular hut "*Kuṭa*" with circumambulatory pathway around and a gabled porch in front. The shrine has a domical roof ceiling inside with curved ribs converging at the apex, just as in the wooden hut. The horse-shoe shaped facade with the projecting ends of the little rafters and finial at the apex. This small cave recalls the earliest known Mauryan examples of Sūdama and Lomas-ṛṣi in Bihar and Junnar-Koṇḍavite in Maharashtra and in point of time equally early (C. 3rd-2nd. Cent. B.C.).

Further north of this and beyond quite a large number of *Vihāra* caves can be seen amidst thick shrubs over-head of the ravine. Perched on the semi-flattish hill-slope is a huge complex of structural stūpas built with brick and cut stone. Neatly finished, but plain in early stages, the stone stupas are mostly votive ones. A pillared hall and close by a bigger stūpa with stone railing is a remarkable example bearing close affinity to the Orissan examples of the time of Khāravēla. The discovery of an inscribed pillar referring to a *Mahā Meghavāhana*—king described as *Kalingādhipati* and *Mahishankādhipati* confirms that the early *Vihāras* were anchorite-abodes for Jain *thir-tnānkaras*. Jainism perhaps first flourished at this site at a very early period (2nd Cent. B.C.). Later the place, undoubtedly, had Buddhist connections, first of Hīnāyāna order, as many plain and archaic examples of caves and stone structural stūpas reveal. In the Sātavāhana and Ikshvaku times we see these very stupas and vihāras were occupied by Mahāyāna Buddhists. A large number of loose Buddha images were found, typically of Amarāvati style. Another significant thing with this site is the continuance of Buddhism right upto 10-11th Cent. A.D. and all the vestiges right from their earliest phase are preserved. Recent clearance of the area has also proved the potentiality of the site.

The lofty secluded hills with the most ancient relics afford unusual peace and calmness for a tourist.

Śālihūṇḍam in Śrīkākulam district, Rāmāthiratham and Śankaram in Vizag district. Rompayerrampalem, Kodavali and Kāpavaram in East Godavari district are worth mentioning in this connection.

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(ii) *Salihundam*:

Salihundam is a village 25-kms. from Śrīkakulam, the district head-quarters. The Buddhist remains are perched on a picturesque hill overlooking the river Vamsadhara known through inscription as *Salipetka*, (emporium of rice), the hill called *Maha-Uga-Parvata* forms an imposing land mark for miles around. Recent digs have brought to light a remarkable variety of stupas, large Vihāra complex sculptures, inscriptions and Roman antiquities—Rouletted-were, gold coins, crystal reliquaries etc. Much of the stone sculptural wealth was of the times of Tāntric Mahāyanism. The stupas are all structural. A small museum is also at the site preserving the sculptures, important among them are Mañichī, Tāra and Mañjuśrī.

(iii) *Sankāram*:-

The village is just 3-kms, north of Anakapalli railway station. East of the village, the high hills locally known as Bojjanna kōṇḍa and Lingalakōṇḍa contained a most remarkable group of Buddhist remains. River Śaradha, once flowed close to these Sanghāramas.

A large number of cut-out monolithic stupas, rather *haras* of stupas on the slopes of the hill (P. VIII) are an added attraction. Innumerable brick built stupas and shrines and cut-in caves with large size Buddha images and Bodhisatvas, in relief, indicate a most flourishing period in Buddhism. Though this establishment had an early nucleus (2nd Cent. B. C.), its glory was during the 3rd-4th Cent. A. D. and continued to exist till 9th Cent. A. D. along with the Vajrayāna Buddhist centre at Guntupalli. But the over-powering Śaivism soon turned the hill into Lingalakōṇḍa—the monolithic stupas taken by people for lingas and a tantric form Śaiva and Gaṇeśa were carved on the cave facade. The abundance and plenitude of the landscape, the tall hills and open fields below, will soon turn out to be a potential tourist spot, once planned for development.

II. SOME OUTSTANDING ANCIENT TEMPLES OF ANDHRA

Life and religion in ancient India were inseparable. For Hindus, a temple is a must and any village without it is forbidden for living. It was an institute by itself not only sacred but a life centre of the entire community in all its cultural & spiritual aspects. The study of ancient scriptures – *Vedas*, *Āgamas*, *Purāṇas* and everything

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connected to the *Dharmika mārga* and its spread was patronised through the temple. It was the duty of both royalty and the public at large to keep the sanctity of the temple irrespective of the political and economic conditions of the time. Kings, as well as commoners, saw to the unbroken religious continuity of the temple and its safety and upkeep through perpetual gifts. Its architectural and sculptural grandeur was preserved according to the *Vāstu* and *Āgamic* canons and handed down to the succeeding generations.

Āndhra dēśa is known as Trilingadēśa bounded by famous Śaiva-lingas—they are 1) Bhīmēśvara temple of Drākshārāma, 2) Mallikarjuna temple of Śrisailam, 3) Lord Malēśvara at Kalēśvaram West Godavari district. The people who lived within this country were *Tripuudra* and worshipped Lord Śiva as Triambaka. The Lord has the *Prathisṭha* of Paraśuramēśvara temple of Guḍimallam (near Papanaidupeta, Chittoor Dist.,) situated at the southern most tip of Āndhradēśa i.e. in Tondaimaṇḍalām region. Recent archaeological work has proved that the main lingam in the sanctum was of Mayuran times (2nd-3rd Cent. B.C.) and is the earliest known example of its kind in the entire country. We have cited above how Appayya Dixita was greatly attached to Āndhratvam and Āndhradēśa. It was mainly due to Śaiva kṣētras. He liked immensely the chanting of *Rudram* and *Namaka Camakam* in this part of the country and in particular the *Yajus Śakha dhyāyis* (the Yajurvedic scholars). It is in this part of the country alone that the most potent *Panchakshari mantra* is taught to the young children from the very tender age. At the very initiation of alphabets, child is to utter and write to the *Panchakshari mantra*—“Om Namah Śivaya” “*Siddham namāh*”. No where in India in any other language group, except Āndhras, imbibed this great Indian tradition.

1. Rock-cut Hindu Monuments:

Like the Buddhist counterparts described above, Āndhra has early examples of cut-out and cut-in cave temples and halls, belonging to Viṣṇukundin and Eastern Cālukyan times (5th-8th Cent. A.D.). The concentration is mostly within Vijayawada town and nearby Uṇḍavalli. However, one more set, farther at Bhāiravakōṇḍa in the Prakasam District is of topical interest.

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(a) *Akkanna - Madanna Caves :-*

At the south-east foot of the Indrakīlādri hill containing the famous Vijayawada-Kanakadurga temple, a pilgrim would find amidst a slum like modern encroachments, remains of widely extent cut-out triple shrines with monolithic sikharas dedicated to Lord Śiva and Dēvi. Much of the details, architectural and sculptural, suffered damage, at the severities of nature. Nearby dwellers have contributed their share in spoiling the surroundings. Yet the group is unique and ranks high among the earlier creations. The upper cave though dedicated to the Trimurtis (Brahma - Viṣṇu - Maheswara), appears to be a Buddhist Vihara initially.

(b) *Mogalarajapuram Caves :-*

Within the eastern extreme of Vijayawada city, there exists set of 5 caves on the hills at Mogalarajapuram which have been totally quarried leaving only large chunks of rock covering the caves. The already weak and weathered rock presents us a desolate look. Yet a tourist going to Vijayawada should not miss these lively art creations. The life size Tāṇḍava Śiva over the elaborate *Mahānāsika* over cave no. 4, the Kṛṣṇa-līla carvings, the cave dedicated to Durga with the niches of Śūrya, Viṣṇu, Brahma and Kartikeya, are distinguished specimens of stone modelling.

(c) *Undavalli :-*

The big hill overlooking the Kṛṣṇa river at the village of Undavalli 8 kms. south-west of Vijayawada contain fine specimens of cut-in architectural and sculptural models.

This long east-west oriented multi-storeyed cave with huge Anantaśāyī Viṣṇu figure is one of the best and earliest type here. Other small examples within the koṣṭhas and over the flat hill faces all around (nearly twenty) would provide the teenagers, the thrill and joy of discovery of carvings on rock amidst its shrubby contours.

(d) *Bhairavakonda :-*

Students, Scholars and general public as well should not miss to see, atleast once, this interesting jungle-clad hilly site containing a fine series of cut-in cave temples locally known as Bhairavakonda.

The hill is very remotely located 3 kms. from the nearest hamlet of Ambavaram-Kottapalli, almost at the southern end of Prakasam District. Kanigiri being its taluk head-quarter, the place is approached through a village road by bus nearly of 35 kms. distance viz. Darsiguntapeta. The visitors transcended to things beautiful, entirely into a different world, silent and solitary. A row of double storied *Devagrihas* – in all 1 temple units of Śaivite order with stately dvārapālas (notably the horned), Brahma and Viṣṇu mūrtis flanking on the side walls as if attending on the great God Śiva in the interior.

In the central cave, besides the usual *linga-piṭha*, the back wall contains a robust expressive relief carving of *Durga-Bhairava* (bust). Juxtaposed to this on the open rock boulder and amidst innumerable small linga niches-a ten handed Tāṇḍava Śiva with Viṣṇu on his right is worthy of note (PL. IX). The boy-like seated Chandikesvara figure repeatedly shown here is a speciality of this monument.

A high water fall from a steeply cut gorge just 100 yards east, above the cave, is an added attraction. The place deserves a planned development by the tourist corporation. There is no doubt in the fact that this site as well as the Udayagiri monuments (see below) can be turned into important centres of attraction.

2. *Structural Temples.*

Nāgarjunakonda has given the key to the existence of various early Saivite temples datable to 3rd Cent. A.D. during the Ikṣvāku times. They were built of bricks, square or apsidal on plan, some examples of even double storied and dedicated to Śiva (Nodagisvara-Puṣpabhadra), Devi, Kārthikeya, Yakṣa-kubera are found.

(e) *Chezerla :-*

Next in importance is the famous text book example at Chezerla, which is noted for its architectural speciality, – *gajaprsthā* (rear of a Tusker – and the only known example of its kind in India dedicated to Lord Śiva as Kapotēśvarasvāmi. It is usually dated to 5th Cent. A. D. and attributed to the king Kandara of the Ānandagōtroja line, but recent excavation has shown that the temple would go back to Sātavāhana-Ikṣvāku times, with an ornate *tripaṭṭa adhi-sthāna* (basement of moulded bricks).

(f) *Guḍimallam* :-

This is a remote hamlet 3-kms. on foot through fields from Papanaidupet, an industrial village 8 kms. from Renigunta railway station by road. In the past this was a remarkable place, where a unique temple dedicated to Lord Paraśurāmēśvara charmed a galaxy of kings – Pallava Nandivarman, Bāṇa Mahābalirāya, Vijayāditya, Vikrama Cōla, Rāja Rāja (III), Yādavarāyas, who not only bowed in reverence but gave munificent gifts. Greatness of this temple lies in its tall & erect linga within the sanctum which has no parallel in the country. It is a pillar with irregular broad facet, the front contain an image of Śiva in bold relief standing on the shoulders of a dwarf - *Yakṣa*.

Recent excavations (1974) within the shrine brought to light an artistic square rail and the *Mamusha-linga* was set within two highly polished stone rings sometime in C. 2nd-3rd Cent. B.C. (PL. X). At this stage no structural covering, as such appears to have existed and apparently worshipped in open, like the *Vrkṣa Cautya* or *Kalpa-vrkṣa* worship as seen in the early sculptures of Bharhut, Sāñchī and Amarāvati of 2nd-3rd Cent. B.C. The linga is in the shape of *Penis erect* (*Urdhvareṭah*) and the two circular *Piṭhas* recall a *yonī*. The form of God is complicated and appears to imbibe all the features of *Vedic-Rudra* (brown in colour, nude without yajñopavita and holding paraśu), *Vi-ūpākṣa* (Three eyed), *Kapardi* (head gear), *Naṭa-rāja* (trampling in the *apasmara* while dancing). This *Śilāvedika mānuṣa-linga* thus is of great antiquity and the only example of its kind in the entire country. For the first time, this unit was brought within an apsidal temple of brick in 2nd Cent. A.D., perhaps during the Sātavahana rule. It was greatly elaborated and rebuilt in stone after say 6-centuries of existence-during the Late Pallava-Bāṇa (8th Cent. A.D.) periods.

Finely sculptured niches with icons – Chandikēśvara, Dakṣiṇāmūrti, Viṣṇu, Durga and a good life size image of Sūrya came in to being at the munificence of the Cōlas. Small temples for Sūrya, Kārtikēya with Dēvis, Ānandavalli etc., were built during this time. The Guḍimallam temple with the earliest known, remarkable lingam within a square railing, is a pointer to the existence of early Brāhmaṇical vestiges, a couple of centuries prior to Christ

at a time when Buddhism had entered in to the cultural life of the Āndhras. This evidence when viewed, with certain other Brāhmaṇical brick shrines unearthed at Nāgārjunakōṇḍa and the famous Kapoteśvara temple at Chezerla, would atonce reveal that Śaivism was very popular and much evolved. Another basic fact that emerges out of this study (and sets at rest some older notions about the development of architecture) is that the science of architecture (*āgama*) was common to all the faiths and developed certain distinctive features only much later, to suit the contemporary worship of which grew complicated and led to the development of iconography and creed regimentation in medieval times.

(g) *Mukhalingam* :-

This is a big village 48 kms. east of Srikakulam town, a district head-quarters, approached easily by buses. The place has a rich crop of temples and ancient mounds on the left bank of Vamśadhara river. It has ancient remains from 1st Cent. A.D., but of topical interest are the temples built by the Eastern Gangas about 8-9th Cent. A.D. Predecessors of Bhuvaneśvar style and closely resembling the great temples of Osian in Gujarat, these standing monuments within the village go with the names – Madhukēśvara, Someśvara and Bhimesvara. The Madhukesvara temple is remarkable for its symmetry i.e. ground plan and elevation. It was the grand achievement of the great Eastern Ganga kings. It is unfortunate that in the last century thick layers of lime concrete plaster obliterated every artistic and sculptural detail on its walls. New structures, porticos, halls, kitchen were built within the temple. After close observation and study and in a planned manner, the Archaeological Survey of India had cleared all such irrelevant & grotesque accretions bringing to light amazing sculptural and architectural details that were unknown (PL. XI). The temple is indeed a feast to the eye of every visitor and affords sumptuous food for scholars and students interested in religion (Śaivism), iconography, and architecture of the Ganga temples. The temple is a *Panchayatana* (a main shrine with four corner shrines at the front) and has various subsidiary shrines (at the cardinal points of the outer *Prākara* of *dikpālakas*, Ganēśa, Durga, Kārtikēya, Saptamātrika and so on. The entrances of the *Prākaras* and Mahamandapa bear exquisitely carved *toranas* and door frames, *Chandraśīla* etc.

It is unfortunate that in Andhra, most of the ancient monuments are subjected to similar modernisation and efforts are being made by the Survey to check this trend. The incidence of such modernisation is rather heavy and of alarming proportion, particularly in temples which continue to be the live kshetras and maintained by the Hindu Religious Trust Boards. We shall now study the aramas-kshetras of Andhra.

These are (1) Bhimeshvara temple at Dākṣārāma (2) Bhīmeśvara temple at Samalkota-Bhimavaram, both in East Godavari District (3) Someśvara temple or Somarama of Bhimavaram (4) Kṣīrāma or Rāmalingessvara temple at Palakollu both in West Godavari District and Amarārāma or Amaresvaraswāmi temple at Amarāvati in Guntur Dist.

It is of great importance to note that these sacred temples are hallowed with Buddhist monasteries (*aramas*) and all of them were raised by great Eastern Chalukyan emperor, Chālukyan Bhīma-I (892-921 A. D.) named and planned in exactly the same manner and of gigantic proportions. However, mention also be made of the other elaborate creations of the same monarch at Chebrolu, Guntur Dist., which is some what earlier in point of time and also slightly different than the above five examples.

(h) *Amarāvati* :-

Amreśvara (See PL. VI above) temple, appears to be earlier in date. Thus the examples on the river Kṛṣṇa are earlier and different but the rest on the Godavari are uniformly alike and of the same date. All of them, however, were widely elaborated during the later times by illustrious rulers viz., the Eastern Gangas, Telugu Chōlas, Gajapatiś, Kākatīyas and Vijayanagara.

It would suffice here to describe the best known attractive centres (1) Dākṣārāma (2) Samalkota - Bhimavaram. Both these are preserved by the Survey as monuments of National Importance and are easily approachable from Kakinada town. These temples are elaborate examples, the main one is double storied, with a lofty limestone linga worshipped from the top *tala*. Both the lower and upper stories of the main sanctum are alike and have *pradakṣiṇā* arrangements around *linga-pithas*. The main unit is centrally placed within

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a double enclosure (*Prākāra*), the inner one is further distinguished by a double storied *dalan* facing the temple raised on ornate pillars. The top *dalan* is for viewing the *Vimāna* during festivities. The lower storey has several *angalayās* (about 32) for the minor deities, with exquisitely modelled icons as enjoined in the *āgamas*.

It is interesting to note that in both the above places, a cut out monolithic model shrine is kept before the main temple (PLs XII A & B) as a reminder to future generations and a pointer how the great monarchs and the architects planned and created it to be well preserved. But it is a sad fact that even this exquisite model piece, not to speak of the very temple complex as a whole, has not been spared from modernisation by the present generation. (Ignorant Iconoclasts.)

(i) *Dākṣārāma* :

Dākṣārāma is almost a town in the Ramachandrapur taluk and connected by regular bus service from Kakinada, the District headquarters which is only 16-kms.

The place is renowned for its Bhīmeśvaraswāmi temple, a huge institute by itself well maintained but unfortunately much modernised. The frontage of the temple has been turned out into a slum almost, with bunks, shops and hut dwellers touching the very high *Prākāra*. The interior, however affords a peaceful and pleasant contrast. The most attractive tall linga is anointed and bathed from a high second *tala*. The surrounding shrines dedicated to various Gods, but the main shrine of Goddess Manikyāmba possesses a deity of great charm and spirit. The temple stands as a specimen of architecture where a harmonious blending of the Eastern Chālukyan and Chōla styles was achieved. The tall amazing *gōpuradvāra* is clearly a Chōla workmanship.

Poet Śrinātha, gives an eye-account of this sacred fane on *Saptagodavari* in his classic *Kāvya "Bhīmeśvara Purānam"*.

The temple has rich epigraphical records giving interesting details about the donations made for annual festivities, items of worship, shrines variously constructed by kings as well as local chiefs.

It may not be out of place to mention that Dāksārāma is equally sacred to Muslim-the tomb and mosque of saint Sayid Shah Bhaji Anfiā, who belonged to Gardez near Madina in Arabia. And as a story goes, he won over a *Saivite Maṭhādhipati* in his devotion to God and hence was given a mutt to live in at Dāksārāma itself which was later converted into a sacred mosque. The descendants of this saint are said to be still living in the place.

The temple is a celebrated one in Āndhradēśa. It is said that God Bhimēśvara, the presiding deity here, Lord Mallikarjuna of Śrī-sailam and Lord Kalēśvara of Kalēśvaram together give the name *Trilingadēśa* to this part of the country. Dāksārāma is like the sacred Kāsi and it is believed that any one who sees the God in *Vivāha-mantapa* is rid of all sins-who passes through *Jwala Torana* in the month of *Kārtika* would be saved of the misery of hell fire. The kshētra has in all five thirthas, twelve kshētras and thirteen lingas.

(j) *Bhumavaram (Samalkot): (XH-B.)*

This is a railway junction on Kakinada-Rajahmundry main line and has two interesting examples (1) Māṇḍavya Nārāyaṇa temple, a smaller one for Viṣṇu and (2) the Calukya Bhimēśvara temple, an elaborate example, recalling in every detail its counterpart at Dākṣārāma described above. In Eastern Calukyan records the main deity is known as Cālukya Bhimesvara; while in later times it was described as Kumārārāma Cālukya-Bhimesvara. It is interesting to note that the main God within the temple was named after the king Calukya Bhīma and Dānārṇava for the latter had the title Rājanārāyaṇa.

(k) *Bikkavolu:*

Among the various outstanding temples created by Eastern Chālukyan monarchs, Biccavolu deserves every consideration. The town is 35-kms. from Kakinada and easily approachable from all directions.

The name of the place is an obvious corruption for *Birudankana-vōlu* after *Birudāṅka Bhīma*, a title of Ganaga Vijayāditya (846-892 A.D.), the great Eastern Cālukyan monarch.

There are, in all, six interesting examples variously located within the village limits. The first group of three shrines within a

single compound are Gōlingēśvara, Rājarājēśvara and Candrasēkhara located in the centre of the village and hence much modernised, whereas the temples not under worship and away from the habitations are Virabhadra, Nakkala and Kancaragudi. These examples preserved their original shape and architectural features with exquisite *devako-shthas* (niches with Gods) containing Natarāja, Dhakṣiṇāmūrti, Bhikṣhātana Śiva, Kārtikēya and Gaṇēśa images etc.

(1) *Early Chalukyan Temples at Alampūr (PL. XIII):*

A widespread tradition of building structural temple cities can be witnessed in the Kurnool and Cuddapah Districts during the early Calukyan times. The ancient *Hiranyarāshtra*, *Mudivēmu*, *agrahāra* and the *Chālukya Vishaya* are at the root for this distinguished art development. It is unfortunate that often Āndhra Pradesh has to sacrifice its outstanding sites of art and culture for the sake of agricultural prosperity and the latest shock is the Śrīsailam project and Mylavaram dam in Jammalamadugu Taluk, Cuddapah District. Nearly 80-temple sites and other ancient mounds are threatened with submergence, a great challenge to the Andoras soon after salvage of Nagarjunakonda heritage.

But a sense of deep relief comes out of the decision to preserve in its entirety, the temple city of Ālampūr, and some outstanding early Calukyan temples in the Śrīsailam areas of Mahabūbnagar District.

The Navabrahma temples here, form a splendid group of Early Calukya style of structural architecture in pleasing brown sand stone. The great Calukya kings of Bādāmi had (6th-8th Cent. A.D.) patronised them. Actually it was a temple city with a huge fortification wall along the river - the place continued to be of great historical importance till 12th Cent. A.D.

It is a living *kshetra* sacred and equivalent to Kāsi. The presiding deity here is Jōgulāmba - a fierce form of Durga-Bhairavi set within a corner shrine, of Bāla Brahmā - a bigger temple complex which is under regular worship. The other eight temples though contain the Śiva-lingas in the sanctum, are known by the names - as Kumara Brahmā, Arka Brahmā, Veera Brahmā, Viśva Brahmā, Svarga

Brahmā and Padma Brahma. Śiva conceived as a creator. It is also presumed that some of these temples have early foundations coeval to Ikshvaku period (Cir. 3-4th Cent. A.D.). These Nava Brahma temples are in two major groups – one towards west and another north and contained exquisitely carved icons within the Devakōshthas on their walls and provided with closed *Pradakṣiṇā* arrangements around.

3. Kākatiya temples :

Among the most celebrated temples built by the Kākatiya monarchs, the so called thousand pillared temple at Hanumakonda is the earlier and Ramappa, the finest, and both provide a vivid and sumptuous account of their sculptural glory.

(m) Hanumakonda :

In the heart of the town of Hanumakonda, lies the most popularly known Thousand Pillered Mandapa. According to an inscription, it was erected by Rudra-I of the Kākatiya dynasty in 1162 A.D. The temple externally measures over 31-metres east-west and over 25 metres north-south and stands on a 3 metre high bagement. It is a triple-shrine complex, the main deities are respectively Śiva, Viṣṇu and Surya arranged in round central hall with a common *ranga-mandapa* or *nāṭya-mandapa* at the frontage and disposed between the temple and the portico is a plain pavilion for Nandi.

The carvings are of great beauty. The pillars are richly carved being of fine black stone with mirror like polish. The ceiling of *nāṭya* or *mahā mandapa*, its pillars, the door frames of the shrine possess fine figure work *aṣṭa dikpālakas* etc. Towards the hill, on the western side is a Padmakṣī temple said to be of Prōlaya period 1115 A.D. The rock brow has relief carvings of Jaina *thirthankaras*.

(n) Palampet

Now here one can find a classic example of Kākatiya art. This obscure village is about 65-kms. north-west of Hanumakonda and approached through motorable road.

It is difficult to explain the association of Rāmappa with this temple in particular but Rāmappa was a great planner. The famous

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lake caused by him is an outstanding contribution and is a boon for the farmers. On its bank and close to the tourist rest house, are some ruined temples, enthralling the visitors, but it appears that this Rāmappa (17th cent. A.D.) has nothing to do with the original foundation of the temple. An inscription reveals us that one Recharla-Rudra, a vassal of Kākati Rudra 1213 A.D. had built this city with a magnificent temple called Rudrēśvara.

The main temple star-shaped in plan stands on a high *jagati* (podium) and oriented east-west. The main sanctum is fronted by an *ardha mandapa* and a lofty *mukha mandapa*. The *Sabha mandapa* with projecting porches on the three sides- prominent *Vedi* contained *kakshāsana* (seat with back rest) arrangement around. The pilars and the ceiling of this mandapa are exquisitely carved. The black stone with its mirror like finish depicted dancing groups, *hamsas* etc. The ceiling overhead is octagonal with full of fine miniature sculptures almost round, containing the most splendid and dynamic depictions of Śiva as *Gajāntaka* (Pl. XIV-A) and Śiva dancing with Pārvati and attendant *ganās* and other gods. The door (*Śākhās*) frames with makartōraṇa lintel and figures of dancers, birds etc., recall the Nolamba temples of Hemavathi.

The overhanging bracket figurines of *nāykas* (Pl.XIV-B) *madanikas* and *nāginis* standing over *Gajavyālas* are examples of female beauty. The Kākatiya master-craftman was at his best in drawing the line with rhythm and in capturing the voluptuous contours of tall-slim village bells of the Kākatiya period, but failed to show the inner spirit and facial expression. The dress and jewellery worn by them appears somewhat alien and reflects discomfort.

(o) Hemavathi :

Hemavathi is a village on Karnataka border and 96-kms. from Hindupur. It flourished under the Nolambs (850-1000 A.D.) as a great centre of art. The entire village and its environs have ancient ruins and sculptures of great beauty, icons of more than life size, full of vigour and voluptuousness. There are three important standing Śaiva temples known by the names - Doddeśvara, Siddeśvara, Malleśvara. The sculptures of this place are notable creations in black

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stone rendered with distancion and admirably blending the features of the late pallava and Pre-Chōla idioms. The mandapa pillars and the door Śakhas contained delicate carvings - occasionally royal symbols flanking the Gajalakshmi (Pl. XV). The survey has plans to house the sculptural treasure and already the temple complexes were given a face lift in recent years. The Tourism Department should also join its hand and create facilities to the visitors.

4. Late Chola and Vijayanagara temples :

(p) Tādipatri :

Tādipatri is a Taluk Head - quarter 72-kms. from Guntakal junction on Raichur-Madras line. Also bus facilities exist from Anantapur, Guntakal etc. There is an R & B Bungalow.

The two famous temples noted for their architectural and sculptural wealth, are on the bank of Pennar, an Uttaravahini here. The first one Ramalingesvara has on its walls carved panels from *Śiva Purana*. The linga within the sanctum is said to be Swayambhu (or self manifest). The manuscripts collected by Col. Mackenzie and other epigraphical details of the temple tell us that the lofty and ornate *gopurams* of the temple were built by one Śrī Ramalinga Naidu under the patronage of Vijayanagara kings and that a sculptor by name Yellamāchari was brought from Benaras.

A monolithic stone chariot is a master piece of cut-out sculpture, like the one at Drāksharama and it is interesting to note that on two occasions in a year solar-rays pass through the holes of the chariot and fall on the feet of the deity in the *garbhagriha*. The *Rangaman-ṭapam* and *Mukhamandapa* contain sculptures as well as painted ceiling with scenes from Rāmāyana, more specially the reconciliation of Rama and Sīta, Bhagavata and *avatarās* of Vishnu. Quite interesting is the depiction of Lord Narasimha, unusually shown here wrestling with Hiranyakasipu.

(q) Lepākṣi :

It is a major village 15-kms. east of Hindupur railway station on the main metre gauge line between, Hyderabad-Bangalore. There

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is a rest-house maintained by State Tourism Department and regular bus facilities exist from Hindupur.

The great temple complex called after Virabhadrasvamy is perched on a low rocky hill-*Kūrmāsaila* (tortois-chaped) at the centre of the village. An inscription records that some portions were built by one Virupanna in the 16th Cent. A.D. An important donatory record of the times (1493 A.D.) of Saluva Immadi Narasimha (1490-1506), discovered recently, confirms the statement of *Skanda-Purana* (*Lepakshyāh Papanāśah*) and that Papanasesvara temple existed earlier, say about 100 years earlier to Virupanna, the treasurer of the Vijayanagara kings who later developed it with lofty towers, *angalayas*, *mandapas* etc. The *Natyamandapa* has delicately carved with life size representations of musicians and dancers. Some of the best pieces within *Rangamandapa* are *Ananthaśayana* Viṣṇu, life size figures of Virupanna images of Dattatreya, Chaturmukha Brahma, Tumburu, Nārada, Rambha, Annapūrṇa, Mrutyunjaya and Padmini.

The outer walls of the temple depict popular legends in bas-relief, the story of Śivabhakta Śrīyala, Kirātārjuniya etc., are of special interest for the visitors.

Much of these are Purāṇic legends - the *daśavatāras* over the *Rangamandapa* ceiling of Raghunatha shrine, Śiva as *lingobhava*, (arising from linga) Hari-Hara.

Natyamūrti, *Andhakāsura*, *Chandikeśanugrahamūrti* etc.

The temple is indeed a veritable treasure house of sculpture and paintings of Vijayanagara times. The *Nāgalinga* a grand cut-out sculpture of Nandi 6-metres high and 10-metres in length is the largest known in India - a classic and colossal creation.

(r) Sompalle :

It is about 45 kms. from Madanapalle, a taluk head-quarter and 6 km. east of Mulakala Cheruvu railway station, on Tirupati-Dharmavaram line.

This modest Viṣṇu temple going with the name "Chenna-keśava" built by a local chieftain of the later Chōlas was considerably

improved during the early Vijayanagara period. The temple is noted for its monolithic and multiple pillars, a product of Vijayanagara exuberance in architecture and sculpture of the early 16th Cent. A. D. The delicacy and fine craftsmanship exhibited in the *Kalyana* and *Asthanamandapas* PL. XVI belongs to the crest of creative wave of gifted artists with a stamp of an individual genius substantially original and far superior of the times.

Specimen of mural art depicting scenes of Ramayana can be seen on the ceilings of the *Mukhamandapa*.

III. FORTS AND LATE MEDIEVAL MONUMENTS

1. Warangal Fort:

This model among the medieval forts of the Deccan is just 6 ..kms. from Warangal, the District head-quarter of the same name. It was known as Orugallu or *Ekasila-nagara*.

The town is said to have been founded during the eleventh century by Prola of the Kakatiya dynasty. But it was during the rule of Ganapati (1198-1261 Cent. A.D.) that the capital was shifted from Hanumakonda to Warangal. The capital-city was greatly strengthened during the time of Ganapati and his daughter Rudramba (A.D. 1258-56).

The great fort had several lines of defence colloquialised as *Puttakota*, *Mattikota*, *Ratnakota*, *Kadimichetlakota*, *Kanchukota* and has a mud outer fortification wall and an inner cut-stone masonry one with four gates at the cardinal points. The east and west gates alone are now being used.

The perimeter of the area enclosed by the outer wall is 19-kms. and that of the inner wall, with fifty-six bastions, is of 8-kms. Ditches all around the walls add to the strength of the defensive system. Prataparudra-II appears to have made further improvements and embellished the city with fountains gardens and palaces.

Within the fort are the remains of many secular and religious buildings, but, by far, the most important are those remains of a great temple called-Svayambhuva-a palacial one indeed (Śrīvisala type),

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which occupied the centre but of which only the four lofty *hamsa torana* gateways exist. These *tōranas*, like the Sāñchi *tōranas*, made Warangal world famous and immortalized the great Kākatiyas in the realm of Indian art. The temple at the centre, when intact, must have indeed been a stupendous structure but now all its sculptural and architectural members lie flat on the ground witnessing the wrath of the times. Some noteworthy sculptured friezes are reproduced here (PL. XVII) besides, the Ramalingesvara temple. The *tōranas* are too well known. It was not only a place of many a great wars and fortunes but above all a splendid art centre amidst and architectural variety in the shape of temples, mosques and palaces. Its prosperity is mentioned in contemporary literary works like the *Kṛīḍābhīraṇa*. Marcopolo, the Venetian traveller, who visited the Kakatiya Kingdom in about 1293 A.D. speaks highly of the administrative abilities of its queen Rudramba (*Daya Gaja Kesari*) - Muslim historians too praise the greatness of Warangal. It is a potential site worthy of a tourist centre of great historical importance where the life and culture of "Telugus" is vividly portrayed.

2. GOLKONDA FORT:

In the annals of medieval deccan, Golkonda with its extensive and elevated fortifications is a land mark, occupying a predominant position, governing the destiny of the south. A centre of great political events of Deccan, it was first built by the ancestors of the Rajas of Warangal. In 1363, it was ceded to the Bahamanis (A. D. 1346-1518). After the down fall of the Bahamanis, it became the capital of the Qutb Shahi kings (1518-1687). Aurangazeb annexed it to the Moghul empire. When Asaf Jah was appointed as the Moghul Subedar of the Deccan in 1713 A. D. Golkonda passed under this dynasty. The fort was extended and strengthened from time to time by the Qutb Shahi kings with fortifications, wall, bastions and battlements.

The elevation of the fort is 400-feet and the circumference of the outer fort wall is 4-miles, containing 8-gates and 87-bastions to the outer gate, each 50' to 60' high. There is a ditch around the outer fortified wall and all the bastions were mounted with guns, rendering the fort one of the strongest of the medieval forts of the Deccan.

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The town of Golkonda situated within, was one of the most splendid cities well known for its extensive trade in diamonds and large game of which mention is made by Marco Polo. The lay out of the places, gardens, Durbar halls, mosques, temples and the water supply and drainage system arranged through earthen clay pipes fitted into the walls of the palaces, show the unique planning inside the citadel. An interesting feature is that the echo of hand clapping at the main entrance below is audible even on the top of the citadel i. e. Baradari, located on the peak of the hillock. It is believed that this was deliberately contrived to convey message to the topmost guards regarding visiting personalities. From the imposing Baradari at the pinnacle the old ruins within Golkonda Qila and domes of the Qutb Shahi tombs of the vicinity enthral the visitor and take him to a dreamland.

