

**JOURNAL OF THE
ANDHRA PRADESH ARCHIVES**

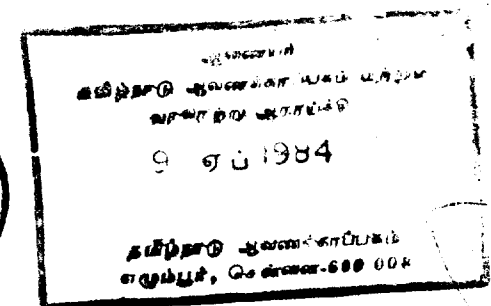
ITI HAS

36

Vol. XI

January to December 1983

Nos 1 & 2



Editor :
B. R. K. SASTRY,, I.A.S.,

DIGITIZED

Commissioner of State Archives
Government of Andhra Pradesh
HYDERABAD-500007
1983

ITI HAS

JOURNAL OF THE ANDHRA PRADESH ARCHIVES
Committee for Research Fellowships and Monograph
Series Scheme and Advisory Committee
for Itihas Journal

- | | | |
|----|---|-----------------------------|
| 1 | Minister Incharge of Archives Department. | Chairman |
| 2 | Commissioner, State Archives. | Vice-Chairman
& Convenor |
| 3 | Director, Archaeology and Museums, | Member |
| 4 | Dr. K. SUNDARAM
Head of the Department of History,
Andhra University, Waltair, | Member |
| 5 | Dr. RADHAKRISHNA SARMA.
Head of the Departments of Archaeology and
Ancient Indian History, Osmania University, Hyderabad. | Member |
| 6 | Dr V. M. REDDY, Head of the Department of
History, Sri Venkateswara University, Tirupati. | Member |
| 7 | Smt. SHARIFUNNISA ANSARI,
Head of the Departments of Persian,
Osmania University, Hyderabad. | Member |
| 8 | Prof. B. R. SUBRAHMANYAM,
Head of the Department of
History, Nagarjuna University, Guntur. | Member |
| 9 | Sri. RANGAMANI, I.A.S.
Commissioner of Archives, Tamilnadu, Madras. | Member |
| 10 | Prof. RAMA RAJU, Professor of Telugu,
Osmania University, Hyderabad. | Member |
| 11 | Sri. R. PARTHA SARATHY, I.A.S.
State Editor, Dt. Gazetteers. | Member |

B. R. K. SASTRY, I. A. S.
Editor

(The views expressed in the articles by the various writers are the personal opinions of the respective authors and not necessarily the official views of the Editor and the Committee).

All articles and books for review are to be sent in duplicate neatly typed in double space to the Editor, "Itihas," Commissioner of State Archives, Tarnaka, Hyderabad-500 007. A.P.

The Editor will have the right to edit and make suitable alterations in the articles from the point of view of publication.

Vol. XI

January to December 1983

Nos. 1 & 2

ITI HAS

Journal of the
Andhra Pradesh Archives



COMMISSIONER OF STATE ARCHIVES
GOVERNMENT OF ANDHRA PRADESH
HYDERABAD-500 007

1983

Copies : 400 + 50 Re-prints of each article.
First Impression : 1983.

PRICE :

Per copy :
Annual Subscription :
U. S. A. and Canada :
other Countries ;

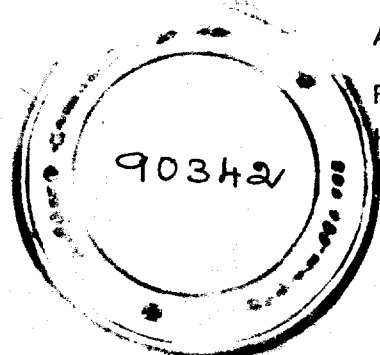
EXTRA RE-PRINTS PRICE

Extra Copies of re-prints of the articles In the Journal,
if required are supplied at the following rates.

1. Off—prints (With Illustration) — Rs. 10-00
2. Off—prints (Without Illustration) — Rs. 3-00

ADVERTISEMENT RATES

Full Page : Rs. 1000/—
Half Page : Rs. 500/—



A

V216:884nN83
N 83

Printed at : Intekhab Press.

J. N. Road, Hyderabad — 1. Phone : 47114

Published by : Commissioner of State Archives
Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad — 7.

CONTENTS

S.No.	Name of the Article	P. No.
1.	Growth of Economic Nationalism in Hyderabad State (A case study of Telangana) (1920 - 1938) Dr. Y. Vaikuntam	1
2.	Nationalist Ideology and Anti - Imperialist Struggle (The congress politics in Andhra in 1920 - 22) Sri A. Murali	17
3.	No - Tax Campaign in Guntur district unique episode In the Freedom Movement. Dr. B. Seshagiri Rao	37
4.	Exploitation of Peasantry in the Marathwada area in the erst while Hyderabad State (1900 - 1948 A. D.) Sri A. John	45
5.	The Andhra Provincial Zamindari Ryots Association, (1928 - 42) Sri A. Satyanarayana	61
6.	Educational Progress and Social Change in the Godavari district (1850 - 1900) Smt. P. Manikyamba	81
7.	The Tradition of Social Amity in the Deccan (1347 - 1911 A. D.) Sri Syed Masood Hasan Jafri	99
8.	Christianity and Indianisation Sri P.A.S. Jaya Rao	109
9.	The Temples at Kucumanchi (Khammam District) Sri K. Venkatachalam	119
10.	Re - orientation of Education to suit Community needs and to Promote Self - Employment. Sri K. J. Mani	129

11. Temple Entry movement in Malabar.	Dr. B. Sobhanan	139
12. Temple in Medieval Deccan	Dr. A. Nagabhushanam	153
13. A Vijayanagar Temple at Somapalem (Chittoor District)	Sri S. Sripatl Naidu	169
14. Identification of Brahman and Brahma the rationale of Mythology (supported by blood grouping)	Dr. M. Amjad Ali	185
15. The Historical Survey of the Battle of Bobbili	Dr. R. Ramam	203
16. Early Indian Jewellery - A Critical Study	Sri M. L. Nigam	213
17. Private Archives of Andhra Pradesh	Sri P. Krishna Moorthy	233
18. Law and Social Change	Sri R. Partha Sarathy, I.A.S.,	241
19. A Forgotten Rebellion of Bomataraug	Dr. B. Sobhanan	255
20. Society by Place Names from inscriptions found in Maharashtra	Dr. (Mrs) Malati Mahajan	259
21. Proscribed Telugu works during the freedom movements	Sri P. Krishna Moorthy	287
22. Histore of the Church Missionary Society in Hyderabad (Andhra Pradesh)	Sri P.A.S. Jaya Rao	295
Book Review		303

CONTRIBUTORS

1. Dr. Y. VAIKUNTAM,
Reader in History dept.,
Osmania University, Hyderabad-500 007.
2. Sri A. MURALI,
Research Scholar,
240, Jhelum Hostel, Jawaharlal Nehru
University, New Delhi.
3. Dr. B. SESHAGIRI RAO,
Lecturer in History,
C. S. R. Sarma College, Ongole, (A.P.)
4. Sri A. JOHN,
Research Asst., A. P. State Archives,
Tarnaka, Hyderabad-7.
5. Sri A. SATYNARAYANA,
Research Scholar Dept. of History,
South Asia Institute of Heidelberg University,
Im Neuenheimer Feld 330,
69. Heidelberg. West Germany.
6. Smt. P. MANIKYAMBA
Research Asst Dept. of History and
Archaeology, Andhra University,
Waltair (A. P)
7. Sri SYED MASOOD HASAN JAFRI,
Lecturer in History Dept.
Govt. Junior College, (Boys)
Karimnagar - 505 002.
8. Sri P. A. S. JAYA RAO,
B-38, F. 4., Vigyanapuri Colony,
Hyderabad-500 044.

9. Sri K. VENKATACHALAM
Room No. 55, New Research
Scholars Hostel, Osmania University.
Hyderabad-7.
10. Sri K. J. MANI,
Principal, Alphonsa junior college,
Hyderabad-500 038.
11. Dr. B. SOBHANAN
Lecturer in Modern History,
School of Historical Studies
Madurai Kamaraj University
Madurai-625021
12. Dr. A. NAGABHUSHANAM,
Silver Jubilee Govt. College, Kurnool,
13. Sri S. SRIPATHI NAIDU
Head of the Dept of History and Archaeology.
Besant Theosophical College,
Madanapalle-517 325
14. Dr. M. AMJAD ALI
J.P.N. Road, Warangal-506 002.
15. Dr. R. RAMAM
Lecturer in History. S.K.B.R. College,
Amalapuram-533 203.
16. Dr. M. L. NIGAM
Director, Salar Jung Museum
Nayapul, Hyderabad
17. Sri P. KRISHNA MOORTHY,
Archivist, A. P. State Archives
Tarnaka, Hyderabad-7
18. Sri R. PARTHA SARATHY, I. A. S.,
State Editor, District Gazetteers
Himayatnagar, Hyderabad.

19. Dr. B. SOBHANAN
Lecturer in Modern History,
School of Historical studies.
Madurai Kamaraj University
Madurai - 625021
20. Dr. (Mrs.) MALATI MAHAJAN
172, Shankar nagar, Nagpur
21. Sri P. KRISHNA MOORTHY,
Archivist, A. P. State Archives
Tarnaka, Hyderabad - 7
22. Sri P.A.S. JAYA RAO,
B-38, F-4, Vigyanapuri Colony,
Hyderabad - 500044.



SYED HASHIM ALI
Vice-Chancellor

Osmania University
Hyderabad-500007

24th February 1983

FOREWORD

The Andhra Pradesh State Archives is doing commendable work in throwing new light on the State's Culture and History and in preserving historic documents. Its half-yearly journal 'Itihas' is a journal which would be useful to teachers, researchers and students in Universities and other institutions in getting acquainted with the historical and cultural heritage of India.

I hope 'Itihas' will try to fill the gaps in Andhra Pradesh's glorious history and civilization and bring out the integrating factors in Indian History from the valuable records at its disposal in the State Archives.

(Syed Hashim Ali)



AVULA SAMBASIVA RAO
Vice-Chancellor, Andhra University
Waltair,
VISAKHAPATNAM-530 003 (A.P.)

February 25th 83.

Foreword

The Journal which the State Archives brings out twice a year is appropriately named "Itihas". History, Culture and Social Sciences receive particular attention in the Journal. It is universally recognised that the history of mankind in general, and that of India and Andhra Pradesh in particular, would be studied in depth. Basic subjects like Sociology, Archaeology and Indology constitute the core of research and development.

I am glad to find that "Itihas" is substantially contributing in this field. I wish it every success.

(Avula Sambasiva Rao)

EDITORIAL PREFACE

I am happy to inform you that Andhra Pradesh State Archives has so far brought out successfully ten volumes consisting of seventeen issues of the journal "ITIHAS". This journal is acclaimed as one of the best Historical Research Journals by all the distinguished scholars in India and abroad. The principle object of this journal is to highlight the original source material and also to invite the latest research articles interpreting the previous topic and establish the new dimension on the subject with facts and evidences. Original source material is not centralised at one place. Therefore this journal invites the views of scholars in India and abroad on various historical subjects highlighting the original source material hidden in India and abroad. Articles of research value covering all historical aspects along with evidences are only accepted and published in this journal. We are making sincere efforts to preserve the cultural heritage of the Andhra Pradesh in particular and India in general for posterity by publishing these research articles in our journal. Photo copies of the places as well as original documents if any, are also published in the journal in evidence to the author's interpretations on his research subject. Andhra Pradesh State Archives is able to gather the views of eminent scholars at one place through this journal.

Since Andhra Pradesh Archives is a research institute, its main object is to preserve the historical evidences (records) and also to highlight the facts to the scholarly world so that the Research Scholars will be benefited by this journal.

The Andhra Pradesh State Archives is making sincere efforts to bring regular half-yearly journal as well as Special Issues for our readers. Readers are requested to note that the views and interpretations expressed in the articles are of author's only and no comments if any, on the subjects are entertained by this department.

B. R. K. Sastry,
Editor.

**GROWTH OF ECONOMIC NATIONALISM
IN HYDERABAD STATE (1920-1938)**
(A CASE STUDY OF TELANGANA)

Dr. Y. Vaikuntham

Hyderabad, the largest princely state in British India ruled by the Nizams of the Asaf Jahi Dynasty, passed through a crucial period of the National Movement between 1920 and 1938. The Nizam's Government was autocratic and there was no effective challenge¹ to it from the people. In fact, it was ruled by the "firmans" of the rulers. The freedom of speech, writing, press, holding public meetings and forming political associations were forbidden. The civil liberties and democratic aspirations of the people were suppressed by the circulars, viz., Ghasti No. 52 of 1921, and Ghasti No. 53 of 1929². This resulted in the formation of organisations such as Andhra Jana Sangham (1922), Andhra Maha Sabha (1930), the Hyderabad State Congress (1938) to mould public opinion. These organisations highlighted economic and political issues like bonded labour, problems of peasants, merchants and weavers, mulki and non-mulki etc. Such a focus on the economic evils and exploitation, the defects in the economic policies of the State and consequent agitations spearheaded by these organisations brought about a sense of economic nationalism in the State. In fact they form the cause and effect of the economic nationalism in the State. The impact of such economic nationalism was so vigorous that it formed part of the nationalist movement in the State. Therefore, in this paper, we shall examine the growth and evolution of this phenomenon of the economic basis of nationalism in Telangana.

-
1. Urmila Phadnis, *Towards the Integration of Indian States 1919-1947*, Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1968, p. 80.
 2. Rao D. R., (Ed) *Misrule of the Nizam*, Madras, Suryakantha Press, 1926, pp. 24-25.

The Hyderabad State was multi-lingual, comprising of many sub-cultures of Telugus, Kannadigas, Marathas and Urdu speaking people. 85% of the population in the state lived on agriculture. Of the 5, 29,26, 720 acres of land in the dominion 3, 33, 82, 938 acres were under Diwani³, area and the remaining area was shared between Sarf-e-Khas⁴, Paigahs⁵, Samasthans⁶, Jagirs⁷, etc. The Jagirs, including Nizam's Sarf-e-Khas comprised approximately about 40% of the total area of the State. Ryotwari system was prevalent in the Diwani area whereas feudalism had taken roots in the Jagirdari area in the State⁸. Naturally, the feudal system promoted exploitation. Consequently poverty and rural indebtedness were rampant among the rural folk. In the enquiry conducted on rural agricultural indebtedness by the Government of the Nizam in 1936-37, it was revealed that the burden of debt worked out to Rs. 10-0-8 per acre; Rs. 390-13-0 per Pattadar and Rs. 30/- (approximately) per head of the agricultural population in the villages⁹. The total debt of the agricultural population of the State by 1936, roughly worked out to Rs. 64.5 crores. Exorbitant rate of interest on the loans (varying from 24% to 50%) and the accumula-

3. Diwani or Khalsa area was directly under the state proper and was a non-jagirdari area.
4. Sarf-e-khas lands served to meet not only the household expenses but also other expenses of the Nizam.
5. The holder of paigah lands who was a supplier of cavalry had unrivalled powers having full control of revenue, administration, and other departments in the paigah.
6. Samashtans were invariably held by Hindu Rajahs whose rights were recognised by the Government. They had wide administrative and judicial powers.
7. Jagir was a free grant of one or more villages from the ruler of the State to the grantee as a reward for some conspicuous service either military or otherwise
8. Khusró A. M., "*Economic and Social Effects of Jagirdari Abolition and Land Reforms in Hyderabad*", Hyderabad, Osmania University Press, 1958, p. 1. See for more details Kesava Iyengar, S., *Rural Economic Enquiries in the Hyderabad State 1949-51*, Hyderabad, Government Press, 1951, pp. 21-112.
9. The enquiry was conducted in 312 selected villages See *Census of India* (H E H. Nizams Dominions), 1941, pp. 19-20.

Itihas-XI, I

ted arrears, insecurity of crops due to famine conditions, extravagant expenditure on marriages, domestic expenses, litigations, consequences of world economic depression etc., increased the rural indebtedness¹⁰. In these circumstances, land rapidly passed on from the possession of agriculturists into the hands of non-agriculturists and moneylenders¹¹. Thus economic development was generally neglected in the State but it was woefully neglected in the Jagirdari areas since they had to manage everything within their own limited resources.

There was, thus, a need to ameliorate the situation. The Department of Industry and Commerce, which came into existence by 1920, took up the promotion of textile, cement, cigar, tea, button making and other industries¹². However, these infant industries could not cope with the demand of solving economic ills. It is interesting to note here that the industrial progress in British India was conspicuously more advanced when compared to Hyderabad State. People were aware of this disparity. Added to this the Nizam's Government monopolised certain industries and promoted the interests of the Muslim capitalists. In capitalist economy based on competition, State monopoly in the interests of a Section of the people does not promote the welfare of the people. The Government policies in regard to agriculture put the entire Muslim community under the "protected class". Therefore the amelioration in the unhappy conditions of the people was practically insignificant, in spite of the change in the economic system.

The other forms of exploitation that obtained were bonded labour and cheap labour, harassment by the Jagirdars, etc. Hara-

10. Bharucha, S., *Agricultural Indebtedness in HEH the Nizam's Dominions*: Hyderabad, Govt. Central Press, 1938, p. 22.
11. Kesava Iyengar, S., *Economic Investigations in the Hyderabad State, 1929-30* Hyderabad, Govt. Central Press, 1931, pp. 18-19
12. *The Economic Life of Hyderabad*, All India Economic Conference, Hyderabad, 1937, pp. 61-96.

ssment of the merchants and trading community by the officials was also quite common. In addition to it, the moneylenders, who were mostly Arabs, Rohillas, and Marwadi merchants, not only collected high rate of interest but used coercive methods in the recovery of loans, which adversely affected the State economy. It should be borne in mind here that the regular system of Banking with related facilities was absent then and money transactions were in the hands of private agencies who squeezed the money not only from the common man but also from the State.

Communications in the state were poor. In 1921, there were only 870.14 miles of railway lines in which the Government was financially interested. Though the Government felt that the construction and improvement of rail lines and roads would go a long way to improve the economic and social life of the people, by 1940 it had only 1360 miles of rail line and 5911 miles of roads in the Nizam's dominions¹³. By any standards it was quite inadequate to cater to the needs of people, particularly in developing contacts between the rural and urban areas for trade and commerce.

Unemployment was on the increase particularly among the literates in the age group of 16-20 years¹⁴. In spite of the fact that the unemployment problem was on the increase, the *non-mulkies* were appointed to many of the high posts, which provoked an agitation against the non-mulkies around 1926¹⁵. By 1931 there were about 2,48,000 non-mulkies in the State, out of whom nearly 5000 were Europeans, and 243000 were Indians from Madras, Bombay, Central Provinces, Berar, Mysore, Punjab, Rajaputana, United Provinces etc.¹⁶ settled in the adjacent districts in

the State for livelihood, which created an agitation. This anti non-mulki agitation was motivated by economic issues since the administrative machinery was dominated by non-mulkies. Consequently, the Nizam's Government issued a Firman in 1933 giving preference to all educated and efficient *Mulkis* in the services¹⁷. However, there were a number of irregularities in the implementation of the policy.

The factors mentioned in the foregoing pages sufficiently brings out that there was oppression of the common man in all sectors of production. Exploitation by money-lenders was severe and the total economy of the State was at a very low ebb. There was no public voice to protest, and no safety valve to blow off the pent up steam. Under the existing politico-economic structures of the State, starting of a political organisation became difficult. However, the adjoining British provinces supplied certain clues and methods to start a struggle for emancipation. It may be recalled here that in 1921 the Hyderabad State Reforms Association¹⁸ was started and it held its sessions periodically in British India¹⁸, since there was a prohibition on it in Hyderabad State.

Andhra Jana Sangham, a prominent social organisation was established on November 12, 1922, to organise libraries and bring about awakening among the Telugu speaking people of the State in all walks of life. The activities of the 'Sangham' naturally gave rise to various local Ryot Sabhas and merchants' associations. The work of representing people's grievances on economic issues was systematically taken up. Several practising lawyers, connec-

17. Narasing Rao, M., *Fifty Years of Hyderabad*, Hyderabad, 1977, p. 127

18. The first conference was held at Kakinada in 1923 under the Chairmanship of Madhava Rao Aney, the second at Bombay in 1926 with Y. M. Kale in Chair, the third at Poona in 1928 with W. C. Kelkar in Chair, and the fourth conference at Akola with Ramchandra Naik in the Chair. Civil liberties, political rights and freedom were discussed in these conferences. See Ramesan, N., *The Freedom Struggle in Hyderabad*. Vol. IV, Hyderabad, 1966, pp. 52-77.

13. See *Census of India* (H. E. H. The Nizam's Dominions) 1931, p.28 and 1941 pp. 26-28

14. *Ibid*, 1941, pp. 203.

15. From the writer's interview with Ali Akbar, former D.F. I, Nizam's Dominions, dated 12-1-1977.

16. Syed Abid Hasen, *Whither Hyderabad?* (A Brief study of some outstanding problems of the premier Indian State), Hyderabad, 1935, p. 38.

ted with the movement took interest in this kind of work. The socio-economic problems formed the base for their struggle. Therefore, the Andhra Jana Sangham was in a better position to establish a rapport with Government officials to represent their grievances, such as those of the merchants who supplied commodities to the Government officials on tour at concessional rates, and sometimes even free of cost. In these circumstances the Andhra Jana Sangham became the mouth-piece of the merchants of Telangana in representing their grievances to the Government¹⁹. These merchants formed an organisation of their own in early 1922 and made a demonstration in December, 1922, at Suryapet in Nalgonda district to assert their rights. The association gained more prominence subsequently and published a booklet named *Vartaka Swatantram* (Freedom of Trade) on 15-2-1929 from Tippiarti in Nalgonda district²⁰. This booklet inspired the merchants to seek relief from such hated practices as supplying commodities to the Government officials at concessional rates or free of cost. In the early days of Andhra movement, Ravi Narayana Reddy, a prominent Communist leader of Telangana rightly said that, in opposing the feudal system and practices, the Merchants Associations did play a very prominent role²¹. Andhra Maha Sabha in its first conference in 1930 (Resolution No. 17) and the second conference in 1931 (Resolution No. 8) condemned the practice of exploitation of the merchants. The very word "Our village has Merchants' Association" frightened Government employees. Thus it has awakened the commercial classes in particular and all the people in general about their struggle against exploitation.

Another important issue which attracted the attention of the public was the tax called *Maggapu Pannu* or Powerloom tax.

19. Ramesan N., *Op. Cit.*, p. 45. See for more details on Merchants problems and grievances, Hanumantha Rao, M., *Telangana Andhrodyamamu*, part I, Sri Vani Mudranalayam Hyderabad, 1949, pp. 68-76.

20. Hanumantha Rao, M., Vol. I, *Op. Cit.* pp. 72-75.

21. Narayana Reddy, R., *Veera Telangana*; p. 14.

Padma Salees and Weavers were forced to pay a tax called *Mohatarfa* in Jagir areas. Though the Government and the High Court directed that this tax was illegal, they continued to collect it. Hence, the Andhra Jana Sangh and the leader of the Padma Salees, Matetu Papaiah, published a booklet entitled '*Mahtarfa-Maggapu Pannu*' to explain the illegality of the tax²². One of the important aims of this publication was to highlight the injustice done to the weaving community. However, the evil practice continued in some form or the other.

The Nazarana system²³ was another form of exploitation which touched the pockets of all classes from the nobleman²⁴ to the common man in the street. This subtle way of extorting money and wealth was in accordance neither with the Judicial nor with the administrative norms, let alone the moral and ethical principles. In the political conferences held in Bombay in 1926 and at Poona in 1928, this system of Nazarana was criticised.

Another harmful practice which came for criticism during this period was the practice of *Bhagelas*²⁵ and *Begari*²⁶ systems. The *Begari* system in its worst form deteriorated to *Vettichakiri* or bonded labour. Government officers, patels, patwaris, Deshmukhs and Deshpandes were extracting work with only trivial payment.

22. Hanumantha Rao, M., Vol. I, *Op. Cit.*, p. 89.

23. Nazarana, a vicious practice of giving presents to all the hierarchy in the Government and Quasi Government, by the petitioners and those who were privileged to get an interview.

24. Ramesan, N., *Op. Cit.*, p. 60.

25. Cheap labour known as Bhagelas in Urdu was service rendered in return for the loans received for marriages and other social functions. For paltry *Jeetam* one had to work whole time with the master. It was a semi-starved, non-remunerative job, like that of a serf.

26. Vettichakiri was known as bonded labour or *Begari* in Urdu. Vettichakiri was of two types: (a) Vettimadiga, Mahar etc., doing service by receiving fixed contribution, (b) Vettipani by chamars, barbers, dhobis called Boluthadar serving officers on tours and village officials specially patwaris etc., on receiving petty inam lands.

The Central organisation of the Andhra Jana Sangham started agitation against this practice and published a pamphlet named '*Vettichakiri*' in Telugu to bring about awareness among the people. In those circumstances, the Nizam's Government prohibited Vettichakiri on 30-3-1923 (on the birthday of the Nizam) as a gift. However, the employees and other officers, who were beneficiaries of this exploitative system, opposed it and got a revised order on 12-12-1926. Some of the regulations after the revision were; (1) they should not be forced to work except during the time of the officers on tour, (2) remuneration as decided by rules should be paid, and (3) the weight of the luggage to be carried by men, women and children was fixed²⁷. When there was delay in implementing the revised order by the officials, this practice came under heavy criticism from Andhra Maha Sabha and others. Therefore the Government issued another circular viz., Gasti No. 38 of 1933, prohibiting any work without remuneration²⁸. In spite of the efforts by the Government and the Andhra Conference, the '*Vettichakiri*' continued in the State, particularly in the Jagir areas.

The conditions of the peasants in Telangana in general and Nalgonda district in particular were horrible. Bonded labour, illegal exactions from tenants who were the victims of exorbitant rents, forcible grain collections from the peasants and threats from the Government officials were very common. Therefore, to fight against such exploitation Ryot Sanghams were started at Tippi, Suryapet and other places by the peasants to fight out their problems in the field of agriculture, but they could not make progress since the problems of ryots were many and their leaders, unlike Vaisyas, were selfish. Illiteracy among them was another reason for the failure of the Ryot Sanghams to make any progress. Parti-

27. Hanumantha Rao, M., Vol. I. *Op. Cit.*, p. 77-81.

28. Andhra Maha Sabha passed resolution condemning the practice of Vettichakiri in the first conference 1930, Resolution No. 20, the Second (Resolution No. 7) the Third (Resolution No. 19), the Fourth (Resolution 9) conferences. See also, *Report on the Administration for H. E. H. The Nizam's Dominions*, 1939-40, p. 17.

cularly by 1930's the problems of ryots increased due to the impact of world economic and trade depression, fall in agricultural prices, failure of crops and famine conditions, increased agricultural indebtedness, and land transfers to money-lenders and absentee landlords. Feudal and Jagirdari Systems, which form about 40% of the land in the State without settlements, and excess revenue collections²⁹ added to the plight of the ryots. To save ryots from exploitation and to better their lot the Tenancy Committee recommended in 1940's for the prohibition of illegal cases in Jagirs, granting of pattas, and prevention of coercive methods in collection of dues by Jagirdars and moneylenders³⁰. However, there were many problems in the implementation of these directions since the patels, patwaris, Deshmukhs, Deshpandes and other Watandars in the Dominions were selfish and failed to implement the concessions³¹. Further there were no effective organisations of the ryots to fight out their problems. But the Andhra Maha Sabha in 1930's and the Communist Party in 1940's developed their base among the ryots to fight against the exploitative Jagirdars and the autocratic Government.

Between 1922-30 the leaders of the Andhra Movement adopted certain moderate methods to highlight problems like *Vettichakiri* and the problems of merchants, weavers, ryots etc., because they did not want to quarrel with the Government or the officials. However the Government suspected these activities and, therefore, a number of restrictions were placed on its activities. For example, in 1928 it was said "Government is pleased to permit the holding of meetings at Suryapet, on the distinct understanding that the meeting will strictly be non-political and of such nature that there would be no likelihood of bringing about any political

29. The revenue per acre in Khalsa area was Rs. 1/- where as in Jagir area it differed from Rs. 3/- to Rs. 4/-; Narasing Rao, M., *Op. Cit.*, pp. 146-147.

30. *Report of the Tenancy Committee*, Hyderabad, Govt. Central Press, 1940, pp. 3-30.

31. Syed Abid Hasan, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 79-81.

consequences. The Secretary of the Conference will be held responsible if anything against Government orders transpires"³². It was a clear indication of the mind of the Government on all such popular movements.

In 1930, the Andhra Jana Sangh was replaced by the Andhra Conference or Andhra Maha Sabha with a broader scope to take up socio-economic problems of the people. The main contribution of the Andhra movement was to fight out the peasant problems and to undertake village reconstruction programmes. The first conference at Jogipet (March 1930) discussed the problems of the farmers, demanded loans and resolved for the formation of peasant Associations. At the second conference at Deverkonda (March 1931) the issues like the fall of agricultural prices, bonded labour were discussed. At the third conference (1934) at Khammam the Sabha took up the issue of reduction of taxes, settlements in Jagir areas, remission to peasants due to famine conditions. At the fourth conference at Sirsilla (1936) solutions were sought to the problems in Jagir areas. The fifth conference at Shadnagar (December, 1936) demanded an economic survey of Telangana, and problems of agricultural indebtedness, fertilizers, etc., were discussed. At the sixth conference at Nizamabad (Dec., 1937) the problems of ryots, and other economic issues in addition to political conditions³³ were highlighted. Subsequently, the Andhra Maha Sabha concentrated more on economic and political issues than on other problems and strove to develop an economic base for political awakening and national consciousness. With this, a new phase of nationalism was inaugurated in Telangana, with the leaders trying to disguise economic, political and national designs

32. Letters of Director General of District Police-Nalgonda No. 833 of 28-5-1928, see Hanumantha Rao, M. Vol. I, *Op. Cit.*, p. 136.

33. Hanumantha Rao, M. Vol. II, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 234-314, also see *Golkonda Patrika* 6-12-1937. Various districts of the State were passing through famine conditions, particularly Nalgonda, Mahboobnagar, Karimnagar, Medak, Warangal Districts in Telangana. See *Reports on the Administration of H. E. H. The Nizam's Dominions*, 1929-39.

through this type of social organisations. However, an outspoken leader like Ravi Narayana Reddy said that there was no difference between the political and non-political movements,³⁴ as the organisation sub-served the national awakening.

To ameliorate the conditions of the peasants, bonded labourers, and other types of the exploited, the Government did take a number of measures. It passed acts like Hyderabad Agricultural Marketing Act in 1930, the Record of Rights Act in 1936-37, the Money-lenders Act 1939, the Land Mortgage Act, the Land Alienation Act, 1940, and the Debt Conciliation Act 1940. It also instituted enquiries into the economic and agrarian problems of the local people, resulting in the publication of *Economic Investigations* in 1929-30 by S. Kesava Iyyengar, *Agricultural indebtedness in the Dominions* in 1936-37 by S. M. Bharucha³⁵ etc. These measures were taken up by the Government partly due to the increasing pressure of the various organisations and Associations, and partly due to its own realisation about the increasing misery of its subjects in the Dominions. However, these measures had only a marginal impact and could not provide real relief to the people. These conditions, ultimately, provided scope for the Andhra Maha Sabha and the Communist Party to project the economic evils and sufferings of the people more vigorously in the subsequent period.

There was a quick spurt in the struggle and the number of movements, consequent to the establishment of the *Ittehad-ul-Musalmeen Party* in 1928, which trod the path of communalism and communal nationalism. In opposition to this, the Arya Samaj which had been so far working silently on socio-religious reforms, stepped up its activity more openly along with the Hindu Maha Sabha.

As a result of this, the formation of a non-communal political organisation became imperative. Leaders like K. S. Vaidya,

34. Narayana Reddy Ravi, *Op. Cit.* p. 19.

35. See *Reports on the Administration of H. E. H. Nizam's Dominions* 1925-1940.

R. K. Dhoot and B. Ramakrishna Rao started the Hyderabad State Congress to promote national unity and to develop intellectual, moral, economic and industrial resources of the Hyderabad State³⁶. The State Congress played a significant part in the full awakening of national consciousness in the State. Initially the peasant struggles in Jagir and Zamindari areas for legal facilities that existed in the Diwani areas like survey and settlement were generally led not by the communists but by liberal landlord elements who subsequently became the base for the Congress, barring a few who became "Sympathisers" of the Communist Party³⁷. But the moderate methods of the Congress and their skin deep sympathy for peasants and workers, provided not only scope but a broad base for the communists among these sections to move closer to the people in the subsequent period. Consequently the Communist inroads into the rural life of Telangana was very rapid in 1940's and helped the 'Telangana Movement' or the armed struggle mainly on politico - economic issues.

Economic factor was a predominant psycho-cultural motivation in the growth of nationalism. It may be stated in conclusion that the economic issues of the people formed the quintessence of the struggle carried on by these organisations to rouse public opinion and organise people into a force to fight against the illegal taxes, and all types of inhuman oppression and exploitation. The political associations and socio - cultural organisations took up the social and economic problems of the people thus helping the political development in the region. The agitation around economic policies and issues tended to erode popular confidence in the Nizam's Government. In addition to that, it was the Communist

36. *Golkonda Patrika*, 7 July 1938, see also Achyut Khowde., *Peoples Movement in Hyderabad*, Nanded, 1947, p. 42.

37. Communist Part in the Nizam's State was started in 1929. See also Rao, D.V., *Telangana Armed Struggle and the Path of Indian Revolution*, Calcutta, proletarian path publications, 1974, pp. 4-5.

Party that played a unique role in taking up the economic problems of feudal exploitation. It appeared that in contrast to the moderate ideology and approach of the Congress, a fierce nationalism was promoted by the Communist Party. Its work got all the more augmented during the 1940's.

NATIONALIST IDEOLOGY AND ANTI - IMPERIALIST STRUGGLE

(The Congress Politics in Andhra in 1920-1922).

Murali Atlury

The main concern of this article is the analysis of role of Congress leadership and nationalist ideology in anti-Imperialist struggles in Andhra in 1920-22. The nationalist ideology during colonial period is viewed here, not just as a creation of intellectuals, but as an ideology developed through a long experience of different social classes with an oppressive economic structure and political subordination imposed by Colonialism. In other words, the nationalist ideology emerged out of the principal contradiction between Indian people and Colonialism, which underdeveloped their economy and bore harshly on their social development. And all the other contradictions in fact, operated within this principal contradiction. Keeping these basic facts of colonial Andhra society in mind we will be analysing the role of nationalist ideology and Congress leadership in militant anti-Imperialist struggles in Andhra during 1920-22 i. e., Chirala-Perala struggle, Pedanandipad no-tax campaign and Palnad forest satyagrahas.