3. Gooty :

Among the more significant and attractive monuments in Anantapur District, ancient temple cities at places like Tadipatri, Lepakshi and Hemavathy are of great interest. Besides the forts of Rayadurg, Ratnagiri, Madakasira, Penukonda, Adoni and the best and widespread Gooty are the standing monuments of the great military administration of the medieval period. Gooty, like the Golkonda fort, surrounded over an elevated hills is located on a high way. It will be a dynamic tourist spot with a picturesque town and colourful landscape, if given a face lift and publicity. Within the fortifications are many buildings, several gateways, barracks, jail, ponds, temples etc.,—a breath-taking variety sumptuous for a school lad for the fun of getting up. Notable at the foot of the hill is a Christian cemetery (17th–18th Cent. A. D.) with epitaphs which choke our emotion, admiration and love towards some of the great British, French and Dutch personalities who died in the service of this country. Of the same date and similar content is a Dutch cemetery protected as a monument of National Importance at Masulipatnam of Krishna District.

4. Chandragiri – Rajab and Rani Mahals :

Chandragiri “The Mountain of Moon” is the name of high hill, the vicinity of which is studded with great fortifications, mahals,

innumerable temple complexes, old tanks, carved mandap as amidst fertile and charming green fields. Indeed an entire ruined city and habitations of ancient times, add to the beauty of picturesque hilly country.

The fortification in cyclopean masonry with rectangular bastions and steep moat was built during the times of Immadi Narsinga Yadava Rayalu (A. D. 1000), the king ruling from Narayanavanam. According to a story the hill was given the name “Chandragiri” as the moon God penanced over it and obtained a boon from Siva. A famous manuscript tells us that after 314-years of the Yādavarajas, the area passed under the Vijayanagara kings. But historically *Chandragiri durgam* rose to prominence under the Saluva dynasty Circa 1486–99 A. D. The great battle of Rakssasi Tangadi (near Tallikōṭa) in 1565 A. D. forced the Vijayanagara rulers to shift their headquarters from Hampi and since then Chandragiri and Penukonda (Anantapur Dist.) assumed great importance as administrative headquarters. Later the Aravidu kings retired to this place and made it their permanent royal residence. Venkatapatideva Maharayalu not only extended the fortified area but built even a double storied house and various other temples.

The city fell to the power of Sultans of Golkonda in 1646 A. D. In 1758 it was held by Abdul Wahab Khan, brother of Nawab of Kurnool whose tomb in the heart of Kurnool town is again a monument of a great architectural importance.

In 1782, A. D. Haidar Ali compelled the place to surrender and it remained subject to Mysore until the treaty of Srirangapatnam. According to a local tradition the original documents granting to the East India Company, the site of Fort St. George (Madras) was signed here in A. D. 1639.

Chandragiri appears to be a frequent rendezvous for the Vijayanagara emperors because of its proximity to the great temple of Lord Venkatesvara (mainly Kalyana Venkatesvara at Mangapuram). Many Telugu *kavyas* from the celebrated poets of Vijayanagara court such as Vasucharitra and *Pandava Mahāvijayam* were believed to have

been composed here. The great popular poet *Tenali Rama Kṛṣṇa* is claimed to be a native of this village and a mandapa in his name exists in ruins.

There are two mahals, the smaller one is meant for the residence of royal ladies (hence *Rāṇi mahal*) with elaborate and beautiful stucco decorations. The bigger one (*Rajah mahal*) with imposing well balanced facades, triple storeyed, the top most with pleasing gopuras of the southern order – a bigger one surmounting the Durbar hall. The wonderful series of flat arches and coffered ceilings within the building the plaster work of ceilings built of coursed rubble masonry, bedded in mortar are some of the distinguished features of this oblong building. A curious thing is the absence of use of timber in its construction, but the ceilings everywhere were given fine architectural details in stucco finish and coloured to resemble wood work.

Among the great forts of the Vijayanagara times Penukonda (Anantapur Dist.), Chandragiri (Chittoor Dist.), Udayagiri (Nellore Dist.)^{*} Gandikota (Cudaph Dist.) are well known and all these are protected monuments of National Importance and quite attractive for general tourists and students in particular.

5. UDAYAGIRI :

It is a taluk head-quarters in Nellore District at a distance of 50-kms. from Kavali railway station approachable by buses from Nellore, Kavali and Ongole towns. "Udayagiri" - the early morning hill (perhaps to signify the hill of knowledge or enlightenment) is highly elevated (3000 ft M.S.L.). The morning sunbeams gently fall on the rugged cliff, the fortified remains come to bright relief out of the thick green jungles, with a striking beauty and grandeur. The ancient tract of land, right upto Kavali - Kandukur, (Brahmanakraka) is perhaps the greatest and most fortunate, in as much as, it nourished no less than 63-Vedic scholars at the top of them, the immortal world renowned *Vedabhashyakritadhiman Sāyanachārya*. Sayanacharya was a scholar-minister to Hari-hara-II and Bukkaraya-II (1330-1404 A.D.), during the times of early Vijayanagara kings. Udayagiri may well be the place where these enlightened ruled.

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This mountain strong-hold, not easily accessible, however, can be reached through a jungle track on the eastern face of the hill. The fort contains interesting inscriptions on its slabs, has eleven fortresses, eight on top and three down. Udayagiri was important right from early 14th Cent. A.D. till it was occupied by Muslim rulers in 17th Cent. A.D., when big mosques were raised out of the ruined temple. Śrī Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya had to vigorously fight for 1½ years (1513-14) to capture this strong fort of Udayagiri from the possession of the great Gajapati king, Pratapa Rudra, who, as it appears was driven right upto Kondavidu (Guntur Dist), and farther beyond in this victorious march. Rāya celebrated his great victory by paying a visit to Tirupatī with his chief queens Tirumala and Chinnadevi and presented the Lord, 30,000 gold pieces. The life-size bronze portrait figures of the Rāya at Tirumala stand today in reverential attitudes.

Apart from this, the place has many interesting temple complexes and now all in ruins. Among them Ranganāyakula temple in the centre of the town- Kṛṣṇa and Kalyana mandapas, Pushkarinis etc., at the south-east of the village are of great attraction to the visitor. But all are in ruins, afford a deserted look, its beautiful sculptures broken and gōpuras and walls destroyed by one Gazi Ali, a general of Abdullah Qutb Shah (1643-46). Local tradition says that the Udayagiri (Kondapalem) was a vast city containing no less than 360 Hindu temples. It is interesting to note that Śrī Kṛṣṇadeva-Rāya while returning from his conquest, carried away with great care the image of Balakrishna from the Kṛṣṇa temple of this place and set up in a jewelled hall at Krishnapuram, Hampi on 21-2-1515. Thus Krishna temple is one of the earliest, perhaps built in early 15th Cent. a modest one but most interesting among the temples here. The pillars lintel and door frames are exquisitely designed, the Murali Kṛṣṇa with Rukmini and Satya and cows around. It is rather to found a temple exclusively meant for Lord Kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇarāya must have been charmed at this great temple. The temple of *Ranganāyaka* (Udayagiri) was built by Aliya Rāmarāya. The *Ranganādhāsṣvāmi* a giant image of viṣṇu reclining was said to have been removed to Nellore and placed at the famous Ranganayakula temple at the time of Muslim invasions.

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6. GANDIKOTA :

This grand historic place is about 15-kms. from Jammalamadugu, a taluk head-quarter in Cuddapah Dist., In its very name *Gandi* (gorge) *Kota* (fort) lies the great interest and importance of the place. The visitor is amazed to see the river Pennar, flowing deep (nearly 600 ft) in a gorge and the steep cutting of the hills - as serene and sizzling flow of the deep river amidst the rocks, temples and forts over-head.

According to a tradition the fort and the temples were built by a chief called Kapa Maharaja who preceded the Vijayanagara kings, sometime in 13th Cent A.D. The Vijayanagara monarch, Harihara is credited to have strengthened and expanded the fort and was also the founder of the Viṣṇu temple. The Kalyana mandapa with its huge gopuradvara is again a typical example of Vijayanagara period. The great granary hall which now houses a few loose sculptures is a magnificent building. The Viṣṇu temple with sketch figures (*rekha chittas*) on the cyclopean stones of the high compound wall revealed interesting tales and sex ganus which have a charm of their own, different from paintings or stucco or cut-out relief sculptures of the period.

Another remarkable structure is the elaborate Juma Masjid (PL. XVIII) built by Meerjumla. The place was under the Golkonda and Cuddapah Nawabs-and in 1780 it has gone into the hands of Tipu Sultan. It was ceded in 1800 A.D. to the British by a treaty with the Nizam.

Gandikota for sheer scenic beauty and group of monuments distributed on a larger area should be improved as a great attractive centre and resort. Few places in India, perhaps could possess the charm as this and a visitor is virtually stunned at the steep river and high gorges-great fortifications - large temples, mosques and above all a beautiful landscape.

7. CHARMINAR, HYDERABAD :

This gem of a monument, the very symbol of the capital of Hyderabad (the ancient *Bhaeyanagara*) is in everybody's mind and needs no specific treatment. Noted for its beauty, composition and

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location and marked by four tall Minars, (56 metres high) which give it, its name was raised in 1591-92 A.D. by Mohammad Quli Qutab Shah, the fifth ruler of Qutab Shahi dynasty. It is believed that a plague was averted by raising this structure. It is also to be Quli Qutub's gift to his love, the beautiful *Bhāgmati*.

The architectural splendour of the edifice lies in its plan; 30-metres square, with four imposing arches; and the central dome very high and dominating. The profuseness of stucco decoration, the design and arrangement of the balustrades on the balconies are remarkable. An interesting feature within the Charminar is the Mosque on the second floor facing east. The delicate stucco work, honey-suckle, birds and creepers on the arcades and minars, parapets etc., gives a pleasing contrast to the serene mosque area.

Entry to the upper storey is regulated by ticket system. The Archaeological Survey is incessantly working to keep this monument free from encroachers and religious fanatics. Large scale structural conservation and restoration of delicate stucco work is in progress in a phased manner since 1973.

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Illustrations accompanying the article

"Some Outstanding Historical Monuments of Andhra Pradesh"

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- Pl. I. Monuments of National importance in Andhra Pradesh
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- Pl. III. Model of the Satavahana Stupa : Amaravati.

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- Pl. IV. Purnakumbha : Amaravati.

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Charmakara's article :

- Pl. V. Archaeological Excavations 1974-75 Amaravati.

- Pl. VI. Amaresvara Kshetra overlooking River Krishna : Amaravati.

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- Pl. VII-A Wrestling Scenes : Nagarjuna Konda.

- Pl. VII-B Scenes depicting Cock fight, Ram fight etc. Nagarjuna Konda.

- Pl. VIII. Sankaram.

- Pl. IX. Sculptured Boulder : Bhairavakonda.

- Pl. X. Gudimallam Linga : New Evidence.

- Pl. XI. Madhukesvara Temple : Mukhalingam.

- Pl. XII-A. Model Monolithic shrine : Bhimesvara Temple : Samalkot.

- Pl. XII-B. Model Monolithic Shrine : Bhimesvaram Temple : Drakshārāma.

- Pl. XIII. Nava Brahma Temples : Alampur.

- Pl. XIV-A Siva Gajantaka : Palampet.

- Pl. XIV-B Ornate Pillar : Palampet.

- Pl. XV. Carved lintel : Hemaāvathy.

- Pl. XVI. Kalyana Mandapa : Chennakesava Temple : Sompalli :

- Pl. XVII. Sculptured Lintel : Siva's Dance : Warangal.

- Pl. XVIII. Juma Masjid : Gandikota.

P. S. : Except Pl. I, III, IV, VII-A, B, XII-A, B; all the rest are enclosed,

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EARLY HISTORY OF THE MUKHALINGAM REGION

Ch. Masthanaiah

Mukhalingam is a (village 18° 35' N and 38° 59' E)¹ in Patapatnam taluk of Srikakulam District of Andhra Pradesh. It is situated on the left bank of the Vamsadhara, a river which drains and fertilizes the Srikakulam District. This district is bounded on the North and the West by Koraput and Ganjam districts of Orissa. In the East, the Bay of Bengal forms the natural boundary, the important port on the coast being Kalingapatnam. In the South it touches the Visakhapatnam District of Andhra Pradesh.

On the origin and significance of the name of Mukhalingam, several explanations are offered. Obviously the name can be explained by the nature of the presiding deity of the Madhukēśvara shrine of the place. The presiding deity is a linga which belongs to the class of *lingas* which are termed as *Svayambhu lingas*. One peculiarity however is that it is a faceted one and therefore is generally termed as Mukhalinga.² Since this deity alone has this peculiar distinction, the town that grew around it is described in popular parlance as Mukhalingam and this name stuck to it in course of time. The second explanation is that the name is derived from its geographical position. Mukhalingam was the principal city in the region of Kalinga which in ancient period was also known as Trikalina since it was divided into three regions. Mukhalingam may be another version of Mukkalina (Mūḍu + Kalingam) which is a Telugu translation of Trikalina. Of the two explanations the former is the most probable one³.

Mukhalingam has been identified by scholars as Kalinganagara mentioned in the early inscriptions of the region as the capital of Kalinga. G. V. Ramamurthy⁴, who first made this identification, cites as evidence the vestiges of Mukhalingam and Nagarikatakan, situated at about two miles from Mukhalingam, in support of his view.

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At present the village of Mukhalingam does not occupy an important place in the life of the Vamsadhara region. However, in the ancient past this was not so. Mukhalingam was the capital city of the Eastern Gangas and its antiquity goes back into the hoary past. For studying its architectural and sculptural heritage a background of the early history of Vamsadhara region becomes essential.

The region in which Mukhalingam is situated was known in the ancient period as 'Kalinga' and we can understand the ancient past of Mukhalingam only when we review the political and cultural history of Kalinga. This ancient political *janapada* was an extensive one. In the days of the Mahābhārata and during the times of the Mauryas it extended from the Mahānadi in the North to the Godavari in the South. It comprised four divisions, namely Utkala, Tosala, Kongoḍa and Kalinga proper⁵. The Region of Kalinga proper was bounded by Mahendragiri⁶ in the north and Godavari in the south. The region which presently constitutes the Srikakulam District of Andhra Pradesh was formerly known as Uttara Kalinga, the region of the Visakhapatnam District as Madhyama Kalinga and that of the East Godavari District as Dakshina Kalinga.

The region of Uttara Kalinga has a hoary past extending to centuries prior to the Christian era. Archaeologists who surveyed and explored the region around Mukhalingam discovered ancient pottery, coins and other types of vestiges to show its antiquity⁷. In the course of his tours M. Venkataramayya found black-and-red and rouletted ware at Mukhalingam⁸. The archaeological exploration carried out by the members of the Department of History and Archaeology Andhra University, has also yielded the same type of pottery at Mukhalingam, Dantavarapukota and Singupuram. Under the aegis of Archaeological Survey of India a small excavation was carried out at Mukhalingam during 1961-62⁹. On the basis of its preliminary report it can be said that the place was a city of importance in the Mauryan and the Śātavāhan times.

The tract of land known by the name of Kalinga figures in Buddhist and Jain literatures. In the Jātaka stories we get the picture

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of ancient Kalinga with its capital at Dantapura¹⁰. According to tradition, this capital city of ancient Kalinga received its name because of the sacred tooth relic enshrined there. We are told that shortly after the *Parinirvāṇa* of the Buddha, his left tooth was brought to Kalinga and it was enshrined in the capital city by the reigning king Brahmadatta¹¹. From this tradition it appears that the earliest cultural life of the region that we know of centred around Dantapura and it was Buddhist. This Dantapura is identified with Dantavarapukota which at present is located at a distance of about twenty miles from Mukhalingam¹².

Authenticated history of Kalinga starts from the third century B. C. As is well known, this region was conquered by Aśoka in about 260 B.C.¹³, and soon after this event, there was a total change in Aśoka in his attitude towards life, and this resulted in his renunciation of war and his conversion to Buddhism simultaneously. From then onwards Aśoka became a missionary of Buddhism and preached Dharma, derived from his understanding of Buddhism throughout his empire which stretched to the region of Kalinga in the south. In the region of Kalinga, edicts bearing Aśoka's Dharma are located at Dhauli and Jaugada¹⁴. These two places lie at a distance of about 200 miles from Mukhalingam. Near the edict of Aśoka at Dhauli can be found the famous image of an elephant symbolizing the Buddha. This image differs from the other products of the Mauryan art and appears to be the product of the local craftsman. The Mauryan rule in Kalinga, thus, resulted in the spread of Buddhism throughout that region.

The next landmark in the history of Kalinga is the rule of Kharavela of the Chedi dynasty. His sway extended over the entire region of Kalinga and he struck terror into the hearts of his contemporary kings. The Hathigumpha inscription¹⁵, which records his military exploits, also mentions that he was a Jain by his religious faith. Kharavela was responsible for excavating the rock-cut caves representing the first architectural activity in the region of Kalinga¹⁶.

The political history of the Buddhist period is covered by the rule of the Andhra-Sātavāhanas, a dynasty whose sway extended from

the Deccan in the west to the Andhra region in the east. It is recorded in the inscriptions of the Sātavāhanas that the sway of one of their celebrated rulers, Gautamiputra Sātākarnā, extended up to the Mahendragiri in the north¹⁷. In the excavations conducted at Salihundam situated at a distance of about 30 miles from Mukhalingam, a Buddhist Sangharama of the early Christian times has come to light. This Sanghārāma might have come into existence during the time of Mauryas but had its heyday under the patronage of the Sātavāhanas and even flourished thereafter till the eighth century A. D.¹⁸. Satavahana coins were also found at Mukhalingam¹⁹, Salihundam²⁰ and Jami²¹. On the basis of this we can conclude that even in the early centuries of the Christian era the same type of Buddhist culture continued to prevail in the region around Mukhalingam²².

In Coastal Andhra the Buddhist settlement or Sangharama usually conforms to a particular pattern. Conspicuously there is a Mahāstūpa in front of which the monastery is located on a quadrangular plan. At the entrance are located two apsidal Chaityas. Around the central hall of congregation are arranged a number of square cells for the residence of the monks on three sides. This general lay out for Buddhist settlement is conspicuously absent at Salihundam. In the centre of the layout, there is a big stupa built on the ground plan of a cartwheel. This type of plan is clearly derived from the ground plan of the stupas of Andhradesa. This shows that the craftsmen of this region of Kalinga were exposed to the cultural influences from the South. But the peculiarity of Salihundam²³ lies in the presence of a number of Chaityas which are built on a circular plan with a rectangular opening on one side.

By about 4th century A. D., the region of Mukhalingam passed on to the sway of kings known as Matharas and Vasisthas²⁴. Of these the Matharas ruled over Kalinga from their capital at Pithapuram or the ancient Pishthapura of the inscriptions. The Vasisthas changed their capital from Pithapuram to Singupuram and then to Vardhamanapura and finally to Siripuram in Srikakulam District. We do not know the cultural life of this tract during the reign of Matharas and

Vasisthas. Presumably the same type of Buddhist culture continued to prevail. By the end of the 5th century A. D. this culture was replaced by the Śaivite culture when the Eastern Gangas founded their capital at Mukhalingam. According to a local tradition current in Mukhalingam, it was a Śaivite king who changed his capital from Dantapura, a predominantly Buddhist stronghold, to Mukhalingam a place on the Vamsadhara river²⁴. This tradition perhaps refers to the foundation of the new capital which inaugurated a new era with its centre at Mukhalingam.

1. Imperial Gazetteer of India (New Edition), Vol. XVIII, p. 18.
2. Mukhalingas are different and their iconography is entirely otherwise: Ample examples of Mukhalingas, like Eka Trimukha Chaturmukha Types exist and at Madhukisvara temple complete's itself an Ekamukha-linga shrine exists.
3. R. Subba Rao says, "Mukhalingam is a corruption of Mohalingam which is the Oriya form of the word Madhukalingam". (History of the Eastern Gangas of Kalinga' p. 90) Also see R. D. Banerji, History of Orissa, Vol. I, P. 1.
4. Madras Journal of Literature & Science, 1889-1894, p. 68 ff. Also Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, pp. 187 ff. Later other scholars like Sten Konow (Ep. Ind., Vol. IX p. 95), V. A. Smith (Early History of India, p. 498) and Hultzsch, (Ep. Ind., Vol. XVII, p. 332) accepted the view of G. V. Ramamurty.
5. R. D. Banerji, History of Orissa, Vol. I, pp. 4-5.
6. The Chola inscriptions clearly mention Mahendrakiri as the northern limit of Kalinga (S. I. I., Vol. III, No. 30 and Ep. Ind., Vol. XXI, p. 232).
7. M. E. R., 1919, p. 8
8. Indian Archaeology, 1957-58, p. 64. K. Raghavachari also obtained a large number of sherds of rouletted ware (Indian Archaeology, 1961-62 p. 3).
9. Indian Archaeology, 1961-62, p. 3.
10. R. D. Banerji, History of Orisa, Vol. I, pp. 48-49.
11. Asist. Soc. Bengal, Vol. VI, Pt. II, 1837, p. 860. Also see Dhātuvamśa Chap. III & IV.
12. JBORS, Vol. XV, 1929, pp. 110-112. Also see Ep. Ind., Vol. XXXI, p. 200.
13. Romila Thapar, Asoka and the Decline of the Mauryas, pp. 35.

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14. For the two Kalinga edicts see, G. Srinivasa Murti and A. N. Krishna Aiyangar, Edicts of Asoka, pp. 52-67.
15. Ep. Ind. Vol. XX, pp. 71-89. D. C. Sircar, Select Inscriptions' p. 206 ff.
16. Percy Brown, Indian Architecture (Buddhist & Hindu), pp. 28-30.
17. Nasik inscription of Balasri (D. C. Sircar, Select Inscriptions, Vol. I, p. 196).
18. R. Subramanyam, "Salihundam", p. 18.
19. Indian Archaeology, 1957-58, p. 64.
20. R. Subrahmanyam, "Salihundam", p. 117.
21. Two lead coins were found during the excavation conducted by the Dept. of History & Archaeology, Andhra University, Waltair, in 1970. Jami is located at a distance of 30 miles from Visakhapatnam.
22. The presence of Buddhist sculptures like stupas in and around Mukhalingam go to prove this. Also see, Kalingadēśha charitra (Telugu), Ed. by R. Subba Rao, p. 104.
23. The Chaityas of Sālihundam are in no way different from others. There exist all Types Common in Coastal Andhra and vihara cells are also present at Salihundam-though-not the typical Sanghārāmas of a large scale as at sites like Nagarjunakonda; etc., in Guntur division.
24. For the records and history of the Matharas and Vasisthas see, B. V. Krishna Rao, A History of the Early Dynasties of Andhradesa, pp. 384-397 and 464-472.
24. R. D. Banerji, History of Orissa, Vol. I, p. 51.

STYLISTIC STUDY OF THE SHARQI MOSQUES OF JAUNPUR

R. Nath

Dismemberment of the Delhi Sultanate set in sometime after its climax about 1335 A. D. during the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq. He was no doubt responsible for accelerating its downfall by his mistakes and eccentricities but in essence the decline, as is the case with all empires built upon military might came from within through its own vacuums and weaknesses. Its physical extents stretched for beyond, and the problems of the outlying provinces, completely strained its resources to meet the challenge. They gradually rose to independence and sovereign states such as the Bahmani and Vijayanar Empires sprang up. Feroz Tughluq's weak and timid policy further enlarged the scope of the downfall and the distance provinces gradually slipped out of the Delhi suzerainty. Timur's invasion in 1398 completed the process of disintegration of the Delhi Sultanate. Sindh, Gujarat, Malwa, Jaunpur and Bengal were lost to it.

It was about this time (in 1399), that Malik Sarwar founded the Sharqi kingdom of Jaunpur. He originally served under Feroz Tughluq. He was a talented man and rose by the sheer dint of his merits. In 1389 he held the title of *Kawga-Jehan* and the office of Vazir. In 1396/1394 he was appointed governor of Jaunpur with the title *Malik-as-Sharq* (Peer of the East). Taking advantage of the chaos and confusion which followed the invasion of Timur, he proclaimed independence and assumed sovereignty under the title of *Sultan-us-Sharq* (King of the East). But he died before the infant kingdom could take any political shape. He was succeeded by his adopted son Mubarak Shah Sharqi who died after a brief reign of two years. His younger brother Ibrahim Shah Sharqi (803-44/1401-40), succeeded him. He was the greatest king of the dynasty. Mahmud Shah Sharqi (844-62/1440-57) followed. After him came Muhammed Shah Sharqi who ruled barely for one year. He was succeeded,

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finally, by the last Sharqi king Husain Shah in 863/1458. He had bitter prolonged conflict with the Delhi Sultan Bahlol Lodi who ultimately reduced him, captured Jaunpur in 889/1484. The sharqi kingdom came to an end.

It is not correct to say that Feroz Tughluq founded the city of Jaunpur anew on the bank of the river Gomti in 760/1358-59. Epigraphical evidence, confirms that it was originally an ancient Hindu site studded, with beautiful Hindu temples, the most prominent of them being the temple of *Atala Devi*. It is, however, possible that Feroz Tughluq re-named it Jaunpur in memory of his cousin Jauna Khan, the late Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq, whom he dearly loved. Attempts to demolish these temples initially met with fierce resistance, by the Hindus but gradually the zeal to protect and preserve their relics subsided and the Muhammadens succeeded in demolishing and converting them into mosques.

The first Muslim monument of Jaunpur is a Masjid in the Fort, built by Ibrahim Naib Barbak, brother of Feroz Tughluq, about 778/1376. It is a three chambered sanctuary with pillars and flat-ceilings which are of various designs and sizes and have obviously been appropriated from the Hindu temples. Verses from '*Al Fatah*' chapter of the Quran have been inscribed on the Mihrab. Most interesting is the *Lat* or the 29' (8.84 metres) high stone minar which stands in the middle of the south wing. It is square at base, then octagonal and finally round, and is crowned by amalaka and kalasa. It is wholly ceremonial and bears an Arabic inscription recording its erection by Ibrahim Naib Barbak during the reign of Feroz Shah in 778/1376¹.

Three mosques of Jaunpura belong to the reign of Ibrahim Shah Sharqi, viz. the *Atala Masjid* which is the most beautiful of the Jaunpur mosques and which was begun by Feroz Tughluq in 778/1376 and completed by Ibrahim in 811/1408; the *Khalis-Mukhlis Masjid* and *Jhanjhri Masjid*. The last two are now ruined, *The Khalis-Mukhlis Masjid* is built on the site of a Hindu temple, as the structure *in situ* testifies. It is an extremely simple building with a domed hall faced by a pylon which is the distinctive characteristic of the Jaunpur

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mosques, and the wings. Only the pylon of the *Jhanjhri Masjid* has survived. The stone construction has such pleasing features as jali-screens, pillars and brackets. Calligraphic art has been used as ornament. The saying of the Prophet that he who "builds a Masjid for God", God will build for him a similar House in Paradise, which so frequently occurs at the Delhi mosques of the pre-Mughal period, appears here. Both these mosques seem to have been built c. 1425. It is not correct and just to ascribe their destruction to Sikandar Lodi. No Musaiman, least an orthodox Musalman of Sikandar Lodi's views and character, would cause damage to a mosque and this is a misnomer which seems to have been circulated by those who suffered at his hands or who were sentimentally antagonistic to the Delhi Sultan. This way, Faqir Khairuddin Muhammad Allahbadi's *Jaunpurnamah* is more a '*Shaharashub*' than history.

The *Atala Masjid* stands on the site of a Hindu temple which, as its name fairly signifies, was the temple of *Atala Devi*. Firoz Tughluq's initial attempts to convert it into mosque so vehemently provoked the Hindus of the neighbourhood that the project had to be given up. Ultimately, however, it was fully converted during the reign of Ibrahim Shah Sharqi. Large scale Hindu material, e. g. pillars, brackets, lintels and flat-ceilings, has been used in its reconstruction. Essentially, it belongs to the Ekangana class having a central courtyard with cloisters on three sides with gateways, one in the middle of each side, the eastern one being the largest, and sanctuary on the west (fig. 1. for Plan). The cloisters are 5-aisled and double-storeyed formed of square pillars, bracket-corbels and flat-ceilings of Hindu extraction. Entire construction is in grey sandstone and granite.

The sanctuary consists of the nave and side isles, each composed of an oblong room and two low rooms in two storeys in each corner². Double shafts of pillars have been used in these wings to bring about a high ceiling (Plate-I) which is supported on beams resting on bracket system of the ancient Hindus. This is essentially the trabeate centre (Plate II) of its facade, concealing a dome behind it, with arched

niches having fringe of flower-buds and ornamental panels. The nave is, in fact, oblong³ but it has been converted above into square by massive projecting corbels springing from the piers of the side walls and the corners so as to roof it by a dome. Squinches have been used in the phase of transition. These squinches have receding planes with fringe of flower-buds; fringes have also been used on the Mihrab (Plate III) and indeed along all arches and alcoves ornamental and functional, of the sanctuary. This fringe is so prominently used as to give the respective arch a cusped shape and without doubt it is an extremely befitting element of these broad, four-centred arches, which have emphatic ogee curves. The Mehrib too has been exquisitely finished and is effectively set into the plain wall. Lintels have carved designs, the most beautiful being the one over the principal entrance composed of lotus and geometrical elements (Plate-IV). As a whole, the nave has been most artistically finished and gives an extremely gorgeous impression.

The most important feature of the nave and, as a matter of fact, of the whole mosque complex is the pylon which faces the nave. It is a stupendous arch, in fact an *iwān*, flanked on either side by oblong panels divided through string-courses, having ornamental arched niches. Actual entrance is provided through lintel and brackets, though smaller archways have also been given on the sides. Arched openings have also been provided over these entrances.

This pylon is 75, (22.86 metres) in height and 54' 6" (16.61 metres) in width across the base, while across the top it is 47' (14.33 metres) showing a batter of 3' 9" (1.13 metres) on either side. This provides an overwhelmingly imposing facade to the nave and, in fact, the most towering feature of the mosque complex. Like a triumphal gateway, the pylon was intended to impress the beholder and its usage in front of the principal part of the mosque is wholly ceremonial. It is not correct to analyse this feature as on original conception⁴. It has been inspired in essence by the central *iwān* of the jami' Masjid of Muhammad-bin-Tughluq known as the Begumpuri Masjid at Jahanpanah Delhi. It has been suitably modified and refined here the central arch several divisions with arched openings; attached tapering turrets have been replaced by oblong piers with ornamental niches and

fringe has been brought in to give the arch an ornate impression. This refinement has largely been conditioned by the change of material and credit of the extremely beautiful effect of the Jaunpur pylon goes beyond doubt to the native stone carver. Otherwise it remains essentially the same and occupies the same determining position in front of the nave and even retains the slope of the external walls.

The feature however, is not so conspicuous at the Begumpuri Masjid as it is in the Jaunpur mosques. Here it has concealed the dome and completely thrown it into background. It has been rendered purposeless. As a matter of fact, the dome could have been replaced by a flat roof without at all disturbing the aesthetic merit of its architecture on the facade. If it plays a role in an impression it is from the backside which seems to have been treated by the architect with the thought and skill with which the Delhi architect worked out his facades. Thus the predominant features of the mosque are pillared halls with bracket-corbels and flat-ceilings, arches with double fringes and pylon-all in chiselled stone. It is this novel way that the indigenous builder brought features of their own brand to foreground and reduced the typically Islamic features like dome, arch and vault to subservient and secondary position. The gorgeously adorned interior of the mosque more belongs to the Temple than a Mosque.

There are several inscriptions in the Mosque: on the gateways, pillars and cloisters and mihrabs. Besides the Quranic verses and the Hadith quotations, some Persian and Devanagari inscriptions are also there which throw valuable light on the history of the mosque. One records its commencement in the reign of Firoz Tughlu by Khwaja Kamal Khan-i-Jahan in 778/1376. This is corroborated by the Devanagari inscription on the East Gate reading :

“*Patuman - Sutradharo Veesai Hasutah Samvat - 1433*” (the architect *Patuman* or *Padama*, the son of *Visarhva*, Samvat 1433 = A. D. 1376.....architect Padum, son of the architect Visai), This date Vikram 1464 (A. D.) 1407) also appears twice in the south-west cloister. Finally the north-west cloister has the inscription which records its completion in 1401, viz.

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“*Samvat 1464 Samaye sutradhar padumavisai sutradharsutah*” (in Samvat 1464 = A. D. 1407.....architect Padum, son of the architect Visai). This date Vikram 1464 (A. D. 1407) also appears twice in the south-west cloister. Finally the north-west cloister has the inscription which records its completion in 1408, viz.

“*Mangalam mahasrih samavat 1464 caitravadi 5 budhe*” (On the auspicious Wednesday, 5th day of Chaitra Vadi 1464 = 23rd March 1408 A. D.....May it prosper, i. e. completed. (These inscriptions, thus, besides recording the fact that it was begun in 1376 and completed in 1408, also make out that the mosque was largely the work of Hindu masons. It is obviously to their traditions of art that the extremely ornate character of the mosque may be appropriately ascribed.

The *Lal-Darwaza Masjid* was built during the reign of Mahmud Shah Sharqi c. 1440-56. It closely follows the plan of the *Atala Masjid* though it has been conceived on a much smaller scale. It has been built on a raised plinth and the eastern gateway accordingly has a series of steps. It is also built largely with the appropriated Hindu material consisting of pillars, lintels, bracket-corbels and flat-ceilings. Though the details have been simplified, its features have been refined. Thus the cloisters are only two-aisles deep and single-storeyed. Nave and wings of the sanctuary are four-aisles deep. Double shafts have been used to obtain a high ceiling which is altogether flat. There is only one dome, i. e. over the nave but here too no squinch has been used; instead diagonal massive beams have been employed on the pattern of the Jaina mandapa to convert the square hall into an octagon above. The whole construction is in grey sandstone and granite. Ornamentation is chiefly in carved designs consisting of typically Hindu motifs as lotus, and geometrical patterns. The Islamic talisman of strength victory is abundantly depicted on mihrab and arched niches. A panel over the principal Mihrab also bears, curiously, a heptagonal motif (Plate. V). The ogee curve in these arches is significantly noticeable. This form is altogether different from the typically Islamic arch of pointed and three-centred conformation.