Chirala and Perala were two neighbouring villages in the Bapatla taluq of the Guntur district with a population of about 15,000.¹ The militant civil disobedience movement started in Chirala-Perala with the proposed 'imposition' of municipality by

1. *The Hindu*, May 27, 1921; Tanguturi Prakasam, *Naa Jeevita Yatra*, Autobiography, Telugu M. Seshachalam & Co., 1972. P. 232; Madala Veerabhadra Rao *Deshabhakta Jeevita Charitramu*, (Biography of Sri Konda Venkatappaiah Pantulu). Telugu, Masulipatnam, 1966, PP. 70-72; *Andhra Patrika*, May 6, 1921; *Report on Native News Papers-Madras*, Reel No. 25, P. 598; Home Political. February 1921, No-77, P. 6; However, A. Balakrishna Murthy, in his *Chirala Charitra*, (History of Chirala) Telugu, Chirala, 1970. P. 12, has given the figure of population as 18,000.

the Madras Government. In fact, from 1915 onwards there were proposals to constitute them into a municipality. The inhabitants protested against such move on the ground that it would result in increasing the burden of local taxation from Rs. 4,000, which they were paying till then to their Panchayat Union, to Rs. 40,000 without bringing any corresponding benefits.² Here most of the people were petty ryots, weavers and merchants. The petty ryots were burdened with rising prices, unequal land revenue distribution and problem of water cess.¹ In the case of few rich peasant families if not the land revenue at least water cess had become a problem which was cutting deeper into their agricultural surplus capital accumulated over a period of time in cotton cultivation. So any imposition of an additional taxation through a new municipality would be opposed by this section, for it was going to cut further deep into their surplus capital.

On the other hand, there were weavers and other artisan classes whose economic position became miserable, owing to the gradual destruction of their trades. These sections were forced to work for low wages like the other labouring classes either under the weaving merchants or in the agricultural sector. Their thatched houses were symbols of their poverty and the negative impact of colonial rule.³ It was observed that "The affairs of Chirala and Perala served as an example of the uncommon discharge of duty to the modern civilized world. The people (in Chirala - Perala) have no employment enabling them to pay taxes to the amount of nearly Rs. 33,000. To those that are engaged in the dyeing industry a municipality is a source of misery, not of happiness."¹

Especially, after First World War, the final death blow was given to the weaving and dyeing industry in Chirala-Perala due to the competition from the cheap cotton price-goods imported into

2. *Ibid.*; Prakasam, *Op. cit.*, P. 233; Balakrishna Murthy, *Op. cit.*, P. 13.

1. *Ibid.*; also see *Kistnapatrika*, July 9, 1921.

2. *Ibid.*

1. *The Hindu*, May 27, 1921.

this place from Japan, China, England and other European industrialized countries.² Even though, the weaving trade was continued, mostly financed by the merchant class, it was not able to prosper, for the people preferred the cheap mill cloth, against the rough weaving-cloth.³ On the other hand, the Government's encouragement to the export of native raw materials resulted in the export of cotton. The weavers and the merchants were not in a position to pay more for the cotton and thus compete with the export prices.⁴ Adding insult to injury the cropping pattern was now radically shifted from cotton to other commercial crops like tobacco, for profits from those crops were higher than from cotton.¹ So, the scarcity of raw cotton also contributed to their economic misery. In addition, the failure of monsoon and widespread plague resulted in wretched living conditions and loss of lives.²

Thus every section was having its own grievances. And they are now articulated into a movement by the elite sections of merchants and rich peasants, since they were the first to experience the burden of additional taxation imposed through a new municipality in 1919. The Chirala episode, however, took really a new turn in 1921 under the leadership of Duggirala Gopala Krishnayya who was a noted (Congress) nationalist leader in the area.

In March 1921, with the refusal of the payment of municipal taxes, the no-tax campaign was started in Chirala-Perala without the permission of the Congress and Gandhiji.³ It was only in the month of April that Gandhiji advised the leadership to adopt either of the two ways, i.e., to continue the no-tax campaign in a non-violent manner and face all the consequences, or to undertake a

2. A. Balakrishna Murthy, *op. cit.*, P. 37.

3. *Ibid.*, PP. 37-38.

4. *Ibid.*

1. *Ibid.*

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 12 and 37-38.

3. *Janmabhumi*, May 5, 1921, P. 2; M. Venkatrangaiya (ed), *The Freedom Struggle in Andhra Pradesh (Andhra)* Vol. III, Hyderabad, 1969, pp. 32-33; *The Hindu*, May 27, 1921; *Report on Native Newspapers-Madras*, Reel No. 25, P. 723.

mass exodus from the town which would automatically result in the disappearance of the municipality.¹ The leadership having the mass support chose the second alternative. Before the starting of this movement, Gopalakrishnayya brought into existence a volunteer army - the "Rama Dandu". More than a thousand men were recruited during the earlier months of 1921. With its red dress and perfect discipline, the "Rama Dandu" emerged as a real powerful peace army, of course, with merchants and rich peasants' financial help as its back bone, with the help of which Mr. Gopalakrishnayya led the Chirala-Perala movement.²

It was summer when the exodus began. "Almost 15,000 people - men and women carrying their belongings on their heads and shoulders, pregnant ladies and women with babies in arms, the aged and the crippled, rich and poor Brahmins and non-Brahmins, without minding their differences - marched across the scorching sands to fields outside the town and tried to take shelter in hastily improvised huts".¹ Every one passed through the ordeal with grim determination and with no regret. Chirala was completely deserted demonstrating their agitational potentiality against colonial rule.²

The following 11 months history of the new town 'Ramnagar of Chirala - Perala people exposed the naked despotism of the British rule and of the no-Brahmin casteism of the Justice Party at the expense of the non-Brahmin masses.'³ The people of

1. M. Venatarangaiya, *op. cit.*, P. 32; A. Balakrishna Murthy, *op. cit.*, P.15; Home Political, June 1921, No. 13, P. 25.

2. Prakasam, *op. cit.*, P. 233.

1. *Ibid*, P. 234 (translated from Telugu). Also see Venkatrangaiya, *op. cit.*, Vol.III, P. 32.

2. ".... It was a sad sight to watch them and their furniture moved from their old homes to their new 'Parnasalas'. Street after street of Chirala was deserted and hardly a voice was heard along the lonely thoroughfares. The creak of the heavy laden casts, the din of the hammer strokes, the odour of the sub-dried palmyre leaves and the sight of the patient men, women and children trudging the dusty paths to their new homes (built of bamboo and palmyra), sweating under the weight of their belongings, were an overwhelming phenomenon - they were indeed an inspiration." *The Hindu*, May 27, 1921

3. *Report on Native Newspapers - Madras*, Reel No.25, pp.1371-72.

Chirala - Perala exposed themselves to one of the severest summers in May-June of 1921, the temperature in shade rising to 113°F., and to heavy rains in July and August nearly 10½ inches falling in a few weeks.¹ Adding to this misery, the Government intensified its harassment of the people. On some huts which were raised on 'poramboka' lands which was Government's property, they strictly enforced heavy penalties and evictions; penalties payable amounting to some hundreds of Rupees per hut, while the cost of the huts raised was only about Rs. 25 per hut.² Yet the people yielded neither to the extremes of the weather nor the harassment of the Government officialdom.

It was only with the arrest of Duggirala and, later, some other Prominent congressmen mostly belonging to rich peasant and merchant sections that the movement began to crumble.³ Particularly after the calling off of the general non-cooperation movement in Andhra in February 1922 by the Congress Party, no prominent local Congressmen came forward to take up the place of arrested leaders. To add to this, many people were forced to submission and some of the huts were set on fire by hired hooligans.¹

Thus demoralisation slowly crept in, and the movement was ruthlessly crushed by the Government. However, one must note that it was not just because of the lack of the potentiality² to wage a prolonged struggle against colonialism that the people of Chirala - Perala had withdrawn their movement, but, owing to the lack of the leadership from the local Congressmen after calling off of the non-cooperation movement by Gandhiji in 1922. In

1 *Ibid*, pp 942-43; Also see Venkatrangaiya, *op. cit*, pp 33-34

2 *Ibid.*, pp. 911-12; *The Hindu*, August 11, 1921.

3. M. Venkatrangaiya, *op. cit*, P.34.

1. *Ibid.*

2. *Report on Native Newspapers-Madras*, Reel No. 26 (1922), P.511. 'Durbar' (Guntur) of May 1, 1922 observed that:

"The people of Chirala went back to the village not because of the endeavour or the influence of the paid chairman but because their houses had taken fire and the conditions have changed" *Ibid.*

fact, the local Congressmen themselves were demoralised when the movement was called off by Gandhiji even when it was at its peak stage. Throughout the movement the local grievances were thus articulated by the local Congress leadership and integrated them into the broad anti-Imperialist struggle. Naturally, throughout the period the Chirala-Perala movement could be seen as a part of broad anti-Imperialist struggle of Gandhiji, even though it was conditioned by the immediate local grievances.

In the case of Pedanandipad no-tax campaign, the whole-movement was led by the rich peasant class under the leadership of Sri Veerayya, who had a share in the big rice-milling business with the partnership of some merchants.¹ In Guntur and Kistna districts the rich peasant class—mostly Kammass and Reddies - had direct connections with the urban business and industries. This class was expanding in the rice-milling industry so rapidly after 1900 that by 1920 rice-milling had become a big rural industry.² Here the investment came mostly from their agricultural surplus accumulated in commodity production through favourable marketing system and also from money-lending business in the rural side.³ It was with the help of this rich peasant class that Mr. P. Veeraiah could lead a powerful no-tax campaign in Pedanandipad, which engulfed nearly 80 villages. Pedanandipad firka was the centre of activity which was 18 miles from Guntur town.¹ Here, the resig-

1. N.G. Ranga, *Economic Organisation of Indian Villages*, Bezawada, 1926, Vol. I, pp. 35-37; M. Venkatrangaiya, *op. cit.*, Document Nos. 56-57
2. Proceedings of the Department of Commerce and Industry, January 1919, No. 115 - Filed and Indexed (NAI), P. 6.
3. The expansion and consolidation of rich peasant class in Andhra (coastal and Rayalaseema districts) is shown in detail in my M. Phil dissertation. See Atlury Murali, *Social Change and Nature of Social participation in Non-Cooperation Movement in Andhra, 1920-1922*, Centre for Historical Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, 1979, especially see chapter II, pp. 20-111.
1. For a detailed history of the movement see *report on Native Newspapers-Madras*, Reel No. 26, pp. 40, 52, 56, 87, 89-91, 109-110, 117-121 and 145; *Andhra Patrika*, Nov., 21, 1921; Jan., 10, 12, 15-17, 21, 25-27, 31; Feb., 4, 11, 14-15; March 3-4, 6; and April 21, 1922; Prakasam, *op. cit.*, pp. 206-210; Madala *op. cit.*, pp. 76-100; Venkatrangaiya, *op. cit.*, Document Nos. 57-58, 61-62, 73 and 76.

Itihas-XI, 1,

nations by the village officials like Munsiffs, Karnams and menial servants from their jobs, due to their own grievances, added impetus to the no-tax campaign in Guntur, for the collection of land revenue and other taxes depended entirely on the village Karnam and other lower officials.²

In the beginning, 20 villages comprising the firka and 30 other surrounded villages led the no-tax campaign. Nearly '80 villages', however, became centres of activity at the height of the movement.¹ And each village had a Congress Sabha of its own. And the volunteers number over 3,000 had done an admirable work in preserving peace on the one hand and on the other propagation of the movement to every nook and corner of the pedanandipad firka.² The payment of the 'kist', which fell due in the first week of January 1922, was practically nil.³ It was observed on January 15, 1922 that -

"none have paid the 'kist' in about 80 villages in the Guntur district, that the taluq treasury is empty in Bapatla, that all big pattadars have vowed not to pay the 'kist' whatever hardships may result therefrom and

2. For a detailed history of the grievances of these village officials see, Home Political, Nov 1921, File No. 18, pp. 2 and 41-42; January 1922, pp. 2-3 and 48; *Report on Native Newspapers-Madras*, Reel No. 24, pp. 115 & 190; Reel No. 25, pp. 1323, 1328-29, 1415 and 1439; Reel No. 26, p. 40, 91, 269-70; *Andhra Patrika*, Feb., 4, 1919; August 17 and 23, Sep., 7, 1920; Jan., 26, Feb., 4 and 10, 1922.
1. *Andhra Patrika*, January 12, 1922, p. 8. It was observed, that in "Pedanandipad, Parachuru and Chinaganjam firkas, the total 80 villages and the peasants in those villages were showing readiness and eager to follow Congress orders and not to pay tax, even if they have to suffer utmost repression from the Government" *Ibid*
2. *The Hindu*, January 25, 1922, especially see, *Andhra Patrika*, Feb., 11, 1922. In this paper Report on the Sub-Committee appointed by the Guntur District Congress Committee to look into this movement was published (pp. 7-8).
3. *Andhra Patrika*, January 12, 1922, p. 8. Home Political, January 1922, File No. 18 p. 48; Feb. 1922, File No. 18 pp. 2-3 and 44; *Report on Native Newspapers Madras*, Reel No. 26, p. 56.

that the properties of five pattadars are already under attachment—...."⁴

Thus the bulk of the activity came from the village "bigpattadars" themselves, of course, followed by the other sections of the peasantry due to their own class grievances. The organisers could induce the peasantry to withhold the payment of taxes successfully until the movement was called off in February 1922,¹ and the fact that the Government had been compelled to change the scope of the Revenue Recovery Act and to invoke the assistance of all its repressive weapons,² were perhaps positive proofs that the peasants of these villages have demonstrated their agitational potentiality to the colonial rulers beyond doubt.

To answer the question that how could local Congress leadership mobilise all the sections of the peasantry without bringing the inner-contradictions into surface, one must go for the analysis of the deep rooted general grievances of peasantry in these villages. "Ryot Patrika" observed that on the part of colonial government, "it has been the practice to raise the land assessment at every fresh settlement. This has been a great hardship to the ryot. In addition to this land assessment, the road-cess and railway cess are sucking the blood of the ryots. The public works Department subordinates are exacting bribes in the name of 'mamuls' and supplies. Under the British Government the ryot is gradually declining and not flourishing".¹ The above observation perhaps explains the broad framework or background of peasants' grievances against colonialism and the consequent participation in the no-tax campaign under the leadership of Congress, when these grievances

4. Observed by the "Tamil Nadu" (Published from Selam), January 15, 1922, in *Report on Native Newspapers-Madras*, Reel No. 26, p. 56, (emphasis added).
1. *Andhra Patrika*, January 16, Feb., 11, 1922; *The Hindu*, Feb. 11, 1922.
2. *Kristnapatrika*, Feb., 24, 1922; G. O. No. 130, Revenue, dated 19th Jan., 1922, quoted in *Janmabhumi* Jan., 26, 1922; Venkatrangaiya, *op. cit.*, Document Nos. 48, 54, 56-58 and 62.
1. "Ryot Patrika", December 18, 1921, in *Report on Native Newspapers-Madras*, Reel No. 25, p. 40.

were taken up as a part of the general non-cooperation movement in 1921-22.

The immediate problem for them at that time, however, was the burden of water-cess.² As early as 1895, this problem of water-cess had taken up the form of an agitation. In 1895, when the water-cess was enhanced by 25 per cent, which in turn resulted in the increase of cess from Rs. 4 to 5 per acre, the peasants of Kistna (Guntur was part of Kistna at that time) and Godavari districts rose in protest against the Madras Government. They not only suspended the payment of taxes, but also refrained from cultivating their land, since they did not want to use the Government water supplied through the irrigation system.¹ The result was that the water-cess was consolidated and included in the land revenue.² Thus the problem of water-cess remained.³

The consolidation of irrigation cess with land revenue in the irrigated coastal Andhra districts and making it obligatory on all farmers in irrigable areas whether they actually used irrigation water or not enhanced the revenue burden in turn on all sections of the peasantry. This excessive water-cess thus added to the burdens of small proprietors who were already weighed down by the burdens of excessive land revenue rent demands and problem of indebtedness.⁴ The problem of water-cess was somewhat different to the rich peasantry. The rich peasantry was gradually acquiring wealth by expanding commodity production and money lending business in the rural sector and started reinvesting the surplus in commodity produc-

-
2. For a brief history of this problem see, *The Hindu*, January 25, 1922.

1. *Ibid.*

2. *Ibid.*

3. In the *Kistna Patrika*, March 12, 1921, it was stated that the 'Nazrana' of Rs. 25 per acre was imposed to be paid on 'ayacut' and criticised the move of Justice party in imposing this burden on the peasants. In *Andhra Patrika*, April 8, 1921, an open letter was published which condemned the Justice party for imposing 'Nazrana' payable on ayacut lands for a brief sketch of the grievances of Andhra Delta ryots see, *Andhra Patrika*, April 12, 1922.

4. For detailed analysis of this problem see, Atlury Murali, M. Phil dissertation, *op. cit.*, chapter II.

tion and rice-milling industry.¹ When the state began to appropriate more and more agricultural surplus in terms of these consolidated cesses,² the rich peasant class was hit hard, for this class was forced to alienate much of its agricultural surplus, which would otherwise be the material base for their consolidation as a future 'capitalist farmer'.

By taking up these general grievances of peasantry in Pedanandipad firka, the Congress was able to mobilise all the sections of peasantry and integrate them into the broad anti-Imperialist struggle in 1921-22. The spread of nationalist ideology into every nook and corner of the Pedanandipad firka with the help of a volunteer force numbering over 3,000,³ on the other hand, helped the Congress leadership not only in mass mobilization but also in integrating the local movement into the general non-cooperation movement. Thus the whole articulation of the movement was done by the local Congress leadership to conduct the movement within the framework of non-violent Gandhian political programme. However, one must not overlook the limitations of the political tactics, especially in relation to the zamindari ryots and their grievances.

The provincial Congress Committee (Andhra) itself had declared a limited programme during the no-tax campaign in Pedanandipad firka. The movement was limited in practice to the withholding "of land tax, water-cess and quit-rent payable to the British Government".² It was observed that "they have shrewdly and wisely eliminated the zamindari tenant. All taxes due, to the zamindar area, duly payable to him. Thus we eliminate civil war in the country".³ The inner contradictions which were more important to an ordinary peasant in zamindari areas were not taken up, for the

1. *Ibid.*, especially, pp. 32-148.

2. The *Andhra Patrika* March 9, 1921, referred to the imposition of a new tax on certain lands in the 'Delta Villages'. It was said that at that time the ryots were already highly paying the water-rate and the kist on the lands, they increased to Rs. 25 or Rs. 12-8-0 for each acre.

1. *The Hindu*, January 25, 1922, especially see *Andhra Patrika*, Feb., 11, 1922.

2. *Janmabhumi*, January 12, 1922, p. 2.

3. *Ibid.*

Congress was not ready to take up the grievances of peasantry in these areas and antagonise zamindars against the national movement and endanger or weaken the movement against the basic contradiction, i. e. colonial exploitation.

Thus at this specific time and in this specific context, the Congress leadership could show itself as a representative of the whole peasantry even though it was fighting within the limited framework of political tactics, of course, helped by the nationalist ideology.

When the no-tax campaign was making its headway in the plains, forest grievances were forcing the Palnad area to follow a more militant no-tax campaign against colonial government in 1921. The Palnad 'Satyagrahas' were the product, on the one hand, of various long-term developments, notably the increasing exploitation of the tribals, more often by the State and its agencies; and on the other, of various short-term factors i.e. the increasing violent exploitative intrusion of the forest officials, "muttadars" and soon into the tribal society in the region.¹ Here the movement was more militant and spontaneous because the exploitation which was let loose by the colonial administration was intensive and unbearable. Especially in the "Muttadari System", the Muttadar assumed all pervasive powers and almost reduced the tribals to serfdom.² In fact,

1. For a detailed analysis of these aspects see, Atlury Murali, M. Phil dissertation *op. cit.*, pp. 204-231 and 233-34. Also see, V. Raghavaya, *Tribes in India*, Vol. 1, Delhi, 1968, *Tribal Revolts*, Nellore, 1971; A. Aiyappan, *Report on the Socio-Economic Conditions of the Aboriginal Tribes of the province of Madras*, Madras 1948; *Annual Administration Report of the Forest Department of the Madras Presidency*, (Yearly Report) for years 1902-03 to 1922-23, especially chapter on "Exploitation of Forests" in each report; S. Playne, *Southern India* Madras, 1914, *Report of the Forest Committee - Madras*, Madras 1913, especially Vol. 1; A. V. Rama Rao *Economic Development of Andhra Pradesh 1966-1967*, Bombay, 1958; C. J. Baker, "Non-Cooperation in South India", in *South India, Political Institutions and Political change 1880-1940*, Delhi, 1975, David Arnold, "Rebellious Hillmen: the Gudum - Rampa Risings 1839-1924", in *Subaltern Studies I*, ed., by Ranajit Guha, Oxford, 1982, pp. 88-142.

2. Suresh Singh (ed), *Tribal Situation in India*, pp. 231-232, A. Aiyappan, *op. cit.*,

these "Muttadars" were petty zamindars appointed by the British to control the tribal people and act as intermediaries between them and the money-lenders as well as rich ryots and contractors from the plains, who in turn quietly appropriated the produce and, where possible, even the lands³. But the popular movement against the "Muttadars" was directed directly against the colonial administration, for they were seen as one part of the colonial infrastructure. The grievances against the "Muttadars" thus came to be subordinated or rather viewed in the overall colonial exploitation.

In 1921 when the whole atmosphere in Andhra was surcharged with ideas of non-cooperation, the tribals of Palnad in Guntur District caught in the midst of nationalist ideology decided to give vent to their 'discontent'¹ in some form. As a result, they organised a social boycott of all officials not only of the forest department but also of the revenue department.² The boycott had its centre in Macherla and the villages in its neighbourhood. In July 1921 on the arrest of Unnava Lakshminarayana and Vedantam Narasimhachari, who were deputed by the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee to visit the area, the villages were infuriated and launched a no-tax campaign, now of course, actively helped by the Congress workers deputed from the plains.³ The local nationalist leaders thus integrated this 'Satyagraha' into the broad non-cooperation movement in plains by 1921.

Covering this movement one nationalist paper "Deshabhimani" (Guntur) of 2nd July observed that "Restrictions have grown more severe and fines have increased... If cattle stray into a neighbouring

3. *Ibid.*

1. A detailed report on the conditions of Agency people is available from *Andhra Patrika*, November 21, 1921; January 25th, March 4 to 6, 1922; *Janmabhumi* August 11, 1921.

2. *Ibid.*; *The Hindu*, August 22, 1921.

3. Venkatarangaiya, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-37; Madala, *op. cit.*, p. 8; Desabhakta, *op. cit.*, pp. 230-31; Ayyadevara Kaleswara Rao, *Na Jeevita Katha Navy-andhramu*, Autobiography, Telugu, Vijayawada, 1969, p. 336; *Andhra Patrika*, August 1, 1921.

block, they will be impounded in some place and calves in another (place). (And) our division (Palnad) sustaining such loss in money on account of penalties. To avoid this and save ourselves from famine, we have organised a scheme of non-violent non-cooperation by which we have entered into an agreement .. (i. e.,) not to render any help to any Forest Official and to boycott such as violate this, not to pay fees or fines, etc., we request patriotic Andhra leaders to encourage us; and save from the trouble at the hands of this Government".¹ Thus even the nationalist papers actively helped in integrating this local movement into the anti-Imperialist struggle of 1920-22.

The movement, however, continued with some militancy and spontaneity, without confining much to the Gandhian non-violent non-cooperation programme of political action. The cattle graziers and forest tribesmen, objecting to new regulations of the forests and to new taxes on forest produce, raised the agitation to higher levels, which temporarily undercut the tenuous hold of law and order in the forest tracks. Since the people were sending their cattle frequently into the reserve forests without paying the usual grazing fees, and completely disregarding the authority of the Government prohibitory laws, the Government strengthened the number of forest guards and also stationed additional police in the area.¹ Now the direct clash between the agitators and the colonial police force became inevitable. Fearing a direct violent confrontation with colonialism, the Congress leaders asked the villagers in August to call off the no-tax campaign while continuing the social boycott.² The villagers, however, continued the movement and stepped up the activities like sending their cattle into forests without paying the grazing fees and so on.¹

1. Quoted from *Report on Native Newspapers - Madras*, Reel No. 25, 1921), p. 1030; also see p. 943.

1. Venkatarangaiya, *op. cit.*, p. 37; *Annual Administrative Report of the Forest Department of the Madras Presidency*, 1919-20, p. 17; 1920-21, pp. 2 and 14-15; 1922-23, pp. 13-14.

2. *The General Body Meeting Resolutions of the District Congress Committee, Guntur*, October 10, 1921; *The Resolution of the Executive of the Guntur P. C. C.*, November 14, 1921. (Available at Vetapalem Saraswathineketan).

1. Venkatarangaiya, *Op. Cit.*, Document No. 67.

Matters came to a head in February 1922, when the no-tax campaign was at its height in Pedanandipad firka. As was observed by the Collector in one of his reports to Government, 'Swaraj was proclaimed in several villages. Clashes between the forest guard and the police who impounded the cattle and the people who were bent on rescuing them became frequent. In many villages the police were overpowered by the rescuing parties whenever the police tried to arrest one leader or the other. Especially, Minchalapadu became famous for illicit grazing and for violent opposition even to the visits of forest officers'.²

However, the death of a prominent leader Kannuganti Hanumanthu in a police firing on February 26, 1922, in Minchalapadu,¹

2. *Ibid*, p. 38; *Annual Administration Report of the Forest Department of the Madras Presidency, 1921-22*, pp. 14-15. It was reported in the above report that "there were two sensational cases of forced rescue of cattle found illicitly grazing in reserves and of assault of subordinates. On account of this state of affairs punitive police were appointed by the Government. In one case 40 men were arrested, while 19 were subsequently sentenced to terms of imprisonment varying 3 to 6 months besides a total fine of Rs. 4,000; in another, after repeated warnings against the violence of rioters, the police had no alternative but to open fire. Two of the rioters and the Syce of the Sub-Inspector who had got mixed up in the crowd was killed. 37 arrested and under trial. The effect was on the whole salutary resulting in the payment of grasing fees..... punitive police with motor transport..... were posted to the palnad to enforce obedience to Forest laws". (*Ibid.*, pp.14-15).

1. *Ibid*, Document Nos. 67-68, pp. 290-295; Report on *Native News papers-Madras*, Reel No. 26 (1922), p. 323; "The palnad shooting and the Government Communique". report published in *Andhra Patrika*, March 7, 1922. It reads - "Details about this (firing) are not to be found in the first communique. It is not possible to believe, in the ordinary course of things, that women could have offered opposition to the police or the military..... It is horrible that women should have fallen victims to the rifle shots. The violence offered by the people has not been well explained in the Government communiques but the people sustained injuries and three of them died"

and the arrest of other prominent members of the movement, in turn, demoralised the inhabitants. Moreover, by the end of February 1922, the tempo of the civil Disobedience Movement in the plains had also grown weak as a result of the Bardoli resolution, which called off the non-cooperation movement. By March 1, 1922, most of the villagers of Mutkur, which had been a particularly troublesome place both for non-payments of 'kist' and 'pullari' and for boycotting and molestation of forest officers, also fell in to line.

Here the whole course of the militant agitation brought to light the struggle between the violent spontaneity and the organised non-violent non-cooperative political programme of Congress leadership in a bid to control the former by the latter, so that the whole movement can be fought within the framework of nationalist ideology. In the case of Palnad no doubt, the outsiders indoctrinated tribals / peasants with an ideology which helped them to realise the basic contradiction but which was limited in its scope and militancy of political action, but it does not mean that the widely shared beliefs in certain forms of social justice in tribal life and the radical spontaneity in action were also completely transformed and brought the peasants / tribals completely into the fold of Congress nationalist ideology. In fact, this radical spontaneity resulted in many individual and group assaults on the forest officials. The cases of the mob attacks to rescue their impounded cattle were a good example. There were even directly organised confrontations with forest guards and punitive police, in one of which their militant leader Kannagunti Hanumanthu was killed. So when such incidents began to take the movement to a level of direct confrontation with Imperialism, Congress called off the movement. They even actively helped to identify the so-called 'criminals' and put them behind bars.¹ However, we are not arguing here that the limiting of the political action is a negative factor.

1. *Janmabhumi*, August 11, 1921.

We are interested only in showing how the Congress leadership could ultimately extend its hold over the local movements and channelise them into its particular non-violent political programme of action in the anti-Imperialist struggle.

To sum up, the civil disobedience movements in Andhra brought two facts into limelight; one was the limitations of the congress political programme in terms of its passive political action, of course, explicitly acting within the basic framework of anti-imperialist struggle with its bourgeois nationalist ideology and second was the obvious extension of its social base deep into masses.

The movements of 1920-21 were determined in the immediate sense by the decisions of local congress leaders and the influence of the nationalist ideology working upon them. But a deeper analysis of the civil disobedience movements in 1920-22 in the above pages proves that the ultimate results were conditions, perhaps more, by the working of the socio-economic forces working at the deeper level rather than by the individuals. It was shown that the individuals were acting influenced by the nationalist ideology and even so the masses¹. Moreover, the coalition between nationalism and peasantry—a classic example being the pedanandipad no-tax campaign in 1922—contributed heavily to the initial striking power of the non-cooperation movement in Andhra. So the integration of peasantry into national movement by the local congress leadership with the help of nationalist ideology, as well as taking up the general grievances of peasantry like land revenue burden, water-cess and other taxes was

1 An impressive volunteer force was organised by the local congress leadership in Guntur as well as in other places. For example, in pedanandipad firka each village had a Congress Sabha of its own with a total volunteer force of 3,000. In Chirala - Perala a volunteer army - "Rama Dandu", consisting of more than a 1,000 men, was organised by Duggirala, the leader of the movement. In fact, with help of this force only Congress could spread the nationalist ideology and mobilise the vast number of masses in support of the militant civil disobedience movements in those regions.

the positive side of anti-imperialist struggle. The negative feature, on the other hand, was the curbing activities of peasantry in zamindari areas, especially the anti-zamindar moves. This was due to the obvious limitations of the political tactics. The congress leadership was hesitant in starting the no-tax campaign in zamindari areas within the pedanandipad firka, where the militant no-tax campaign spear-headed by rich peasant class, was demonstrating the agitational potentiality of peasantry. It was observed by Janmabhumi that,

"There was, however, some hesitancy on the part of provinces, which had no Ryotwari tenures (to start the no-tax campaign). There the intercession of the zamindar or the talukdar proves a real complication and it was apprehended that possibilities of non-violence might be disturbed as in the case of the kisan disturbances in U. P. There is little doubt that the Ryotwari system of Gujarat and Andhra facilitates the task of the non-cooperator and the non-payment of taxes, for the level of the average ryot in these tracts in both intellectually and economically much higher than that of the tenantry in permanently settled provinces"¹

Consequently, the Andhra provincial Congress Committee limited the permission to a no-tax campaign.

"to land tax, water-cess and quit-rent payable to the British Government. They shrewdly and wisely eliminated the the zamindari tenant. All taxes due to the zamindar are duly payable to him. Thus we eliminate civil war in the country".²

No doubt, the inner contradictions were more important and crucial for the peasantry in zamindari areas, and into such extent even in

1. Janmabhumi, November 17, 1921, p. 5.

2. Ibid, January 22, 1922, p. 2 (emphasis added).

Ryotwari areas, but these could be resolved only by a revolutionary movement led by peasantry itself with a different ideology. However, we are not arguing here that the curbing of anti-zamindari movement was due to the feudal hold on the nationalist movement. Rather, the reality lies in the fact that, as implied in the above statement made by "Janmabhumi", the rich peasantry could not afford to allow any such kind of anti-zamindari movement, for it might also spread into ryotwari areas as anti-landlordism, in which case the potential danger would be to the rich peasantry's landed property interests. Perhaps, the rich peasantry must have also been aware of the fact that another ladder of peasantry was forming beneath them. Consequently, the no-tax campaign confined only "to the land tax, water-cess and quit-rent payable to the British Government" and strictly advised the peasantry that "all taxes due to the zamindar are duly payable to him."¹

Thus, even though, for the first time an important role was assigned to the masses, the basic tactics still was to keep the masses at a 'passive level'.² The political tactics and the forms of struggle led by Congress leadership in Andhra were such that the radical mass movements were conducted within the broad framework of Gandhian non-violent, non-cooperation programme. The spontaneity of the Palnad tribals and peasants and the radical response of the peasants, artisans and other lower middle classes in Pedanandipad and Chirala-Perala-which we have shown in the above pages-were brought into the fold of Congress programme and

1. *Janmabhumi*, January 22, 1922.

2. Professor Bipan Chandra observes that-"the political activity of the masses was rigidly controlled from the top. The masses never became an independent political force. The question of their participation in the decision making process was never even raised. The masses were always to remain - to coin a phrase-'passive actors' or 'extras' whose political activity remained under the rigid control of middle class leaders and within the confines of the needs of bourgeois social development" see, 'Elements of Continuity and Change in Early Nationalist Activity', in *Nationalism and Colonialism in Modern India*, Orient Longman, Paperback edition, 1981, p. 128.

organisational hegemony through the local leadership. This was the leadership with its regional social roots and the links with the National Congress, shrewdly channelised and articulated the grievances of different social classes into the anti-imperialist struggle which was in turn dominated by the bourgeois nationalist ideology.

The author is grateful to Professor Bipan Chandra who offered guidance in finalising this paper.

NO-TAX CAMPAIGN IN GUNTUR DISTRICT- UNIQUE EPISODE IN THE FREEDOM MOVEMENT

by Dr. B. Seshagiri Rao

Situated between 15°-8' and 10°-30' Northern latitude and 70°-10' and 80°-55' Eastern longitude and covering an area of 5,795 square miles the Guntur district in the former, composite Madras state was formed in the year 1904 with 9 taluqs. and continued in its original form and extent till 1970 in which year the Prakasam district was created with some contiguous parts of Guntur, Kurnool and Nellore districts. Rich in commercial crops like turmeric, sugar-cane, tobacco and cotton, the old Guntur district played a remarkable role in the nation's struggle for political and economic emancipation from British imperialism. During the non-cooperation movement of 1921-'23 the district was the epicentre of political storms, which shook the very foundations of the British Raj. Of these struggles mention should be made of Palanad Forest Satyagraha, Chirala-Perala people's struggle against the imposition of a municipality and no-tax campaign. The Guntur district No - tax Campaign made great history.

The Ahmadabad Congress held towards the end of December, 1921 presided over by Hakim Ajmal Khan, inspired large sections of nationalists of the Guntur district to think in terms of launching civil disobedience movement by withholding taxes. An important feature of the Ahmadabad Congress was that Gandhiji visited the Andhra camp, and to a question answered that those places where people fulfilled the Delhi A. I. C. C. conditions - Hindu Muslim unity, removal of untouchability, propagation of Khadi and faith in non - violence were eligible to launch civil disobedience inclusive of withholding of taxes.¹ Deriving inspiration from Gandhiji's

answer, the Guntur District Congress Committee met at Ponnur, and resolved unanimously that land revenue for the January kist should not be paid throughout the district except a few firkas in Tenali, Guntur, Ongole and Repalle taluqs.²

Konda Venkatappayya, President of Andhra Provincial Congress Committee and Gollapudi Seetarama Sastry, its Secretary toured the villages in the Guntur district and prepared the people for No-tax Campaign.³

Some events gave great impetus to this campaign. They were the resignation of Village Officers and the formation of a volunteer corps called the Peace Brigade, the Santi Sena. In the Pedanandipadu firka of Bapatla taluq all the Village officers except one resigned⁴. Machiraju Rama Murty and Parvataneni Veerayya Choudary were responsible for the wholesale resignation of the Village Officers in the Pedanandipadu firka. In all, resignation letters of the Village Officers of twenty-nine villages in the Guntur District were reported to have been received by the Government⁵. According to Harris, Member, Board of Revenue, "The immediate cause is the instigation of the Village Officers' Association and the District Congress". He further opined that the grievances of the Village Officers were many and some of them were real, but none of them by themselves nor all of them put together could have produced that situation without the manipulation of the non-cooperators⁶. The Government did all it could to break the resistance of the Village Officers. But, nothing unnerved them. Galleti, District Collector, Guntur, wrote to his superiors in the Fort St. George: "There are candidates but when the Sub-Collector attempted to put one in charge, with Reserve Police camping in the village, the man's courage failed him"⁷. A volunteer corps called the Santi Sena was formed in the district in pursuance of the resolution of the working Committee of the Guntur District Congress. Under the leadership of Parvataneni Veerayya Choudary the volunteers organised the people for withholding taxes⁸. T. G. Rutherford

in his letter to R. A. Graham, Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, dated 26th January, 1922 wrote; "A crowd of volunteers in uniform and with lathis hung in the background, and if any one was found speaking to me or the peon, there were shouts of 'don't say anything', and a volunteer would come lounging up"⁹.