The pylon which is used here as characteristically as in other mosques of Jaunpur is 48' 6" (14.78 metres) high and measures 44' 9" (13.64 metres) in width at base and 43' (13.11 metres) at the top, thus having a batter of 10 1/2" (26.67 cms) on either side, it also constitutes the most effective part of the facade and in fact, of the whole mosque and, like its predecessor, conceals the dome equally conspicuously (Seet. Fig. 2 for front and south elevation). The ornamental *iwan* has slight ogee and a fringe. The triple entrance is given through lintels-and-brackets supported on double pillars. As a matter of fact, the *Lal-Darwaza Masjid* is more composed of indigenous elements than other mosques of Jaunpur, in comparison. Except for the dome and a few arched shapes, the whole fabric is Hindu in essence.

That material from demolished Hindu temples was used here on a large scale is testified by a number of inscriptions⁶. *Samvat* 1128 (= A. D. 1071) is recorded on a pillar in the North-east cloister. An inscription on a pillar which has been sunk into the walls reads:

"*Samvat 1225 caitravadi 5 budhe Sri (mat) Vijayachandradeva rajya bhattacharak Sri Bhuvibhusana*"

(In *Samvat* 1225 on the fifth day of dark fortnight of the month of Chaitra on Wednesday = 27th March 1168, during the reign of Vijayachandra Deva the venerable *Bhuvibhusana*: (reference of wednesday *Chaitravadi* 5 which is also inscribed there in *Atala Masjid* though in a different year, is noteworthy). It seems to record the occasion of the consecration of a temple and it is quite possible that the temple stood on this site and was converted into a mosque. This is confirmed by a long list of pilgrims on a pillar in south-west cloister who visited this temple in *Samvat* 1297 (A. D. 1240). Another Devanagari inscription on a pillar in north-west cloister explicitly refers to a temple of Vishnu though it contains the reference of Kashi (Banares) and a bit confuses the site. Below it, is inscribed *Samvat* 1540 (= A. D. 1483) which no doubt indicates the date of the re-erection of these pillars at the present site. Name of the Hindu architect Kamau son of Visadru is also inscribed on a pillar in north-west cloister.

The *Jami' Masjid* (also called the *Badi Masjid*) is the last mosque of the dynasty having been finished in 883/1478 as is recorded in the chronogram '*Al-Masjid Jami-us-Sharq*' inscribed on the ruined eastern gateway⁷. Built on a high plinth, it follows the conventional plan composed of a central spacious quadruple with single-storeyed pillared cloisters on three sides and sanctuary on the west. Eastern gateway is in ruins and now south gateway provides the main entrance. The architect has tried to introduce a few innovations in the disposal of the sanctuary. The nave in the centre is as usual square roofed by a single dome.^a It has a sort of clerestory with jalties to admit light into the interior. No specific attention has been paid to the dome which is used only as a conventional accessory. The Mihrab bears the Quranic verses in carved stone. There is a low pillared room on each side of the nave, over which is a gallery. Then on either side is large barrel. Vaulted hall measuring 44' 9" x 39' 7" (15.01 x 12.07 metres) and 44' 4" (13.51 metres) in height having three arched openings on the facade ornamental mihrabs have been disposed along the whole *Qibla* wall. The Pylon (Plate. XI) is 84' 4" (25.70 metres) high and measures 76' 10" (23.42 metres 1/3) in width at base and 70' 10" (21.59 metres) at the top, thus having a batter of 3' (0.94 metre) on either side. It projects forward by 10' (3.02 metres). This pylon too completely makes the dome behind it (see Fig. 4 for N-S elevation).

Though in itself an impressive structure, this pylon does not harmonise with the wings. The barrel-Vaults look absolutely haphazard and give the impression of military barracks rather than wings of a congregational mosque. With conical bastions at the corners and quoins, extreme batter of the pylon and meaningless sloped roofs of the barrel-vaults, the whole sanctuary appears to be a fortified building rather than a sectarian relic of Islam. These innovations, thus, miscarried and entirely spoiled the architectural charm.

Brick has been used on a large scale in the construction of this mosque and it seems that supply of pillars, lintels and ceilings from the despoiled Hindu temples had been exhausted. Though, no doubt, Hindu material has been used in its construction as is also testified by

the Sanskrit inscriptions on the south entrance, sunk upside down mentioning one, King Isvaravarmana of the 8th century A.D., the architect largely depended on his own material, hence this innovation which however, failed to improve upon the design of the previous mosque or even to retain their charm. It makes out that most of the impression of these mosques came with the chiselled Hindu material and that the sculptural aspect is of much superior order than their architecture. This is testified by a number of pleasing features of the nave and pylon of the *Jami' Masjid*, e.g. the Mihrabs set on the plain (wall Plate VI), carved niches (Plate-VII) and exquisitely carved ceiling panels formed of lotus as the central theme (Plate-VII) which rival some of the best panels of Fatehpur Sikri though they precede the latter by about a century. The fact thus stands out beyond doubt that the stone carver has done his job marvellously well while the architect has lingered behind him. It is the ornament which more impresses the beholder and the critic, than the design of the mosque as a whole.

General Features of the Jaunpur mosque may be summarised as follows :

- (i) It belongs to the Ekangana (Single-quadruple) class of mosques having a quadruple, cloisters on three sides with gateways in their middles and sanctuary on the west; in essence it is an improved version of the Delhi mosque;
- (ii) It has a pylon in front of the nave, as the principal features in the centre of the facade of the sanctuary; it is a lofty *iwan* ceremonially introducing the mosque to the visitory as the actual entrance has been provided through lintel-and-bracket; like a triumphal gateway pylon was intended to impress the beholder; it has been profusely ornamented and has batter along its side; though a distinctive characteristic of the Jaunpur mosque it is only a modified, enlarged and refined version of the *iwan* of the Begumpur Masjid (c. 1343 A. D.);
- (iii) Pylon is so placed before the dome which roofs the nave as to render it purposeless and as a matter of fact, meaningless; pylon reduces the dome to a condary and subsidiary position;

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- (iv) It has large scale use of material appropriated from the Hindu temples, e.g. pillar-shafts, bracket-corbels, lintels and flat-ceilings; its cloisters are mostly built of this material. the construction thus is largely trabeated; the Hindu material brought in its ornament and, with it, its gorgeous impression; it is to this source that the spirit of the Jaunpur mosque owes its origin;
- (v) Besides the use of appropriated material, the Hindu masons were also employed to work out details of profuse stone work and carvings which mostly adorn the interior of the nave and Mihrabs;
- (vi) Conical bastions and tapering turrets have also been used, truly, in imitation of the Begumpuri Masjid which it closely follows in plan and general design;
- (vii) Arches have ogee curve and prominent fringe of flower-buds which have been used in receding planes so prominently as to impart the respective arch a cusped shape; jalis too have been used on a large scale; such typically Hindu motifs as lotus and chakra have been used harmoniously with geometrical designs; Islamic talismans have also been depicted superstitiously have been specifically selected for depiction of carved ornamentation; there is little colour; the aesthetic effect is sought to be achieved through depths and dimensions and play of lights and shadows rather than through the dazzling colour combinations of Islamic art.

Thus, in essence, it represents a regional variation of the Delhi Sultanate style of the 14th Cen. and, specifically, it is a refined version of the Begumpuri Masjid. It is not correct to class these mosques in an independent and separate architectural style of their own which in right sense of the term never originated here and never found any culmination.

Mention may also be made of the mason-marks which are abundantly found in the mosques of Jaunpur, on pavement stones,

pillar-bases and shafts and in some cases on walls. These mason marks are similar to those discovered in other buildings of the medieval period. They can be studied under six heads :

- A. Symbolic motifs, e.g. Svastika, Šatkona and Sankh;
- B. Geometrical elements, e.g. triangle, square, rectangle, pentagon and octagon;
- C. Vegetational elements and compositions, e.g. leaf, 3 or 4 or 8 petalled flowers;
- D. Weapons (Ayudh), e.g. parasu, ankus, spear, arrow and axe;
- E. Animate objects, e.g. bird, fish, duck and crane; and
- F. Curved and knot elements, e.g. arcs in various forms and combinations.

These mason marks denote the guilds of the artisans who were employed to work on these projects and probably their working methods too. They may also have symbolical and astronomical significance. Curious is the fact, however, that these marks have been commonly used in ancient Hindu (Buddhist, Jaina and Brahmanical) shrines and medieval monuments alike and may indicate that it was on the traditional constructional devices and techniques of the Vastu-Sastras of the ancient Hindus that the medieval builders had also adopted.

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1. Archaeological Survey of India, New Imperial Series (hereafter referred to as *ASI NIS*) Vol. XI, pp. 23-27; A. S. I. Cunningham Report (hereafter referred to as *CR*) Vol. XI, p. 106.
2. Called the 'Zanana Chapels' by A. Fuhrer, Cf. *ASI NIS*, XI, 32. It is unusual that a separate arrangement for women was made in the mosque.
3. Cunningham's view that this difference is due to the retention of some portion of the foundations of the old temple, Cf. *ASI, CR*, XI, 109, appears be plausible.

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4. Fuhrer, op. cit. XI, 29. Nor is his theory of the use of propylon is convincing.
5. *ASI NIS*, XI, 38-40.
6. Ibid, 50-51.
7. *ASI CR*, XI, 114.
8. For a study of the Mason-marks reference may be made to *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. IV, 302-5, VII, 295-98 and *ASI NIS*, XI, 30 above. For mason-marks in the Mughal buildings John Yarker's *Ars Quatuor Coronati*, VI and A. Gorham's *Indian Mason's Marks of the Moghul Dynasty* (n. d.) may be studied.

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SIEGE-CRAFT IN MEDIEVAL INDIA

Dr. J. N. Sircar

If the art of fortifications constitutes an important aspect of military defence against attack, siege-craft represents military thinking as well as military practice of breaking the resistance of fortifications and their defenders. Sieges were indeed their periods of test. Medieval Indian siege-craft reflected three broad streams of thinking – coming down from earlier times, – Indian, West and Central Asiatic, and later on European¹.

The pattern of siege-operations in ancient India was set long ago by Kautilya. He mentions five tactics for capturing a fort : intrigue (*upajapa*); feigned retreat (*apasarpan*); winning over the people (*vamanam*); actual siege (*paryuvasanam*); and assault (*avamartha*). The siege must never be started suddenly but it must be preceded by depletion in enemy's numerical strength. Preparations for a well-laid siege might cover measures, both fair or foul, viz.

- (i) circulating exaggerated stories of omniscient and supernatural powers of the conqueror so as to weaken the enemy's morale ;
- (ii) seducing the enemy's subjects from loyalty with the help of spies, heretics and jugglers ;
- (iii) officials of the aggressor, pretending dismissal from service and seeking employment with the defender and ultimately aiming at his ilfe or weakening the enemy. The aggressor should begin the siege at an opportune moment when everything else was in his favour, with the enemy in distress of suffering from disease, with inadequate or ill-equipped defences, and officers disloyal or corrupt, or without an ally. Such an opportunity must never be allowed to go. If, however, the defender's officers were incorruptible, and he had assumed the offensive, the invader has to adopt

other effective means, – destruction of crops, water sources and stores, cutting off communications, placing obstructions.

This pratikriya is not a sin.

Even when all these measures failed to subdue the enemy offering a defensive attack, the aggressor should adopt other methods: to be friend the enemy; to observe his weak points; to suddenly strike him; and to pretend flight, tempting the enemy to open the gates and come out and then to return and storm the fortress. After the capture the victors must show mercy to the weak and wounded, replace the enemy soldiers with their men, and reward those who were responsible for the victory².

The *Agni Purana* says that the invading king should note the part of the citadel over which the crows came in and went out and concentrate his attack on that quarter.

Ancient and medieval Indian writers prescribed certain defensive measures against attack :

- (i) removing all people inside the fort and storing grain;
- (ii) or if this is not possible, destroying the bridges and minor forts in one's own territory, burning the stores of grain,
- (iii) throwing fresh ramparts;
- (iv) filling up moats with creepers, sharks, and crocodiles, fixing pointed and sharp spikes at the bottom;
- (v) defending the fort walls and gateways with various implements or engines³.

Bṛhaspati enunciated detailed directions for withstanding a siege, by equipping a fort with craftsmen, soldiers, cattle, horses, elephants, siege engines, munitions, weapons and food supplies. But as in that age supernatural protection was considered to be the best, the King was advised to keep Brahmanas, learned in the Vedas and burning the sacred fire for performing sacrifices and cereomonies⁴.

As early as Vedic times siege (*upasad*) and effective blockade, breach of walls and assault were known for reducing and capturing forts. Battering rams (*Pura charisnu* of Rgveda), fire arrows tipped with flame⁵.

Two well-defined stages can easily be distinguished in the evolution of siege-craft in medieval India: before and after the introduction and extended use of gunpowder-artillery. A comparison of the siege tools and devices in both these periods as also a comparison of the methods adopted in India and Europe will be interesting.

(i) Escalade: Among the oldest and simplest siege tools were the scaling ladders (*Nadurban*), ropes, lassoes, nooses. Rope ladders were thrown over the towers or battlements of the besieged fort to scale the walls. This method used both by the Hindus and the Muslims in Medieval. But a competent defence could easily render it futile.

The Khaljis used ladders in the seige of Warangal. Khusrau writes: 'The exalted Wazir ordered high ladders and all other requisites to be constructed in every division (*khail*) in the course of the night, whenever the drum beat to action, everyone was to come out of his entrenchment and carry the ladders to the fort, so that the work of victory might be exalted step by step.' And again, wooden ladders of the Muslims, raised their feet to the highest elevation from the greatest depth for the sake of Islam.' During the time of Muhammed Tughluq, the upper parts of Daulatabad fort were reached by means of a 'leather-ladder' hung from above and taken up each night⁶.

The Mughals could not excel in this method. Though they used it, they had to combine it with bribery at times. Rope ladders were used by both Babur and Humayun and in Shahjahan's reign during the seige of Urrchhah (1634). During the reign of Aurangzeb resort was had to rope ladders at the sieges of Karigad (1694), Satara (1700) and to scaling ladders at the seige of Parali (1700), ladders of camel litter (*kajawahs*) at Visalgad (1702). But the efforts were not very successful. At Karigad the defenders were seduced. Parali was taken only after negotiations after a siege of more than a month. Aurangzeb was fortunate, however, in capturing Torana after a 15 day siege (1704) by using a scaling ladder⁷.

As compared to the Mughals, the Marathas were more adept in using scaling or rope ladders. They were familiar with the physical features of the land and were very enterprising and could climb even without any rope or ladder. Though risky, it was the least expensive device. The latter used escalade effectively at the steep Kondana (Sinhagad) (by Tanaji Malusare, 1670), Ahivant, Ravala-Havla, Markanda, Anchalgiri and Lohgad (all by Shivaji in 1670), Panhala, Torana and Karigad (1694), Jinji (1697-8), Lohgad (1704) and Sinhagad (1693 and 1705). The device however, failed at Jaunpur (1677-78), and at Sholapur (May 1685), thanks respectively to the vigilance of the Mughal *qiladars* Abdul Aziz Khan and Sayyid Zainul Abidiu respectively. The Marathas also used scaling with the help of trained monitor lizard or (*iguana ghorpade*)⁸. (Telugu-UḍUM)

(ii) Elephants: Use of elephants to batter fort gates and demolish fort walls had a long antiquity. It is referred to by Ktesias (*Indika*) and Kauṭilya. The latter calls such elephants *nagarāyaṇa* (i.e., capable of destroying towns). These were specially trained, - to rush impetuously against the wall at a given signal and hit it with their heads⁹.

Generally, however, the fort walls were breached with different types of siege engines in the Sultanate period. Some were either stationary or portable, fixed or revolving, using catapults and slings. In fact these heavy weapons or engines of war were distinct from the lighter weapons of the individual soldier. These were mechanical devices or wooden machines for flinging heavy projectiles, constituting mechanical artillery pieces and siege engines in ancient and medieval times.

In the epic age, *Yantras* or instruments of various kinds were used, specially for offensive and defensive purposes, and displayed on walls of cities or forts. These hurled stones or rained arrows on the enemy and produced great noise. Perhaps these were catapults, ballistae, or huge bows and were simple and slow-acting mechanisms and hence generally ineffective. Besides these *Yantras*, there was the *sataghni* or columns of wood or stone or metal (lit. hundred killer). The large ones were hurled on the enemy, from city walls or gates,

often wheeled or spiked and with bells, while the smaller ones could be held in hand and served as ordinary missiles or projectiles.

Projectile engines may be grouped under three categories, as worked by three principles of propulsion to generate force to hurl stones, spears and arrows. Of these two came as a legacy of ancient times, viz., *torsion*, by springs, twisting ropes, heavy cords, thongs or fibres : and *tension*, by bending the bow or plank (used in the springel or springs). Under these two principles fall the catapults or scorpions and the ballistae or mangonels known also variously as torment, and sling or onager. The catapult was used to throw small stones, boiling oil, etc. Sometimes dead horses and animals were also thrown into a fortress to spread disease. The ballistae or mangonel was used to throw heavy stones of about half hundred weight.

Based on the third principal, *counterpoise*, discovered during the medieval period, the only engine developed now was the *trebuchet* also called *perrier* or *petrariy* (pl. *petrariae*) to cast huge rocks or counterpoised weights of several tons. Projectile engines became almost as powerful as early cannon by the end of the twelfth century. It was used by the King of France at the siege of Acre, 1189-91 and also at the siege of Rhodes, 1480 when firearms failed. It replaced the ballista.

Sidney Toy thinks that there is "little record of the use of siege engines in India before the latter part of the thirteenth century and then these records refer principally to projectile engines, such as *petrarise*, *mangonels*, *ballistae* and *trebuchets*, under the names variously applied, of *manjaniqs*, *maghribis* or *arradas* and of a magnified form of cross-bow called *charkhs*". The first part of Toy's observation needs revision, because heavy engines like *Sataghnis* were used in Ancient India. Nevertheless there was undoubtedly an improvement in siege craft during the medieval period. The Muslims, who borrowed the mechanical artillery of other nations consisting of various engines, to hurl stones and other missiles, displayed a better scientific military knowledge. They knew the use of various mechanical devices and siege engines or wooden machiues for forcibly

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flinging heavy projectiles, stone-balls, naphtha and fireworks and battering walls of fortresses. Even as early as the eighth century A. D. a vast, composite, but enthusiastic army of Arabs, Syrians and West Asiatics, equipped with catapults (*manjaniq*) battering rams (*Sarkoh*), mangonels and naphtha (or Greek) fire advanced relentlessly against the big cities and strategic centres of Sind¹⁰.

Among the mechanical siege-engines of the medieval period in India which were almost identical with these elsewhere may be mentioned :

1. **Kharak** or the bore or a giant drill with a sharp point, used in making holes or breaches in a wall so that large stones could be taken out. It consisted of a large heavy beam, revolving in the socket of a wooden upright, and terminating with a sharp iron point slung from two vertical poles by means of ropes or chains. These were drawn back and then released to dash against and pierce the wall. The defenders used to parry the blow by hanging thick sheets of straw-filled secks or thick, forked and broad beams from the wall. It was disadvantageous as it could not be used from a distance and had to be dragged right up to the foot of the wall, the number of pull-men depending on the size of the engines. Usually it was a wheeled structure with a fire proof roof of beams and tiles and raw hides soaked in vinegar for protection against fire and combustibles thrown by the besieged.

2. **Ram** : It was similar to the drill with the difference that the larger battering ram had a big iron head resembling a ram's head (instead of a sharp point) to batter the wall. The defenders could disable it by making heavy forked beams fall on its head to keep it tight. It can be compared with the *Porigha*, heavy wooden beam used for shutting a gate.¹¹

3. **Manjaniq** (Arabic, from Persian *man check nek*, 'how good I am'). It was a kind of catapult. There were different kinds of catapults like *manjaniqs*, *maghribis*, *arradas* or *iradas*, depending on construction, size and power. These were machines used both by the besiegers and the besieged to shoot stones or other substances at the

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fort walls or outside during a siege. The stones were chiselled into a round or oblong shape and were usually of the size of a football. The central piece was a large wooden beam moving upon a pivot. The *manjaniq* was the most effective and commonly used engine to hurl large rock boulders, stone, balls of earth or iron, vessels full of naphtha or Greek fire or casks of foul matter, poisonous reptiles or scorpions with irresistible force from a sling attached to a big beam. It was of three different types worked by three principles of torsion, counterpoise and tension. The beam was kept tightly down by the strongest men of the army and on sudden release it cast off the missiles in the sling with a tremendous force. During Sultanate period there are numerous references to the use of *maghribi* (western *manjaniqs*) or catapults as at the siege of Ranthambhor by Jalaluddin and Alauddin Khalji and by Malik Kafur at Warangal. Amir Khusrau has left graphic descriptions of their use in his *Khazain Ul Futuh*. At Siwana, the *manjaniqs* and the *maghribis* were entrusted to Malik Kamaluddin Gurg, the *maghribi* stones flying from every side the *gabrs* (Hindus) on the fort. At Ranthambhor the *Pasheb* rose high to touch the western tower of the fort, the *maghribis* appeared like hot large earthen balls. At Chitor Alauddin ordered the eastern wrestlers (*Pahalwans*) to draw the *maghribis* (westerners) and the 'strokes of the Maghribi stones' fell on the fort. In the Warangal campaign Malik Kafur ordered collection of stone balls for the *maghribis* all around the encircled fort, for capturing and pounding the fort to dust.¹²

4. **Charkh** : a variety of *manjaniq* : a large cross-bow, similar to ballista or catapult worked by tension, fixed on a frame and worked by pulleys and ropes to discharge heavy bolts and long shafts at objects beyond the range of arrows and Javelins and with greater force than these. One variety discharged several missiles simultaneously. A second variety was called the *Zamburak*. A third one, the *nim-charkh* discharged fiery arrows¹³.

However the mechanical application of the siege artillery of the military engineer by the three principles of torsion, counterpoise and tension, was limited in practice. The force of the engines could be increased by increasing their size or number. But bigger machines became very expensive, unwieldy and slow, while with more engines,

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concentration of attack became impossible on account of range and bulk. Again siegecraft lagged behind the construction of strongholds.

The development of gunpowder, artillery revolutionised siege craft. The mechanical artillery and the siege engines of the Sultanate period became out of date. The use of gunpowder turned the scales in favour of the aggressor. Forts now became more vulnerable to cannonade and artillery fire than before. Hence a power with heavy artillery could easily resort to storming the fort. Under the Mughals strong places were generally reduced, if not by storming, by strict blockade and investment, including starvation, watch towers, etc., mining, trenches, escalade and bribery. Of these methods the Marathas adopted the methods of mining, mounted batteries, escalade and bribery.

Besides siege engines, several siege-devices were adopted by besiegers :

(i) **Filling up the ditches (Khakrez)** : The method was recommended by Kautilya. To overcome the obstruction of the moats or ditches surrounding the fort, the besiegers always endeavoured to fill these up either with earth or debris, sand bags and trees and to build bridges to cross them. But there were practical difficulties to do so during the thick of fight or hail of stones or cannonade from the fort. Malik Kafur had sand-bags sewn at the siege of Warangal. Amir Khusrau writes : 'it appeared that the Emperor of the world was investing the sand even with a robe of honour in reward for its capturing the fort'. Shivaji tried to fill the trenches round Shivaral and Phonda (1675). If Aurangzib used sand bags to fill the ditch during the siege of Golkonda (1686-7), the Sikhs used these to make batteries during the siege of Rahun in Jullandar (1710).¹⁴

(ii) **Pasheb** : Inclined mounds of earth or masonry structures were set up by filling up the gap between the top of the fort wall and the besiegers' camp, so as to escalade the walls or to fix engines in position towards the parapet. It was sometimes wide enough to allow one hundred men to march abreast on it. Amir Khusrau tells us that this was constructed during the sieges of Ranthambhor, Siwana and Warangal.¹⁵

(iii) **Siege Towers:** It is always difficult for one at a lower level to attack a well-protected high fortification. The attacker needs to be in line with or at a higher level than the target. Hence the device of a siege tower or scaffolding or redoubt was hit upon. This might be either movable; made of wood and mounted on wheels or an elevated post. Such devices were known as early as the time of Alexander and Kautilya and in early middle ages, for shooting arrows or mounting siege engines. These towers or posts served as towers or posts served a twofold purpose. It elevated the besiegers armed with missiles to the height of the fort walls and battlements or even higher and enabled them to shoot from above and clear the way for an assault from below. Again, sometimes the scaffolding had a drawbridge which was conveniently lowered to provide a way for the besiegers to advance; This was comparable to the siege towers or *beffrois* of later Roman and medieval times in Europe. But its weight and size proved to be serious disadvantages: the first in destroying mobility, especially if stuck in the mud or debris filling the ditch and the second in making it an easy target for the defenders' missiles. Further the drawbridge could be hurled back or cut down by the defenders. Amir Khusrau has referred to Malik Kafur's use of *gargaj* during the siege of Warangal but has not explained it⁶. It was identical with *Sarkoh* used by Akbar in besieging Ranthambhor⁷.

Siege towers of old continued even in the age of gunpowder and firearms. These high towers were known to the Mughals as *Siba*⁸ and to the Marathas as *dhamdhama*⁹ or *Pratigulma*. These were built by the Mughals opposite a fort to command its interior, with branches of trees, or on tree tops, filled-up houses, raised mounds of nearby hills. A wooden structure was also built on a hill facing a fort. Cannon pieces or heavy guns were dragged up and mounted thereon to silence the resistance of the defenders. This device was adopted by Drar during the siege of Qandahar (1652-3) and by Shaista Khan in capturing Chakan. Mirza Raja Jai Singh I not only had three guns dragged up a steep hill near Purandar but built wooden towers (*dhamdhama*) as high as its *Safed Burj*. During the siege of Ramsej (about 10 miles from Nasik) in April, 1682 a big wooden structure was built by the Mughals on a hill named Karkach facing the fort to accommo-

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date more than 500 soldiers and gunners. Bhimsen was highly impressed with the structure. Aurangzeb used it during the siege of Golkonda (1687). His 70 feet high wooden siege tower at Satara (1700) was a fairly expensive affair, involving cutting off trees within 64 miles, use of 300 oxen, 1400 camels besides 8000 sand bags as a bulwark. Aurangzeb had huge towers built and took Raigad in 1702-4 after two and a half months. Sometimes this device was combined with entrenchments. Thus Aurangzeb ordered his generals to raise mounds and begin entrenching near the Berad fort Wakinkhera (1705-6). Two mounds were raised facing its gate. But even Chin Kilich Khan could not hold his own on a red-coloured hillock (*Lal Tekri*) owing to the resistance of the Berads. This device of siege towers was again used by the assailants at Chahar Mahal, Hyderabad (1756) against Bussy, at Arcot against Clive (1751) and by the people led by Sardar Khan of Tellichery (Malabar) against the English (1782).

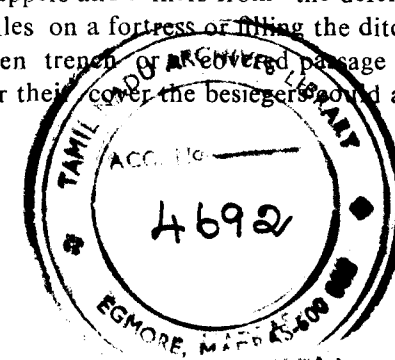
The Marathas could not afford such expensive towers. Shivaji occupied Vellore (1677) after occupying two neighbouring hillocks with mounted batteries placed thereon after fourteen months²⁰.

Rockets were also fired on the besieged to cause confusion.

(iv) **Movable shields or mantlets (turah)** were known. These wooden screens moving on ordinary cart-wheels were brought near the fort walls and the besiegers under their shelter discharged arrows or bullets on the fort, as by the Sikhs at Jalalabad (1710)^{21a}

(v) **Sap and Mine:** The art of mining supplemented normal siege devices. It was well-known in Northern India. Digging of trenches was an old device. It was known to Kautilya. During the medieval period there was an extended use of this device of digging approaches to the fort, by means of sapping and mining (*naqb*). It was used to produce a break in the wall by digging a hole below the fortifications after removing earth and placing beams, straw and other combustible materials and setting these on fire. But it was necessary to protect the besiegers, sappers and miners from the defender's missiles or for throwing missiles on a fortress or filling the ditches. For this purpose either an open trench or a covered passage (*sabat*) for approach was used. Under their cover the besiegers could advance to

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the target with comparative security than in open. Amir Khusrau mentions the *sabat* but does not fully describe it. Malik Kafur had *sabats* (besides *gargajs*) constructed at Warangal after filling up the ditch with mud with great difficulty. Amir Khusrau also vaguely refers to armed diggers (*Kavindgan*) of Malik Kafur mining the mud wall of Warangal which collapsed into the hollow below (*dar himayat-i-zamin*). At Warangal 'powerful diggers with the greatest noise, sat down to open a way into the fort'. Ibn Batutah also speaks of use of mine in Muhammad Tughluq's reign. Timur mined the walls of Meerut and Bhatnir forts.

The device continued in the age of gunpowder artillery, the mining being done by gunpowder explosion to cause breach in the fort walls. Fortresses built on solid rock or high ground were, however, not vulnerable to mines. According to Ferishta it was an Indian device ('peculiar to India'). But this may be compared to the pent-house (*Vinae*, *musculi test udines*) of Europe, usually built of timber and covered with raw hides. Abul Fazl considers the *sabat* to be the best for capturing a fort. According to Nizamuddin it was a roofed lane, wide enough for ten cavaliers to pass abreast and high enough for an elephant-rider with a raised lance. Beginning at a gunshot distance from the fort it was so built as to touch its wall, enabling the besiegers, matchlockmen and mine-diggers, to advance under cover, effect a breach in the wall and enter the fort. The construction of the *sabat* was clearly a most difficult task. Sher Shah successfully dug a mine under Kalinjar fort (1545), but he was himself killed in the explosion. Walls crumbled down as a result of explosion in mines dug underneath. It took several days for Akbar to build one at Chitor (1566) with 500/5000 masons, carpenters, blacksmiths, stone-cutters and labourers. Notwithstanding elaborate precaution to defend them viz., shields of buffalo hides, *murchals* or wooden walls covered with hides, about 100 men were killed daily by the defenders' missiles. From a reserved vantage position under the *sabat*, Akbar shot down Jaymal the heroic defender of Chitor. At the siege of Chitor (1567), balls weighing 40 lbs were hurled by a large mortar cast on the spot, while the walls were felled by gunpowder exploding in mines. The *sabat* was also adopted at the siege of Chunar. During Shaista Khan's siege of Chakan

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(1659-60) the Mughal besiegers carried the mines to the bastions and ignited the gunpowder. The defenders restored the walls and fought stiffly. But they were demoralised when the Mughals sprang other mines.

This commonly accepted device of siege was, however, not very effective. The sap and mine device was used by the Mughals (along with towers) for five months at Ramsej (1682) but the siege was withdrawn. Sometimes the mining operations were not properly carried out, causing avoidable loss of thousands of lives of the besiegers, as in Aurangzeb's siege of Satara (along with towers) for a month and a half (1700-1) and it had to be occupied by negotiations. It was, again, used at Panhala (1700-1) by Kam Bakhsh and Tarbiyat Khan for eight months and by Aurangzeb at Visalgad (1702) for six months. But in both cases recourse had to be made to bribery to occupy the fort. Shivaji could, however, occupy the fort of Phonda in 1675 by this method²¹.

To avoid expenditure the Marathas used sap and mine with open trenches and breastworks of earth.

(vi) **Trench Warfare** : Interesting details of digging of trenches are available from Bhimsen, - at Wakinkhera (1691-2), and at the foot of Chanargarh during the siege of Jinji (1692-93). Aurangzeb made arrangements to supervise the trenches near Rajgad and Torna and guard the base camp at Bahadurgarh (Nov. 1673). The method of trench warfare and mines was adopted at the sieges of Gurudaspur (1715), Allahabad (1719) and Agra (1719) and Lucknow (1857). In view of the above facts, Lake's statement: 'The natives appear to be utterly ignorant of the art of conducting approaches by the sap; and generally they are also unacquainted with mining' may be regarded as fair²².

(vii) **Storming** : Medieval Indian forts were seldom stormed on account of inefficient artillery. The besieger oftener could enter these by means of breaking the gate with elephants²³.

(viii) **Investment** : A big, well-equipped and well-provisioned army with heavy guns or cannon could use investment successfully. But it

nothing more than a blockade. It was used effectively by the Bijapuri general, Siddi Jauhar, against Panhala for six months (1660), by Mirza Raja Jai Singh¹. Against Purandar Vajrangarh (1665) (along with siege towers) for two months, and by Zulfiqar Khan against Raigad (along with siege towers) (1689) for eight months. The Marathas could not be expected to resort to blockade or prolonged siege. Santaji Ghorpade's blockade of the Mughals at Dodderi (1695) was an exception. It was so perfect that the latter were compelled by starvation to surrender.²⁴ The principle of raising earthworks or batteries (*morchā, murchal*) was developed round the camp or fort at a selected strategic place as was developed round at a selected strategic places as a precaution against artillery fire and also mounting the siege guns.

(ix) **Starvation** : The capacity of the defenders of a fort to withstand a prolonged siege must necessarily depend on abundant stock of food, water and stores. If supply of these runs short the defenders had to starve. So generally a long blockade reduced a fort. It capitulated only when provisions failed or when treachery worked. Failure of supplies contributed to Shivaji's surrender at Purandar (1665), as Portuguese sources tell us.

A few cases of reduction by starvation are noted below :

- 1706 – Marathas surrendered Sinhagad to Aurangzeb.
- 1715 – Sikhs (under Banda) surrendered Gurudaspur to Mughals. (April-December)
- 1719 – Nekusiyar surrendered Agra to Husain Ali Khan-Sayyid.
- 1729 – Md. Khan Banagash evacuated Jaithpur (Bundelkhand) to Baji Rao fighting for Chhatrasal Bunela.
- 1749 – Marathas surrendered Satara.²⁵

(x) **Bribery and Treachery** : This hoary weapon of siegecraft was often found to be very efficacious, as by Alexander, Alauddin Khalji at Deogiri; 1295, and Arangzeb. In 1689 the *qiladars* of Trimbak and Mahuli surrendered their charges to Matbar Khan on a consideration of Rs. 80,000 and a *mansab* respectively. The Mughals used bribery

to capture Parali (1700) and Pavangad. The *qiladar* of Panhala was bribed with Rs. 55,000 after eight months' siege in 1700-1. Aurangzeb captured Visalgad (Khelna) and Sinhagad after sieges of six months and three and a half months respectively in 1702-3, by bribing the former with two lakhs. Tarabai criticised the Berad officials of Sinhagad for failure in defence. Sometimes the Marathas also took to bribery. In 1673 Kondaji Farjand used bribery (besides scaling ladder) in capturing Panhala. In 1722 the Jat fortress of Thun was captured by Jai Singh II (Oct.-Nov.) as a result of treachery. Muhkam Singh, Churaman Jat's son, was betrayed by his cousin, Badan Singh, on a promise of the chiefship.