With the resignation of Village Officers and the formation of Santi Sena the stage was set for the no-tax movement. To the telegram of Konda Venkatappayya, informing him of these preparations, Mahatmaji replied, "You are the best judges of the situation. If Delhi conditions are satisfied and if you feel confident, I have no right to interfere. God speed. He will bless all honest efforts. Keep me daily informed"¹⁰.

The no-tax campaign was in full swing in the Guntur district in general and Pedanandipadu firka in Bapatla taluqu and Santhanutalapadu, Addanki and Duddukuru firkas in Ongole Taluq in particular, from the day the District Congress Committee took the momentous decision on 12th January, 1922 till the middle of February, when Gandhiji advised its suspension till he experimented it himself in Bardoli. During this period, there was a battle royal between the people of these firkas on one side and the Government on the other. The people showed solid determination to bring the Government to nought, and the Government was determined to break the will of the people at all costs, as it was afraid that the infection would soon spread to other districts.

With the refusal of the people to pay taxes, the Government brought in the army, and a detachment of the Governor's Body Guard was stationed in Guntur¹¹. The soldiers toting machine-guns conducted route-marches in the villages of Pedanandipadu firka in order to instil fear in the people. Armoured cars also showed themselves up where resistance to the authorities was much.¹² The police-force was considerably increased and under Section 15 of the Police Act of 1861 the inhabitants of Pedanandipadu firka were ordered to pay the cost of their maintenance¹³.

Distrain and attachment of property were resorted to by the Government. L. T. Harris, Member, Board of Revenue who was sent to Guntur to take such measures as he might find necessary, arrived at the conclusion. "In this emergency moveable property should be liable to sale on the spot, immediately after distraint, and immovable within three days. All officers consulted are agreed that no deterrent will be so effective against the wilful defaulter as actually seeing his land sold" ¹⁴.

As was wont with it, the Government tried its hand at the policy-divide and rule. It announced that, when land was bought in by the Government, when bidders were not forthcoming to take part in auction, the land so bought would be allotted to the member of the depressed classes¹⁵. This measure, contemplated by the Government, was welcomed by Gandhiji. He wrote in *Young India* in its issue dated 2nd February, 1922: "Non-cooperators have undertaken to be non-violent, to risk the loss of their all for the purpose of gaining their end, must therefore allow their belongings to be sold. What can be better than that the forfeited lands should be temporarily occupied by the very classes whom we want to see raised from their depressed state? I used the adverb 'temporarily' for the present occupiers must know that they must get Swaraj, and that under Swaraj they must be restored to their original status with honour added thereto. The depressed classes, who are being used as pawns in the game by the Government cannot be adversely affected by dispossession, for, it will be the primary care of the Swaraj Government to see them well-settled, happy and contented"¹⁶.

Despite the presence of the military, mounted men, armoured cars, distraints, auctions and arrests, the resistance of the people could not be broken. The people organised social boycott of the Government officials. In Duddukuru, the Tahsildar could not get even water. T. G. Rutherford wrote; "The peon with me did not know exactly which was the Village and when we first arrived none would tell us whether it was Nandipad or where the troops

were. There was practically nobody to be seen. All doors were closed. Grain had to be attached and measuring of it, tying up and marking of bags, writing attachment lists took two hours. The Reserve Police had to do all the coolie work"¹⁷.

Government's policy of repression could not cow down the people's determination not to pay taxes. But, among leaders, however, there was a difference of opinion as to the starting of the no-tax campaign, and to its continuance when once it was started. So, the Guntur District Congress Committee met on 26th January, 1922 in the house of Konda Venkatappayya and appointed a sub-committee consisting of Tanguturi Prakasam, Kasinadhuni Nageswara Rao and Dandu Narayana Raju to visit the areas in the district, where payment of taxes was suspended to ascertain whether they satisfied the conditions laid down at Delhi.¹⁸ After an extensive tour of the district, the sub-committee felt it difficult to say, how far the masses would remain absolutely peaceful, if more drastic and inhuman measures were employed by the Government. It recommended postponement of the campaign until at least it was tried in Bardoli by Mahatma Gandhi.¹⁹ On 11th February, 1922 when the District Congress Committee met at Konda Venkatappayya's residence to consider the recommendation of the sub-committee some one thrust into the hands of Venkatappayya a note from Gandhiji, which said: "If Andhra stops civil disobedience, I shall be glad. But, if it cannot, I shall not mind it, provided, of course, control is attained over forces of violence, and all conditions are fulfilled"²⁰. The note of Gandhiji and the recommendation of the sub-committee dampened the enthusiasm of the District Congress Committee which announced the suspension of the no-tax campaign throughout the district.²¹ By 14th February, 1922 the District Collector could report to his superiors in the Fort St. George that the collection of taxes was going on briskly.²²

In retrospect, it can be said that the no-tax campaign in the Guntur district was a spontaneous one. All sections of the

people whole-heartedly plunged into the struggle. They were on caste distinctions. The uneducated and the unsophisticated introduced himself to the national yearning for liberty and became a willing partisan in the political struggle. As L. T. Harris put it: "The movement is usually referred to as non-cooperation or civil disobedience; it would be more appropriately described as attempted revolution, its express object is to subvert the existing Government."²³ Bal Gangadhar Tilak declared as far back as the year 1896: "The country's emancipation can only be achieved by removing the clouds of lethargy and indifference which have been hanging over the peasant, who is the soul of India". During the no-tax campaign the clouds of lethargy and indifference of the peasant were substantially removed in the Guntur district. He was as much prepared as the student and the teacher, worker and the vakil to suffer and sacrifice for the country. Looked from that angle, the no-tax campaign in the Guntur district was unique, for, the intrepidity it created in all sections of the people, stood the nationalists in good stead in the subsequent stages of the Indian Independence movement.

NOTES

1. Signed statement of Cheruvu Venkata Subrahmanya Sastry; hereafter referred to as signed statement of C. V. S. Sastry. C. V. S. Sastry's statement is corroborated by Ramachandrani Venkatappa. See GULLAPALLI AUDINARAYANA SAHASTI POORTHI SANCHIKA (Telugu) (Ongole, 1972), PP. 112, 113. Konda Venkatappayya also speaks of Gandhi's visit to the Andhra camp. See his autobiography SWEEYA CHARITRA (Telugu) (Hyderabad, 1966) P. 283. THE HINDU (Madras) dated December 30, 1921 writes: "The Andhras seem to have taken very earnestly the question of Civil Disobedience.....This morning a crowded meeting of delegates and visitors was held in the Andhra camp with Gandhi in the chair to hear from

him the practical methods of carrying on Civil Disobedience. One main question discussed was the non-payment of taxes since the time for of payment of taxes was approaching. Gandhi emphasised that non-payment was a privilege to be exercised only after all the remaining parts of the programme have been completely fulfilled".

2. Signed statement of C.V.S.Sastry see also Konda Venkatappayy's SWEEYA CHARITRA, P. 286.
3. Konda Venkatappayya. Op cit. PP. 280, 281.
4. Galleti, District Collector. Guntur to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras dated January 8, 1922 (History of the Freedom Movement section of the Andhra Pradesh state Archives hereafter referred to as H. F. S. Section of the A. P. State Archives).
5. Report of Harris, Member, Board of Revenue on the situation in Guntur, Krishna and Godavari districts dated January 16, 1922 (H. F. S. Section, A. P. State Archives).
6. Ibid
7. Galleti, District Collector, Guntur to the Chief Secretary Government of Madras dated January 8, 1922 (H.F.S. Section, A. P. State Archives).
8. Konda Venkatappayya; Op cit. P. 29.
9. Rutherford to R. A. Graham, Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras dated January 26, 1922 (H. F. S. Section A. P. State Archives).
10. THE HINDU (Madras) dated January 23, 1922.
11. R. A. Graham Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras to S. P. O. Donnel, Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department dated February 16, 1922 (H. F. S. Section, A. P. State Archives).

12. Konda Venkatappayya. Op cit P. 295.
13. Proclamation issued by the Government of Madras dated January 20, 1922 (H. F. S. Section, A. P. State Archives).
14. Report. of Harris, Member, Board of Revenue on the situation in Guntur, Krishna and Godavari Districts dated January 16, 1922 (H. F. S. State Archives).
15. Press communique issued by R. A. Graham, Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras dated January 20, 1922 (H. F. S. Section, A. P. State Archives).
16. M. K. Gandhi's article "Awakening in Andhra Desa" in YOUNG INDIA dated February 2, 1922.
17. Rutherford to R. A. Graham, Chief Secretary to the Govt. of Madras dated January 26, 1922 (H. F. S. Section, A. P. State Archives).
18. THE HINDU (Madras) dated January 24, 1922.
19. THE HINDU (Madras) dated February 11, 1922.
20. Konda Venkatappayya: Op cit P. 291. The note is reproduced in G.O. Ms. No. 362, Public Department, Government of Madras dated April 26, 1922 (H. F. S. Section, A. P. State Archives).
21. Konda Venkatappayya: Op. cit. P. 298.
22. District Collector, Guntur to R. A. Graham, Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras dated February 14, 1922 (H. F. S. Section, A. P. State Archives).
23. Report of Harris, Member, Board of Revenue on the situation in Guntur, Krishna and Godavari Districts dated January 16, 1922 (H. F. S. Section, A. P. State Archives).

EXPLOITATION OF PEASANTRY IN THE MARATHWADA AREA IN THE ERSTWHILE HYDERABAD STATE (1900-1948 A. D.)

By

John Akkidas, M. A.*

The State of Maharashtra has come into being on 1st May, 1960 as a result of the bifurcation of the Composite Bombay State which had been created in 1956 by combining the old Bombay State with Saurashtra, Kutch, the Vidarbha region and Marathwada area of Hyderabad State.¹ This Marathwada region covered an area of 24,829 sq. miles or 30.22% of the area and had a estimated population of 5,176,291 i.e. 27.75% according to 1951 census².

In this paper an attempt has been made to highlight the plight of the peasantry and how they had been constantly exploited by the usurious money lenders, the feudal lords and the so called irrational traditional "systems" in Marathwada region.

Marathwada region is an extremely backward tract. It had a very low level of urbanization and there is no industrial activity. The proportion of an irrigated area is only three per cent. The average yields of nearly all the major crops appear to be below the state average of Maharashtra. The average harvest price in 1955-56

(*) Research Assistant, State Archives, Govt. of A. P. Hyderabad.

I am extremely thankful to Dr. Sarojini Regani, Department of History, Osmanin University, Hyderabad for encouraging me to present this paper. I had the privilege to present this paper in the Seminar on People History of Modern Maharashtra organised by Maharashtra Sahitya Parishat at Aurangabad on 11-12-December, 1981.

per a bale of cotton and ton of groundnut were Rs. 378 and Rs. 347 respectively in Marathwada as against Rs. 460 and Rs. 471 in Vidarbha. Marathwada area is also deficient in transport facilities. In 1960-67 it had 7.14 miles of road to every 100 sq. miles. Compared to 20.9 in the Maharashtra State and 11.3 in Vidarbha. The paucity of Transport invariably increases the costs of marketing. Consequently the producer is apt to get a lower price for his crops—there being hardly 7.1 miles of road per square mile comparable to the state average of 17.6³. These are the principle indications that this lackness is one of the factors responsible for low level of agricultural productivity.

The tract of Marathwada, like the rest of the Nizam dominions was dominated by the feudal lords like Deshmukhs, Jagirdars, Paigahs etc. In ex-Hyderabad State approximately 40 per cent of the total area of the State⁴. Jagirs were actually the states within the states, organising their own police and judiciary⁵. Under the despotic rule of the feudal lords people suffered very much. Whenever the Jagirdars visited their respective Jagir headquarters the people had to present NAZARANAS. The twelve castes (AYAGALLU) in a village should distribute the work among them-selves to attend on the Jagirdar or his family. The washerman and the barber are supposed to run along with the tonga of the Jagirdar. If they are unable to match with the tonga, the Jagirdar mercilessly beats them. A 'Ligari' should clean the burgalcw of the Jagirdar and maintain their horses of the latter without any remuneration during the agricultural operations the entire village folk has to work in jagirdars fields for free of labour. The Jagirdar or his agent did not spare even the just conceived mothers for field work and these mothers not allowed to go to their home to suck their just born babies. If the Jagirdar allows them, it was considered a loss of two hours of work and he made arrangement, through an old woman by collecting the breast milk of the infant mother through a 'donne' and provides milk to the children. Almost all the Parts of Marathwads there were feudal and semi-feudal elements. The observations of Charles Beitelheim has identified the feudal elements as (i) absence of

labour market in a large part of the rural sector (ii) the personnel subservience of the immediate producer to the land owner (iii) excessive importance of land rent (iv) The under developed marketing system resulting in little social division of labour,⁷ a low rate of accumulation and the loss of produce mainly to satisfy immediate needs. The Hyderabad Banking Enquiry Committee Report of 1930 also corroborates the same and opined that in the marketing centres almost all shaukars are 'adatyas' or commission agents and deals in produce. They are the owners of godowns and also moneylenders and in many cases run a retail shop. Dr. Harald Mann said that the Adatyas are the commercial managers of the ryot⁸.

One of the obtruding factor for economic backwardness of the Marathwada tract is ascribed to the progressive sub division and fragmentation of holdings. As earlier in 1916 Mr. Keatinge, the Director of Agriculture, Bombay observed that if the lands frequently fragmented it is very prejudicial for effective cultivation. In Ratnagiri District in Bombay holdings were reported to be as small as 0.652 of an acre.⁹ In 1949-50 Kesava Iyyengar Rural Investigative Committee had found that in Ex-Hyderabad State the average size of a plot of occupied land was five acres 36 gunthas dry, 0-8-2 ghunthas for wet and 0-3-4 gunthas for garden lands. Every occupant had an average of 2-5 plots.¹⁰ In rural areas the 'good earth', however, small in extent is an asset. And this 'asset' when failed to deliver good crop the ryot has to suffer much at the hands of the money lenders.

In the Marathwada area there is an un-deniable deep rooted poverty of the agricultural masses who really constitutes the bulk of the population. Average size of holdings in Marathwada in 1916-1935 was as follows:¹²

	<u>Dry</u>	<u>Wet</u>	<u>Total</u>
1926	23.50	0.36	24.06
1936	20.19	0.46	20.63

In Marathwada Area the average size of holdings of the agriculturists were as follows :

Year	Wet (in acres)	Dry (in acres)
1914-15	0. 66	25. 63
1933-34	0. 50	21. 88
1945-46	0. 35	15-48

The above table will show the economic degradation of the agriculturists to an extent of 35 per cent. This 35 per cent of the land had invariably appropriated by the feudal lords.

According to study undertaken by Dr. Mann in a Deccan village¹⁴ it was reported that the income from agriculture was unsound and difficult to maintain a family.

Income :

From land	Rs. 12 403
From outside land	Rs. 5.826
Total ;	<u>Rs. 18,229</u>

Expenditure :

Personal expenditure :	Rs. 28,914
Other expenses ;	Rs. 6,479
Total :	<u>Rs. 35 393</u>

Thus, there was an annual deficiency of Rs. 137 per family. In India as a rule of the family and not the individual constitutes the unity of labour.

Generally agricultural population in H. H. Nizam Dominions can be conveniently divided into 4 classes¹⁵.

(i) People having no land (ii) Having some land and is insufficient to provide a living for them (iii) having land fail to support the family (iv) Begales.

The agriculturists classes like Dhujurs, Malis, Mahars, Madigas are in a state of quagmire of poverty in the Marathwada region. They suffer very badly in bad seasons. Sometimes the younger boys are employed to drive out the cattle for pasturage and to scare the birds off, and so that they manage to bring in a small monthly income¹⁶. According to the calculation of Prof. N. G. Ranga that the arduous agricultural classes¹⁷ like Mahars, Madigas etc. need more food and five out of nine families suffer from under consumption of cereals.

In Marathwada Area the following mortgage systems paved the way to the ryot to keep the ryot in a perpetual debt. According to Dr. Grady's report (1848) that the merchants and their agents generally resorted to the three methods in making their power to fleece the Maratta peasant.¹⁸

The first one is called 'deodee'. It is an agreement on the part of the cultivator to retain 1½ pallas¹⁹ of grain at harvest time in lieu of one palla the ryot has taken before harvest.

The second is called 'runqoda' a price is fixed upon the grain in the year and money advanced upon the probable yield.

The third one is the 'Khandwata,' the most obnoxious one. According to this poor cultivator borrows a pair of bullocks and feeds them during off season, and thus it indirectly benefits the showcar. At harvest time, the ryot has to pay 480 lbs. of grain and 200 bundles of straw.^{19(a)}

The plight of the Marathwada peasant is extremely horrible and almost he lives like a subservient cow to feed his master.