Anti-siege Defensive Methods

Primarily the defensive potential of fortifications would depend on their natural advantages, the artificial adjustments made to strengthen these still further, and the human element. Again military engineering, the second factor, was intimately connected with armaments. Any change in the aggressive weapons of the enemy would necessitate adjustments or adaptations in fortifications. Gateways were traditionally defended by machicolations. Embrasures and loop-holes in the battlements, originally intended for the ordinary bow and arrow, were widened after the use of cross-bow. Gun-loops appeared after the introduction of gunpowder artillery. Speaking of the impregnable fortifications of Assam, Ram Singh, the Mughal general, observed: 'The fortifications are intricate and complex, and to each fort there are three passages. The enemy is beyond the reach of our heavy artillery, and there is no opportunity for fighting with arrows and guns. Their minister, commanders and infantry are all to be admired for having constructed such an impregnable wall of defence²⁶.

As regards the human element, the defenders had to be always vigilant. They must never be ready to adopt devices to parry the offensive and must ever be on guard against surprise. Thus a competent and determined defence could easily set at naught all attempts at scaling.

To prevent enemy ingress, the Hindus had devised certain mechanical appliances. King Bhoja mentions machines relating to

siege warfare, – the doorkeeper and warrior machines at the gateway of the fortresses to block the ingress of undesirables. There were also machines with arrows and other weapons to protect the fort besides the water machines allowing water to fall in torrents, and elephant catching machines²⁷. To parry an assault by trained elephants, the defenders, Rajput, Mughal and Maratha, used to protect the targets and wooden gates with iron pikes fixed to the gates so as to injure the beasts and keep them off. So the besiegers, in turn, had the heads of elephants protected with steel, iron or brass plates or frontlets. But sometimes, as at Arcot (1751), the elephants were wounded by muskets and turned back on their own men.

Against the mechanical artillery attacks the defenders of Ranthambhor and Warangal had *iradas* inside the fort, throwing stones and replying to the invaders' *maghribis*. Stones (*sang asiya*), burning oil or thatch (*chhappar*), flaming, oil-soaked cotton packs and fascines, huge timber pieces and rockets continued to be used even after the development and gunpowder artillery when devices of repelling assault or parrying the artillery blows of the aggressor came to be used. Among these may be mentioned bags or skins of gunpowder with attached match, hand grenades or projectiles (*huqqah-i-atash*), bullets, fire-pots (*handi*), serving as bombs. Sometimes the besiegers sallied out. Guns, both heavy and light, were placed on the embrasures. Massive long range cannon pieces were installed on bastions to keep the enemy away.

Against mine the besieged could countermine and attack the besiegers underground. The latter could also adopt precautionary measure by mining at a distance from the wall and concealing the mouth, the location and direction of the mine.

All this suggests that the skilled work of military engineering such as road-making, bridge-making, digging, of tanks and the art of sapping and mining was well organised. The surrender of the keys the fort was considered to be a very important affair. Communications between besiegers and besieged were made by rolling letters upon arrows. Carrier pigeons or birds with letters tied to wings were perhaps used.

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Defence : 13th & 17th Cens

Details of sieges during the medieval period may be read in the standard works of the period and in Irvine's *Army of the Indian Moghuls*, I give below some idea of siegecraft, defensive and offensive, in the thirteenth and the seventeenth century respectively.

Some light is thrown on defensive resistance of the victims against Alauddin Khalji's invading hordes. The Mongols on the one hand and the rulers in Gujrat, Deogiri, Ma'bar fell before open fight. Sieges were successful in Ranthambhor, Mandu, Chitor, Siwana and Warangal. Different factors were responsible for this at different places. At Ranthambhor the siege lasted for four months, the defenders putting up a strong resistance. By igniting big fires in the ten turrets of the fort (the *burj-i-khaki* becoming *burj-i-atshine* in the words of Khusrau), they rendered scaling of the walls impossible for the invaders. Many neo-Muslims, cooperating with the defenders, kept up a steady and effective barrage of arrows. Both sides freely used catapults. The besiegers filled up the surrounding ditch with sandbags and erected a high *pashib* (escalade). Finally acute shortage of food made the defenders desperate. In Malwa Kuka Pradhan, minister, incited Rai Mahlak Deo to resist the Sultan with 40,000 horsemen and numerous infantry. The Raja entrenched at Mandu but it was invested and fell to the archery of the besiegers; Chitor fell to escalade and attack by catapult and ballistae, Siwana was captured by a combination of catapult attack and escalade. Khusrau had paid a compliment to indomitable spirit of the defenders; "The besieged too who did not run away from a brave fight, behaved with such courage that even though their heads, like the antlers of an antelope, were split into pieces (lit. branches) by the wounds of the swords, they never thought of fleeing nay, if one of them intended to run away, they reproached and reviled him". In Telengana Sirbar fort (Sirpur across the Painganga) fell to escalade, The Rawats of Warangal offered a determined fight but the fort with double concentric walls fell after the outer ramparts were stormed and the wide moat surrounding the inner wall was crossed by swimming. Defence had evidently collapsed and surrender was preceded by negotiations. Negotiations were also made by the defenders of Dwarasamudra

while the Raja of Ma'bar took to flight, notwithstanding the counsel of the Brahmans and the determination of the Rawats to fight to the last²⁸.

Some of these methods evidently continued during the later medieval period also. Mirza Rajah Jai Singh's diplomatic manoeuvres in Bijapur closely follow the Kautilyan pattern of intrigue, seducing enemy officers, and preparations for a well-laid siege. Thus siege craft implied weakening the defence of the victim by diplomacy, either preceding or simultaneously with the actual siege. "Jai Singh's clever diplomacy prepared the ground in advance of the coming struggle" with Bijapur. He detached Shivaji from Bijapur. He intrigued with many other zamindars (viz., of the Karnatak), the Abyssinian mercenaries of Karnul district, the Abyssinians of Janjira. To Adil Shah's remonstrance he justified himself by referring to the traditional practice of Mughal governors to issue letters of conciliation to all soliciting their favour. Jai Singh pursued the old policy of seducing even the ministers and generals of Bijapur. Thus Mulla Yahya, a Naviyat, Arab, settled in Konkan, and a Bijapuri officer became the instrument of corrupting Bijapuri officials like Randaulah (Rustam i zaman). His elder brother, Mulla Ahmad, holding the second place in Bijapur, was also won over. Before starting the campaign Jai Singh sought diplomatically to throw Adil Shah into "a sense of false security".²⁹ The military resources and preparations of the Mughal general have been graphically described by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, and also in my *Military Despatches*.

This brief review would show that making allowance for gradual development, there was considerable similarity between ancient and medieval European and Indian siege weapons and operations—the bow and arrow, lances, the cross-bow, catapult, scaling ladders, battering rams, siege towers, pent-houses' mantlets or wood screens, projectile engines, tunnels, sapping and mining and cannonade.

Medieval Indian siegecraft was a matter of catapults and later of heavy artillery, but the most successful strategists generally skirted round and avoided the great strongholds. This siegecraft grew slack

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and inefficient in the 18th century. The introduction of western military science rendered it obsolete.

NOTES & REFERENCES

1. See my paper entitled 'Some Aspects of Military Engineering in Medieval India', sent to G. H. Khare Felicitation Volume. Poona.
2. Kautilya, 13. 174-5.4.
3. Agni Purana.
This compendium of various branches of learning throws light on religious and social conditions during c. 700/800-1000/1100 A.D. Ed. by Rajendra Lal Mitra, 3 vols., Bib. Ind., Calcutta, 1873-9.
4. See Dikshitar, *War in Ancient India*.
5. S. D. Singh, *Art of War in Ancient India*.
6. Steingass, *Pers-Eng. Dict*; Simple Tools; *Khazain*, 100-1; Habib's tr. 130 *Samaranganasutradhara*, Barani, TFS.
7. Irvine, *Army*, 281; Bhimsen, *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, Tr.
8. Sen, *Mil. Sys. of the Marathas*, *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, 251, 271; Sabhasad, 52, *Shivabhaart*, 13.79; Shiva Charitra Pradip (Tr. J. Sarkar), Mate, Mar. Arch, 94, Mahalingam, *South Indian Polity*, 87.
9. Kautilya, 2.48.32; Irvine, *Army*, 177-8.
10. *Siege & Engines*, Toy, *Hist. Fortifications*, 20, 27, 35, 51, and Ch. 12; *Strongholds*, pp. 8, 10n; *Ency. Brit.* vol.8 (Engines of War; pictures).

The petrary worked on the following principle. Heavy weights were fastened to the short end of a span. The long end holding missiles (usually stone) in a sling or a receptacle was pulled back by leverdrawn cords to make it parallel to the ground. On suddenly releasing the cords

the weights came down and the resultant force hurled the missile in a curving flight over the besieged city wall. (Ency. Brit.)

Chachnama, E & D i. 157 (mangonels on boats); 168 (advance); 174 (naptha and mangonels).

"The stones which were shot from the catapults and balistas, within and without the fort, encountered each other half way, and emitted lightning. They fell upon the fort like hail stones".

Tarikh-i-Alai, E & D. iii. 75, 80 (fire arrows thrown ag. Hindus in Warangal).

Pant, 243; Khafi Khan, 657.

11. Kharak in *Adab*, 178, 179; Oman, 132; Z. Zaydan 196. Kharak with sheds, was comparable to tēstudo covered with damp clay or green hides to resist fire.

Paul Horn interprets the word *Sarkob* (*Akbarnamah* iii 622) to mean a battering ram or wall breaker. It was used by Jauhar also in the same sense during the siege of Chunnar, 1535. Nizamuddin Ahmad (*Tabaqat-i-Akbari*) uses the word *muqabil-kob* in the same context. Irvine, *Army*, 130.

12. Manjaniq in Zaydan. 194-7; *Adab*, 179; *Khazain*, 66, Oman 132-36; J. I. H. Aug., 1936, p. 193.

"The wall of Arangal was made of mud, but so strong that a spear of steel could not pierce it; and if a ball from a western catapult were to strike against it, it would rebound like a nut which children play with." E. & D. iii. 80; Wooden defence: *kathgar* of Muslims, *ibid*, 81. "The Naib Amir gave daily orders to attack the chiefs of Laddar Deo, and he also ordered the 'western stone-balls' to be thrown at the wall from every direction 'to demolish it, and reduce it to powder'. The *manjaniks* from without had more effect than the *arradas* from within; 'the stones of the Musulmans all flew high, owing to the powder of the strong cable, but the balls of the Hindus were shot feebly, as from a

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Brahman's thread." Habib's tr. 53-54, 39, 48, 65, 66, 68, 40. Pictures in Sydney Toy, *Strongholds of India*.

13. Charkh in *Adab*, 178-80, Z. Zaydan, 193-4; Oman 137-9 545; Yule, MP. II, 123; Amir Ali, 432.
14. *Khazain* (Habib) 39; Khafi Khan, ii. 356; Irvine, *Army*, 278.
15. *Khazain*, 59, 99; (Habib), 39, 53 54, 66.
16. Gagaj in *Khazain*, 98; E. & D. iii. 82; Ferishta, 258; Oman, 131, 135, 549.

Sidney Toy (*A History of Fortifications*, p. 21) tells us that the credit of inventing moveable towers belonged to Diades temp. Philip of Macedon. These could be dismantled and the pieces transported to different places.

17. The word *Sarkob* is used to mean either; (i) a battering ram as explained in fn, 11 or (ii) 'a machine erected to overtop a wall, a battery, a battering machine, any eminence which commanded a fortress or house, a citadel' (Steingass). It may 'therefore, be equated with *Siba*.'
18. For different meanings and uses of *Siba*, Irvine, *Army*, 271, 277, 279-81.
The towers and mounds corresponded to the *cavalier* of Europe, See the views of Paul Horn and Lake in *ibid*. See Toy, *Fortifications*, 23.

19. *Rajavyavahara Kosh* in *Shiva Charitra Pradip*, 160.
20. Sarkar, Shivaji, ; *Haft Anjuman*; My *Mil*, *Despatches* Bhimsen, *Tarikh i Dilkusha*, 88b-89a (wooden structure), 150a (mounds); *Maasir i Alamgiri*, 79; Tr. Sarkar; Siege of Gurudaspur and other places, Irvine, *Army*, 279-81.
- 20a. Khafi Khan ii, 656; Irvine, *Army*, 278.
21. *Arthasastra*
Naqb, in *Khazain*, 102 (Habib, 67); Ibn Batutah, 177; Sharfuddin, ZN. 70; Ferishta, 159; Oman, ii. 133-4, 549. *Sabat* in *Khazain* 98 (Habib, 66), E. & D. iii. 82.

Ferishta, 257; *Akbarnamah* 316-18; *Tab. Akb.* 216-7; M. T. 103;

Sarkar, *Aurangzib*, iv. 121-5; Irvine, *Army*, 275-6.

Mining, *Tarikh i Dilkusha*, 19a; *Nuskha i Dilkusha*, 133a.

The Arabs are said to have used *ghazraks*, the meaning of which is doubtful. It may mean either a breast plate, warlike instrument (Richardson's Dictionary) or some offensive weapons like javeline or daggers (Haft Kulzum). E. & D. i. 204n, Qureshi, op. cit., 139-40; Habib (Khazain) pp. 48, 16; Barani, 272; 278-9. Irvine, op. cit. chs. xxiii and xxiv; R. Orme, *Military Transactions & c.* i. 320; *Islamic Culture*, October, 1938, pp. 40-18.

E. Lake, *Sieges of the Madras Army* (1825), p. 56,

22. *Trench Warfare; Nuskha i Dilkusha*, 103a, 106a, 107b, 146n; Sarkar, *Aurangzib* V. ch. 56 (Wakinkhera): Ch. 51 (Jinji).
23. Irvine, *Army*, 281.
24. Irvine, *Army* 272 quoting Fitzclarence Journal, 245. Examples.
25. Irvine, *Army*, 284-5; Pant, 243.
Sen, *Mil. Sys. of Marathas: Tarikh i Dilkusha*, 79a, 93b; *Nuskha i Dilkusha*, 123.
Letter of Antonio de Melle de Castro (22 Aug. 1666) in P. Pissurlencar's article, Pr. IHRC IX (1926), 114-6. My article on 'New Light on Mughal-Portuguese Relations 1665-7 (based on Portuguese sources), Journal, Madhya Pradesh Itihasa Parishad, No. VI 1968. P. 85.
26. Gait, *History of Assam* (New Ed.)
27. *Samaranganasutradhara*,
Irvine, *Army*,
28. *Khazain* (Habib's tr.) passim 1.
29. Sarkar, *Aurangzib*, IV, 121-5.

THE CARNATIC EXPEDITION OF SHIVAJI, 1677-78 *

A COMMENTARY

Lotika Varadarajan

In this paper an attempt is made to understand the Carnatic invasion of Shivaji in purely regional terms, that is to say, in terms of local politics rather than regarding it as an offshoot of events which may have been of greater significance to Shivaji. It is hoped that by the adoption of this attitude the motivation of Shivaji will be brought into sharper focus than would have been possible had primary importance been given to policy statements ascribed to the first Chatrapati.

Geo-Political background - Indigenous powers and European presence.

The geographical limits of the region known as the Carnatic affected by this invasion by Shivaji has been defined by Jadunath Sarker and does not need to be repeated here¹. The political structure in existence at the time of invasion of Shivaji had come into being as a result of the disintegration of Vijaynagar Empire which had led to the southward expansion of Bijapur and Golconda recurrent to the affairs of this area between the year 1637 to 1648.²

At the time of the invasion of Shivaji the powers that had to be contended within the Carnatic consisted of Mysore and the units which made up the Adilshahi possessions in this region. Apart from these, there were also the European counters dotted along the coast

* B. Muddachari in his work entitled, *The Mysore-Maratha Relations in the 17th Century* (Mysore, 1969, pp. 67-68), discusses the number of expeditions which may be said to have preceded this enterprise. The 1677-1678 expedition was, however, the last one in the series.

which could not really be fitted into any political framework. These foreigners had come essentially as traders and they formed far too minor a component in the contemporary social scene to be taken too seriously. However, by virtue of their expertise at sea and the superior munitions they could bring into effective deployment, they were at times accorded a special status out of all proportion to their actual potential.

The River Pallar constituted the southern boundary of the kingdom of Golkonda. The authority of Bijapur extended upto Cape Comorin³. From this point the independent kingdoms of the Malabar coast which were flanked by the Western ghats constituted the western boundary of Bijapur, cutting her off from egress to the Arabian sea. Prior to about 1674 Adilshahi possessions in the Carnatic could be divided into three categories. Firstly were the jagirs of Shahji which were to fall to the portion of his son Ekkoji, the half-brother of Shivaji¹. The second unit was made up of the territory stretching from Kunimedu to Porto Novo.² For purposes of administration, this reign was sub-divided into two units, and at the time of the invasion of Shivaji the two regional Governors Sher Khan Lodi and Nasir Muhammad. The former had his capital at Valikondapuram while Gingee constituted the headquarters for the latter. The third Adilshahi unit in the Carnatic comprised the territories of the Nayaks of Tanjore and Madura.⁴

Because of the part played by Shahji in the acquisition of the territories included in the first unit, and as a result of his own personal attainments, the central government at Bijapur allowed him virtual autonomy in the region under his control. The second unit was found to be the most effectively integrated with the central portion of the Adilshahi kingdom. Economic factors may have played a part in this state of affairs. As a result of Portuguese presence at Goa, and the rising sum of the Maratha kingdom on the Konkan, Bijapur was left without any convenient northern outlet on the Arabian sea. Some of its trade was channelised through the Qutbshahi port of Masulipatam. In this context, the Adilshahi port of Porto Novo linked to the trade of the Spice Islands must have played a special role. The third unit comprising the Nayakdoms of Tanjore and Madura enjoyed the

largest measure of freedom – perhaps because of the factor of distance. In fact, so evanescent was Adilshahi control in this region that foreigners like the French were not even aware that the suzerainty of the Nayaks was circumscribed in any way.

Closely adjacent to the Bijapuri unit centred at Bangalore lay the principality of Mysore. Under Devaraja Wodiyar (1659-1673) and Chikkadeva Wodiyar (1673-1704). Mysore was perhaps the most aggressive of all the units in this area. Largely as a result of the activities of Mysore, when Shahji died in 1664, his successor Ekkoji was hard put to defend his territories effectively. The circumstances which culminated in the battle of Erode⁷, and the eastern campaign of Chikkadeva Raya in 1673 demonstrated that Mysore had emerged as a factor of some importance in the shaping of local affairs⁸. Ekkoji's decision to shift his capital from Bangalore to Tanjore is to be seen in this light.

The role of Madura and Tanjore under the rule of their Nayaks, Chokkanatha (1659-1682) and Vijayaraghavan. (1633-1673), was of a more circumscribed nature. Apart from the question of mastery over Trichinopoly in which Madura, Tanjore and Mysore were equally interested⁹, the objective of Chokkanatha was that of the absorption of Tanjore. He was outwitted in this attempt by Ekkoji, who claimed to be acting as the legitimate agent of Bijapur¹⁰.

The lack of cohesion in the south which contributed to the generation of all these stresses and strains could be traced to the fact that in the absence of the unifying force of the Vijayanagar empire, each of these units was struggling for greater viability. It was inevitable that under such circumstances a power vacuum should have come into being. The invasion of Shivaji could also be seen in terms of the extent to which this vacuum may have been filled. The fact that fissiparous tendencies should have surfaced as soon as he had departed from the scene would demonstrate the fact that it was the personal charisma of Shivaji, so often noted by the contemporary French observer, Francois Martin, which held his Carnatic conquests together rather than any deeper binding force. This is both the key to the success of Shivaji in the Carnatic as also a measure of his failure.

As far as the Europeans were concerned, the English had established themselves at Madras in 1639. This region which had then lain within the Vijayanagar empire had, for all practical purposes, been absorbed into the Qutbshahi Kingdom after approximately the year 1666. Being centred in Golconda Carnatic, and area excluded from the arena of the activities of Shivaji, the English were not brought into direct contact with the invader. The Dutch, in view of their foothold at Cochin and the coastal regions of Ceylon¹¹, apart from their hold over the Spice Islands, had the resources to spread themselves over a wider area. They held a virtually dominant position over the southern coastline of Madura¹² and further had counters at Pulicat, Sadras, Porto Novo and Nagapatnam on the Coromandal coast. The French had come into the Carnatic almost by accident¹³ and hence their position at this time was far less stable than that of the Dutch. Unlike the English, the Dutch and the French, because of the geographical location of their counters, were directly involved in the cross currents generated by the presence of Shivaji in the Carnatic. The interest of these Europeans was linked essentially to the protection of their trade ventures. The Dutch exclusionist policies in the East Indies had brought them into conflict with Bijapur and in the years immediately prior to the invansion of Shivaji, considerable tension had been generated as a result of the Dutch refusal to grant passports to Bijapur merchant ships to be sent to the Southern Seas by Bahlol-Khan, the Adilshahi Commander-in-chief. As the interests of Bahlol-Khan were represented in the Carnatic by Sher Khan, the latter was also brought into the anti Dutch alignment.¹⁴ The French were involved at this time in a European war against the Dutch. This served to draw them closer to Sher Khan who now made use of the services of the French to implement his ambitions for the attainment of political dominion in the south.¹⁵ Viewed against this background, the policy adopted by Shivaji towards Europeans would be indicative of his attitude towards these groups of foreigners in particular. As trading activity cannot be divided into watertight compartments, it could also be taken as applicable broadly speaking, to merchantile interests in general in intent if not in fact.

Overt aims of Shivaji and preparations for the expedition.

As far as Sivaji himself is concerned his aim was clearly expansionist, a view propagated by Setumadhavrao Pagadi¹⁶. The activities

and achievements of his father, Shahji, provided Shivaji with the necessary leverage to claim the right to participate directly in the affairs of the Carnatic.

One aspect which is made quite evident is that Shivaji was not narrowly communal in his approach. In the evolution of the strategy for the southern campaign, French records demonstrate very clearly that in the initial stages the roles assigned to Bijapur and Golconda in his scheme of conquest had not polarised to the extent perceptible at a later date⁷. This would refute the interpretation given by Jadunath Sarkar and G. S. Sardesai that the policies of the Brahmin Minister, Madanna, in which community of religion had been stressed, had a great deal to do with the alignment of Shivaji with Golconda. The argument that Shivaji was more attracted to Khanwass Khan rather than to Bahlol Khan because the former was Deccani and, therefore, closer to the local people than the latter who was Afghan, also appears less than acceptable. Khwass Khan, as an Abyssinian, was as much a *foreigner* as Bahlol Khan, an Afghan. Moreover, it is very doubtful what conotation the word *foreign* may have held in the contemporary social environment of India. The sympathy or antipathy of Shivaji towards *Deccani* and *Afghan* had probably more to do with his own scale of priorities rather than any simple myth of racial origin.

The reason which made Shivaji finally opt for Golconda as his partner for the southern expedition are not made sufficiently clear but his actions certainly do not bear out the plausibility of strong religious motivation. In this context it would be of interest to examine the hypothesis advanced by S. Pagadi viz., foreseeing that the central portion of the Adilshahi state would be absorbed by the Mughals, Shivaji wished to forestall the latter in the southern arena by bringing the Carnatic portions of Adilshahi territory under his own control¹⁸. This hypothesis would be acceptable if a few more assumption are made. Whereas Shivaji felt confident of being able to retain the peripheral portions of the Adilshahi empire, he was not so certain about his ability to withstand large scale operations which would follow any attempt made by him to seize the central section of the kingdom. Moreover, a hold on Bijapuri Carnatic might provide Shivaji with an additional foothold from where he could start the slow process of infiltration into the Adilshahi state.

Another facet of the invasion of Shivaji is to be seen in the nature of the relations with his brother Ekkoji of Tanjore and with Chikkadeva Raya of Mysore. Shivaji's relations with Ekkoji are to be viewed more in connection with the inability of the latter to withstand the Wodiyar of Mysore¹⁹, rather than in terms of the role assigned to Hanumante by Narayan Pillai²⁰ or the desire of Shivaji to stake his claim to what he regarded as the Carnatic portion of his patrimony. When Ekkoji shifted his capital from Bangalore to Tanjore in 1675 he made it easier for Chikkadeva Raya to expand into the Tumkur region. This in turn had repercussions on the ambition of Shivaji to annex Bednur and south Kanara to his own domains. One aspect of Shivaji's invasion could, therefore, be seen in terms of the extent to which he could be said to have succeeded in curbing the ambitions of Chikkadeva Raya and thus securing greater viability to the southern boundaries of his own kingdom.

In his handling of the preparations made prior to the launching of the southern expedition Shivaji showed himself to be an astute diplomat. Taking advantage of the Mughal drive against Bijapur Shivaji came to an agreement²¹ with the Mughal commander, Bahadur Khan, by which it was agreed that for the duration of one year, the time computed necessary for the achievement of the conquest of the Carnatic, there would not be any Mughal onslaught on his own kingdom. While securing his rear, Shivaji had also been engaged in preparing his path for frontal attack. Given the existing political situation, it was clear that the major adversaries of Shivaji in the field would be Nasir Muhammad, Sher Khan Lodi, Ekkoji of Tanjore, and the Raja of Mysore, who had given ample evidence of his ambitious drive and his military ability. If these antagonists could be countered it would not be very difficult for Shivaji to neutralise the Nayak of Madura.

The factional strife at Adilshahi court was to prove very advantageous for the progress of the plans of Shivaji. Resulting from the conflict between the Deccanis and Afghans in the kingdom of Bijapur, Nasir Muhammad found himself effectively separated from his fellow Governor Sher Khan Lodi, and under the circumstances, he preferred to gravitate closer towards the ambit of the Qutbshahi court rather than form a common front with Sher Khan Lodi. Shivaji's

arrangements with the Qutbshah would also pave the way for an understanding with Nasir Muhammad and a facile conquest of the formidable fort of Gingee would, therefore, be a foregone conclusion.

Shivaji in the Carnatic

When Shivaji appeared in the Carnatic in May 1677, had it been possible for Chokkanatha of Madura and Ekkoji of Tanjore,²² who were after all, both feudatories of Bijapur, to have combined with Sher Khan, the Adilshahi Governor of Valikondapuram, the invader would have found his path beset with many more difficulties. However, not only was there no sense of cooperation, but the lightning speed with which Shivaji deployed his forces took his adversaries completely by surprise. Sher Khan Lodi was routed at Tiruvadi on 6 July 1677, a tribute was exacted from Chokkanatha at Trimalavadi where an abortive meeting also took place with Ekkoji, all these events being kaleidoscoped within the space of one month.

Shivaji left the Carnatic at about the end of July 1677. The Mughals had started a new offensive against Bijapur and it was not in the interest of Shivaji to allow the former to effect too drastic a change in their favour. It was on his return path that he undertook a campaign against Chikkadeva Raya. Although Chikkadeva Raya defeated Shivaji at the battle of Srirangpatnam,²³ Shivaji was said to have carried away considerable plunder from Srirangpatnam.²⁴ The success of the Mysore campaign of Shivaji is to be judged not so much in terms of what he succeeded in achieving in relation to Chikkadeva Raya, but rather in the reminder which he gave to Ekkoji that the later could not afford to lose interest in his father's possessions in Mysore with impunity. Shivaji brought under his control Shahji's possessions in Mysore such as Bangalore, Kolar, Hoskote, Sira and Chikkaballapur, which he put in a proper state of defence.²⁵ Although Shivaji did not succeed in the reduction of Chikkadeva Raya, to the extent that he made it more difficult for the latter to expand at will into the territories of Ekkoji in this reign he could be said to have put a barrier in the path of the expansion of Mysore, no matter how transient this may have proved in the long term.²⁶

Shivaji left Mysore sometime between 17 October and 14 November 1677. Vellore fell to the Maratha forces of occupation on 22 July 1678 after a siege which had lasted one year and two months. After several hostile engagements with Ekkoji a final treaty was signed some time after March 1678.²⁷ In November 1679 Shivaji secured Adilshahi recognition of these terms in return for the help which he gave to Bijapur.²⁸ The relations between the Tanjore-Maratha dynasty and family of the Chhatrapati appears to have been reasonably stable after this date, and later, when Rajaram was forced to flee to Gingee in 1689, he received considerable support from Shahji, the son of Ekkoji who had succeeded his father on the throne of Tanjore.²⁹

Impact of the Expedition of Shivaji.

Shivaji's action in the Carnatic were certainly more indicative of a desire to effect a permanent annexation rather than that of squeezing out quick profits. The pattern of control which he established in his newly conquered regions in the south was very similar to that which had existed under the previous Adilshahi administration. The *Memories* compiled by the contemporary observer, Francois Martin, has several details with regard to the model of administration established by Shivaji in the portions which had previously been included in the Governorships of Nasir Muhammad and Sher Khan, the parts which it must be repeated here, had formed the most closely integrated of Adilshahi possessions in the Carnatic. Shivaji bound the two units closer together, providing both with a common headquarters at Gingee. Had Shivaji survived for a longer period of time, or had there been a greater degree of stability in the kingdom established by him, it would perhaps have been possible to note if the new set of masters followed the old channel of trade which had found an outlet at Porto Novo. With regard to the Bangalore region, it is not clear whether a separate administration was set up for this area or whether it was also included within the jurisdiction of Gingee.³⁰ In view of the special family links which had emerged from the establishment of Ekkoji or Vyankoji at Tanjore, the relations between Shivaji and Vyankoji of Tanjore fell into a different category and has already been noted. It is to be stressed, however, that since Ekkoji

was never completely at ease in his relations with his brother, he preferred to emphasise his continued status as a feudatory of the Adil-Shah rather than claim the right to independent existence.³¹ In his relations with Madura, Shivaji was perhaps guided by his relation as to how difficult it would be to achieve the effective consolidation of this unit which had been virtually left outside the sphere of direct Adilshahi control also under the previous regime. Shivaji's immediate aim was probably limited to that of asserting his right to interference rather than in the exercise of any form of direct control over Madura. This would explain why the demand made of Caokkanatha was computed in monetary terms³² rather than that of further territorial accessions.

Shivaji's relations with the Europeans are of some interest, as in the absence of any other material, these can be taken as indicative of his policy in the Carnatic towards mercantile classes as a whole. There is sufficient evidence of the importance given by Shivaji to the propagation of commerce on the west coast.³³ Several instances point to the fact that there was no major departure from this policy in the Carnatic. Martin makes mention of an instance in which there was a substantial increase in land revenue as a result of the innovative efforts made by the Maratha administrators.³⁴ Sardesai quotes Shivaji's assertion that under his control the Bangalore possessions of Ekkoji could show an annual increase of three lakh huns in revenue.³⁵ It was perhaps because Shivaji wished to achieve the conquest of the Carnatic with a minimum of dislocation that he showed such an even handed approach towards the Europeans. After his initial request for munitions had been turned down by the English at Madras,³⁶ he took no further steps against them. Despite the links between the French and Sher Khan, the most important adversary of Shivaji, Shivaji made no distinction between the mercantile interests of the French and those of the Dutch, according to both confirmation of their existing privileges³⁷. The only stipulation laid down for the Dutch was that they were to abstain from traffic in slavery³⁸. The friction which emerged with regard to the status to be accorded to Indian employees of the European trading companies was perhaps of too minor a nature to warrant the attention of Shivaji and a *via media* was soon worked out at the lower levels of the administrative hierarchy³⁹. It would perhaps be legitimate to assume that the

position accorded to European traders formed a part of a broader policy of Shivaji aimed at the reassurance of indigenous mercantile groups. The time factor, however, prevented the impact of this policy from being demonstrated in a more tangible form. The virulent criticism of Maratha administration voiced by Francois Martin may only be accepted with caution as the impartiality of this author is not always beyond doubt.

In conclusion it may be asserted that the events of the Carnatic enterprise showed that Shivaji had gone well beyond the objectives which he claimed to have originally set himself when he had stated that it was intention to annex only those portions of Bijapuri Carnatic which had belonged to his father. Nasir Muhammad was duped no less than Abul Hasan Tana Shah and Gingee was annexed in the same manner as the territories of Sher Khan Lodi. The Adil Shah had been despoiled and the Qutb Shah had been defied with impunity. A viable commercial outlet had been obtained in the south and the stage had been set for deeper infiltration into this region as well as that lying to the north of it. Shivaji had no desire to oust his brother Vyankoji from Tanjore, and his relations with the Maratha principality of Tanjore could be said to have formed a part of a broader policy towards Mysore. Hindus, irrespective of caste, were not accorded any special status and the actions of Shivaji clearly demonstrated that he was more interested in the mechanics of effective administration and successful warfare rather than in the play of communal decision making.

REFERENCES

1. See *Journal of Indian History*, 1924, p. 64. Scholars may perhaps be somewhat puzzled as to why a region, predominantly in Tamil Nadu should have received the appellation of *Carnatic*. Monier Williams lists (Karnata) as the term "anciently applied to central districts of the Peninsula including Mysore". Both the terms, *Karnatak* and *Carnatic*, may be traced back to the Sanskrit term . H. K. Sherwani (*History of the*

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Qutb Shahi Dynasty, New Delhi, 1974 p. 455), uses the term *Eastern Karnatak* to refer to the area defined as Carnatic in this article. Dr. P. M. Joshi has suggested that the term *Carnatic* may have been a legacy of Vijayanagar rule. After the battle of Talikota in 1565 the capital of the truncated kingdom of Vijaynagar was shifted initially to Penukonda and then to Chandragiri both located in modern Andhra Pradesh. The last centre was at Vellore in Tamil Nadu. The rulers of the Vijayanagar dynasty had been known as rulers of the Carnatic (*Karnata* of Monier Williams). When they moved to Penukonda, Chandragiri and Vellore, this title must have followed them to their new capital cities. This would explain how the term *Carnatic* came into being to refer to specific region in this part of India.