When a labourer is employed during the year, he generally receives Rs. 12-50 Rs. 30 per annum with food or from Rs. 45 to 55 without food. In the former case he was also supplied with the following articles from the employer (1920 prices):-

	Rs. a - Paise
1 cumble	1-8-0
1 Dhoti	1-0-0
1 Pair of shoes	1-0-0
1 Turban	1-0-0
1 Waste cloth	0-8-0
Total	5-0-0

A written agreement is generally entered into by which the labour binds, not to leave the employer until the expiry of the contract. The labourers are generally enter the agreement to serve the master for 13 months though he is only paid for a year. The agreement is entered during the months of Chaitra or Vaisaka. When a part of the yearly wage is paid in advance and the labourer drain the balance in small sums from time to time²⁰.

Due to the ill conceived systems of lending the common Marath ryot is unable to live without debt. Debt repayment sometimes a misnomer to him.

Laoni System :-

Under this system the money lender advances a certain amount to the cultivator before the sowing season on the condition that as soon as the harvest is ready the debts will return the loan in at a price which is stipulated to be less than the future

market price of the next harvest by a certain percentage which is between 40 - 50 percent. The system prevails mainly in cotton areas of the Marathwada region.²¹ The borrower delivers all the crop he can spare. The money lender is generally at the spot in the village and the produce will go straight away to the sowcars house. It is the sowcars privilege to sell the crop at any time convenient to him.²²

The Laqwad System :

In this system the money lender or merchant advances a loan at 2 percent interest for the cultivating expenses like weeding in the season. The farmer has to repay the amount at the time of harvest. If the farmer is unable to pay, compound interest will be added on the principal. Generally loans do not exceed Rs. 50.

Vishwas Kharedi or conditional sale

The system is a most horrible and if the cultivator traps into it, it is well high impossible to come out from the "dragon teeth" of the money lender or the sowcar. It is extensively prevalent in Marathwada. In these transactions, the ryot executes a sale deed in favour of sowcar but there is a mutual understanding between the parties, that if the ryot returns the debt with interest. Within a stipulated time the sowcar resell the land. A few years after inspite of payments made annually by the borrower, the sowcar would get renewed the thumb impression for larger and larger amounts and finally drags the ryot to court. At this stage the ryot made a compromise and readily agrees to execute a byname selling in all legal solemnity all his lands to the sowcar. The lender solemnly assures the borrower that the sale deed is only nominated-just to pursue the borrower to clear off his debt and the land would be released at any time of the borrower repaid the amount. But the lender do not give a y receipt of the amount he receives from the borrower nor any written promise to handover the land.

It is mercy thondi (oral promise.) Ultimately, if the borrower fails to pay the interest, the lender uses court decree and the poor original holder will be reduced to a tenant on his own original holdings executed in favour of the money lender a 'Kasuliath' undertaking to cultivate the concerned land as a tenant.²³

In view of illiteracy of the peasantry, the Ba Kalam also joins hands with the landed aristocracy to rob the peasant and this Ba Kalam puts in figures favourable to the sowcar when interrogated the 'Ba Kalam' (the person whose hand writing the document was drawn) his figures invariably agreed with sowcar.²⁴ In Kirward (Khandesh Taluk) it was noticed that the practice of the sowcars in this tract is to show in the mortgage deed a much higher amount of debt than actually paid.²⁵

The money lenders in Marathwada area are very cunning and experts in cheating the Government as well as their customers. The Aurangabad Gazetteer (1884) writes that a rich money lender keeps a final called 'Kirdahi' and a ledger Khatanni'. He sometimes maintains two registers one is fair and the other a rough.²⁶ In Sippora Jaded, the Economic Investigative Committee report says that in that village two persons viz., Bhikka Ghaneshyam Sonar and Kondya Vittoba Mahar had absconded on account of heavy debt.²⁷ Further it was reported that the Jalna area is subject to heavy oppression at the hands of Rohilla brokers, sowcar and landlords.²⁸

S.H. Barucha painfully remarks that in the districts of Aurangabad, Parbhani, Nanded and Bhir there were more than 150 Kasuli money lenders of Rohills and 120 Arabs deal in monthly lending with the labourers and depressed classes. Their rates of interest is varies from 6 per cent to 18 per cent per month and their monthly transactions amounting to Rs. 60,000. The labourers with a such heavy burden of repayment are living a hand to mouth of life goes without saying. The labourers live in terror of their creditors monthly or weekly visits, as a Kasuli money lender rarely goes

without his stick.²⁹ The appendix II which provide much information on lending activities.

Thus the usury certifies money wealth when the means of production are dispensed. Marx observes that the usuary does not alter the mode of production, but attaches itself firmly to it like a parasite and makes it wretched. It sucks out its blood, emervates it and compels reproduction.³⁰

Another typical example of the opperssion in Marathwada area is the notorious Savai' system. According to this system the cultivator raises a loan promising to repay it with in a year by two instalments, the first falling due on the Khariff and the second on the rabi harvest.³¹

If the borrower takes Rs. 100 he has to pay Rs. 125 in the harvest and the interest is 'Sal Savai' that is, 25 per cent annaually. The ryot usually takes loan in July and pay the amount in the harvest or renew his thumb impression during Nag Diwali (November-December) and holi (March). In the next agricultural season the cultivator again goes to sowcar. But the sowcar lends only after another consolidated loan is documented in the Kathapatti and the thumb impression of the ryot is again taken and the savai' is added on to what remained after 'Nag Diwali' repayment. Actually the ryot is paying fifty per cent interest per annum.³²

In the Marathwada tract the wages of agricultural lason is extermely low during 1931, in the parts of Bhir a man's wage was 4½ annas and that women 3 annas in sowing and and transplanta-tion period.³³ In 1950, the cooly rate in the Nanded area was between 3 and 5 seers of Jowar. The Appendix III will amply testifies the daily wages of the different agricultural classes.³⁴

Another extreme form of exploitation prevelant in Marathwada area is in the form of 'Bagela'. A Bagela' labour is one who agrees to

work for a land lord under certain conditions. It is generally the castes like Dheds, Mengs, Chammar etc., obtain loans for marriage expenses. They usually have no savings of their own and offer themselves as a security and undertake the work of the Showkar until the debt is repaid. After marriage the wife of a debtor works as an agricultural labourer and maintains both herself and her husband. The wages of the debtor's wife (who as a custom should work in the Lender's fields) are deducted as instalments or the repayment of debt.³⁶ But as the wages are so low it is an herculean task for the labourer to repay the amount with interest. The Principal generally remains unpaid in his life time His son would fulfil the contract in the same capacity. The Bagla system is much worse than the serf system.

Prof. Carver has aptly remarks that the success or failure of agriculture dependent not on the quality of the land but on the quality of the labour. An old Oxfordshire farmer was once asked 'which was the best land and he replied that the one on which the best farmer works.'³⁷ Further the civil procedure code should radically be amended to suit the debtors. The laws are only suited to the clever money lender as the intricacies of the accounts are difficult to unravel due to the illiteracy of the peasant.

The co-operative movement in Marathwada area was also unable to deliver good fruits to ameliorate the debt condition of the peasantry. Borrowings from agricultural money lender accounted for a little over 1/3 of the rural households, and from cooperative only 7.6 percent occurred in 1950.³⁸ If the oppression is not checked, an attitude of fatalism and defeatism will develop among the peasants and ultimately it leads to slavish mentality. R.W. Brock has correctly analysed that the factories in India cannot flourish if her fields are not 'fertile'.³⁹ Democracy in rural areas is unable to breathe unless the problem of oppression is solved.⁴⁰

REFERENCES

1. National Council of Applied Economic Research (NCAER): Techno Economic Survey of Maharashtra PP. 2
2. M.V. Divatia: The Hyderabad Government Bulletin on Economic Affairs 1956, PP. 3
3. NCAER Op. Cit. PP. 7, 141.
4. A peep into Hyderabad; A survey of Administration under Nizam Dominions PP. 5.
5. Bhawani Sen: Indian Land system and Land Reforms, pp. 22.
6. Ramachandra Reddy, A: Telangana Poorata smruthulu (Memoirs of Telangana peasant movement) PP. 9-11.
7. P. C. Charles Bettelheim: Indian Independent 1968, p. 23.
8. The Hyderabad Banking Enquiry Report, 1930, PP. 5.
9. Wadia, P. A. and Merchant K. T. Our Economic problem, PP. 246-247.
10. S. Kesava Iyyengar: Rural Economic Enquiry in Hyderabad State, 1949-51, P. 11.
11. A Peep into Hyderabad Op. Cit.
12. Qureshi: The Economic conditions in Hyderabad State.
13. Hyderabad Agricultural Reforms Enquiry Committee, quoted from N. Prasada Rao and another: Telangana Ryothu Samasyalu (the problems of the peasants in Telangana) PP. 7
14. Dr. Harold J. Mann: Land and Labour in Deccan village, PP. 124-125
15. Qureshi: Op. cit. 65
16. Chirag Ali: Hyderabad Affairs Vol. 6 PP. 802.
17. N.G. Ranga: Economic organization of South India, 1926, Vol. I PP. 17-18.
18. Aurangabad District Gazetteer, P. 1884, P. 730.

19. Grain measurements :

4 seers	=	1 Palli
9 Pallies	=	1 maund
3 maunds	=	1 palla
20 maunds	=	1 khandi

Rice costs Rs. 18.25 per one palla in 1900 A.D.

19(a) Aurangabad District Gazetteer op. cit. PP. 729.

20. Chirag Ali, Op. cit. 813.

21. S.M. Bharucha : Agricultural Indebtedness in H.E.H. Nizam. Dominions, 1937 PP. 27-28

22. S. Kesava Iyyengar ; Economic Investigation in Hyderabad State 1929-30 (General) PP. 5

23. IBID PP. 2, 178 (it is found in Khupta village (Bhokardan Taluq) 6 miles from Khandesh frontier).

24. IBID, In Deagaon village (Mudhol Taluq) 14 miles from Basar, PP. 240.

25. IBID, Kirward, 3 miles from Khandesh, PP. 508.

26. Aurangabad District Gazetteer, Op. cit. PP. 725.

27. Kesava Iyyengar, op. cit. pp. 167, The Villages about 14 miles from Jalna.

28. IBID.

29. S. M. Bharucha Op. cit. PP. 45.

30. Marx, Capital, Vol. III PP. 583.

31. Chirag Ali : Op. cit. PP. 804

32. S. Kesava Iyyengar, Khupta village Op. cit. PP. 344

33. Qureshi, op. cit. PP. 68.

34. S. Kesava Iyyengae (General Report) vol. I, op. cit. PP. 22

35. Qureshi, op. cit. PP. 72-73.

36. Chirag Ali, op. cit.

37. Qureshi, op. cit.

38. Report of Hyderabad Co-operative Finance Enquiry Committee, 1344 F. PP. 6.

39. Kesava Iyyengar : (General volume) Op. cit.

40. First Report of Hyderabad Land Commission on Delimitation of Family holdings, 1950, PP. 29.

TABLE I
Debts Creating Agencies

Serial No.	District	Private money lenders	Cultivating families	Non-cultivating families	Through Co-operatives benefited	Govt. agency
1.	Aurangabad	17,090	2,27,147	3,026	6,153	1,790
2.	Bhir	59,318	72,207	10,539	17,381	1,347
3.	Nanded	70,566	74,353	30,551	38,655	27,955
4.	Osmanabad	23,251	39,648	5,736	30,930	4,930
5.	Parbhani	71,743	77,203	33,739	18,029	..
	Percentage	31.39	38.30	21.34	6.58	2.39

(Source : S. Kesava Iyyengar Committee on Rural Economic Enquiry in Hyderabad State in 1949-51).

Itihas-XI, 1,

TABLE II
Daily Wage Rates of Agricultural Workers
1935

		Rs. A.P.	Rs. A.P.
Ploughman	—	0-4-0	0-4-8
Sowers and Transplanters	Men	0-4-2	0-4-10
	Women	0-2-8	0-2-10
Weeders	Men	0-3-0	0-3-10
	Women	0-2-6	0-2-2
Reapers	Men	0-4-6	0-4-9
	Women	0-3-0	0-3-10
Herdsmen	—	0-3-2	0-2-8
Others	Men	0-4-0	0-4-9
	Women	0-2-4	0-2-6

Source : Qureshi op. cit. PP. 67

1983

**THE ANDHRA PROVINCIAL ZAMINDARI
RYOTS ASSOCIATION, 1928-42 :
IT'S CHARACTER***

A. Satyanarayana

South Asia Institute of Heidelberg University

Despite the important contribution made by the peasant movements in advancing the anti-imperialist nationalist movement, the historians of Andhra neglected the history of these movements. The struggles of the Andhra peasantry against the landlords and colonial government, was one of the interesting events and aspects of socio-economic history of modern Andhra. In this paper an attempt is made to analyse the nature of the anti zamindari agitation in Andhra led by the APZRA.^o Therefore, the purpose of the paper is to analyse its internal structure, methods of organisation, leadership, and ideology. It also examines the legalistic and passive aspects of the anti-zamindari agitation.

Structure of the Organisation :

In the initial stages (i.e, pre-1934) the ZRA did not have a formal organisational structure. With the expansion of local branches over-time a well defined organisation came into being, with definite aims and objects. The Vizag conference of the ZRA^o

* This paper is slightly revised version of Chapter four of my M. Phil. Thesis "Kisan Movement in Madras Presidency : A study of the Anti-zamindari Agitation in Andhra, 1928-42" (Unpublished) JNU, Delhi, 1979. I am grateful to Prof. S Bhattacharya and N. Bhattacharya for their comments and suggestions.

o APZRA stands for Andhra Provincial Zamindari Ryots Association and ZRA for Zamindari Ryots Association.

stated that "the basic objective of this Association is to endeavour the economic welfare of the ryots belonging to the zamindaris in Andhra."¹ It was also suggested the abolition of landlordism in Andhra. Accordingly, the ZRA defined its programme :

"To agitate for the amendment of the MELA of 1908 and other acts ;

To start Estate, Taluk and District level branches;

To carry on educational propaganda by means of the publication of books, papers and journals.....; and

To elect those who adopt the programme of ZRA to the local bodies and to the legislature."²

The basic unit of the ZRA was the village level committees. Between 1933-34 they were formed throughout Andhra. Each village committee had an executive committee and was affiliated to the respective taluk or district, association. Above it were the estate, taluk and district organisations. By 1938 all the coastal districts of Andhra had their organisations affiliated to the provincial ZRA³. To work in accordance with the above mentioned objective, the ZRA had a Central Association viz., Andhra Rashtra Zamin Ryot General Body. The ZRA conference met bi-annually and elected about 100 members to the general body. Those who had attained the age of 18 and agreed to the objectives of the association were eligible to join. In electing members to the Central General Body the conference was obliged to take suggestions from the district associations. It was also obliged to see that each district had reasonable

1. *Zamin Ryotu*, 7 January, 1935.

2. *Ibid*

3. T. Prakasam, *Madras Estates Land Act Committee Report (Supplement volume)*, Madras, 1938, p. 608.

representation.⁴ The general body was supreme in decision making. Its responsibilities were :⁵

to work in accordance with the objectives of the ZRA;

to amend the the programme whenever necessary;

to frame rules and regulations concerning the relations between the central and local associations; and

to collect funds for the association.

The general body elected not more than 25 persons to the executive. It, in turn, elected a sub-committee with not less than five members, comprising of a president, general secretary and joint secretary. However, the responsibilities of the association were largely shouldered by the president and the secretary. They were answerable to the general body. The general body was obliged to meet once in a year and the executive could meet whenever necessary.

Due to the lack of sufficient data we have not been able to estimate the membership of the ZRA and its growth over a period of time. Nevertheless, an estimate can be made on the basis of participation in the bi-annual conferences of the ZRA and in its propaganda marches. A close study of the Government reports, press reports and the contemporary writings of the participants suggest a considerable increase between 1930-1939. Thus, within a short time the ZRA solidly entrenched throughout the coastal districts and had evolved a well-knit organisation. Given the well defined organisational structure, it could mobilise the peasantry from gross roots level. A quick communication between the organisations at the village, the estate and the provincial levels was also made possible.

4. *Zamin Ryotu*, 7-1-1935-

5. *Ibid.*, p. 7

Nature of demands :

The programme of the ZRA did not consist of only protest and resistance; it did have a constructive aspect. A look at the resolutions of the ZRA conference indicates that the foremost item on the programme of the zamin ryot movement was to agitate for the reduction of rent. This particular demand was repeated time and again at every meeting held by the zamin ryots anywhere in Andhra.⁶

The ZRA argued that due to the heavy fall in agricultural produce the ryots were unable to meet the rental demand and that it should be reduced by half. These demands were often accompanied by statements giving the results of enquiries conducted either by local peasant organisation (as in Nellore) or provincial association⁷, on the economic conditions of the peasantry, into the value of the lands at the prevailing market prices and its comparison with rent demand thereby demonstrating the legitimacy of demand for reduction.

In order to show the high incidence of the estate rent rates of the ZRA often compared them with the ryotwari rates and demanded that the former should be reduced to the level of latter. The problem of uniform remission was also raised continuously. It was only in 1936 that a rent remission act was passed.⁸ According to it, the ryot was empowered to ask for remission in case the prices fell by 18³/₄%. The ZRA also demanded adequate provisions for remission and suspension of rent in cases of crop failure and other calamities. Other

6. See *Zamin Ryotu*, 13-7-30; 15-9-31; 19-9-31; 3-10-31; 10-10-31; 17-10-31; 29-1-33; 21-9-34; 25-1-36 and 20-3-36

7. N. G. Ranga, et.al., *Economic conditions of the Zamindari Ryots*, (Bezawada, 1933).

8. T. Prakasam, *The Madras Estates Land Act Committee Report*, (Supplement volume) Madras, 1938, p. 608 (Hereafter MELACR).

demands included : the commutation of grain rents into cash; the abolition of cropwari and other special rates for garden crops; the abolition of coercive powers of the zamindars to attach moveable properties; compulsory survey and settlement and record of rights; the conversion of communal lands into ryoti lands; convenient instalments for the payment of rents etc⁹. It also suggested the ways and means for the improvement of irrigation facilities in the zamindari estates and the reduction of water rates¹⁰. It desired a reduction in the grazing fees and state control over the forest, mineral and other resources of the estates. The other interesting demand was that "as long as the landholders (Zamindars) retain their special constituencies they shall not be allowed to contest from general seats"¹¹. The ZRA, while repeating the basic demand of rent reduction, also made certain other specific demands arising out of the specific conditions in the estates. For instance, it demanded the abolition of *vetti* (forced labour), reduction of coercive powers of landlord's officials, the grant of civil liberties, permission to free "Podu" (slash and burn) cultivation for tribesmen and so on¹². There were other demands such as the abolition of landlord's 'Shikari' (hunting) the abolition of sepoy or punitive tax reform of the estate administration and the statutory recognition of the ZRA.

The above demands or programme of the ZRA did not really reflect the basic problems of the lower sections of the peasantry, viz. the share croppers and sub-tenants. It reflected the aspirations of the rich and the middle peasantry. They were likely to benefit from this kind of a programme. Rent became the crucial issue in the context of depression. As we have noted elsewhere,¹³ the depression, in fact, cut the profit of the rich peasantry drastically. They

9. N.G. Ranga, *Kisan Hand Book*, Madras, 1938, 00-3-5.

10. N.G. Ranga, *Economic... op. cit.*, p. 7

11. *Ibid.*

12. T. Prakasam, *Op cit.* p. 362.

13. A. Satyanarayana "Kisan Movement in Madras Presidency A study of the anti-zamindari Agitation in Andhra 1928-42" M. Phil. thesis (unpublished) JNU, Delhi. 1979. pp. 101-102.

were compelled to fight with the zamindars to retain as much surplus as possible. Similarly, the problem of reduction of cropwari and garden rents. It was mainly the substantial peasants who could cultivate the expensive crops like turmeric, betel leaf, lemon etc. which came under the cropwari rent. The increase in rent meant a reduction in their profit. Hence, the ZRA made it one of the major demands. Its ambition to contest the landlords in elections became clear when it demanded that "the zamindar shall not be allowed to contest from general seats". Who were interested in the election fightings? Which section of the peasantry was capable of contesting election? It is clear as to whose interests did the ZRA serve. Surprisingly, it never intended to defy the colonial state not withheld payments of rent. On the contrary, the leaders of the ZRA declared their intention to become ryotwari ryots. They also advised the government to take over the zamindar's administration. One of the crucial fights between the zamindar and the rich peasantry was on the question of land acquisition from the dispossessed peasantry. Therefore, the ZRA demanded that, "adequate provision should be made so that the transfer of land may not be burdened by the arrears due from his transferor."¹⁴

The ZRA, however, failed to raise issues relating to the problems of the poor peasantry, share-croppers, sub-tenants etc. Numerically they comprised the majority of the agricultural population in Andhra. As we have seen elsewhere, they paid high rents to the immediate tenure holders-the pattadar and had no security of tenure.¹⁵ No demand for reduction of their rents or security of tenure was included in the ZRA programme. On the other hand, it is clear from the evidence before the Prakasam Committee that it vehemently opposed the grant of occupancy rights to the under tenants, and tended to legitimise the high rent collected by the pattadars.¹⁶

14. N. G. Ranga, *Economic Op cit.*, p. 4

15. See Chapter two of my thesis *op. cit.*

16. T. Prakasam, *MELACR, Oral Evidence*, Volum, p. 77.

Forms of mobilisation :

The important form of mobilisation by the ZRA was to carry on investigation of economic conditions of the peasantry in any area where the movement was sought to be developed. This kind of enquiry was first started in the Venkatagiri estate in 1931¹⁷. The basic aim of the enquiry was to suggest remedies. Then the proceedings of enquiries were widely published in the press-*Zamin Ryotu*, *The Hindu*, *Indian Express* etc. Ranga being an economist, initiated this method in his home district Guntur. He also carried on rural surveys elsewhere¹⁸. He conducted a survey of almost all the major estates in Andhra and published his report in 1933.¹⁹ These surveys and reports became the basis for the formulation of the programme of the ZRA. Generally, they highlighted the evils of the zamindari system. They often over emphasised the high rate of rent in the estates, lack of irrigation facilities and mal-administration of the estates. On the basis of such reports schedules of minimum demands were prepared at all levels. In order to acquaint the peasantry of such demands "to educate and help them to become vociferous in their support" innumerable propaganda meetings were held.²⁰ In fact, the ZRA conferences the minimum demands adopted by the provincial body were given the shape of resolutions among the lower units. To encourage the organization of meeting and conferences the ZRA had observed certain peasant weeks and protest days. Similarly, peasant volunteer corps were also raised to carry out propaganda in the country side.

17. N. G. Ranga, *Fight for freedom*, Delhi, 1968, p. 74

18. N. G. Ranga, *Economic Organisation of Indian Villages*, 2 Vol.

19. N. G. Ranga, *Economic — Op cit*

20. See 18-8-31 and 2-9-31

During the mid 1930's peasant marches and rallies, either to conferences or to government offices, became the most effective propaganda method.²¹ Usually, a march was for a number of days and it went through a large number of villages. All along the route meetings were held, speeches were delivered and placards were displayed. With regard to the impact of these marches contradictory accounts were given, both by the nationalists and the Madras government (Home Department).²² Nevertheless, by 1936-38 with the emergence of the leftist forces peasant marches became widespread.

Peasant songs also helped the growth of peasant enthusiasm. The songs written by NVR Naidu of Nellore, became popular.²³ In those songs, he explained the general miseries of the peasantry and the landlord exploitation by means of high rents and coercion. He described the miserable condition of the zamin ryots and advised them to unite in their fight against the zamindars. He created in them a sense of self importance, by honouring them as "the true kind of the earth". He told them that they were the only genuine producers. Finally, he asked them not to accept desperate conditions or feel frustrated but to fight against the zamindars. The songs popularised by the ZRA undoubtedly, played an important role in mobilising the peasantry. In fact, they were successful in so far as they exposed the evils of the zamindari system and appealed for the unionisation amongst the peasantry. However, the content and the message conveyed by the songs did contain certain element of populist rhetoric.

The ZRA utilised the traditional methods of spreading "enlightenment" among the peasantry. It popularised *Bhajans*,

21. N.G. Ranga, *Modern Indian Peasant*, Pt III, pp. 4-5, *The Kisan Hand Book*, pt. II, pp. 7-19.

22. *The Madras Administration Reports for 1934-35 and 1935-36*.

23. N.G. Ranga, *Modern ... Op cit.* p. 66-70

traditional bards such as the *Burra-katha*.²⁴ Another important indigenous medium of communication was the *Bhajan Mandali* (a devotional chorus group singing hymns). It was popularised by the peasant institute at Nidubrolu. It was a familiar association in rural Andhra and people participated regularly. They sang devotional-cum-political songs. The first peasant school was organised by Ranga in 1934, which was aimed "to counteract the mischievous propaganda of both the government and zamindar and to train and send out regular streams of self conscious workers".²⁵ Subjects such as the history of capitalism, fascism, socialism, labour movement and the agrarian structure in India were taught. Students of this institute became important organisers of the zamin-ryot movement. The initiative to organise peasant seva dals and marches came from them. Their contribution to the success of the congress and the ZRA in the elections was also noticeable. Besides, they were active in other social services. Propaganda by press was also one of the effective means of mobilisation. The ZRA had its own press and published papers and journals. Special mention may be made of the contribution of *Zamin Ryotu Patrika*, a Telugu weekly. It had wide circulation in Andhra. It had 10-14 pages of news, speeches by peasant and congress leaders. Its language was simple and colloquial, replete with familiar analogies and charged with satire. Each issue was full of exciting reportage of events as well as songs, humorous skits lampooning the zamindars and their officials. Besides, the other nationalist papers like *The Hindu Andhra Patrika*, *Indian Express* also helped the cause of ZRA.²⁶

24. "*Burra-katha* a ballad told to the rhythm of wooden instrument or *Burra* clicked together by the performers; with its simple ballad sequence, the *Burra-katha* can be staged without scenery and requires few performers". S. Harrison, *India: The most Dangerous Decades*, Madras 1960, p. 244.

25. N.G. Ranga, *Modern ... Op cit.* p. 8.

26. N.G. Ranga, *Fight for ... Op cit.* p. 72.

The emphasis on the identification of caste was relatively less. However, caste solidarity had played an important role in the mobilisation of the peasantry. It was not significant in the formulation of the ZRA programme. The role of caste has been vulgarised to a large extent by Harrison. He has over emphasised its role and tried to explain the whole political development only in terms of caste politics. For him, caste identity was the sole means of mobilisation. In other words, he attempted to explain the political movement in terms of vertical alliances. Actually, the zamin ryot movement represented class and not caste antagonism. For instance, in Andhra the Kammas fought against the Kammas zamindar. He also failed to show how the programme of the peasant movement in Andhra was determined by caste. The leadership of the ZRA was aware of its class position and interests. This became clear if we understand its ideology. For instance, Ranga claimed that "I preached boldly the need for the them (to Kammas peasant) to cease thinking in terms of merely caste but think in terms of their economic class interests"²⁷.

In Andhra the Reddis, the Kammas and the Kapus were the dominant peasant castes like the patidars in Bardoli. No doubt, they had their own caste organisations.²⁸ These associations were made the primary organic units of political mobilisation in Andhra. In the context of growing mass movements the distance between the caste organisation and political leadership was reduced. In these changed circumstances caste leaders played a new role by mediating between their own (local) communities and the wider national and provincial organisations.

Apart from indirect means i.e. through books, journals, leaflets, pamphlets etc. direct communication by means of speeches by the leaders was also made use of. Speeches made by Ranga were effective in mobilising the mass of the peasantry. The speeches of

27. N.G. Ranga, "Ranga's Rural Entry" in *Rural India* February, 1975. p. 8.

28. *Ibid.*

national leaders like Gandhi, Nehru, Patel, Rajendra Prasad also had an effect on the zamin Ryot movement in Andhra. During his tour in Andhra (1936) Jawaharlal Nehru put forward the agrarian problem of zamin ryots in the forefront. Speaking at Venkatagiri, the seat of a powerful anti-zamindari movement he said "there is no way of getting rid of the trouble except by developing your own strength. You cannot improve your condition either by begging or petitioning to the government or the zamindar". He also encouraged the zamin ryot: "In this part of the country I have been coming across your association ... I am glad they exist". He further remarked, "I was glad to notice peasant associations in Andhra appear to be doing good work for the peasants. Such organisations are helpful not only to agitate for the removal of peasants grievances but to help the larger cause of Swaraj".²⁹ No doubt these kinds of speeches considerably helped in rousing the political awareness within the peasantry, to link their movement with the mainstream of the anti-imperialist struggle. We have so far discussed different forms of mobilisation that were followed by the ZRA. The language of both direct (i.e. speeches) and indirect (reports, leaflets) communication media was indigenous. The political issues were conveyed to the mass of the peasantry both through special (caste) and religious (Bhajan) idioms and symbols, which could draw the tradition-bound peasants into the political mainstream. In other words, the traditional social structural ethos became the convenient instrument of political mobilisation. The methods of mobilisation remained within the framework of passive resistance. The necessity of this form of resistance has to be seen in relation to the leadership and ideology of the movement.

Social Base Leadership and Ideology :

The capacity of the movement to draw various strata of the peasantry depended in one respect on the kind of demands and

29. Cited in Ranga, *Modern ... Op cit.* pp. XXV-XXVIII

issues raised by it. In spite of the weaknesses of the ZRA's programme, the zamin ryot movement, as we shall see, succeeded in acquiring a fairly wide social base including the agricultural workers. The ZRA focussed on issues (like rent, *vetti* etc.) which had relevance for many different sections of the agrarian population though in varying degree.

As we have argued earlier the section whose interests were most completely represented were the rich peasant proprietors. Hence, they provided the solid block of support for the anti-zamindari movement. The depression had also helped towards an extension of the social base of the movement. The economic depression had reduced the incomes of those classes who were fully integrated into the market. As a result, many of their ranks supported the anti-zamindari agitation which primarily demanded reduction of rent and other similar demands. On the one hand this (upward) extension had strengthened the peasant movement, but on the other hand it had a negative impact on the interests of the lower sections of the peasantry since their grievances were cursorily supported or neglected.

According to the Home Department reports of the Madras Government, "the impetus to organise the agitation in zamindari area came mainly from the Congress politicians and its main support lies in the class of absentee landowners whose rents have fallen".³⁰ It is true that the main leaders of the zamin ryot movement in Andhra were also the leaders of the Congress. The initiative chiefly came from the Swarajists and other Congress members of the Madras Legislative Council. Absentee landlords referred by the police reports must be the smaller landlords like Biswanath Das and rich peasants like Ramdas Pantulu, M.R. Sharma and Ranga (They were of course, not the actual tillers of land). Data on some of the leaders of the zamin ryot movement enables us to examine the social

30. *Fortnightly Reports* October-December 1937.

character of the leadership. For example, Biswanath Das one of the front-rank leaders was a big landowner of nearly 800 acres. He was both a moneylender and businessman.³¹ Ranga "the leading spirit" behind the peasant movement in Andhra "was a son of an enterprising cultivator and belonged to an affluent family, which had fairly large sized holdings of fertile land (both wet and dry) and extensive house sites".³² A random survey of the witnesses (supposed to be the local leaders of the ZRA) who deposed before the Prakasam Committee, revealed that out of 159, 92 came (i.e. 59%) from the small landlord rich and middle peasant sections.³³ Thus, the leadership of the zamin ryot movement in Andhra was provided by men of considerable means such as netty landlords like Biswanath Das (who became the Chief Minister of Orissa) and rich peasants like Ranga.

Whose interests did they promote? No doubt, they endorsed the grievances like forced labour, payment of illegal cases (*abwabs*) imposition of fines etc. to draw the lower ranks of the peasantry. But the core of the programme of the ZRA was concerned with the problems of the rich peasant and tenants. Thus, the demands like rent reduction, more irrigational and credit facilities and so on were intended to cater the interest of the rich peasants. In the context of rising prices and expansion of cash crops they demanded from the zamindars more and more facilities for the extension of cultivation. Again the context of upward price movement for other cash crops, they wanted to shift over to other cash crops. However, the zamindars did not allow them to do so by imposing heavy taxes on cash crops. Thus the ZRA raised this issue as one of the major grievances and decided to agitate for its abolition.

31. Hood, *The Madras Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee Report*, Volume on oral evidence, Madras, 1936.

32. Ranga, *Fight ... Op.cit.*, p. 4.

33. Calculated from T. Prakasam, *Op. cit.*

It should be emphasised that *one particular 'grievance' seemed to be more decisive than all the others, in setting the rich peasant-merchant-moneylenders against the zamindar was the fact that the zamindar always stood in the way of their economic aggrandisement at the expense of indebted peasants.*

The zamindars prevented both the rich peasants and the traders from freely entering into credit relations.³⁴ It is not to suggest that the landlords were 'Philanthropists'. The fact was that, according to 1908 Act the zamindars had the foremost right to distrain peasants crop.³⁵ Therefore, no creditor or purchaser of land could get it without the consent of the zamindar. On the other hand, the zamindars freely dispossessed the peasantry and acquired their lands for arrears.³⁶ The competition for land between the rich peasant and landlords was all the more severe on account of restrictions on the former's right to purchase land from an insolvent ryot. The act of 1908 had also empowered the landlords to refuse the recognition of transfers. The landlord could impose any terms on him as a condition for recognition.³⁷ In the case of traders, they could not derive good profits from trade, because they were not allowed to control peasants production, as in the ryotwari areas. They could not freely advance money to the zamindari ryot because of certain legal impediments. So they were as much opposed to the zamindar as the moneylending rich ryots. It should be noted that unlike in Punjab or in other parts of the country, there was no major conflict between the traditional moneylender/trader and the rich peasant. It is evident from the fact that the ZRA did not raise the

34. Hood, *Op. cit* particularly the evidence given by B. Das.

35. T. Prakasam, *Op. cit.*

36. *Ibid.*

37. *Ibid.*

38. See Chapter II of my thesis, *Op. cit.*

question of the indebtedness of the peasantry. It should be pointed out that the rich peasant of coastal Andhra combined in himself both the moneylending and trading business. There was close alliance between the trader/moneylender and the ZRA. In fact, men like S. V. Chethi, Biswanath Das etc. (big trader/moneylenders) were in the forefront of the anti-zamindar movement. Both the trader/moneylender and the rich peasant wanted to reduce the power of the zamindar, in so far as the appropriation of debtor's land was concerned. Thus, this particular (common) interest united both of them in their fight against the zamindars. The traders, mostly *Banias*, by taking part in the leadership along with the well-off peasants helped in giving the movement a larger dimension. They constituted one of the mediators through which the rural discontent became more organised and widespread.

The well-off peasants and the traders-moneylenders were by far the main leaders of the zamin ryot movement in Andhra. A few other types of local leaders also emerged. They included a small number of lawyers, village headmen (*Patel and Karnam*) zamindar's near relations, estate officials etc. Many of these professional men were also the non-cultivating zamindari ryots and tenants. The rent enhancement, premium and others affected them and cut their profits. Hence, they too joined and supported the anti-zamindari agitation. It is clear from the pages of the 'Zamin ryot' that many of them, particularly the lawyers, wrote articles against some of the sections of the 1908 act and appealed for its amendments.³⁹ Suggestions were also made by them. They were instrumental in bringing the nationalist press⁴⁰ closer to the zamin ryot movement. As Baker has shown, in Estates like Munagala and Venkatagiri the agitation was also led by the village Karnam and the zamindari officials

39. *Zamin Ryot* during 1937-39 contained articles by lawyers V.S. Sastri etc. on the Madras Estates Land Act of 1908.