2. M. A. Nayeem, *External Relations of Bijapur Kingdom*, Hyderabad, 1974, pp. 142-144, 163-166.
3. For the dividing line between the Carnatic possessions of Golconda and Bijapur see M. Wilks, *Historical Sketches of the South of India*, Mysore, I, 1930, pp. 78-79; *Indica*, 1972, pp. 102-103.
4. For the internal constituents of this unit see Muddachari, *op. cit.*, p. 50.
5. For further details see Lotika Varadarajan, *Memoirs of Francois Martin*, I, unpublished ms., Chap. VI, n. 4.
6. The Nayaks of Tanjore and Madura had agreed to pay tribute to the Adil Shah in 1649. Nayeem, *op. cit.*, p. 143.
7. This battle was fought in the year 1667.
8. Muddachari, *op. cit.*, pp. 63, 68-69.
9. See S. Aiyar, *History of the Nayaks of Madura*, Madras, 1921 pp. 180-181; Muddachari, *op. cit.*, pp. 92-93.
10. Cf. C. K. Srinivasan, *Maratha Rule in the Carnatic*, Annamalai-nagar, 1945, pp. 124-134.
11. These included Colombo, Negombo, Arippe, the Island of Mannar, Jaffna, Batticaloa. Galle, Alikan, Kulutara, Kalipitiya, Trincomatlee and Kottiar. Faule, *Vyages to the East*

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- Indies*, p. 205; *Ceylon Journal of Historical and Social Studies*, 1965, pp. 110-111, 115.
12. S. Aiyar *op. cit.*, pp. 301-302.
 13. When the French had made their unsuccessful attempt to establish themselves at San Thome between 1672-1674 they had established a counter at Pondicherry in 1672 in the hope that this could serve as a base for the procurement of provisions for San Thome. *Revue des Questions Historiques*, 1897, pp. 187-188.
 14. *Bibliothèque Nationale, Nouvelles Acquisitions (B. N., N. A.)* 9352(86). The term Southern Seas in seventeenth century European parlance denoted the seaways of the Spice Islands.
 15. For further details see the paper entitled *Factors which influenced the relations between the French and Shivaji*, presented by the author at the Maratha History Seminar held at Poona in November, 1974.
 16. Please refer to S. Pagadi, *Chhatrapati Shivaji*, Poona 1974.
 17. Please see *B. N., N. A.*, 9352(89); *A. Martineau, Memoires de Francois Martin (Memoires)*, II, Paris, 1932, p. 22; V. G. Hatakhar, *Relations between the French and Marathas, 1668-1815*, Bombay, 1958, pp. 9-10.
 18. Cf. Pagadi, *op. cit.*, p. 267.
 19. The view propagated by B. Muddachari, *op. cit.*, p. 64. Cf. M. F. Hasan, *Bangalore through the centuries*, Bangalore, 1970, pp. 38-39.
 20. Hanumante is said to have impressed on Shivaji the numerous irreligious acts of Ekkoji which caused the former to take the decision to intercede in person. M. G. Diagon, *Histoire detaillee des rois du Carnatic par Narayanam Poulle*, pp. 68-69.
 21. For the terms see Pagadi, *op. cit.*, p. 265.
 22. Nayeem, *op. cit.*, p. 207.
 23. This battle took place some time between August and September 1677. See Muddachari, *op. cit.*, p. 81.
 24. *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*
 25. Sardesai, *op. cit.*, I, p. 249; Muddachari, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

26. At the time of the offensive waged by the Mughals against Rajaram in the south, Bangalore was captured from the Marathas by the Mughal commander, Kasim Khan, in 1687. The Mughals supported Chikkadeva Raya as they wished to use him as a counterpoise to Maratha presence in the south. In 1690, with the shifting of the Mughal provincial capital from Bangalore to Sira in the north, the former city was sold to Chikkadeva Raya. M. F. Hasan, *op. cit.*, pp. 54-58. Cf. Wilks *op. cit.*, pp. 111-112.
27. Srinivasan, *op. cit.*, pp. 166-167. For the terms of this treaty see Sardesai, *op. cit.*, pp. 250-252. From the information given by Sardesai it becomes quite clear that for all practical purposes Ekkoji lost control over the Bangalore portion of his inheritance.
28. Nayeem, *op. cit.*, p. 209.
29. Srinivasan, *op. cit.*, p. 167. The date for the death of Ekkoji is variously assigned to either the year 1683 or 1686. *Ibid.*, pp. 171-172.
30. Cf. Pagadi, *op. cit.*, pp. 288-289, and Muddachari, *op. cit.*, p. 83.
31. Sardesai, *op. cit.*, p. 247.
32. Chokkanatha had paid 6 lakh huns to Shivaji, *Ibid.*, p. 246.
33. *English Records on Shivaji (E. R. S.)*, Poona, 1931, I, p. 372; A. R. Kulkarni, *Maharashtra in the Age of Shivaji*, Poona, 1969, pp. 206-207.
34. Martineau, *Memoires*, II, P. 152.
35. It is interesting to note that Shivaji makes use of the words "...when well managed" to advance this claim. Sardesai, *op. cit.*, p. 251.
36. *E. R. S.*, II, pp. 137-138.
37. Martineau, *Memoires*, II, pp. 112, 194.
38. Pagadi, *op. cit.*, p. 287.
39. Further details may be found in the reference given in footnote 15 above.

THE PERMANENT SETTLEMENT IN THE SECOND DIVISION OF THE VISAKHAPATNAM DISTRICT - A CASE STUDY

M. S. R. Anjaneyulu

At the time of the permanent settlement, the Vizagapatam district consisted of three equal divisions. Cassimcotah, the pergunahs of Worutlah, Cotta Cotah, Woopalam and Pakinadoo together with the Anakapalli Zamindari which were added to the 'Havelly' and the Vizagapatam Farms formed the first division. The second division consisted of the Vizianagaram Zamindari and the Hill Zamindaris. The Chicacole 'Havelly' with the adjoining Zamindaries of Kimmedy and Tekkali constituted the third division.

There were sixteen zamindaries in the second division. Webb, the Collector, reported on 10th June 1802 on eight Zamindaris, viz., Vizianagaram, Palakonda, Kurupam, Merangi, Sangamvalsa, Chemudu, Salur and Tada-Pachipenta and his successor Robert Alexander reported on 20 April 1803 on the rest, viz., Belgaum, Bobbili, Andra, Sarapalli-Bhimavaram, Kasipuram, Madugula, Golconda and Jeypore.

Webb submitted an abstract of gross and net revenue of Zamindaries excluding the inhabitants share, maniams, etc., - ready money collections of all kinds. He also furnished an Abstract of the collections of three years and their average for each Zamindari and particulars of yearly collections from each village for three years and recommended on the Permanent Settlements.

Alexander submitted a general Abstract of the produce of his division and a new *jama* formed on the prepositions in his and Webb's reports and an Abstract of the '*Kahm Junma*' for three years of the Zamindaries not reported by Webb. He also remarked on some Zamindaries reported by Webb as he differed from him on some points.

Webb first dealt with the Vizianagaram. He considered that the Circuit Committee's accounts of it had "unavoidably swelled the

former scale of ability of the country beyond its just extent" and that "any estimate founded on them ... would be liable to the same defect of over calculation".

At the time of the permanent settlement, Vizianagaram contained 24 "purgunnahs or Hundas", comprising eight hundred and thirty-four *jirayati* (assessable) villages, besides seventy-three '*Mokhasas*' and two hundred and fifty *agraharams*. The average revenue collections for three years (faslies 1206, 1207 and 1208), exclusive of those branches of revenue, which after introducing permanent settlement were to be resumed, was Rs. 7,16,708; two-thirds of which, being the assessment determined on for lands under ancient tenure, are Rs. 4,77,805. Webb, however, in view of the large arable *Jirayati* land then uncultivated, proposed that for the first five years the Zamindar should pay annually Rs. 5,30,000 and thereafter Rs. 5,44,000 to which the Zamindar had agreed.

The Board of Revenue, however, thought that the waste land could not be made productive within five years; that Webb's proposals were founded "rather on the consent of the Zamindar ... than on a conviction of the adequacy of the resources of the Zamindari to discharge the demand", and that the existing resources viewed for anticipated improvement would not warrant the proposed rates. According to the principle of 'moderation', they considered it advisable to take a mean between Webb's proposals and two-thirds of the average of the three years accounts and accordingly recommended that the permanent assessment should be Rs. 5,00,000.

As regards the other Zamindaris reported on by Webb, he made a similar calculation and recommended permanent assessments in some cases greater and in some less than two-thirds of the average of three years taking into account the additional capacity of each Zamindari, its local advantages and disadvantages including fertility or otherwise of the soil, water supply etc., the expense for 'peons', who "could not be disbanded without endangering the tranquility of the country" and other factors.

Webb next reported on Palakonda, consisting of 225 villages. The Collections were Rs. 77,665-13-3; two thirds of which are

Rs. 51,443-14-5. But, as it was 'advantageously situated' for improvement, the Collector proposed Rs. 57,000. But the Board of Revenue observing "for the reasons we have adduced with respect to the Zamindari of Vizianagaaram" considered the amount "too great to be immediately assessed on Palakonda" and recommended Rs. 51,000 for five years and Rs. 55,000 thereafter. The permanent settlement was concluded with Venkatapati Raju.

For Merangi, the permanent settlement was made with Satru-cherla Ganga Raju. Then it had 49 *jirayati villages* and 19 *Agraharams*. Eventhough two-thirds of the collections came to Rs. 19,697 the Collector, observing, that "having long recognised the difficulty which Ganga Rauze has experienced in making good his engagements... advertig also to the comparatively unfavourable predicament on which this Zamindar stands from the local circumstances of his country ... and to his being subject to a considerable charge for ready money allowances to peons"¹⁰, recommended Rs. 14,000 for the first two years, Rs. 16,000 for the next three years and Rs. 18,500 thereafter. This was approved".

The next Zamindari, Kurupam, contained 48 *jirayati villages*, 10 *agraharams* and 8 Mokhasas. Its average collections were Rs. 24,991. Two-thirds of it would be Rs. 16,660, but as the Zamindar had to expend Rs. 4,085 annually for 'peons' who, Webb felt, could not be disbanded, he proposed Rs. 10,500 for the first two years, Rs. 12,000 for the third, fourth and fifth years and Rs. 14,5000 thereafter. At the recommendation of the Board the Government sanctioned it.

The Zamindar of Sangmvalsa was Nissanka Venkanna with whom Webb made the settlement. There were nineteen *jirayati villages* and one *agraharam* and the average collections were Rs. 9,922-13-5. Two thirds of this would be Rs. 6,615-3-8, but there were 'some local advantages', and the Zamindar would acquiesce in an assessment of Rs. 7,000 and Webb recommended it. However, the Board reduced it to Rs. 6,700 observing that "over contingent advantages a principle of moderation should have prevailing influence". The Governor-in-Council concurred.

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Chemudu was the next Zamindari on which Webb reported to the Board of Revenue. It contained thirteen *Jirayati villages* and two *agraharams* and its yearly revenue was Rs. 9,278-0-1. "As its uncultivated arable jirayati ground is confined to so small a quantity as six garces, and in consideration of the irregularity to which the crops of his country are exposed from the local disadvantages, viz., alienated as *agraharams* mokhasas and maniams, collections under the head of Sadar and ready money allowances to peons"¹², the Collector suggested Rs. 5,000. The Board of Revenue recommended this.

The Zamindari of Teda-Panchipenta comprised fifteen *jirayati villages* including two hill 'muttas', Taduru and Teda, the first containing 19 and the second 132 hamlets, embracing a large area. The land revenue was Rs. 7,480-4-3. Two-thirds of this amount would be Rs. 4,986-14-6. Containing "a great deal of dry grain ground, and that mostly of a poor and stoney quality, and but a small proportion of paddy ground", this Zamindari was "one of the least productive countries in this division".¹³ Further, the Zamindar paid Rs. 1,677-6-8 a year to 'peons' to protect his villages from the hill people. So Webb recommended Rs. 3,000 and the Board agreed.

Salur was the last Zamindari on which Webb reported to the Board of Revenue. Then its Zamindar was Sanyasi Raju, son of Ramachandra Raju. It consisted of three purgunnahs containing 122 *jirayati villages* and 27 *agraharams*. "Much of the soil of this Zamindari is of a poor and sotney quality like pachipenta upon which it borders, and it is not reckoned productive in proportion to its extent. The purgunnah of Mucwa, however which forms the northern part of it, contains by one of the three riverse which afterwards unite and join the Chicacole river, produces good crops of paddy"¹⁴.

Its three year average revenue was Rs. 49,592-8-6, and "with the addition of eleven hundred and thirty two rupees the expected future product of the Zamindari of 84 garces of jeroyeti dry grain and 55 garces of paddy ground, at present uncultivated, but which may hereafter be brought into a state of culture, exhibits as the aggregate of present and future resource of this Zamindari of Rs. 50,724-8-6 of which sum would amonnt only to Rs. 33,816-5-8". So, Webb

ascertained that "this Zamindar would not refuse accede to an assessment of Rs. 40,000 exclusive of Sayer and moturpha revenue this Zamindari surrendered to Government"¹⁴. So he recommended that amount.

But Alexander, Webb's successor, observed that, as Sanyasi Ramachandra Raju, "unless a decision on the claim is come to a permanent settlement can hardly be concluded". "Should Sanyasi Raju be confirmed in possession of" the Zamindari, Alexander considering the proposed 'dowle' of Rs. 40,000 'too high' as "the principal and by a far most productive purgunna" i.e., Makkuva, "was held against the will of the Zamindar by another" viz., Chandrasekhara Raju thereby involving the Zamindar in pecuniary difficulties, suggested an "entirely new modelled" assessment of Rs. 36,000¹⁵. The Board of Revenue observing that "our view of the subject will be confined to the consideration that the Salur Zamindari not having been divided by the sanction of Government, the sole right to it vests in Sanyasi Rauze, and so long as he shall discharge with punctuality the public demand, the Sircar, under the judicial system, cannot interfere between him and those persons who hold as renters under him, and as this would appear to be the situation of Sanyasi Raju the Zamindar must be at liberty either to form new arrangements with him or to resume the purgannah as he may think proper", recommended that "a permanent settlement be immediately formed with Sanyasi Raju for the Zamindari of Salur, including the purgannah of Muewa, at the annual jumma of Rs. 36,000"¹⁶.

Alexander in his report, dated 20 April 1803, took up Bobbili Zamindari first. This Zamindari "next in point of value to that of Vizianagaram, to which it forms the northern boundary, exhibits a tract of country, as compact in its situation and as productive for its size, as any Zaminnari in the vizagapatam district". It consisted of three purgunnahs, Bobbili, Raiam and Kavite containing 140 *jirayati* villages, 51 *agraharams* and 1 Mokhasa. According to the "Khaum accounts" of faslis 1207, 1208 and 1209, the average gross revenue was Rs. 1,35,108. Deducting the revenue on account of Sayer etc., the

balance was Rs. 1,28,240, two-thirds of which came to Rs. 85,493. However, Alexander felt that, considering the fertility of the soil, which could be improved and "its favourable situation removed from the danger of disturbance to which some of the hill Zamindaries are subject, a high permanent settlement might be fixed". So, he proposed that "the permanent land tax of the Zamindari" might be fixed at Rs. 90,000 "with justice both to the Government and Zamindar"¹⁷.

The Board of Revenue remarked that although it appeared that the resources of the Zamindari were sufficient to make good the assessment proposed by Alexander, they were "nevertheless unwilling immediately to exact a revenue from it exceeding by nearly Rs. 5,000 the average of the three year's collections"¹⁸. They recommended that "the jumma be fixed in russed to commence at Rs. 84,000 for the first two years, at Rs. 87,000 for the third, fourth and at Rs. 90,000 permanently.

The Zamindar of Andra was formerly a 'tributary and ally'²⁰ to the Pūsapāṭi family and paid Rs. 1,500. It consisted of 33 villages. Of these nine only were *jirayati* or assessable, "22 being alienated as Mokhasas, or more properly speaking, the produce applied as 'Vasati' or subsistence to Dora's peons and Manyamdars and the remaining two being *Agraharams*"²¹. The three year average, excluding alienated lands sayer and other branches of revenue reserved to Government would be Rs. 3,265. If two thirds of this sum Rs. 2,177, were taken, the remainder would be inadequate for subsistence. Alexander observed, "Independent of the inadequacy of one-third of the above sum to support in comfort and respectability, a landholder whose estate exhibits no immediate field for improvement, policy would, I think, dictate the expediency in this and other instances, of Waiving the principle of assessing the country with two-thirds of its gross Circar dowle, with a view to attach the proprietor to the new system of judicature by enhancing the value of the rights which it is the object of its institution to secure to him.....". So, he recommended that "the revenue of this estate which was perhaps, by the Pūsapāṭi family established from motives of alarm, should be continued by the Company from those of policy and conciliation"²².

and, deducting Rs. 120 for Sayer, the balance of Rs. 1,380 should be fixed, considering "the difficulty too of realizing revenue by the course of legal process, as directed by the Judicial regulations, in situations where the sale of land would afford so little encouragement for competition". The Board of Revenue agreed.

At the time of the permanent settlement, Madugula consisted of 103 villages of which 77 were *jirayati* and *agrahams*. Two-thirds of the three year average receipts, after deducting the revenues reserved to Government would be Rs. 28,264. Alexander considered this sum as too low, considering the prospects of improvement. He observed, "the greatest part of this country exhibits a soil and situation for agriculture, perhaps not to be surpassed in any part of the division, numerous nullas from the hills besides the principal river affording the means of irrigation by water courses in almost all directions, and the declivities from the higher parts of the country, conveying the water to tanks or situations where tanks might be formed in almost all the villages....."²⁶. But considering "the present situation of the country which does partially display the recovery from the effects of the famine.....as well as the pecuniary embarrassments of the Zamindar, which are heightened by the absolute necessity of retaining very numerous forces composed of Dorahs and peons and others, who assert a kind of hereditary claims on subsistence from the Circar land, which he would find it difficult to set aside", he recommended that "if Government are desirous of affording him the means of becoming a respectable, and independent proprietor of land from whose Zamindari a regular and permanent revenue may be expected without any early interruption"²⁷ the assessment should be Rs. 25,000 for the first two years, to Rs. 30,000 for the next three years and thereafter Rs. 35,000. "A due consideration of the public interests, the resources of Zamindari and the arguments by which Alexander has supported his recommendation of limiting temporarily the demand on the Zamindari"²⁸ induced the Board of Revenue to admit this.

The Zamindari of Golconda contained, excluding the hill country which was classed as one Hunda, 66 villages of which 42 villages were alienated leaving to the Zamindar 24 villages. But even

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of this "a very considerable share of the produce" Alexander reported, "is regularly allotted by Doomballahs or Sanads²⁶ to the subsistence of persons in the Zamindar's service: which although enjoyed nominally at his pleasure, he would find it very difficult in many instances either to withhold or transfer".

The Zamindari "has not.....the advantage of any plain.....and in consequence its cultivation is scanty and circumscribed, its climate unhealthy and its inhabitants poor and greatly in want of civilization, circumstances that must of course ever tend to render its resources precarious"²⁷.

The three year average collections, after the usual deductions, was Rs. 13,130. The Collector considered that two-thirds of this would be "too low for a standard for calculation of the general average produce of the country" as during the two last years of the term the district was disturbed by divisions among the principal inhabitants which occasioned a change of management very prejudicial to its affairs and to this evil was added in fasli 1209 that of a season generally unfavourable to agriculture". On the other hand, the gross receipts of faslis 1210 and 1211 amounting to Rs. 19,906 and Rs. 19,984 respectively, induced him to consider "the receipts of those years as too large to be safely taken as the basis of a permanent assessment" as the collections were the result of "the active and rigorous management of Nagannah, the late Diwan ... as well as uncommonly favourable seasons ...". So he "inclined to recommend a diminution rather than an increase of the jumma" and proposed Rs. 10,000 "as a medium valuation ... to be fixed in perpetuity" which, considering the necessity of expenses to hill Zamindars' ... "will not ... leave the proprietor more on an average than a suitable maintenance for himself and family, with a provision against the occurrence of bad season"²⁸. The Board of Revenue agreed.

Jeypore Zamindari was granted at a fixed jama of Rs. 25,000. The Collector regretted that it was impracticable, owing to the remote situation and unhealthy climate, to obtain elucidation of the several branches of revenue. He remarked that the 'average receipts of the Zamindar' for three years including sayer were Rs. 45,647; "which

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when the easy jumma paid to the Company, of Rupees 25,000 is considered, affords an ample surplus for the maintenance of the Zamindar; and of course when the Sayer shall be resumed, a proportionate deduction must be made in the above jumma." "Rs. 9,000 were deducted on account of the resumption of the sayer and the Board proposed that the balance should be fixed.

The Zamindari of Belgaum was granted to Sundaranarrain Patro during his life at Rs. 10,500. The three year average of collections, after the usual deductions, was Rs. 15,282. Alexander reported: "when the principle upon which Permanent Settlement is established is considered, and the expected improvement to result to the country and its ryots by the landholders having a permanent interest in the soil, I do not imagin it will be the intention of Government to make an exception to the general system in the case of Belgaum, but that a *sumuk-i-malkeut-istimrar* will be granted to Soonder Narain Pauter in common with the other Zamindars; as however the reversion of so good and compact an estate, encumbered with only one tenant for life is, of course, a valuable property and what would certainly find a ready sale I see no reason for its being given up to the present Zamindar for nothing, and as the fixing a a permanent settlement on the affords a fit opportunity both of resuming the sayer and negotiating the sale of the permanent property in the soil hitherto only granted for life to Soonder Narain Pauter". So he recommended that "an immediate relinquishment of the resumed branches of revenue without any consequent remission in the jumma would be a fair mode of settlement.....". The Board agreed to the jama of Rs. 10,500 on which the Zamindari was already held.

At the time of the Permanent Settlement Kasipuram was "a small purgannah" containing the Fort and Cusbah of the former Zamindari of 'Sringavarapah Kota' of the Muky family, the last being Raya Bhupal Raju. In 1796, most of the former territory was included in the cowl of Narayana Raju. The Collector remarked that "like Jeypore and the very hill country in most of the Zamindaries, the land is not estimated by any nominal determinate measurement, but its average annual produce (excluding sayar) for the last three years is ascertained to be Rs. 816". Two-thirds of this

would be Rs. 544. He considering it "a revenue evidently too small to constitute the Jammabandi of a separate Zamindar and as the person who has for some years held it has in fact done so, on the part of the Vizianagaram Zamindar", proposed that "the purgannah or mootah of Casipuram should be incorporated in the Vizianagaram Zamindari on a jumma of Rs. 600"³¹. The Board of Revenue agreed.

Under the Pusapatis Sarvapilly-Bhimavaram was a separate Zamindari with a tribute of Rs. 600/-. The owner Jogi Raj, having in 1796 joined Muky Rayabhupal Raju, was turned out by Webb who granted the hunda to Ramanna Dora of Andra. The average collections were estimated as Rs. 815 and it was assigned to Ramanna Dora at a jama of Rs. 400/-.

The Government approved on 22 October 1803 the Board's recommendations of 22 September, 1803 and the Board instructed the Collector, on 17 November 1803, to implement it³².

Thus the East India Company established revenues of the division by making settlement permanently with the Zamindars of the district. Prior to 1794 all the Zamindaries of the district were under the control of the Pusapati family. But after the death of Vijayarama Raju in the Battle of Padmanabham, the Company in 1796, anxious to diminish "the overgrown extent and power" of Vizianagaram and establish their "own reputation for justice"³³, adopted the policy of reinstating several feudatories of Vizianagaram, bringing them under their own control. In 1802-3 the Company introduced permanent settlement as yet another measure for complete consolidation. All the ancient Zamindaries were handed over to their owners in perpetuity on a fixed peshkash. But owing to extravagance, negligence, consequent degeneration of administration, family feuds for power and succession disputes, there were disorders in the Zamindaries which affected the revenue administration and political situation. Further, some of them were refractory; and, aided by a wild, unhealthy and inaccessible 'country' they harrassed the British and kept the district in leash for the next thirty years. The permanent settlement did not work well and the collectors had still to apply the punitive policies like attach-

ments, auction and sequestration. But they used to restore after realising arrears and give them chance for better administration. However, the Zamindars could not reciprocate and rise to the occasion. The recalcitrant Zamindars were visited with forfeiture. Thus the introduction of permanent settlement opened a new chapter in the history of the relations between the Company and the Zamindars.

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2. From Government in Consultation, 16 March, 1796, General Report of the Board of Revenue. dated 30 June, 1796, para 37.
3. Correspondence Relative to the Permanent Settlement of Zamindaries in the late 2nd division of Vizagapatam – Selections from the Records of the Board of Revenue (Land Revenue) (1909), pp. 1-25.
4. Land held either at a low assessment or altogether free, in consideration of services done to the state or community, as in the case of the officers and servants of a village.
5. Report of the Committee of Circuit in the Cassimcotah Division of the Chicacole Circar, 11th October, 1784 (Printed 1914) p. 5.
6. Correspondence Relative to the Permanent Settlement, Opt. Cit., p. 3.
7. Is a well-known tenure in Northern Circars, It implies a tenure subject to service.
8. A village or a part of one, occupied by Brahmins and held either rent-free under special grants or at a reduced rate of assessment.

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10. Webb's Report, Opt. Cit., p. 8.
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23. Ibid., p. 14.
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26. A grant, a charter, a patent: a document conveying to an individual emoluments titles, privileges, offices, or the Government rights to revenue from land and c., under the seal of the authority.
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SOME ASPECTS OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN CEDED DISTRICTS : 1800-1810

A. Jagannadham

The 'Ceded Districts' now known as Rayalaseema formed a part of the old Empire of Vijayanagar. After the battle of Raksas Tangadi in 1565, as the Golconda Kings failed to establish a system of Government in any way comparable to that of Vijayanagar dynasty, the region fell into the hands of a number of petty chiefs. In 1677-78, these districts were over-run by Shivaji; later on they formed part of the Nizam's dominions, but were subsequently incorporated in the kingdom of Mysore by Haider Ali. By the treaty of 1792, the greater part of the 'Ceded Districts' reverted to the Nizam and the remainder was allotted to him in 1799. In the year 1800, under a treaty of general defensive alliance the Nizam Ceded the Districts to the East India Company; in perpetuity as a *tunkhal* in lieu of the expense of the subsidiary force employed to protect him.

The greater part of the present Rayalaseema lies within the Southern arid belt and extends over an area of 28,376 Sq. Miles and accounts for 26.7 per cent of the total area of Andhra Pradesh. It now consists of Cuddapah, Kurnool, Ananthapur and Chittoor districts divided into 38 taluks. Out of seventy four drought stricken taluks in the entire Andhra Pradesh twenty four of the hard core taluks lie in Rayalaseema alone.

THE FABRIC OF SOCIETY

The Social structure was broadly based on the four fold division. In actual practice the ranks or classes in society were as follows: According to Mackenzie² there were nearly 30 castes and sub-castes present in every village. This was also corroborated by C. F. Brackinbury in his Cuddapah District Gazetteer³ published in 1906.

Caste is a vital characteristic of the structure of the Hindu society and is of great importance as well in its functioning. It

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impinges in innumerable ways on questions not only of race and religion but also of economics, since it still goes far to determine the occupation, of every individual born into its sphere.⁴ Accordingly in Ceded Districts also there existed occupations based on castes.

The following were the castes that existed generally in every village. Brahmanas - (Smarthas and Madwas mostly devoted to vedic studies), Srivaishnavites, Sri Linga balijas, Telugu balijas, Gajulas, Satanas, Salies, Togalas, Kurnis, Rajus, Komaties, Kummaras, Agasalies, Vadlas, Boyas, Chakalies, Dudekula, Kan- chera, Ediga, Besta, Dasallu, Gandlas Bhattu. Vadas, Yerukula, Kapus of Pakanati and Pedakati, Uppara, Vandra, Mangala, Tamana, Mohammadans, Malas and Madigas were lived in every village.

To mention a few of the caste occupations it may be said that the Brahmins were the priestly clase, the Komaties were the chief traders in Proddutur and other places and Thogatas, Padmasalies, Jandras, Devangalu, Salies and Malas were the chief weaving castes.

The Vadlas were the experts in the *marionette* performance.

The temples were from ancient days the places where every Hindu had to do his puja or worship to the Divine. The life of the community was centered upon the routine ritual of the temple.

Grants of land were given to Brahmins to perform the religious duties to the community. The temples greatly flourished during the time of Matlas and Vijayanagara Rulers. In the days of the rule of the East India Company the purohits or priests usually received shares of income 2½, Barbars got 1½, Bestas 3½, and Washerman 1½ Varahas* at the time of ceremonies.⁵ The principal Deities were Eswara, Sangameswara, Agastheswara, Bairaveswara, Chenna Kesava and Lakshmi Narayana. Festivals were celebrated every year and the temples had *Tasaddiks*** to draw the car during festivals.

The titular Deity of every village was generally a village Goddess. Gangamma, Ellama, Maremma, Sunkulamma, Mulipo-

*Varaha : 3½ Rupees.

**Tasaddiks : A fixed sum paid by the Govt to the temple.

kamma etc., were the principal village goddesses in vogue. Brackenbury observes "But in every case the real religion of the people throughout the Ceded Districts finds its expression not so much in devotion to orthodox Hindu Gods as in the worship of titular deities of the village." Reddies and Kapus used to plant trees and gardens in the villages. These dug wells and constructed tanks in the villages for irrigation purposes.

Prior to the advent of the company, the Ceded Districts were reduced to a barren waste by the rapine and plunder of the poligars and their armed followers. Revenue accounts were destroyed and trees were cut off leaving only dry hill tops.⁶ Lack of political stability had its worst effects on the economy of the region. It is computed that in the year 1800, when the Districts were transferred to the Company's rule, there were scattered through them, exclusive of the Nizams troops, 30,000 armed peons; all of them under the command of 80 poligars who subsisted by rapine and committed excesses everywhere.⁷ As there was no regular Kistbundy or assessment and collection of revenue in instalments the Amildars or Collectors of revenue, pressed the ryots for payments at all seasons of the year. This occasioned a double loss; first because the ryots often absconded immediately after sowing their fields leaving them neglected and this caused a diminution of produce and second because they were obliged on their return at harvest time to sell their crops at great loss.⁸ The troubles created by the unruly poligar or chieftains had also substantially contributed to the ruin of the country. They were in constant war with the Nizam. By this civil strife, the whole country suffered greatly and some tracts became almost entirely depopulated.⁹ Mr. Marris in his report on the settlement of Kurnool District observes that it is impossible to trace any history of the revenue management of the country during the time of Nabobs. There were no laws regulating the relations between the rulers and the ruled, the taxpayer and the taxed. Everything depended on the ruler's own will.....the manner of imposition of the revenue was most arbitrary and the collection most *inquisitious*¹⁰. Each of the Poligar and *Potail* became the leader of a small army and carried on destructive raids in the villages immediately within their reach. Bands of

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robbers wandered through the country, plundering and murdering such travellers who refused to submit to their exactions, while Government, conscious of its weakness, scarcely attempted to interfere.

Thomas Munro's first impression of the Ceded Districts was gloomy. "There is nothing but desolation wherever I have been yet", he wrote. A great proportion of the inhabitants of the Ceded countries were swept away by the famine of 1792 and subsequent bad management prevented them from recovering.

"The extent of 'Sarkar' land in cultivation in Ceded Districts was 3,203,859 acres of which the assessment of fixed revenue was 17,08,115 star pagodas and the quit or extra rent was star pagodas 1,44,840, the total thus being 18,529,55 star pagodas. This worked out an average for the years from Fasli 1213 to 1216 (1803-1806 A.D.). The total Inam land in the Ceded Districts was 2,599,747 acres of which the estimated revenue was 12,35,458 star pagodas. About 1/10th of the whole area was left waste. The Inam of patels and karnams amounted to 64,701,138 acres of which the estimated rent was star pagodas 3,02,587-21-33. The whole of Government and Inam land capable of cultivation amounted to 12,060,923 acres of which the assessment fixed by the survey was 39,54,417 star pagodas.

The total population was 1,917,376. With some margin for inaccuracy, the number of black cattle was estimated at 1,198,613 and that of buffaloes at 493,900, the number of sheep was 1,147,492 and of goats 694,633. The waste which was cultivated, within the space of the last twenty years came to 2,133,363 acres and that which had not been cultivated within that specific period or before, was 4,129,953 acres totalling about six million acres of which about one-sixth was fit for cultivation."¹¹

By 1812, out of 6 million acres in the Ceded Districts only 1/6 was fit for cultivation and waste land was 21,33,363 acres.

Agriculture in the Ceded Districts was a gamble depending on rains. The French proverb says, 'credit supports the farmer as the hangman's rope supports the hanged. So was the case of the farmer of the Ceded Districts.

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Agricultural practices were so stereotyped that if there no heavy rains at certain definite periods dry crops would fail overlarge areas. The economic conditions and habits of the people also, in Munro's opinion, ruled out the chances of success of the lease settlement. Large tracts of land were laid waste and the poorer classes of cultivators were not attached to any one village. They went from place to place in search of better tenures. The ryots generally were so poor that it was always doubtful whether next year they would be in the rank of cultivators or become labourers.¹² The Ceded Districts had no grazing grounds. Bad housing, bad sanitation, insufficient food and impoverished life characterised the economic life of the average ryot.¹³ The agricultural worker would eat from about 24-30 oz of rice per day together with meat very occasionally and some vegetable oil and spices. A wage of 2 seers or just over 4 lb a day, would, if supplemented by the earning of his wife and children, just suffice to maintain a family of five. Deficiency diseases and malnutrition were the order of the day.¹⁴

Chaplin calculated that an ordinary cultivator holding ten acres of dry land and about $\frac{1}{4}$ of an acre of garden land cultivated with two ploughs and four bulls had an income of £ 12. But his expenditure was £ 12.20.¹⁵

Almost everywhere there was more cultivable land than could be cultivated by the labour and stock of the inhabitants. Hereditary rights were seldom in question. The ryot was more concerned to assert his right to relinquish a holding - a right which the Amildar was at pains to deny. The state's admitted share was itself very high, amounting often to more than half the whole crop; and the cultivator was unable to resist the imposition of all manner of extra cesses to meet the demands of the ruler, the Amildar and the village officers.¹⁶ It was said that in practice the ruler and his agents took all that they could get, sometimes even the whole crop, and that the cultivator often kept no more than he could conceal. Besides the land revenue there were a host of miscellaneous taxes, such as taxes on houses, on looms, oil presses, on most petty industries, forest produce and also duties on the transport of goods.¹⁷

On Munro's own testimony, the ryots of the Ceded Districts were the poorest of the Company's subjects, only 17 per cent might be termed to be in good condition, able to pay their cist, 49 per cent were obliged to mortgage their crop to borrow money and 34 per cent to sell their crops to pay the Cist.¹⁸ In Rayadurg taluk alone Sir Thomas Munro States 'nearly half the ryots had migrated; most of the headmen were reduced to poverty, and many of them had been sent to jail. The substantial ryots whose stock supported the agriculture of the villages, were gone.¹⁹ Dr. Buchaman states that one great cause of the poverty of the farmers and consequent poverty of crops in many parts of India is custom of forcing land on people who have no means of cultivating it.'²⁰ South Indian Society was deeply rooted in the soil. It was the possession of land that formed the basis of social classes, regulated their distribution and controlled their relationship. Society was fundamentally traditional and traditionalistic.²¹

Sir Thomas Munro calculated that out of the value of Rs. 100/- gross produce, the Government assessment represented by Rs. 45-A. 12-P.O. and the expenses of cultivation Rs. 40/- leaving a profit to the ryot of only Rs. 14-4-0. The profit was so fluctuating that it might be turned into loss not only in bad seasons, which were by no means infrequent, but also in good seasons, when the prices of produce fell.²² As for as the revenue collection was concerned, they followed an action system.*

Famines and draughts were frequent visitors to Ceded Districts. 'The proximate cause of a famine in times of peace was the failure of crops resulting from insufficient or untimely rainfall.'²³ From 1805 to 1807 there was wide spread failure of Crops. The Ceded Districts covered a total area of 27,500 square miles during the period with a population of 4½ millions, the majority of whom depended upon agriculture for their livelihood. No progress of public works was envisaged, excepting some spasmodic efforts of the Collectors here and there.

*Auction system means that the villages should be grouped to form estates of convenient size to be sold by auction to the highest bidders and they were free to extort exorbitant rates from the peasantry.

In times of scarcity conditions, prices shot upto astronomical heights. To quote Sir T. Munro that 'the rice which formally sold here from twenty five to thirty seers for rupee, is now selling at eight and nine seers. Gram, which in ordinary years sells at from fifty to sixty seers for rupee, is now selling at fourteen seers for rupee, and all other grain is dear in proportion.'²⁴

'The season of 1212 Fasli (1802 A.D.) in the Ceded Districts was very unfavourable and that of 1213 Fasli (1803 A.D.) is said by the inhabitants to have been the worst ever known.'²⁵ Cattle were sent to Nallamalias for grazing in times of famine. The distress was horrible and the season was worse than had ever been known. Munro says 'Had Government lowered the assessment, or even let it remain as before the effects of the famine would probably only have been felt while it lasted but as they raised it nearly 50 per cent. Whenever there was a crop, this addition to the high price necessarily occasioned by the scarcity rendered grain so dear that very little could be purchased by the lower classes of the inhabitants, and great numbers of them perished in consequence'.²⁶ The continuous famine and periodic devastations caused by floods added to the distressed economic conditions of the people.

In the Ceded Districts the failure of the usual rains in 1803 was followed by a famine of unusual severity. The result of it was a universal failure of crops and great mortality of cattle.²⁷

'The scarcity seems to have passed over by October, 1807 and those of the poor who had survived returned to their homes. No complete record of the number of deaths which took place either in Madras or in the Provinces in consequence of this famine was obtainable but from the recorded deaths in Madras during the 1805 - 1807 it would appear that the morality in 1807 was very high. The morality figures were as follows : '²⁸

<i>Years</i>	<i>Deaths</i>
1805	3,225
1806	4,902
1807	17,207

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The condition of the common people was more pathetic and precarious.

Like famine, periodical floods caused by excessive rain were another aspect of the vagaries of nature which did considerable damage to the crops and the people. In the Ceded Districts an extraordinary inundation occurred in October, 1804. The total amount of the estimate for completing the repair of all the tanks, nullahs (pumps) and wells, either damaged or entirely destroyed, to the number of 1,871 was 1,83,950 Star Pagodas. On the occasion of submitting that estimate on 26th May, 1805 it was stated by Munro that of this sum it had been calculated that about 1,37,265 Star Pagodas would be disbursed within Fasli 1214 (1804 A. D.) and the remainder within Fasli 1215 (1805 A. D.)²⁹.

Conclusion :

Misrule and oppression by the Poligars, heavy tax burden on the peasantry, decay of the traditional crafts, and utter negligence of irrigation and transport facilities were the features of these districts till the administration was stabilised and systematised by the East India-Company.

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Dr. A. K. COOMARASWAMY—

A MASTER MIND OF OUR AGE

N. S. Kṛṣṇamūrti

Saint Bonaventura comprehends God as a circle with its centre everywhere and its circumference nowhere.

In doing full justice to Gurudev's (Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy's) omniscient talents, one can safely say that his intellectual output is a circle, with its centre of interest everywhere and its circumference nowhere. His field of scholarly pursuit comprehends not only the knowledge of things of the terrestrial sphere, but his wisdom pervades through the unseable spheres, in delineating the thought of God from ages in the past, the search for it in the modern times and the foundational and fundamental concepts that hold the TRUTH aloft for all time to come. His "Time and Eternity" is a classic for all time.

In his teenages, it is recorded that he captained a foot-ball team, himself playing the centre-half. In his ripe age he has a faultless view of the whole field of scholarship placing himself in the centre and always he has a full grasp of the talents and powers of his own team of scholars and saints. He always leads the subject on hand - the foot-ball - in between the opposing forces of argument; he discerningly spots out the fallacious stand taken by the opponents, spins the argument, spaces the thought and with wisdom shoots straight into the goal of accomplishment. His theses win and acquire laurels for him. He is a sportsman to the core and his attack on the opponent is never rash but only naively sublime with a vein of humour.

All his interpretations of the sublime metaphysical concepts are to re-align the profoundest of thoughts expressed by the saints and the wise of the past, treating with indifference the barriers created by the egoistically prejudiced and racially enslaved little minds and emphati

cally pronouncing that the Truth was and is and will be the same ONE for all time.

He tries his best to re-interpret the mythical utterances of the great seers of all lands. The *unmanifest* can always be expressed only in the comprehensible mythological language, to give the same facility of grasp and felicity of a traditional heritage. The perpetuation of the myth-traditions is more due to the existence of the folklore. The folklore traditionalists preserve the pristine, austere and noble mythical expressions intact, because they are not tampered with by the dialecticians and scientifically-minded logicians. They believe in the BEYOND, and in faith revere the traditional thought as containing in or leading to the PHILOSOPHIA PERENNIS ET UNIVERSALIS – ‘*Sanātana Dharma*’.

His expression is superb and his facile literary output marshalling up the classical utterances of several ancient languages for the uniform presentation of sober thoughts of wisdom is an excelling quality – unrivalled.

Jagadguru Sankaracharya’s masterly discussions are analysed to be based on four tenets of argument and discussion :

1. Sthūṇa nikhanana Nyāya
Planting the Pillar firmly.
2. Alamkṛtya ‘Śiraschedana’
Decorating profusely only to decapitate
3. ‘Śvaśru Pariveṣṭi’
Mother-in-law’s paramount orders.
4. Malla Pratimalla’
Pugilistic polemics.

The profuse and profound commentaries written by Śankarācārya to re-vitalise and re-establish the Advaita philosophy of Vedic lore, at a time when ubiquitously prevalent grotesque practices in the name of divine worship were perpetrated, contain interalia, the above four rules of interpretation and exposition. The results are devastating and the establishment of the pure advaitic system of metaphysics is accomplished for ever by the seer Śankarācārya.

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Dr. A. K. C. who also takes on himself the sacred duty of examining to the core the ancient classics followed the above four principles.

Imprimis the digging of the ground deep enough to implant a pillar to support a roofing. It requires a study and grasp of the weight of the roof, its steadfast unshakable existence to be stoic against the vagaries of passing weather, winds and several other factors of VIS MAJOR. The pillar is planted safely and securely. Dr. A. K. C. in his several essays emphatically decrees that the modern industrial growth, without regard to the spiritual and psychic progress of the people concerned, results in the psychic starvation. He digs deep enough into the machine age and endorses it as a murderous civilisation. He quotes the libertine mystic poet William Blake :

“When Nations grow old, the
Arts get cold and Commerce
Settles on every tree”.

He implants the doctrine that safety and social uplift of the individual can lead to the freedom of man only if he follows his ‘Svadharmā’ ordained by his heritage, environment and natural inclination. His pursuit as a duty, hinging his ideal to the other worldliness of his calling, balances the society, and thus its equilibrium of peaceful existence is assured. He further exemplifies his thesis by elaborately discussing that the handicrafts and the artefacts produced by the ancients of all countries are monuments of such a sublime social order.

In his essay on ‘Religious Basis of the forms of Indian Society’ he establishes firmly that the *Āśrama Dharma* is a *svadharmā* fixed for every life-monad even previous to his or its birth. This process is akin to fractional crystallisation. In the psycho-physical evolution of the life monad, he ripens into a particular form, type or pattern or crystal of being fit by his earned potentialities to be a worthy component of a stable and progressive society.

Secondly the person is profusely decorated in royal attire only to be suddenly beheaded unawares. The argument to be refuted is discussed in *extenso* and suddenly the standing plank is removed resul-

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ting in the disillusionment and the fallacious thesis is decapitated. In describing the several metaphysical concepts of several religions, he quotes the frenetic and puerile assertion "My religion is the best". Dr. A. K. C. suddenly uses the guillotine by applying the blade of the sword in the words "to me" i.e., My religion is the best to me". Of course he is against the tergiversation from one's own religion.

Two professors contributed an article on "INTENTION" to a dictionary. Dr. A. K. C. disagreed with their conclusions and finally contributed an article to the American Bookman (1944). He piquantly and with brevity says "I still see no artistic, but only a moral, difference between the successful murder and the successful poem". He quotes (i) the famous colophon sloka of Āśvagoṣa's Soundarandana (Chapter XVIII. 63 and 64) wherein contains, that the work is narrated in a romantic vein only to sugar-coat the supreme knowledge which is intended by such a work. *Inter alia* he also refers to (ii) Dante's triplet (B. T. Dorothy-L-Sayers :) Inferno IX. 61-63).

"O you whose intellects keep their sanity
Do you mark well the doctrine shrouded over
By the strange verses with their mystery".

The vulgate text for this concept is from Rgveda. I. 164.39

"What shall one do with the verse,
If he knows not THAT".

In their proselytising fury the alleged missionaries, says Dr. A. K. C. have thrown false pearls before real swine. This cuts at the foundations of their zeal indulged, in their imperialistic invasions of other nations and fallaciously presuming that those subject-nations are non-descript ones without any bright past and they alone had the invested and self-imposed right of guardianship over other nations, a presumption that is exploded by the events of the twentieth - century.

Himalayan heights have been reached by the literature about the 'Common Man' a member of the proletariat regarding his rights, victimisation and several other things about his alleviation.

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Dr. A. K. C. gives the following interpretation of the 'Common Man'. The same startlingly beheads the argument in favour of the man whose cause is fulminatingly over - emphasised.

"The Common man (communis homo) was originally not the man in the street as such, but the Immanent Deity, the very Man in every man".

This meaning if well understood and our progress remodelled, there can be assured peace everywhere, which has become a desideratum of modern life all over the world.

Again in adverting to the policies of Educational system in the modern times, Dr. A. K. C. pronounces the following effectively to drive home the core of traditional way of learning.

"The Indian point of view is a man can only be said to know, what he knows by heart; what he must go to a book to be reminded of, he merely knows of".

"From the earliest times, Indians have thought of the learned man, not as one who has read much, but as one who has been profoundly taught. It is much rather from a master than from any book that wisdom can be learned".

The tertiary principle needs narration of a very familiar folklore and household story of Indian life. The mother-in-law is the mistress and top-lady of the house. The young and the new daughter-in-law, who is compelled by all types of means to be subservient to the grand lady cannot do any act on her own initiative. A beggar supplicating for a morsel of food is told by the daughter-in-law to go away unoffered. The mother-in-law, who is away from her house at that time, meets the beggar going away from the house and tells him that it is her ladyship that is managing the house and directs him to go back to the house. The mother-in-law reaching home, domineers the situation and orders the beggar to go away and that as the rightful mistress of the house, she has always the right to say Yes or No (It is always the case to say No). Her orders alone are paramount orders *de jure*.

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Even a futile argument has sometimes to be paraded in gusto only to be rejected *in limine*. Such treatment one can easily find in the writings of Dr. A. K. C.

The final rule is pugilistic polemics. This is the way by which regular intellectual feats are performed in driving at a point, establishing an argument supremely and victoriously emphasising the correct and commendable conclusions. In his essay on the "Pertinence of Philosophy", he clearly fights out his way to the establishment of the *Original Truth* that there is only one spiritual Paternity for all metaphysical thinking. He is not able to reconcile to the pseudo-classic utterance of R. Kipling "East is East; West is West, and never the twain shall meet".

He says :

"Few will deny that at present day Western civilisation is faced with the imminent possibility of total functional failure, nor that at the same time this civilisation has long acted and still continues to act as a powerful agent of disorder and oppression throughout the rest of the world. He dare say that both of these conditions are referable to the last analysis to that impotence and arrogance which have found a perfect expression in the dictum "East is East and West is West and never the twain shall meet" - a proposition to which only the most abysmal ignorance and deepest discouragement could have given rise. On the other hand, we recognise that the only possible ground upon which an effective entente of East and West can be accomplished is that of the purely intellectual wisdom that is one and the same at all times and for all men, and is independent of all environmental idiosyncrasy".

Such a hero of wisdom was born on 22-8-1877 in Ceylon to Sir Muttu Coomaraswamy. When Coomaraswamy *films* was only a child of hardly two years old, Coomaraswamy *pere* died suddenly in May 1879. He was tenderly brought up in England by his mother. He became a D. Sc., and after touring the world over, was attracted to the study of Art and Metaphysics of all countries. He spent his time as a Curator and Docent of the Boston Museum, for over three decades and died on 9-9-1947 in America.

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EPILOGUE :

The great soul lived his last day of the life's Journey (P R A Y Ā N A K Ā L A) on 9-9-1947.

The surviving *alter ego* of Gurudev (Mrs. Shilamani Coomaraswamy) expresses herself thus :

"There was no sign of death anywhere, there is none now. We all thought it was a mistake, that we shall wake from the dream. For days I was in a new role. It was a strange part to play, and all those good friends each took part in this queer play called 'life'. Some performed marvellously, some less well - I think I am still 'in a part' perhaps I shall not wake from this until I too, in my time - slough off the snake-skin".

"I need not explain too much; as a son you can understand many unsaid words. Such an experience, one's own Friend and Guru, in one instant to leave off breath, and become a mortal coil - it is my first pulling off the snake-skin to say I was not ready - when is one ready?"

"This is not a death, it is a crossing-over, and this is not to be mourned, but celebrated, that we were too fortunate, we had been graced with his presence, where he was most needed for seventy years. We may be glad to have had him, this long".

"We requested that people do not bring flowers, that he must be permitted to depart in the same quiet dignified way he was accustomed to live. All accepted this wish. Friday morning he was placed on a couch in the living room dressed in a shroud, the universal dress he looked like a Rsi in marble".

"He was still with us in so many ways, no one could believe no one could credit the happening".

(From her letter dt. 25-9-1947 to Tiru S. Dorairajah Singham, Malaysia) Courtesy :

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BOOK REVIEW

The Rate Schools of Godavari by Dr. (Miss) J. Mangamma
Published by the State Archives, Govt. of A. P. Hyderabad, 1973. Pages
100 Price Rs. 4-20.

This is the third monograph published by the State Archives, Government of Andhra Pradesh under the scheme introduced in 1966-67 by the Government, to utilise the various source material available at the State Archives for preparing monographs on modern history of Andhra Pradesh. This monograph is written by Dr. Kum. J. Mangamma, M.A., Ph.D., New Delhi, who is a noted educationist.

"The Rate Schools" as they were known, were special to the Godavari District, which in 19th Century, comprised of the present East and West Godavari Districts. It was the first attempt made by the District authorities to systematise and to start schools with fixed curriculum and with fixed school hours. It ended in a failure and after some further experiments like the "Results Grants Schools" etc., the system was finally changed in 1873-74 by the Local Fund Schools which mainly hold the field even now.

A study like this gives us an idea as to how a voluntary imposition of an education cess payable by the ryots ended in failure, though the agricultural classes who grew richer with the improved irrigation facilities provided by the new Godavari Anicut etc., were very anxious that their wards should benefit by English education. A study of the inception of this novel scheme, and the various modifications which it underwent, till it was finally absorbed in the Local Fund Schools has its own lessons even in modern times. The causes of its failure will be helpful in evolving new schemes suited to the present day conditions.

Basically the "Rate Schools of Godavari" were the brain child of Shri G.N. Taylor, the then Sub-Collector of Rajahmundry who made the first attempt to start English schools in his subdivision. The essence of this scheme was that the agricultural classes should contri-

bute towards the support of an institution that would be available for all alike. The scheme was intended to be self sufficient and to be a voluntary effort. The schools were started only in those places where the ryots themselves proposed to pay the cess for the education of their children along with the *beriz* on their lands.

In the initial stages many villagers came forward to establish such schools and by 1855, about 63 schools were started in the 3 taluqs of Mogulpuri, Undi and Tanuku. The amount of the subscription and the expenditure resulted in a slight surplus of 274½ rupees, of which rupees 234 was transferred to a current account for contingencies, and 40½ rupees were earmarked for 3000 Telugu Books supplied at 8 paise each.

The scheme though enthusiastically welcomed at first, ultimately proved a failure mainly because the successors of Sri Taylors did not have the same initiative enthusiasm and to further educational progress.

The scheme did not therefore make good progress since the revenue officials were lax in the collection work. This was the inherent weakness of the scheme since its success depended on how strong the Commissioners were, and by the simple process of inaction, about a field of activity in which they were neither enlightened nor interested, the revenue officials allowed the schools to abolish themselves by simply freezing funds.

Some further experiments were tried like the "Results Grants System". Ultimately after some more experiments which were also not successful the Local Fund Act was passed and these schools passed under their control.

The present monograph shows in highlight how in less than two decades, the system of education underwent various ups and downs on account of new experimentations in educational policy. The statistics made available in the monograph shows that education at the end, proved more systematic and definite. It is gratifying to note that the monograph instead of being a mere factual narration of events, makes

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an attempt to generalise from the available sources, to present a composite and balanced picture which is the very essence of the Archival Research. The author has to be complimented on a very neat and tidy presentation of an exceedingly interesting subject, viz. the evolution of the educational pattern in the Godavari Districts at the beginning of the British Rule.

It is regrettable to note that the printing of the monograph leaves much to be desired. The paper used is quite cheap and the printing type used is quite unsuited to a research paper of this type. There are some mistakes in proof correcting also. It is hoped that the State Archives will in future make better arrangements to print such research monographs.

—Dr. N. RAMESAN

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Highlights of the Freedom Movement in Andhra Pradesh by Dr. Sarojini Regani, published by the Ministry of Cultural Affairs, Government of Andhra Pradesh, 1972, PP IX + VIII, Price Rs. 2-50:

It was in response to the decision of the Government of Andhra Pradesh that popular books on FREEDOM MOVEMENT should be brought out on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee of the Country's achievement of Freedom that Dr. Sarojini Regani, Reader in History, Osmania University wrote the book entitled "HIGHLIGHTS OF THE FREEDOM MOVEMENT IN ANDHRA PRADESH". Its publication was timely, and it satisfied a real need. Uptill then the only standard book on the subject was the four volume history of the Freedom Struggle in Andhra Pradesh (Andhra) written by the present reviewer, and published by the Government of Andhra Pradesh. It was, however, too unwieldy in size to be read by the lay public. Moreover, it did not deal with the Freedom Movement in Telangana. There was thus a real need for a smaller and more compact book dealing with the History of Freedom Movement both in British-ruled Andhra, and in Nizam-ruled Telangana and Dr. Regani's book admirably fulfils this need. It was written for being read by the lay public. It is a "POPULAR" book in every sense of the term.

Dr. Regani recognises that the movement in Andhra was a part of the All-India Freedom Movement, and consequently devotes much space to the latter. She traces the growth of Indian Nationalism—the significance of Mahatma Gandiji's leadership, the character of mass struggle which he gave to the movement, and his stress on strict observance of the principle of non-violence. It is against this general background that she sketches the history of Freedom-Movement in Andhra Pradesh.

This does not mean that the Andhras did not display any individuality of their own. While they followed the All-Indian Pattern of struggle they adopted on the basis of local issues their own programme of action. Dr. Regani deals in detail with incidents in Andhra like the Chirala-Perala Struggle, the Palnad – Forest Satyagraha, the No Tax

campaign in Pedanandipadu, and several other episodes. She pays a fitting tribute to Andhra Leaders like Duggirala Gopala Krishnayya, Tanguturi Prakasham, Konda Venkatappayya, and several others. It is these details that give flesh and blood to the Freedom Movement, and Dr. Regani deserves credit for incorporating them in her book.

The chapter on Telangana points out the differences between the movement in British-ruled Andhra, and in Telangana ruled by the Nizam. She brings out clearly the role played by the Andhra Mahasabha, the State Congress, the leadership of Madapati Hanumanth Rao and Ramananda Tirtha, the activities of the Communists, and the atrocities of the Razakars. She gives an excellent account of the Police Action of 1948 as a result of which the Hyderabad State was incorporated in to the Indian Union.

To make the book popular she has given the names of a large number of freedom fighters who were sent to jail, and who underwent other kinds of suffering at the hands of the police. Some pages contain only a long list of names. Due perhaps to the haste with which the book was written, some factual errors have also crept into it. For example on page 1 is the statement; "From the inscriptions of Aśoka, we also learn that the Andhras were by and large predominantly Buddhists in their religion, and their Country was an independent Janapada, which was outside the pale of Mauryan Empire. It was on account of this that Aśoka had to wage the Kalinga war..." It is not quite clear what connection there was between the Kalinga war and the conditions in Andhra. On page 146-7 she says that the proposals of Cripps were rejected because of the unsatisfactory character of what was proposed to be done after the conclusion of the World War II but the truth is that they were rejected because of disagreement on the character and composition of the Interim Government. But errors like these are not many, and they can be detected only by the specialists and not by the general reader for whom the book is written.

—M. VENKATARANGIAH

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Freedom at Mid-night by Lorry Collins and Dominique lapierre - Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi, 1976 - PP 500 .

Freedom At Midnight Co-authored by an American Larry Collins, and a Frenchman Dominique Lapierre is a highly picturesque, and overdramatised account of the events during the five months of the Vice-Royalty of Lord Mountbatten in 1947, which resulted in the liquidation of British Rule in India, and the transfer of power from British into Indian hands. As Viceroy Lord Mountbatten fixed August 15, 1947 as the date for the final transfer of power, but curiously Indian astrologers who according to the authors constituted a powerful corporation vetoed his decision on the ground that the day fixed by him was most inauspicious, and suggested that August 14 was preferable. Indian leaders who were to come to power could not ignore the views of the astrologers, and they proposed a compromise which had to be accepted by the Viceroy in spite of all the political authority he possessed. The compromise was that India and Pakistan should become independent Dominions at midnight 14/15. Freedom, consequently, dawned on India at the midnight hour. Hence the title of the book (P-195).

Great credit should be given to the authors for the care with which they collected over a period of three years the large amount of source material running to 6132 pages on which their account is based. Oral history is the current fashion among historians. Naturally much of the material collected by the authors is in the form of tape-records of recollections, and observations of about 500 persons – Britishers, Indians, and Pakistanis – who either participated in the events narrated or were witnesses to them. Among such persons Mountbatten was the most important, and his recollections, and observations form a considerable part of the material collected.

In such recollections there is always the danger that the participant – tape-recorder might exaggerate his own role and belittle the significance of the role of other participants. This can, however, be averted if in examining, and utilising the material thus collected the

historian checks the accuracy of the accounts given to him by participants and witnesses with help of the source material collected by others, and of books written on the subject by other eminent scholars. The authors of the present volume do not seem to have taken adequate care in this regard. The result is that the history as narrated by them consists mainly of what may be called Mountbatten's version of it. In the events of the five months of his Viceroyalty the active role – according to the authors is only his. The role of others like Nehru, Patel, and Gandhiji is passive. All initiative is in his hands. He alone takes the decisions. The others only react to what he says or does. This one-sided view could have been avoided if the authors had gone through the private papers of Nehru, and Patel, and if they had studied with due care the writings of the other historians of Freedom Movement like R. C. Muzumdar, Dr. Tarachand, and V. P. Menon. Several facts have become distorted in consequence!

This is, however, not to deny the crucial role of Mountbatten in the events that led to the final transfer of power. As the authors point out he was a man of keen intellect, capable of taking quick decisions unlike his predecessors Wavell. The authors also rightly refer to the agility of his mind, his unrivalled capacity to get at the root of a problem, however, complicated it might be, his speedy disposal of matters through verbal briefings instead of through lengthy correspondence, his almost obsessive capacity for work, his human touch as shown by his visits to the homes of Indian Leaders, and his charming manners. All this enabled him to win the confidence of Indian leaders (with the exception of Jinnah) who came to regard him as "their" friend. It is to these personal qualities that we have to attribute his success in convincing the Indian Leaders that his decisions were the right ones and they should be put into effect without any loss of time.

The subject matter of the book centres round (1) Mountbatten's decision within two weeks of his arrival that there was no alternative to the partition of the Country if Civil War, anarchy, and chaos were to be averted; (2) His unilateral decision that the transfer of power should be made on August 15, 1947, and not in July, 1948 as announced earlier by Prime Minister Attlee; (3) His negotiations with the

Princely rulers which resulted in the accession of all of them with the exception of Hyderabad, Kashmir and Junagadh either to India, or to Pakistan, thus averting the danger of the Balkanization of the Country which was inherent in the Independence of India Act passed by the British Parliament in July, 1947 and for which most members of the Indian Civil Service were working: (4) the horrors of the Punjab due to communal madness, and frenzy of an unprecedented character which led to the death of 600,000 men, women, and children, and the exodus either way of fourteen million people, the greatest exodus in magnitude in the history of the world involving suffering of an unprecedented character and (5) the conspiracy of the Hindu extremists, and fanatics as represented by the R. S. S. which led to the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi, the apostle of non-violence – the second crucifixion as the authors appropriately call it. Each of these topics is dealt within sufficient detail and in some places the details are overdramatised with a view to produce an impressive effect on the readers. It is this overdramatisation that has led some critics of the book to say that the authors have distorted facts. It is perhaps with the same objective that the authors refer to a number of sexual scandals in which the members of the princely order indulged. One has a right to ask the question whether so much space should have been devoted to such scandals in a book on serious history. These scandals had no political significance. It was the political situation in India, the need to create an integrated, and well-knitted federal state and not the sexual life of the princes that necessitated their accession to India or Pakistan. The authors have failed to draw a correct line between what is relevant, and what is not relevant in understanding the history of the events they narrate.

They have adopted the biographical approach in writing this history. They seem to have been very much inspired by Carlyle's Heroes, and Hero-worship. Mountbatten is the hero whose achievements they wish to describe but in doing this they ignore many of his shortcomings. It is no doubt true that he took quick decisions, but some of them proved to be hasty decisions. The decision of transfer power on August 15, 1947 instead of June 1948 was to a considerable extent responsible for the tragedy in Punjab. It gave no time for Rad-

cliffe, the Chairman of the Boundary Commission to draw the boundaries between East and West Punjab on a rational basis, and it was this that brought about the Punjab horrors. The first Plan which he sent through Lord Ismay for the approval of the British Cabinet was hastily drawn without consulting Nehru, Patel, and other Indian Leaders, and even Menon who was the constitutional adviser to the Government in those days. He had to abandon this plan, and draw a second one in consultation with Indian leaders and Menon. He came to India assuring his cousin king George that he would see that Indian's link with the Commonwealth would be maintained but he didn't discuss this subject with Nehru, Patel, Gandhi or Jinnah until after Nehru violently reacted to his first plan. The authors do not explain why he failed to discuss the subject with them earlier. In his first interview with Patel he didn't care to discuss any of the political issues. He used the occasion for a purpose which was purely personal. Anarchy reigned in the country from August 16, 1946 – The Direct Action Day proclaimed by the Muslim League. Mountbatten was made aware of this by the Governor of Punjab – when he met them in conference in April, 1947. He became personally aware of it when he visited the N. W. F. province, and Punjab a little later. He told Azad that would take every step including the use of the army to preserve peace. This, however, proved to be a vain boast. As the Chairman of the Emergency Committee after the Country became free, the authors tell us that he took effective measures to bring peace to Delhi, and Eastern Punjab. He was then only the Government-General the constitutional Head of the State. As Viceroy he had real power and authority to do whatever he wanted. Why he failed to make use of this power to maintain peace, and to pull up the members of the Indian Civil Service in Punjab who were to a great extent responsible for the killings is a sad feature of the way he administered the country. The authors have no explanation for this. !

There are several statements in one book which are either self-contradictory or paradoxical. For example the authors say that Mountbatten refused to accept the Viceroyalty unless Attlee agreed to fix a date for the transfer of power, and unless he was given final powers of decision, and that Attlee readily agreed to both these condi-

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tions when Mountbatten met him on New Year's day 1947. But later they say that "he (Mountbatten) had wrestled with Attlee for six weeks to nail it (the date for the transfer of power) down with the precision he wanted" (P-53). Why was such wrestling needed if the condition had been accepted on the New Year's Day? Moreover, historians have expressed the view that it was the impasse caused by the Muslim Leagues boycott of the Constituent Assembly, and the non-cooperation of the League's representatives in the Interim Government that was responsible for Attlee's statement in Parliament that power would be transferred by a date not later than June, 1948. The authors have not cared to discuss whether in fixing the date the Prime Minister was influenced by the pressure of events in India or by the pressure of Mountbatten. Similarly they fail to explain why if final powers of decision had been granted to Mountbatten his first plan was modified by the cabinet.

Among the paradoxical statements is one which says that Gandhi was responsible for disrupting the communal accord between Hindus and Muslims. "Gandhi's Congress Party movement began to take on a Hindu tone, and Colour that aroused Moslem suspicious". (P-27). This statement is the outcome of the ignorance of the authors of the course of Muslim politics in India, and the "Divide and Rule" policy adopted by the British since the days of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, and the Aligarh movement. Such ignorance is also displayed in the statement. "He (Mountbatten) has coaxed a reluctant congress with enormous difficulty upto the point at which, finally, they were prepared to accept partition". The fact, however, was that no coaxing was necessary. The congress had passed resolutions in 1934, 1942, 1945, and March, 1947 conceding Pakistan. Even Gandhiji wrote as early as 1942 in his Harijan that if the vast majority of Muslims wanted partition they must have it, and in 1944 he actually carried on negotiations with Jinnah on this basis. Mountbatten had thus no real difficulty in making the congress leaders accept partition.

In adopting the biographical approach the authors do justice to the role of Gandhi. They acknowledge that he was the true liberator of India. They admire the success he achieved in maintaining communal harmony in Calcutta in August, 1947 at a time when Punjab was plunged in an orgy of communal violence. "He served as the

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one-man-boundary-force". So great was his self-confidence, and so intense was his faith in non-violence that he planned to tour Pakistan in February, 1948 to restore communal harmony. He was able to secure Jinnah's permission for the tour. But fate willed otherwise. As the authors say the police miserably failed to take into custody those who made the first attempt to assassinate him on January 20, 1948. This enabled them to make their second attempt on January 30, and meet with complete success. The authors should be given credit for tracing vividly the whole story of the conspiracy for the assassination of Gandhiji with help of the information supplied to them by the Survivors among the conspirators.

Freedom At Midnight is both history, and romance with the element of romance preponderating. This is responsible for some of the distortion of facts of which the authors have been accused. In spite of the controversial character of the controversial character of the way in which some of the topics are dealt with it is a book which is worthy of study.

—M. VENKATARANGAIYA

Report upon the Inland Customs and Town Duties of the Bengal Presidency by Charles E. Treveleyan, Edited by Tarasankar Banerjee, 1976. Academic Publishers 700073 India pp. 43 + 495 Price Rs. 80/-.

It is generally assumed that one advantage of the political unification of a country or region is that it removes all internal barriers to trade and promotes freedom of trade from one part to another. This was however not true of the territories, which came under the control of East India Company by about 1830. Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, much of the territory in present day U. P. and the region upto Delhi, was under the rule of the Company but all trade was subject to a number of internal customs duties and to town duties which impeded trade in a variety of ways. Charles E. Treveleyan was appointed in 1833 by Lord William Bentick the then Governor-General to examine the nature and working of these duties and submit report together with his recommendations. He did so in 1834. The report traces the history of these duties, the provisions of Regulation IX of 1810 which simplified and consolidated them and the functioning of the regulation. The first part of the report is devoted to an examination of internal customs and the second to town duties. Treveleyan recommended their abolition because of the numerous evils that resulted from them. Before taking action on the report the Government referred it for comments to the Board of customs. The Board did not agree with the findings of Treveleyan and expressed the view that he exaggerated the evils arising from the duties. All the same the duties were abolished by Government in 1836.

Dr. Tarasankar Banerjee has now reprinted the report with an elaborate introduction analysing and summarising its contents, commenting on the observations made on it by the Board of Customs besides expressing his own views on some of the controversial points it contains. Those who find it difficult to go through the lengthy report will find the summary of it given in the introduction highly useful in understanding the numerous points raised by Treveleyan and the general tenor of his arguments and findings.

The report itself is highly valuable for its comprehensive and detailed examination of the subject. The report is based on a large

amount of statistical evidence, the views of officials and non-officials who had experience of the working of the duties and of economists like Adam Smith. According to the Editor the report is a "Brilliant official document which has hitherto been neglected by scholars. It is an indispensable material for the reconstruction of the Economic History of the 19th Century". This is a view which will be shared by all the readers of the report. Apart from this even today we are faced with the problem of Town-Duties or Uctroi and though almost all committees which examined their working recommended their abolition no State Government has abolished them. Treveleyan's report is an illuminating document on the subject and makes out a convincing case for their abolition. It has therefore a relevance to the nature of municipal finance even today.

The history of internal customs is first traced in the report and details are given next of the provisions of regulation IX of 1810 which was intended to consolidate and simplify them. But the intention was not fulfilled in practice and most of the evils arising from them continued to exist. They were far more acute in the upper provinces where the conditions were different from those of Bengal and Treveleyan draws special attention to these differences.

Among the evils arising from internal customs was the depression of internal trade in general. They impeded the traffic on the Ganges which was the main highway of trade in these days. They discouraged the starting of manufacturing industries as they added to the costs of production and made it impossible for the local producers to compete with the machine made commodities from Britain. Searches were made at every *Chokey* and there were numerous *Chockeys* on the trade routes. Even ordinary travellers were subject to them and this caused considerable harassment. The costs of collections were high and the yield was low and even showed signs of decrease. The officials who were in charge of collections were highly corrupt and resorted to extortion. Appeals to higher authorities like Collectors were of little use.

Town duties also produced similar evils. They were levied only in certain towns and this depressed the industry in them and enhanced

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the prices of commodities as compared with those in other towns. These were among the grounds on the basis of which Treveleyan recommended the abolition of both internal customs duties and town duties. Treveleyan shared the view which was held by many Britishers of those days of whom James Mill, the author of what they regarded as the standard history of India was the most important that Government in India in the pre-British days were among the most uncivilised and the transit of goods was made subject to numerous duties though Treveleyan contradicts himself by stating at the beginning of his report that the Mughal System was both light and simple. He attributes the corruption which prevailed among the lower ranks of officials who collected these duties to the low salaries paid to them.

Though this was a correct view the Board of customs attributed it to the general depravity of the character of Indians. The Board evidently forgot that the British servants of the East India Company were grossly corrupt before Lord Cornwallis considerably raised their salaries and that corruption of various kinds prevailed among them even later as is evidenced by the immense fortunes which they took home after they retired. The Editor rightly observes that "it is preposterous that the people of the country were basically debased in character" Treveleyan also observed that India could not become a highly industrialised country because of scarcity of capital and that it was best for her to remain an agricultural country and supply raw materials needed by British manufacturing industries. Some of the general observations like these contained in the report throw light on the opinions held by leading Britishers of those days including professional economists on the kind of economy that should be encouraged in India from the point of view of Britain.

—M. VENKATARANGAIYA

Administration and Society in Medieval Andhra (A.D. 1088-1538) under the later Eastern Gangas and the Suryavamsa Gajapatis by Dr. C. V. Ramachandra Rao; Published by Manasa Publications, Nellore, 1976; Pages 494 with a Map and a Plate; Price \$ 25.00 and \$ 30.00; 5.00 and 6.00 :

The Telugu-speaking territory of Andhra Pradesh covers a vast area, only portions of which formed parts of the dominions of the Imperial Eastern Gangas and the Suryavamsis. The rule of the Imperial Gangas, e.g., was more or less confined to the coastal regions of Andhra Pradesh, Orissa and West Bengal between the Godavari and the Bhagirathi or Hooghly. The book therefore does not deal with the entire Telugu-speaking region nor with the entire dominions of the Gangas and the Suryavamsis. It is divided into two parts, the first dealing with Administration and the second with Society. In Part I, a resume of Political history (pp. 26-52) is followed by small sections entitled 'Royal Traditions', 'Political Traditions' and 'The Ideal of Kingship'; but the chapters on 'Administrative Divisions', 'Government', 'Corporate Activity' 'Military Organisation', and 'Law, Justice and Punishment' are bigger. Part II contains three chapters, viz., 'Social Conditions', 'Education, Learning and Fine Arts', and 'Religious Conditions'. There are also a few Appendices.

We are glad to note that the author has succeeded in presenting us with a short and readable account of the political and cultural history of the Telugu-speaking region as revealed by the literary and epigraphical records of the time of the Ganga and Suryavamsi Emperors. The valuable information presented by him will be useful to the students of the medieval history of Andhra Pradesh.

The author has drawn our attention (p. 201) to the recognition of private ownership of land in the Velicherla plates of Prataparudra, according to which the donee was granted the right of mortgaging and selling the gift land (*adhikray-adiyogya*), and also in the deeds called *kraya-sasana* or *sravanapatra* EI, XXVIII, 210; SII, VI, Nos. 1177-78, 1182, 1102, 1132, etc.). He realised that it was easy to enjoy the yield (*Phalopabhogasulabha*) of the numerous *sasanas* created by Bhanu

1, which were bright with the splendour of their rows of white houses and were pleasant with mango trees and arecanut palms on their premises. He refers to a copper-plate grant of Rajaraja Devendravarman (11th century) mentioning the donee as the son of a Brahmana from a Vaisya girl (p. 318; No. A-7 of 1952-53), but is not conscious about such inter-community marriages occurring elsewhere as known from epigraphic records like the Tippera plate of Lokanatha (*EI*, XV, 305).

We are sorry to note that the book is not free from misprints which are in many cases due to a defective or careless use of diacritical marks in the quotations. Quotations of Sanskrit verses generally contain such errors. Cf. *jananuranjana* for *jan-anuranjana* (p. 103, note 7) *saustava* for *sauthava* (p. 105); *lankara* for *lankara* (p. 107), *sambhavan* for *sambhavan*^o and *parinitih* for *parinatih* (p. 106, note 16), *etan-krita* for *etan-akrita* (p. 106, note 17), etc. Another defect of the same type is that the author often cites an inscription and refers the readers to a Telugu publication even when the record is known to be edited in in English as well. This would put to a considerable difficulty those readers of the book who may not be quite familiar with the Telugu script or in whose area such Telugu publications are not easily available, even though they may be willing to check the correctness of the quotations which normally contain misprints and errors. There are a number of such cases; but it will suffice if we point out that, in connection with the Korni plates (Saka 1034) of Anantavarman Codaganga, the readers are referred to the *Kalingadesacaritra*, ed. R. Subba Rao, Rajahmundry, 1930, and *Bharati*, November 1925; see pp. 58 notes 23, 24), 72 (notes 79, 81), 76 (note 97) 83 (note 130), 95 (note 16), 96 (note 22), etc. Sometimes only the *Kalingadesacaritra* is referred to; see pp. 105 (notes 13, 15), 160 (note 96), 167 (note 126), 170 (note 134), 244 (note 137), though in the 'Bibliography', we have mention only of 'Korni Plates of Anantavarman Codaganga, S. 1003, *Bharati*, 1925, Aug., 74' (cf also p. 53, note 1). Are we to believe that the author does not know that both sets of the Korni Plates of Saka 1003 and Saka 1034 were edited in English in the *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society* Vol. I, pp. 40-48 and 113-24?

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There are other blemishes which are more serious. One such is the statement (pp. 26 27, note 2) that the date of coronation of Vajrahas'a III has been found by N. Ramesan in *A. P. Govt. Arch. Soc.*, No. 6, pp. 142-43, to be the 9th April, 1038 A. D., because it is well-known that the suggestion emanated long ago from Kielhorn; see his Southern List of Inscriptions, Appendix to *EI*, V, No. 395, which is quoted in D. R. Bhandarkar's List, Appendix to *EI*, XIX-XXIII, No. 1090.

The author speaks of the transfer of the Ganga capital from Kalinganagara (Mukhalingam) to Cuttack by Anantavarman Codaganga about 1134 A. D. (pp. 30, 54-55, 69, 74, 75). As a matter of fact, however, Cuttack seems to have become the capital of the Gangas considerably after the time of Anantavarman Codaganga who extirpated the Somavamsis of Yayatinagara or Yayatipura (Yajapura; of the Ratnagiri plates of Karna issued from Yayatinagara, *EI*, XXXIII, 263 ff.), the earliest Ganga ruler issuing his charters from Abhinava Varanasi-kataka being Anangabhima III (A. D. 1211-39). That the Gangas for sometime ruled from Yajapura is suggested by the *Madala Panji* speaking of Anantavaram Codaganga as entering Yajapura and of Anangabhima not only as ruling from Yajapuranagara-Caudvarakataka but also as Abhinava-Yayatinagara-Visnu. This is no doubt the reason why the early Muslim chroniclears mentioned the kingdom of Orissa as Jajnagar and why afterwards, apparently after the transfer of the capital from Yajapura to Cuttack, the Muslims sometimes mentioned Jajnagar and Orissa separately (cf. Sircar, *Stud. Geog. Anc. Med. Ind.*, 2nd ed., 179ff.). It seems under the circumstances that the author should not have omitted Yajapura from the list of the capital cities of the Imperial Gangas.

Side by side with the subordinate title *Ravuta* adopted from the days of Anangabhima III who dedicated the kingdom to the god Purusottama-Jagannatha of Puri, the author should have added at least another feudatory title, viz., *Jiyyana* (Oriya *Jena* which is the same as *Ravuta* - *Rajaputra*) as found applied to the name of Bhanu II in a Srikurmam inscription of A. D. 1309 (*EI*, V, p. 35).

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We are told, "Jivadevacarya, the Sanscrit scholar and poet and the *Rajaguru* of Prataparudra Gajapati, in the introduction to his *Bhaktivaibhava Nataka* mentions the names of his ancestors who served the Ganga and Gajapati monarchs as *Rajagurus* and *Purohitas*" (p. 157) and after giving some details, the author further says, "The colophon of the drama *Bhaktivaibhava Nataka* mentions *Matramahopadhyaya*, *Kavidindima*, *Vahinipati* as the titles of Jivadevacarya. These titles indicate that he was as a (sic) great a soldier as he was a scholar" (p. 158). However, at p. 157, Jivadeva's poem *Bhaktibhagavata* should have been mentioned and not his drama *Bhaktivaibhava*. As regards the title *Vahinipati*, it could not have any military significance here because Jivadeva was never a soldier. The title was conferred on him as an honorific designation by Prataparudra sometime after the composition of the *Bhaktibhagavata* in A. D. 1610 but before the *Bhaktivaibhava* was written at a later date. See *Journ. As. Soc. Ser. IV*, Vol. IV, 1962, pp. 9 ff., 105 ff. The colophon of the *Bhaktibhagavata* should have been mentioned as a source-book in Chapter I of the book under review.

The author's attention may also be drawn to statements like Narasimha I "annexed Radha and Varendra *mandalas* (Tamluk, Midnapore, Hugli and Burdwan Districts)" (p. 34) and a prince studied 'the fourteen branches of knowledge (*vidyacatustaya*)' (p. 104). Varendra is North Bengal and could not have been 'annexed' to the Ganga empire; while the word *catustaya* does not mean 'fourteen'.

We hope that the next edition of the book will be free from blemishes.

—D. C. SIRCAR

The Freedom Struggle in Andhra Pradesh (Andhra) Volume IV
Ed. Prof. M. Venkatarangaiah, Published by Govt. of Andhra Pradesh
1974, pp. 1080 price not mentioned.

Nearly two decades after its launching, the project for the publication of the history of freedom movement in Andhra is completed with the release of the fourth and final volume of *The Freedom Struggle in Andhra Pradesh*. The title is followed by the word "Andhra within brackets to indicate that it leaves out the freedom struggle in the former Hyderabad State for the very good reason that another set of four volumes are specially devoted to that theme. The place where either of these sets could be purchased is not clearly indicated, but we presume that, as they are printed by the Director or Printing and Stationery at the Government Secretariat Press, they can be had from that Director, and perhaps also from the Director of the State Archives. As for the price of the present volume, we cannot give even that much of indication because it is mentioned nowhere in the volume.

The fourth volume, edited like the earlier three by M. Venkatarangaiah, is worthy of the old and venerable Professor. In this stupendous task he was ably assisted right from the outset by Professor K. Sajunlal. It is a matter of sorrow that Sajunlal died soon after the release of the final volume.

The period covered by the present volume starts with 1932 and ends with 1947. Its first part of 216 pages is a general survey of freedom struggle during the period while the second part of about 800 pages consists of source materials. The survey is, by and large, correct and comprehensive, but as in the earlier Volumes, it lacks that glow which should accompany any history of a freedom struggle. This is probably due to the fact that the Chief Editor, through a sincere patriot, is a moderate by temperament, and rarely, if ever, does he respond actively to situations of high emotion and dramatic intensity.

A general drawback with all the four volumes is the failure of its editors and its compilers to draw on the Telugu Press or to make

use of the underground literature that was published on a big scale whenever the Government placed severe restrictions on the Press. If only an attempt was made, they could have easily got hold of this material and it would have lent colour and drama to their placid and pale account of a stirring period in our national life. It is really amazing that almost the only journal which they have consulted is the *Hindu*, as though the *Andhra Patrika*, the *Andhra Prabha*, the *Krishna-Patrika* and most of other Telugu journals were non-existent during the period. Indeed, these journals carried ten times more materials on the freedom struggle in Andhra than the *Hindu*. By their unwarranted neglect of the Telugu Press, the editor and compilers of the history have made their work bare of details and definitely poorer.

—V. R. NARLA

Itihas-IV, 2.

Understanding Indian Civilization : A Framework of Enquiry by S. C. Malik, Institute of Advanced Studies, Simla, 1975, PP. 138 Price Rs. 30-00 :

Malik's previous book, *Indian Civilization – the Formative Period* created a veritable storm in the generally placid waters of Indian archaeology. His unorthodox and forthright views have made him controversial in some quarters. But I think his work should be termed provocative rather than controversial. His relative isolation at the Simla Institute has conferred on him advantages and disadvantages both. The main disadvantage is that he has not been able to continue field work in archaeology. Advantages have been many: he can dispassionately look at the archaeological research of the country: he can look at archaeology from a wider perspective provided by his Institute. The circumstances thus have made him a theoretician, (some friends fondly call him Indian Gardon Cnilde) who deserves more appreciation than he has been actually accorded so far.

I think this introduction about the author will help us appreciate his *Understanding Indian Civilization* better. We will first summarize the themes of the chapters of the book and then comment on Malik's approach.

In the first introductory chapter the author has emphasised on the segmented and isolated approaches of even related disciplines like history, anthropology and archaeology. There are no common concepts, models, not even terms and definitions. He would like us first to seek structures of procedures and transformation rules which would allow us to sift information and organize it at different levels of abstraction. He does not like the current obsession with only empirical data. He also wants us to choose problems of social relevance. He does not believe in the so called 'objectivity', as each one of us is an outcome of a social environment. He pleads for the use of modern anthropological methods.

In the second chapter, Malik has traced the historical development of civilizational studies. He briefly discusses evolutionist and

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non-evolutionist theories. He also discusses the views of Sorokin, Redfield and Kroeber. He emphasises the importance of micro-studies (e.g. villages, castes etc.) which give us points of reference against which different aspects of a 'total' society and culture may be examined.

Chapter-3 is an exposition of the differences in the current approaches of science, social science and history. He does not believe that marked divisions between these disciplines are tenable today. 'Historical knowledge has to be part of the science of man'. Several systematic theories can alone explain inter-relationships, consistencies, and processes of socio-cultural institutions that coalesce into larger configurations.

General systems theory arose out of the necessity to understand problems of total organization and of dynamic interaction of phenomena. In Chapter-4 Malik explains the general systems theory, its relationship with anthropology and how it can be applied to Indian Civilizational Studies. He tries to explain the caste system, as an example, using this approach.

Structuralist approach has been used in some ways by archaeologists and anthropologists. Levi-Strauss explained it nicely, 'if certain general properties of social life are the thesis and the particularizing ones of social anthropology, the antithesis, then structuralism is the synthesis which contains as well transcends them' (Chapter-5). Emphasising the need of using structural approach in history and archaeology, Malik holds that it is necessary to encourage such research methodologies that are saturated with anthropology and other social science generalizations. In this way, he says we will be able to discover total phenomena from various angles of ethnography, history, archaeology and mythology along with regional and local historical situations.

Chapter-6 deals with the problems of change. He defines two major theories of change: first, reducing various institutional orders into one major order; second, an exaggerated use of economic (Marxian) or psychological (Freudian) theories etc. He distinguishes three major types of system from this viewpoint; *Monolithic*; *vague*;

and *Multiple*. And he pleads that change in India may be examined in terms of the multiple system identity. He formulates some specific studies in this connection relating to an in-depth examination of units of change, the mechanism of change; the direction of change; rates of change; causes of change; and the interplay of 'objective' and 'subjective' factors.

Chapter-7 gives some concrete applications of Malik's approach. He defines the subsystemic elements and how, structurally, they interact with each other to give shape to the all India configuration. His periods and phases confuse the reader a little bit; these divisions needed a clearer categorization. He does not deal here with the formative period as it is dealt with in his first book mentioned above, nor the modern period. His first phase begins with the settlement of the Aryans until the Turko-Afghan dynasties; the second phase includes the Great Mughal and Early Europeans; the third phase covers the British period. These phases are sub-divided into stages. He enumerates the various socio-cultural values (e.g. social divisions, patriarchal joint families) that have been added to the Indian system at various points of time. He also highlights some of the recent contributions of industrialization etc. After going through six chapters of theory the reader deserves a fuller and more comprehensive application of the new approach. Instead, one finds a very rapid survey from the II millennium B. C. to the advent of Modern Period condensed in a few pages. One feels that applications should have at least balanced the theory.

Chapter-8 examines some misconceptions e.g. the spiritual quality of India. The last chapter emphasizes the importance of social relevance of such civilizational studies. Malik forcefully repudiates that his approach is either speculation or a mere use of fashionable jargon.

The book thus is a lucid and stimulating treatment of the methodology, of certain social science guidelines, to be used for understanding the continuity and change of Indian Civilization. This is the task set out by the author and in this he eminently succeeds. The history that is replete only with wars of successions or the archaeology that

begins and ends only with typology of artifacts has admittedly been simplistic in approach. The problems of analysis and synthesis of the multidisciplinary data are quite complex and require commensurate efforts to tackle them. The book therefore is a must not only for every historian and archeologist but also for every intelligent citizen.

Using the unbridled liberty that a reviewer has, I would like to suggest that to sell such laudable new ideas and approaches we need more of applied examples. Results are more powerful and eloquent than homilies. We also had been trying to organize multi-disciplinary studies in prehistory using various physical and chemical techniques. But we were looked down upon as only preachers, till we showed some concrete results through such studies. Malik has the unique advantage of being a trained anthropologist, an experienced archaeologist, a perspective historian and perhaps one of the most well-read scholars, and he is creative too. We, therefore, expect more of actual analysis and synthesis of data from him in the near future. We all have great hopes from him.

This book, like his previous one, I am sure would draw the ire of old historians and archaeologists. If it does not, I will be surprised. Malik wants to make the life of us archaeologists difficult by shaking us up all the time. It is so very easy to write excavation reports with hundreds of drawings of shapes and styles drawn by our draftsman, and their descriptions provided by the technical assistants. A few technical appendices are thrown in to impart it a scientific look. This is what we have all been doing. But Malik wants us to read a lot more, interact with so many other disciplines, think about our data and produce some worthwhile synthesis. This is being a little over-demanding. Agreed, that should do all this. But in this tradition-loving country why should we alone change our ways. If for making our life difficult and pricking our conscience, Malik is condemned and hated, I will least be surprised. This has been the fate of all intellectual reformers.

—D. P. AGRAVAL

Itihas-IV, 2.

Brief History of Andhra Pradesh : Edited by Md. Abdul Wahid-Khan. Published by State Archives, Andhra Pradesh 1972. Pages 131 + Plates 17 = Maps 10, Foreword by P. V. Narasimha Rao (Chief-Minister) Price : Rs. 5-00.

This is a monograph published under the auspices of the State-Archives. This monograph seems to be a maiden attempt to place before the readers a brief account of the History of the Andhra Pradesh. The subject matter presented is a running account in brief, the History of Andhras from the known earliest times to 1956, when the New Linguistic State for the Telugus was separately formed.

The first chapter deals with the History of Andhra Pradesh and the Deccan till 1720. The same is too short for the period it covers. The period of 2000 years has been covered in 30 pages and the reader is not provided with the necessary information.

Chapter II : Covers the History of Hyderabad from 1720 to 1956 and 44 pages are taken up for the same. The archival material available has been little made use of.

Chapter III : Covers the period of 1611 to 1956. The Administrative set up of the British has been briefly dealt with.

The presentation of the above matters could have been better narrated supported by the authorities available. The reader could have been benefited by its study. References to foot notes seems to have been scrupulously avoided. The average educated Telugu knows many matters presented in this book and as such this book treks on superfluity.

The book contains good illustrations and maps for references. Hand book on such topics, though brief must lead a reader to further his studies. This feeling cannot be created by reading this book. It can be better edited by talented experts both in English and Telugu. The archives will be catering to the cultural needs of the public by doing this.

—N. S. KR̥ṢṆAMŪRTI

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André Beteile : *Studies in Agrarian Social Structure* (Oxford University Press, 1974) PP. 206, Price: Rs. 30-00

The book under review is a product of Jawarlal Nehru Fellowship awarded to the author to work on the problems of agrarian social structure.

The subject choosen is though vast but almost completely unexplored by the social anthropologists in India. In this border frame work the author has selected eight topics; and he has examined each of them in sociological perspective, contributing in this way to the development of a new area of inquiry in the discipline.

The book consists of a set of eight inter connected essays. But, as the author confesses, every aspect of social structure has not been covered. The main concern of the author is the pattern of inequality and conflict arising from the ownership, control and use of land. That is in terms of the conventional divisions of sociology, these essays pertain to the domains inter-action of social stratification, economic sociology and political sociology.

The introduction forms a useful background to the eight essays understanding the approach made by the author and the problems analysed in the essays that follow.

In the first essay – The Study of Agrarian System, the author deals with the conceptional problems and with droblems of approach and method. He tries to outline briefly the scope with an anthropological approach which the author defines as “an approach which produces *monographic* studies on the basis of intensive field work” (P.2). While analysing the approach to be adopted the author makes an interesting survey of the work already done by the anthropologists in India. And concludes the essay by making a useful suggestion for the future students to take up the topic for detail investigations. On the following aspects of agrarian system: technological arrangements available for the management of land; division of work according to the social strata; different modes of productive organization and the agrarian class structure of the agrarian hierarchy (p. 34).

The second essay – Ideas and Interests, provide useful discussions on conceptual problems in the study of social stratification in rural India; and suggests specific method for investigating the agrarian class structure. Though the discussions are confined largely to India but the author has done well by trying to make a comparative study of similar problems in the societies of other South Asian Countries. In the light of various works of sociologists and anthropologists, the author argues that although most sociologists have sought to understand rural India in the frame work of reference provided by caste, it would be equally important to examine the same reality in terms of the ownership, control and use of land. In this sense, this essay serves as a bridge between authors earlier work (*Castes: Old and New, Essays in Social Structure and Social Stratification*, Bombay 1969) and the present one.

However, the authors statement that even for India it is not possible to give authentic figures for the ownership and distribution of land and for the other South Asian countries the picture is even less clear (P. 38) is not acceptable. There is definitely enormous amount of statistical data available through out India about the ownership and distribution of land. This statement of the author contradicts his own statement "Censuses and surveys provide material which allows a classification of the agriculture population". (P. 45). The author further confesses "... the most widely used materials are the tables on agricultural holidays published by the National Sample Survey. These tables provide data on the distribution of house-holds according to what are called 'ownership' and 'operational' holdings" (P. 123 f).

The third essay – the Social Frame work of Agriculture, makes a broad and general survey of the social order and economic change and poverty and heirarchy in agrarian societies. The author examines the nature of agrarian relations in Indian Society at different levels of territorial organization and at the same time drawing attention to important regional differences in the country.

The method suggested in the second essay for investigating the agrarian class structure by examining the native categories of the

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people has been successfully applied by the author in the fourth essay Class Structure in an Agrarian Society; The Case of the Jotedars. The essay relates to West Bengal, which occupies an important place in the agrarian history of modern India. It was here in 1793 the Permanent Settlement was first introduced. Since then, throughout the 19th and 20th Centuries the relationship between land lords and paasants was a fundamental issue in the social, economic and political life of Bengal. The author, in this essay deals in a large measure with problems of social class in Bengal – the Jotedars and makes a distinction in defining the terms – *Jamidar*, *talukdar*, *jotedar*, *adhiyar*, *mahindar*, and *munish*. This the author does in the light of the Marxist and non-Marxist approaches to the problems. He concludes that in analysing the nature of social divisions of West Bengal, it is important to take into account the political definition of social reality and in order to understand class we have to take account of a number of factors – economic, social and political (P. 119). The author after examining the manner in which men set about to create a social class, rightly concludes the essay by quoting Sartre : "*les classes ne sont pas, on les fait*" meaning, "classes are not given, men make them" (P. 141).

The fifth essay – Agrarian Relations in Tanjore District, examines the problem of stratification mainly from the angle of ownership control and use of land. Tanjore has witnessed certain major economic and political changes in the recent years. Tanjore district has for long been charterized by extremes of inequality, and study of its agrarian system – carries us a long in the understanding of such inequality in agrarian relations.

Eventhough the district is a relatively small and compact unit, the author says (p. 144) it is not homogeneous unit and offers the special advantage of having within a relatively restricted area more than one clear pattern of social organisation. There is first the threefold division of the population into Brahmins, Non-Brahmins and Adi-Dravidas. Taking advantage of there special features the author makes a good analysis of the social class and the economic homogeneity of the landless with reference to the physical characteristics – the Old Delta and New Delta formed by the Kaveri river. The analysis of the author

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are supported by statistical data given in two tables of the agricultural labourers in the 13 *taluks* of the Tanjore district.

The study of peasant movements, their programmes and activities, their organisations and their contacts with social system is of fundamental importance to the understanding of agrarian social structure in India. This forms the theme of the sixth essay-Peasant Associations and class Structures. But this essay is infact a commented summary of Abdullah Rasul's book, *Krishak Sabhar Itihas* (written in Bengali, Calcutta' 1969). The main focus of this essay is the structure and functioning of Bengal Krishak Sabha since its inception in 1936. Thus, this essay, which discusses the problems in relation to West Bengal is in many ways complementary to the fourth essay on *Jotedars*. But in the fifth essay the author discusses in more concrete from the distiction between the categories of the community type and categories of class type, a distinction whih in more abstract form, is the point of departure made in the second essay.

Although the seventh essay if entitled-The causes of Agrarian Unrest, it is in fact a study of the conditions rather than causes. An interesting analysis of the author is that the areas of agrerian unrest are not uniformly distributed throughout the country; but a high degree of concentration is found in the rice producing regions of east and south India-Particularly in large areas of West Bengal and Kerala, in parts of Andhra Pradesh and in the Kaveri delta in Tamil Nadu. (P. 189). The essay concludes by pointing out three sets of factors which might be considered as affecting the relations between groups and classes in a society: viz., conditions of existence, the consciousness of these conditions and political organisation of this consciousness (P. 193).

The last essay-Hormonic and Dishormonic system, discusses the growing inconsistency between conditions of life of the land owners and the landless which are still markedly unequal, and commitments to the norms of equality. This inconsistency, the author considers, as the most general condition for tension, conflict and change.

Finally the book provides a fine and interesting reading and is essentially an excellent guide for the students who wish to undertake

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further research in the field of agrarian system of India. It not only points out and stimulates the topics and direction in which further research can be undertaken, but it also stresses the approach and the methodology to be adopted.

However, the book has some drawbacks. Firstly, as the essays were written and published on different occassions with different motives, they lack unity of theme and focus. The eight essays have been apparently tied together loosely without a conclusion. Secondly the author has based the entire work on secondary published material and not at all utilised original records available in enormous quantity throughout the country. Comprehensive bibliography is not given at the end.

— M. A. NAYEEM

**LIST OF DOCTORATE THESIS ACCEPTED BY
OSMANIA UNIVERSITY HYDERABAD-(1967-74)**

Sl. No.	Dept. of the Univ. under which research was conducted.	Name of Research Scholar	Title of thesis	Year when research registered for	Year of award of Phd. Degree	Availability Note	
						Published	In Library Dept.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1.	1. Economics	Shri M. Nagaraja Rao	“Economics of Electricity supply in India”	—	1967	—	Yes
2.	-do-	Shri A. Nagaraj	“Nationalised Road Transport in Hyderabad State”	—	1967	—	Yes
3.	-do-	Shri A. Radha Krishna Murthy	“A Study of Tribal Economy in the Andhra Agency	—	1968	—	Yes
4.	-do-	Shri P. Sambaiah	“A Study of the State Finances of Andhra Pradesh”	—	1969	—	Yes
5.	-do-	Shri B. Satyanarayana	“India trade with the ECAFE Countries Since 1951”	—	1973	—	Yes

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
2.	1. History	Shri J. Devraj	"History of the Christian Missions in Telangana (1848-1948)"	—	1969	—	Yes
	2. -do-	Shri A. Naghabhushnam	"Economic conditions in western Deccan (A.D. 1000-1300)"	—	1971	—	Yes
	3. -do-	Shri P. Sri Rama Sarma	"Salva Dynasty of Vijayanagar"	—	1973	—	Yes
3.	1. Pol. Science	Shri P. Sarojini Devi	"The Role of the Judiciary in India as the Guardian of fundamental Rights"	—	1971	—	Yes
	2. -do-	Shri K. Madhusudan Reddy	"Theory and Practice of Govt. in Medieval Andhra Desa 1000-1400 A.D."	—	1973	—	Yes
	3. -do-	Smt. Kousar Jabeen	"National Integration in India the first two decades of Independence 1947-67 (Some Major Political Aspects)"	—	1974	—	Yes

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
4.	1. Psychology	Smt. Shalini Bhogle	"Organised and Psychological Correlates of acceptance of Innovation by high schools"	—	1970	—	Yes
	2. -do-	Shri K. Ramchandra Reddy	"Development of Vocational sense Among Adolescents-Socio-Economic and Rural-Urban Variations in the Development of Vocational Sense among High School Boys"				
5.	1. Public Admn.	Shri G. Ram Reddy	"Panchayati Raj Case Study of Administration of a block in (A.P.)"	—	1967	—	Yes
	2. -do-	Shri P. A. James	"Municipal Administration in A.P."	—	1967	—	Yes

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
3.	-do-	Shri S. Panduranga Rao	"State Supervision Juid- ance and Control of Panchayati Raj in Andhra Pradesh"	—	1973	—	Yes
4.	-do-	Shri M. Umapathi	"Board of Revenue in Andhra Pradesh"	—	1974	—	Yes
5.	-do-	Shri Mohd. Abdul Aleem	"Management of Public Personnel in Andhra Pradesh"	—	1974	—	Yes
6.	1. Geography	Shri B. Venugopal	"Urbanisation Telangana"	—	1971	—	Yes
	2. -do-	Shri V. Vidyavanath	"Land use and Occupa- tional Patterns in Kollern Tract"	—	1971	—	Yes
	3. -do-	Shri Afzal Mohammed	"Urban Patterns and Morphology of Coal Mining Towns in Telangana Region"	—	1971	—	Yes

OBITUARY

Dr. R. Narasimha Rao

The sudden and untimely demise of Dr. R. Narasimha Rao Professor and Head of the Department of History, Osmania University, has created a serious loss to the world of Historical Scholarship in Andhra Pradesh. He was born at MULAPADU, in Krishna District on 15-7-1926. He was the first son of Sri R. L. Narasimham and Subbayamma. He had his school education at Ongole, Intermediate at the Hindu College, Guntur, where he had the opportunity to come into contact with late Prof. Maremanda Rama Rao. He joined in Andhra University for B. A. Hons (History) and passed in First Class and stood first in the University. He joined as Lecturer in History at C. R. Reddy College, Eluru and then at S. B. V. R. College, Bhimavaram. He joined the Osmania University in 1950 at Nizam's College, Hyderabad. There he worked under Dr. M. Rama Rao and obtained his doctorate for his thesis, 'Corporate Life in Mediaeval Andhra'.

Prof. Narasimha Rao was a remarkable teacher and a good researcher. Under Ford Foundation Scholarship he went to the States in 1960. He also had an assignment to write a book on Indonesia, but could not go there due to the political chaos then existing there.

In 1969, he became the Principal of the Evening College, Warangal and subsequently in 1971 he became the Professor of History in the University. Dr. Jhansi, Dr. Sriramamurti and Dr. Madhusudan Reddy had the rare opportunities of having his guidance for obtaining their doctorates.

He was a member of the Central Archaeological Board, Director of Indian Council of Historical Research, which he relinquished due to his health reasons. He was connected with a number of learned bodies and Institutions like, the History Congress, Indian Historical Records Commission and served as a member in all the Committees of the State Archaeology and Archives.

Late Rao was known for his genial temperament, kind heart and very helpful nature, which endeared him to his colleagues and students. The void created by his loss cannot be filled up.

He had a severe heart attack on 6-9-1975 and succumbed to it on 29-5-1976.

OBITUARY

Professor K. Sajunlal

In the passing away of Professor K. Sajunlal on May 18 1976 Andhra Pradesh lost an eminent historian and a profound scholar in URDU.

Professor Sajunlal was born in Hyderabad on October 6, 1903. He was the third son of Haji Sajunlal who belonged to a well known Shia family in the city. The title Sajunlal was conferred on him by the Nizam in view of his charitable disposition and the great help he rendered to the people during a severe famine. Professor Sajunlal inherited from his father this character of goodness.

He passed the B. A. Degree examination from the Aligarh Muslim University in 1929. He then studied in St. Xavier's College Bombay, and secured the M. A. Degree from the University of Bombay. Thereafter he became a lecturer in the Department of History in Osmania University, Hyderabad, and retired as Reader. After retirement he was the recipient of an Honorerium from the University Grants Commission for a period of two years, and during this period he carried on Teaching and Research in Osmania University in a honorary capacity.

He had a large collection of Urdu Journals which he gave away to Osmania University along with several valuable books in his private library.

He served as a member of the Indian Historical Records Commission for more than three decades until his death.

He was the convener of the State Committee appointed by the Government of Andhra Pradesh for the compilation of the History of Freedom Struggle in Andhra. He got the source material collected for this purpose by experts appointed by

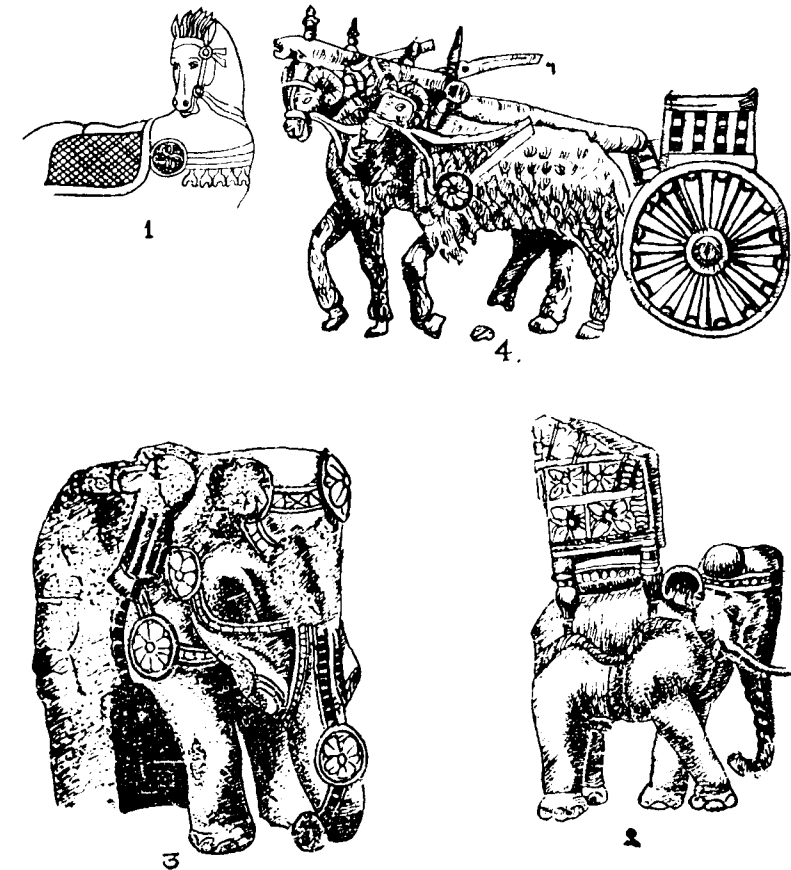
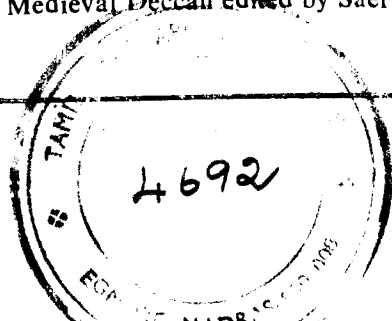
government. It was under his able supervision that Prof. M. Venkatarangaiya edited the History of Freedom Struggle in Andhra in four volumes. He was also entrusted as convener of the State Committee with the work of setting the volumes of the History of Freedom Struggle in Hyderabad completed, and also the preparation of "WHO IS WHO OF FREEDOM FIGHTERS IN ANDHRA PRADESH" in three volumes.

He was closely associated with Journal "ISLMIC-CULTURE" published from Hyderabad, contributed numerous articles, and reviews to it. He was also associated with Itihas, the half yearly journal published by the State Archives of Andhra Pradesh as a member of its advisory board, and as a contributor of articles, and reviews to it.

He was entrusted by the Indian Council of Historical Research with the project of preparing a list of documents bearing on Emperor Aurangzebe found in State Archives, Andhra Pradesh, and he completed it shortly before his death. He also made a careful study of several historical records preserved in Salar Jang Museum, Hyderabad, and his writings on Asaf Jahi Dynasty, and Sir Salar Jung were the fruits of this study.

He took great interest in the education of Muslims in Hyderabad as secretary of Islamic High School, Secunderabad.

Among his historical writings are (1) Foreign Policy of Lord Auckland; (2) Studies in Deccan History; (3) Vistas of Modern India; (4) Sir Salar Jung's visit to England, and the Berar Question; (5) Sir Salar Jung-II the Prime Minister of Hyderabad, and his relations with Asaf Jahi Nizam-VI, and (6) The Chapter on Moghals in the Deccan in Volume-I of Medieval Deccan edited by Saerwani and Joshi.

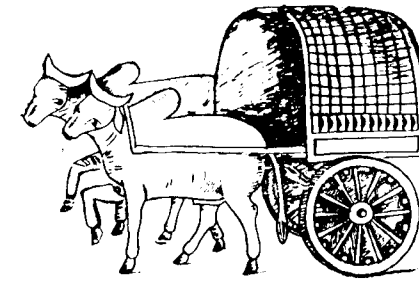


Pl. I

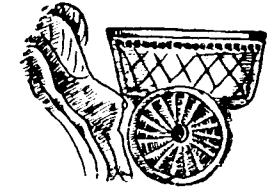
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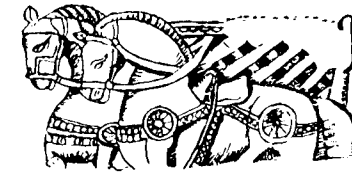
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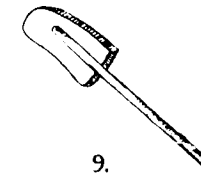
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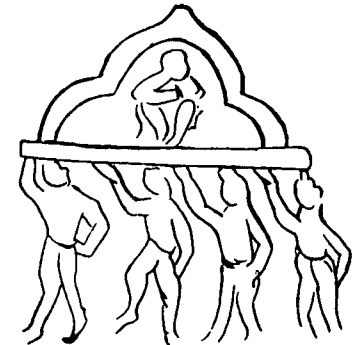
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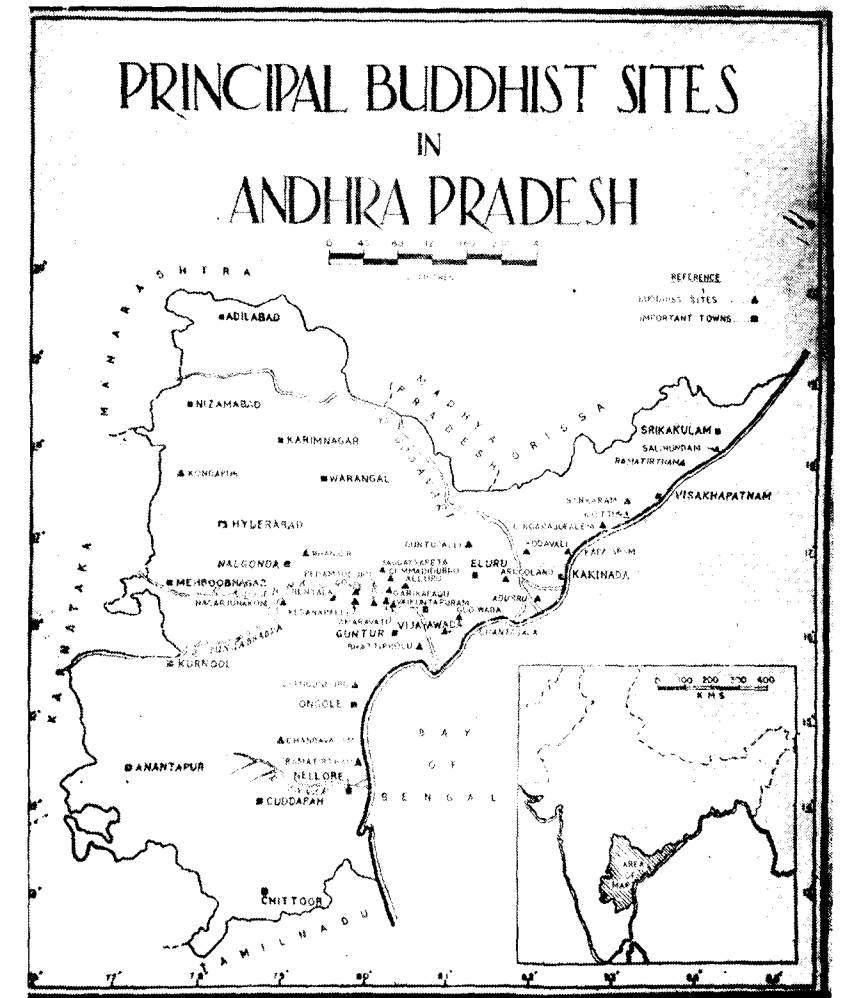
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(Mods of Transport) pp. 5, 6 & 7.



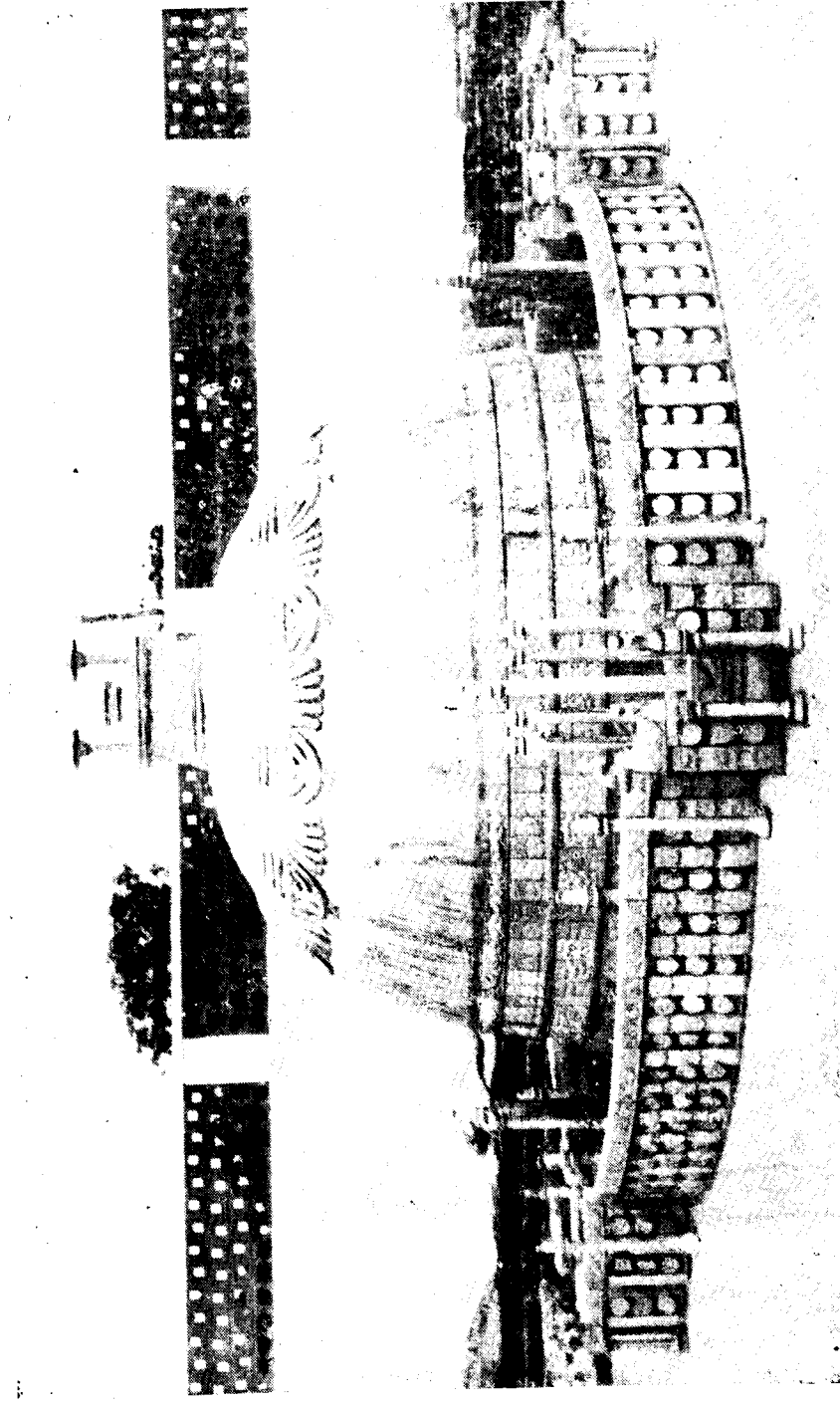
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Monuments of National Importance in Andhra Pradesh
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Model of the Sātavahana Stupa,
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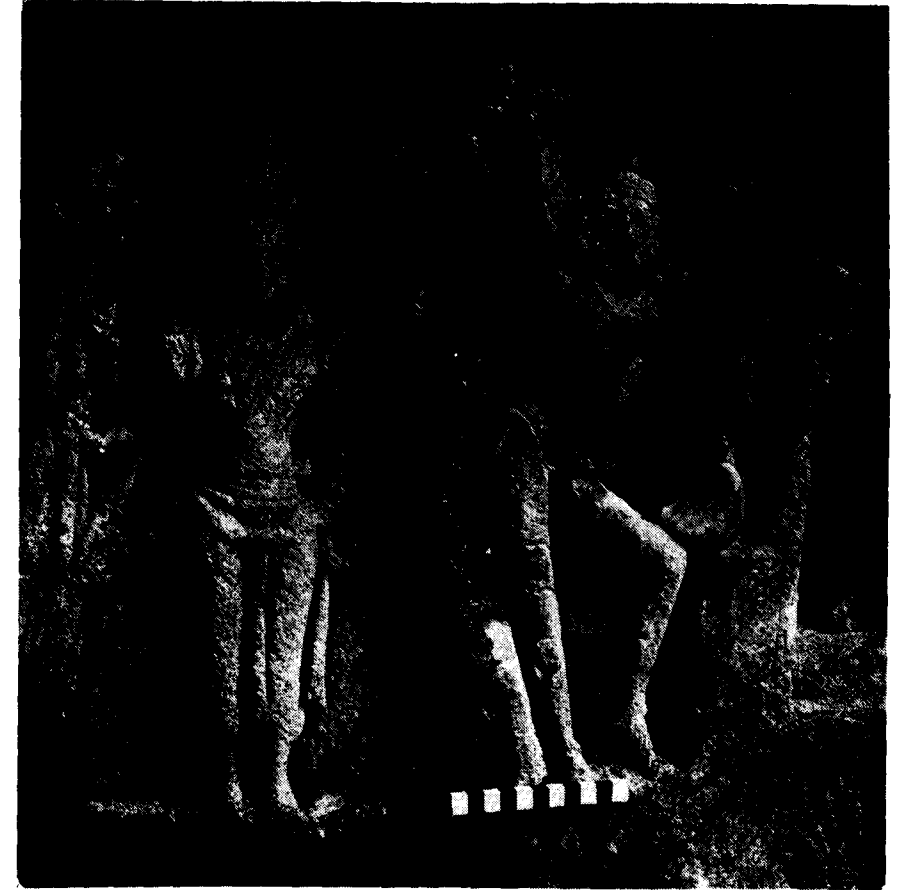


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Sculptured Boulder: Bhairavakonda
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Gudimallam Linga: New Evidence
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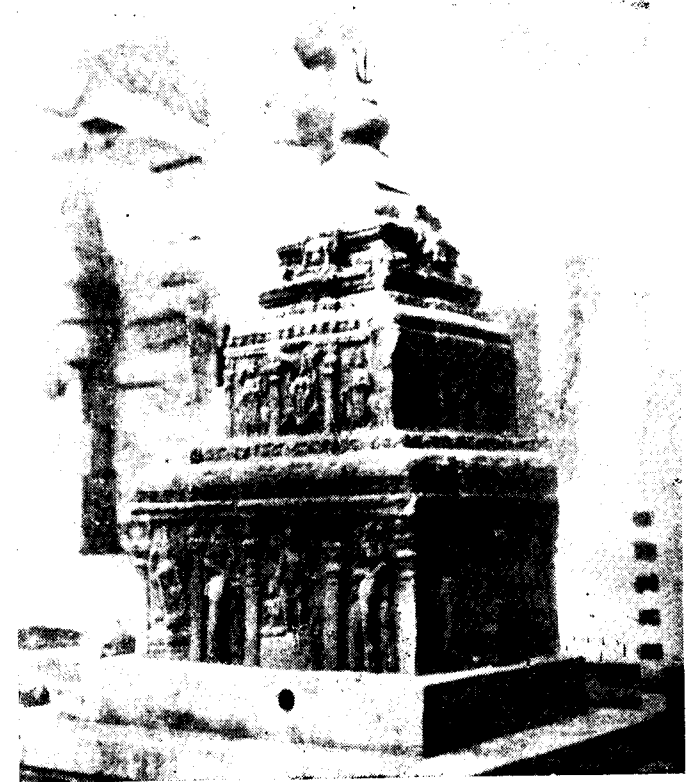
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Model Monolithic shrine :
Bhimesvara Temple: Samalkot
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Pl. XII-B

Model Monolithic Shrine:
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Pl. I

Siva Gajantaka : Palampet
(Historical Monuments) P. 61



Pl. XIV-B

Ornate Pillar: Palampet
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Pl. XV

Carved lintel: Hemāvathy
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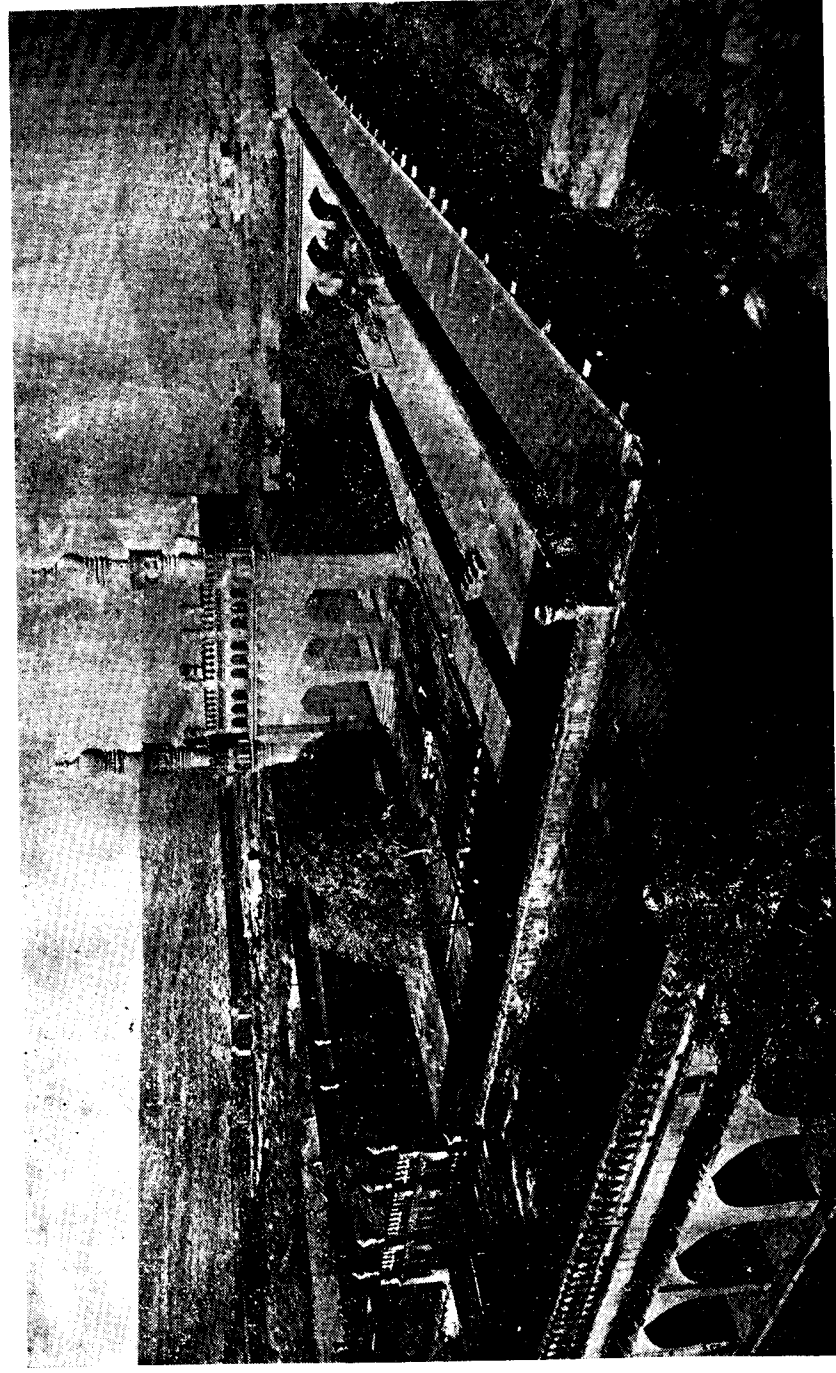
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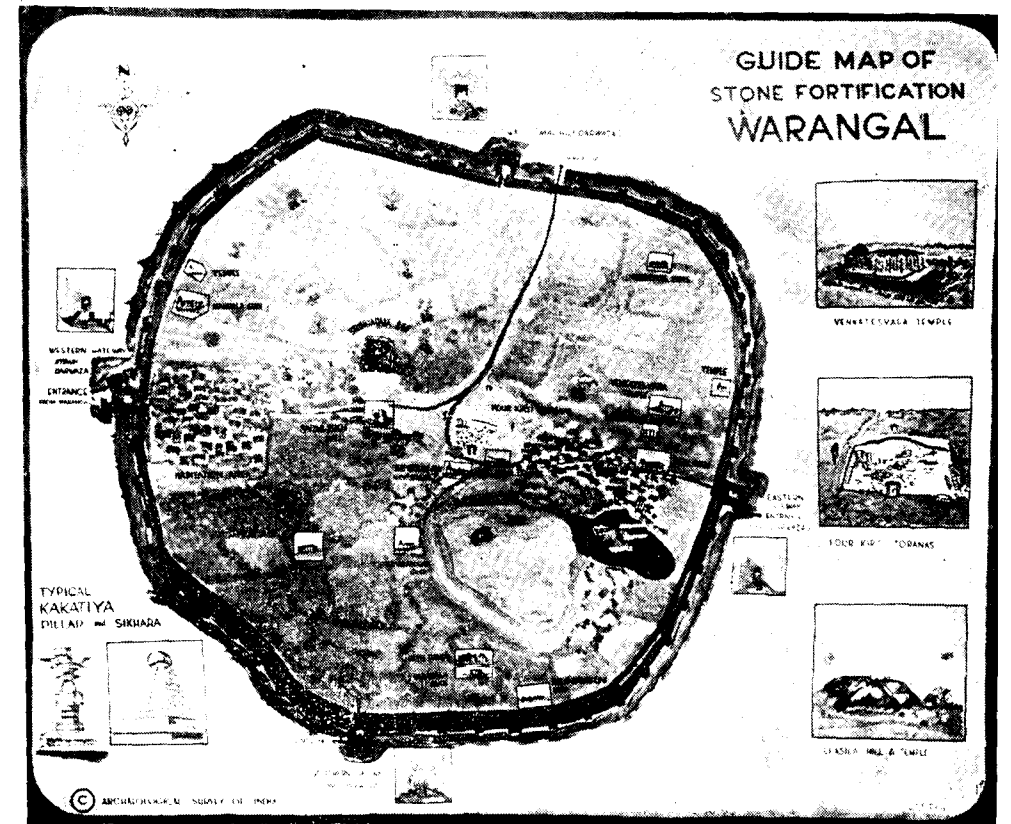
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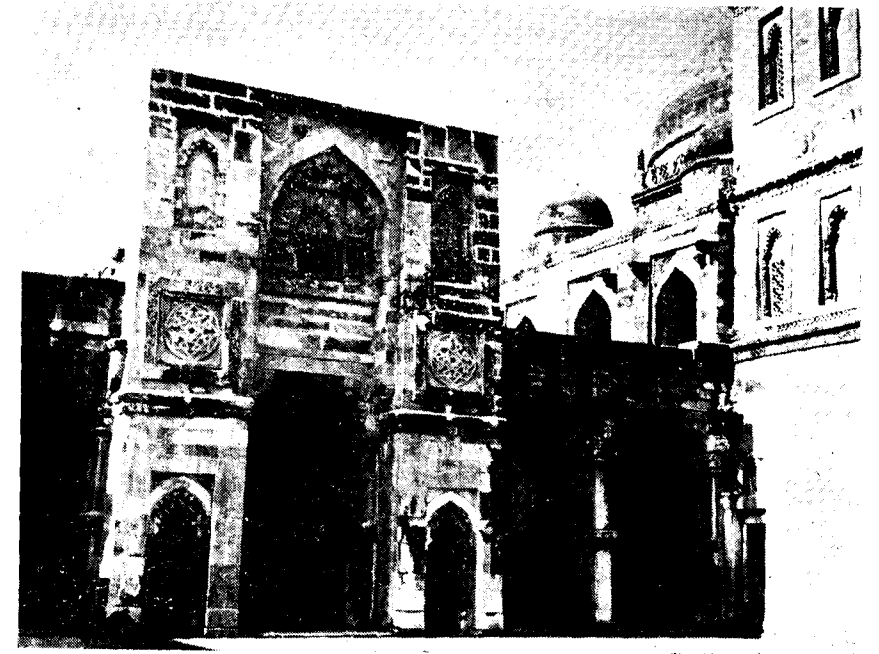
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Juma-Masjid : Gandikota
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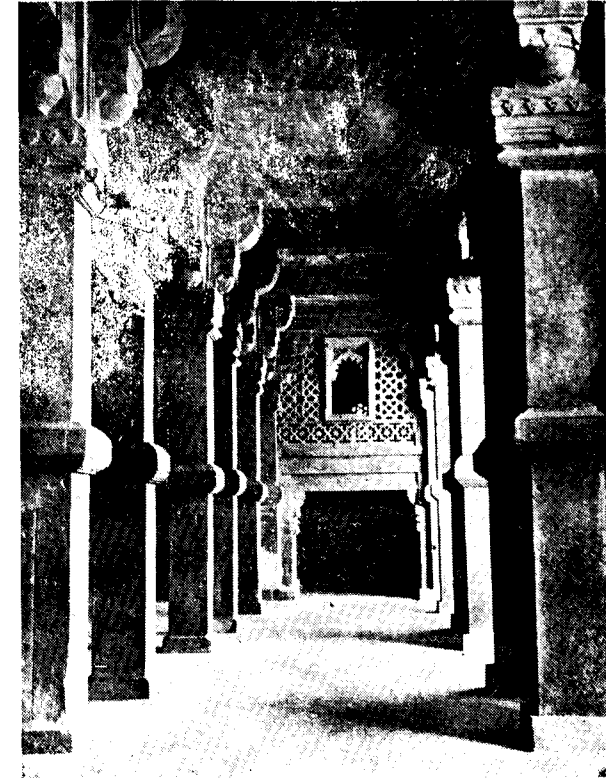
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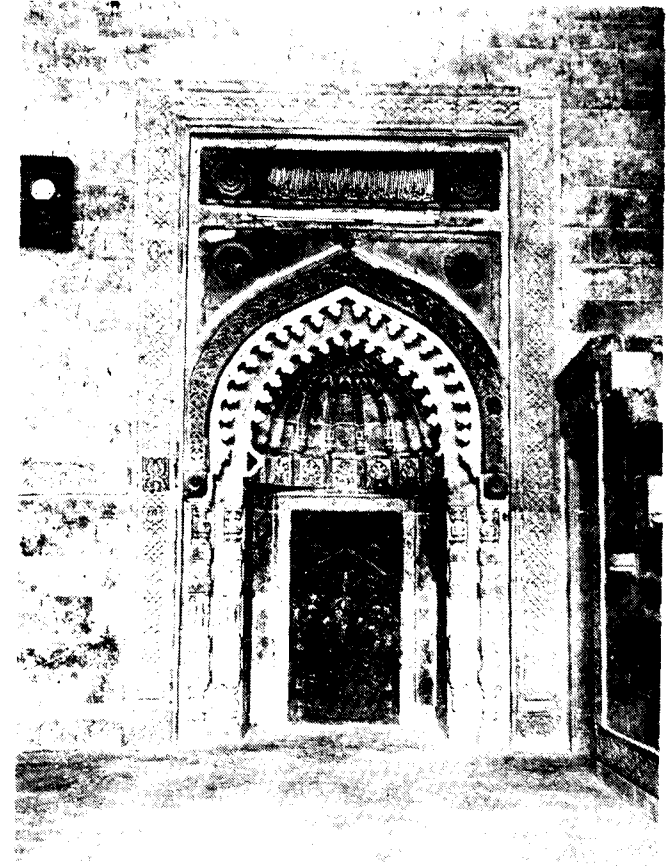
Shafts of Pillars and a high ceiling
(The Sharqi Mosques of Jaunpur) P. 82)



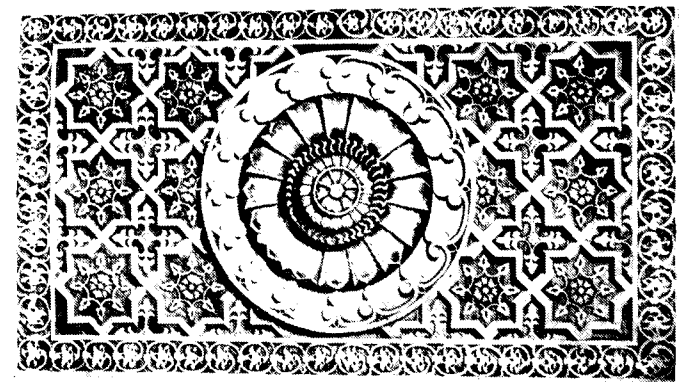
Pl. I

Pylon in the centre
(The Sharqi Mosques of Jaunpur) P. 82

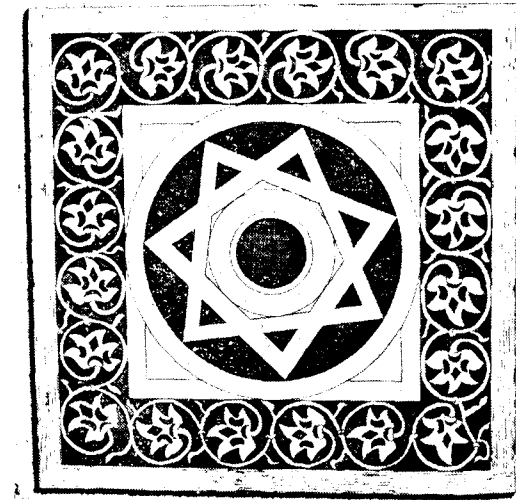
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Pl. III
Fringes on the Mihrab
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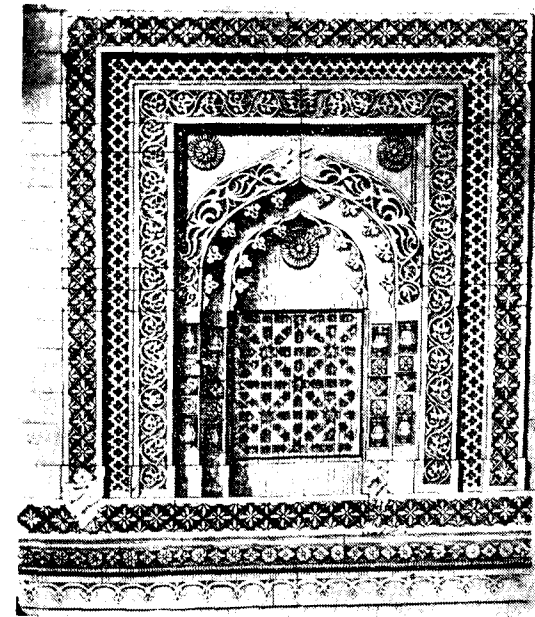


Pl. IV
Lotus and Geometrical elements
(The Sharqi Mosques of Jaunpur) P. 83



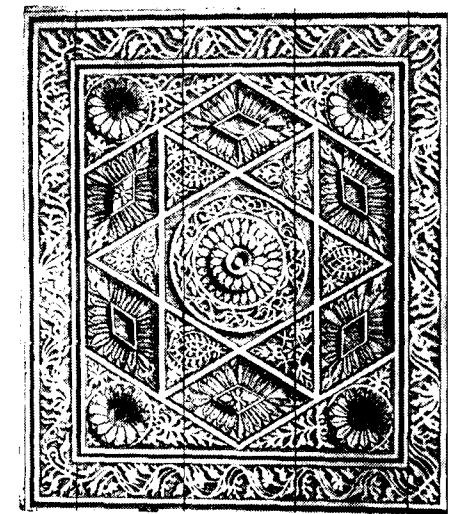
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A heptagonal motif P. 85



Pl. VI

Miharabs Set on the Plain P. 88



Pl. VII

Carved Ceiling Panel with Lotus
at the centre P. 88
(The Sharqi Mosques of Jaunpur)

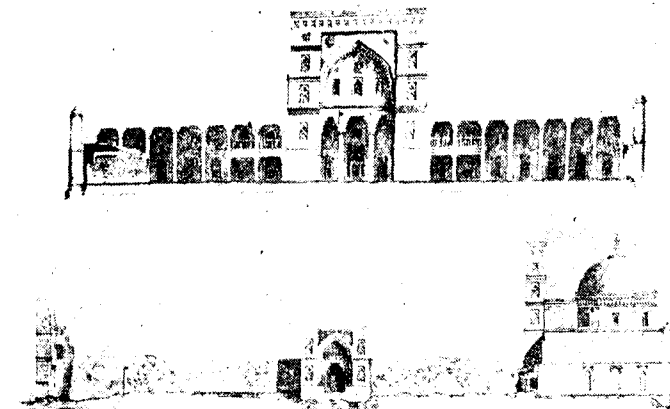


Fig. 1
Atala Masjid P. 82

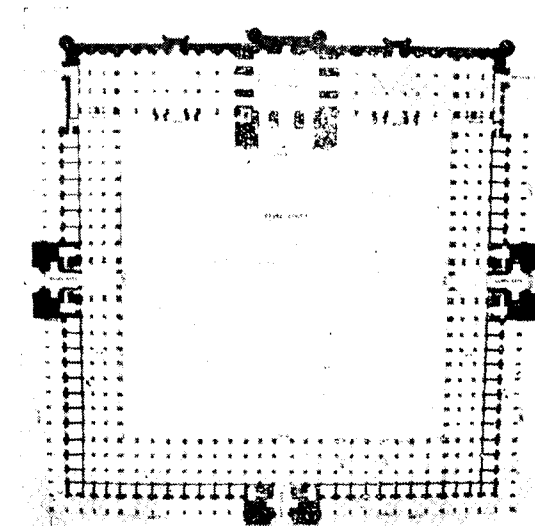


Fig. 2
The Lal-Darwaza Masjid P. 85
(The Sharqi Mosque of Jaunpur)

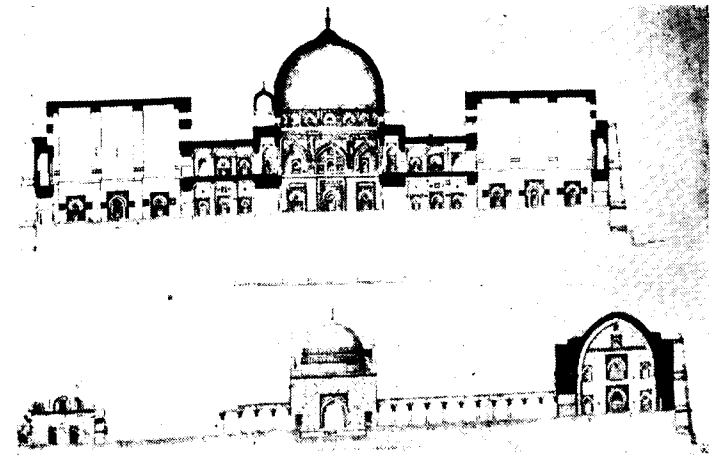


Fig. 3

(The Sharqi Mosques of Jaunpur) P. 80

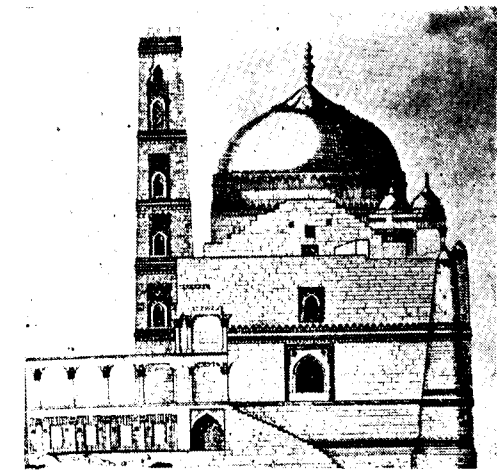


Fig. 4

(The Sharqi Mosques of Jaunpur) P. 80



Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy P. 147
Courtesy: Tiru S. Dorairajah Singham,
Petaling Jaya, MALAYSIA.
(22-8-1877 -- 9-9-1947)