40. Papers like *The Hindu*, *Swarajya Patrika* etc.

respectively.⁴¹ This particular section of the rural gentry all along opposed the zamindars for various personal reasons.⁴² This disgruntled section, in fact, provided large number of supporters of the ZRA.

It can safely be concluded that the substantial peasants merchant-moneylenders, rural gentry and professionals constituted the leadership of the zamin ryot movement in Andhra. They persuaded the lower sections of the peasantry that their main target of attack should be the zamindar and that the objective should be the abolition of the zamindari system as a whole (of course, not without compensation). The leadership was also very cautious about its class interests. In so far as the fight against the zamindar was concerned it was very open and outspoken. However, once the movement went to the extent where it threatened once the leadership's interests, for example, by raising the demands of the underdogs i.e. the sub-tenants, sharecroppers, agricultural workers etc. it was opposed. It is interesting to note that while the ZRA prevented the under tenants from acquiring occupancy rights, the landlords (zamindars) Association championed the cause of the under tenants before the Prakasam Committee. They argued that (like the zamindari tenants) the tenants-at-will should also have the right to demand rent reduction, remission etc. They have also suggested some legislation to safeguard the interests of the sub-tenants, whereby they could acquire the occupancy right "in respect of a portion of the holding which the under tenant has been cultivating continuously for a prescribed period of years".⁴³ However, it is not to suggest that the zamindars were really interested in the welfare of the under-tenants. In fact,

41. C.J. Baker, *The Politics of South India*, Delhi, 1976 pp. 207-8.

42. Ranga. *Fight ... Op. cit.* Ranga described the Katikeneni brothers of Venkatagiri estate of Nellore district as the most powerful men in Venkatagiri taluk.

43. T. Prakasam, *op. cit.* Landholder Statement, P. 117.

they wanted that the under tenant of a pattadar should be made equally responsible for the payment of the rent to the zamindar as the pattadar himself. They merely wanted to win over the under tenants and thereby split the united anti-zamindari movement. Nevertheless, the united front between different anti-landlord agrarian classes was successfully maintained.

As a matter of fact, the other (lower) sections of the peasantry, viz., were not directly affected by the rent disputes. Yet, it can be said that "the capacity of the landlords threw them into the arms of the zamin ryot movement".⁴⁴ The influence of the rural rich on the rest of the villagers was as great in coastal Andhra districts as elsewhere in India. It should be noted that in many cases this influence was due to cast solidarity and even more to the economic power of the rich peasant. Most of the small peasants were 'dependent upon the goodwill of some members of the "village elite", either as tenants-at-will, sharecroppers or hired labourers. Besides, as Baker has shown credit was one of the crucial factors in maintaining the hold of what he called "the village bosses" on the rest of the society. Hence, the rich peasants monopolised the initiative and the other sections followed. This was so, precisely because the whole political activities were rigidly controlled by the top. In this context we feel the remarks of Prof. Bipan Chandra on the 'role of the masses' in the Gandhian political struggle is appropriate. According to him, "it (the role of the masses) was an utterly restricted and subordinated one that there was a complete absence of any mechanism or channel through which the peasants could influence the course of the struggle or its outcome."⁴⁵ In another context he remarked that 'the politics and the political and class consciousness of the agricultural labourers and the poor peasants were

44. T. Prakasam, *op. cit.* Statement by M.R. Sharma, P. 649.

45. Bipan Chandra. *Elements of Continuity and Change in the Early Nationalist Activity* (Memoographed), J.N.U., p. 6.

completely dominated by the politics and the political and class consciousness of the rich peasants and the small landlords".⁴⁶ This can definitely be said about the role of the lower sections of the peasantry in the zamin ryot movement in Andhra.

Now we shall discuss the ideology of Ranga, who in many ways was a true representative of the movement. In terms of his ideology he vacillated between Gandhism, Fabian socialism, and Marxism. Having been influenced by Fabian socialism and to some extent by Marxism during his Oxford days⁴⁷ he rejected the aristocracy and landlordism. He intended to destroy the monopoly of power held by the tradition from a feudal, princely, commercial and industrial classes ...⁴⁸ He also wanted to lead the Indian Marxists to fight against these forces through Gandhian methods. Being influenced by the Gandhian ethics of non-violence he preached both class harmony and passive resistance. Writing about the forms of struggle to be followed by the ZRA he stated that "we neither cannot wish to use arms and ammunition to strengthen our struggle against our opponents our sacrifices alone can strengthen them. Non-violence and unarmed as we are bound to be"⁴⁹. He also stressed the need to do away with the inequities of wealth and income between the exploiters and the exploited by means of Gandhian weapon of 'Dharma'⁵⁰. He always argued for the protection of peasant property and the preservation of cottage and small industries. Like Gandhi, he too felt that India can have no salvation without the village economy being vitalised by the self

46. Bipan Chandra, *Peasantry and National Integration in Contemporary India* (Memoographed) p. 36

47. Ranga, *Fight .. op. cit.*

48. Ranga, *Revolutionary... op. cit.* p. 23.

49. Ranga, *Kissan, .. op. cit.*

50. *Ibid*

employed peasant.⁵¹ He articulated the 'peasant internationalism' and a peasant 'socialist' theory which according to Harrison, *in concrete terms boiled down to a defence of peasant proprietorship as opposed to nationalisation*.⁵² He was both an anti-communist and anti-capitalist in that he argued against both the capitalist industrialisation and socialised collectivisation. He was basically, to use Erdman's phrase "a peasant populist"⁵³. His conception of what was good for an independent peasantry had been the polestar in his ideological life.

Conclusion :

In this paper we have attempted to analyse the character of the zamin ryot movement in Andhra. We have critically examined its programme in relation to different sections of the peasantry. We have also discussed the methods adopted by the ZRA in mobilising the peasantry in its anti-zamindari agitation. We have attempted to locate the contradiction between different agrarian classes and the zamindar and subsequently explained how the zamin ryot movement was successful in bringing about the peasant united-front to fight against the zamindar. Our study has clearly shown that the leadership of the movement was within the hands of the rich peasantry and served its interests. We have also shown how, given the primary contradiction between the peasantry as a whole and the zamindar, the zamin ryot movement was successful in integrating the lower sections of the peasantry in its fight against landlordism.

51. Ranga, *Freedom in Rent* (Introduction) Delhi, 1952.

52. S Harrison, *op. cit.*

53. Erdman, *The Swatantra Party and Indian Conservatism*, Cambridge, 1957. p. 85.

EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN THE GODAVARI DISTRICT (1850-1900)

*P. Manikyamba**

As in other parts of India, the region of Godavari District witnessed several changes during the period 1850-1900. In this period, the British Government allowed the English education to flourish. Both the Governmental and non-Governmental institutions fostered the English education. The spread of this education resulted in bringing about a change in social arena. It is attempted here to examine the progress of education and assess its impact on the society.

During the period under consideration general education was imparted to the Indian Youth to prepare them for administrative purposes. However, the progress of education in this district was above average when compared to the other parts of the Madras Presidency. In this period the Government devised a systematic plan of action for the spread of education among the people and patronised it directly and also through a system of grant-in-aid.

Basically social change connotes the change of social structure. The Introduction of English system of education did not bring about any such change. But in the ordinary sense, certain changes did take place among the micro scopic minority of the urban landed gentry.

* Research Assistant, Department of History and Archaeology, Andhra University, Waltair, A. P.

These changes took place more in the realm of the mind as they imbibed some concepts of rationalism in human affairs, which lessened faith in the the superstitious beliefs and practices, in the social and familial relations and they accepted certain new values. But, in the natural terms these new ideas were not successful in bringing changes in society in any considerable measure.

For considering the progress in education in the district the period under survey may be divided into two phases, i.e., 1850 to 1871 and from 1872 to 1900. In the first phase educational institutions for imparting general education at the primary and secondary levels were established. A plan of action was devised to maintain them systematically. During the second phase college education was introduced in this district. In the spread of education the Governmental agency and the private agencies - Missionary and non Missionary were engaged.

The educational efforts in this district were first started by the Government itself. During the Governorship of Sir Thomas Munro (1820-27) Bayard, the Collector of Rajahmundry sub-division started three primary schools known as Tahsildaree schools at Rajahmundry, Kakinada and Narsapuram.¹ The aim of this effort was only to extend elementary education which was already in existence and to improve its quality by the diffusion of useful knowledge.² The above mentioned schools imparted vernacular education among the masses and were conducted systematically on western style. But this golden opportunity of spreading the popular education was interrupted by a change of policy on the part of the Government of India. In the year 1835 the Government passed a Resolution declaring that all educational funds should be expended only to impart western education through the medium of English. Here the Government

1. Hemingway, F. R., Madras District Gazetteers, Godavari, Vol. I, p. 157.

2. Sharp, H., Selections from Educational Records, Part I, p. 51.

aimed to train a few Indians in higher education and utilise them as pillars of support for their administration in the country. However, the financial aid to the above schools was withdrawn which ultimately resulted in the closure of those institutions.³ Since then for some time Government Institutions were not established in this district due to the inconsistency in the educational policy of Madras Government.

A little later the Christian Missions made an effort to open school in this district as a part of their proselytising activity. The Godavari Delta Mission (1836) worked at Narsapuram, Palakollu, Dowleshwaram etc., while the Church Missionary Society occupied Amalapuram, Bendamurlanka and such other places.⁴ The American Evangelical Lutheran Mission (1844) settled at Rajahmundry and opened Anglo-Vernacular and Vernacular Schools at Rajahmundry and Eluru.⁵ The Roman Catholic Mission (1854) opened schools at Kakinada, Peddapuram and such other places. In the Mission schools classes were held at fixed timings, as there were a good number of teachers, a clear-cut class system was devised and Sunday was declared as a holiday. In these schools the Bible was taught as a text-book and other courses like reading, writing and arithmetic were introduced.⁶ Later with the emergence of the Governmental Institutions those rules, regulations and curriculum were followed to complete with those institutions. Thus during the first half of the 19th Century the Government made an effort to conduct schools systematically and imparted vernacular education to the masses.

3. Selections from Educational Records of Madras Government, Papers relating to Public Instruction, 1855.

4. Madras District Gazetteers, East Godavari, Vol. II, p. 208.

5. George Drach & Calvin F. Kuder, The Telugu Mission of the General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America, p. 83.

6. Mukerjee, S. N., History of Education in India, p. 57.

Later the missionaries opened primary and secondary schools in the district and educated people without any distinction of caste.

Between 1850-60 almost all important steps were taken for the progress of education. In the year 1855 the education department was established for the Madras Presidency; the Director of Public Instruction was appointed to guide and control education and an inspecting agency was instituted to supervise the educational institutions of the Department and a grant-in-aid system was also initiated to aid private schools.⁷ Under these favourable conditions, education progressed considerably in this district.

During the later half of the 19th Century the Government efforts in the Godavari District again started with the opening of a provincial school at Rajahmundry in 1854.⁸ This Institution taught secular education up to the present secondary school standard with subjects like English, algebra, geometry, History, Geography etc.⁹ The medium of instruction in this school was English and a fee of eight annas a month was collected to support the school. In the year 1855-56 Talook schools were started at Eluru and such other places. These were of middle school standard with Telugu as medium of instruction and English was taught as a language. For the support of these schools a fee of four annas a month was collected.¹⁰ The fee system, the subjects and the standard of the Governmental institutions indicate that education was intended only for the

7. East India (Education) Correspondence Relating to the Education Despatch of 19th July, 1954, p. 13.

8. Richey, J. A., *Op. cit.*, p.

9. Report on the Administration of the Department of Public Instruction in the year 1858-59.

10. Report on the Administration of Public Affairs in the Madras Presidency for the year 1857-58, p. 20.

wealthy children and the aim of education was not to train people for utilising notional resources but to educate a few for the administrative purposes.

Simultaneously with the Government the European officials also made efforts to start schools on the same lines. An Anglo-vernacular school was started at Kakinada in 1852 with the combined efforts of the Collector Prendergast and his shaistadar Tulasinga Chattiya and was maintained on public subscriptions.¹¹ Similarly in 1854, George Noble Taylor, the Sub-Collector of the District opened an Anglo-Vernacular school at Narsapuram with Branch schools at Palakollu, Penugonda, and Achanta.¹² All these schools taught upto the lower secondary stage of education and were dependent on public subscriptions.

These well organised and systematically conducted schools created a desire for the study of western system of learning among the people. The urban landed gentry, who were benefitted by the construction of Godavari Anicut, and who frequented Narsapuram for court purposes, were attracted by these schools and were delighted to educate their children in such schools. They urged Noble Taylor to open primary vernacular schools in a number of villages. They also expressed their willingness for paying an additional cess for the support of those institutions.¹³

Thereupon Taylor with the permission of Sir Walter Elliot, the then Commissioner of Northern Circars, established the elementary vernacular schools in twelve villages in the first instance. An

11. Hemingway, F. R., *op. cit.*, p. 157.

12. Selections from the Records of the Madras Government No. 26 papers relating to the establishment of village vernacular schools in the sub-division of Rajahmundry.

13. *Ibid.*

additional land cess of sixty rupees per annum was collected from the landed people and a fee of two annas a month was received from others.¹⁴ As a rate was collected for the support of the schools these institutions came to be known as the Godavari Rate Schools. In these schools arithmetic, geography, the out-lines of history and mensuration of land were taught through the medium of Telugu.¹⁵ This idea was novel to the Madras Presidency. The progress was also very rapid. By 1858 there were 99 such schools with 2,000 pupils in the district.

Thus in the Godavari District while the Government and individual European officials fostered secondary level of education, in towns, the people came forward and supported primary level of education in villages. This procedure facilitated the spread of education and also western culture in those areas.

The Government's policy of encouraging secondary education among the wealthy few and neglecting the primary education had its repercussions. In the Rajahmundry provincial school the standards were high and English had been the medium of instruction. As little provision was made to teach the subjects in the elementary level the strength of students decreased to 80 by 1858.¹⁶ So in that year the level of this school was reduced to a Zillah school and primary classes were introduced with medium of instruction Telugu in lower classes. At the same time, Matriculation or University entrance examination was introduced in this institution to prepare students for the University studies.¹⁷ By 1858 it was observed that

14. *Ibid.*

15. Mangamma, J. *The Rate Schools of Godavari*, p. 28.

16. Report on the Administration of Public Affairs in the Madras Presidency for the year 1857-58, p. 24.

17. *Ibid.*

the teachers who taught vernacular subjects in the schools were untrained and hence proved inefficient in teaching. To make up this deficiency Telugu training classes were added to the Narsapuram Central School and Eluru Talook school.¹⁸

In the case of private institutions it was mentioned earlier that those were started by the European officials and people were inspired to subscribe for their maintenance. With the departure of those officials from the district their public enthusiasm cooled down and they ceased to pay subscriptions regularly. The grant-in-aid system could not be applicable to these schools because it demanded a fixed regular income while the schools were maintained on voluntary subscriptions. Thus the private schools suffered from lack of sound financial footing. The Anglo-Vernacular school at Kakinada which was called the Linton Memorial School collapsed for a time in 1862. In the following year Collector Purvis, reopened the school on 28th October, 1863 and sanctioned a monthly grant of 70 rupees to it. The Rajah of Pithapuram who was an old student of it contributed a further sum of Rs. 100/- a month.¹⁹ Since then it thrived and a Matriculation class was added to it in 1866.

The same was the case with the Godavari Rate Schools in the financial matters. Taylor the originator of the scheme, left the district in 1856 and his successors were not equally interested in the collection of voluntary cess from the people. The people also did not pay their subscriptions regularly. So far a time these institutions suffered from lack of funds. To rescue these institutions and others of similar type the Madras Education Act VI of 1863, was

18. Report on the Administration of the Public Instruction during the Official year 1858-59, p. 13.

19. Hemingway, F.R., *op. cit.*, p. 157.

passed and these schools were maintained under that Act for five years.²⁰

In the year 1871, the Madras Local Fund Board was constituted and the Town's Improvement Act III, the Local Fund Act IV and Madras Educational Act V were passed.²¹ Under the Madras Educational Act V the Development of education become an obligation to the local governments. So in the same year the Madras Government transferred the institutions of Education Department at primary and secondary levels to the control of Local Fund Board. Under this scheme the Godavari Rate Schools passed under the Control of Local Boards.²² Thus the Rate Schools were placed on a permanent footing with regard to the Funds. A little later, i. e. in 1879 examinations like the lower primary, Upper Primary and Secondary Examinations were introduced to mark the end of every stage of education and also to qualify the students to certain cadres of administrative service.²³ Thus the three agencies the Government, Missionary and non-Missionary made admirable efforts in promoting primary and secondary levels of education. As a result there were 158 institutions in the district for general education by 1871 among which 123 belonged to the Education Department.²⁴

During the second phase, 1872-1900 the college education was introduced in the district. As mentioned earlier the burden

20. Annual Report on the Administration of the Madras Presidency during the year 1862-63, para 475.

21. Standing Information regarding the Official Administration of the Madras Presidency in each Department, 1879, p. 401.

22. Proceedings of Madras Government, G.O. No.

23. Proceedings of Madras Government, G.O. No. 267 dt. 24 January 1879

24. Madras Provincial Committee Report to the Indian Education Commission, 1882, p. 20.

of the development of primary and secondary education was transferred to the local governments, higher education occupied more important place in the Government's patronage of education. In the year 1873 the Rajahmundry Government Institution was elevated to the status of a second grade college and the F. A. class was introduced in it. In 1877, the Institution was raised to a first grade college with the introduction of a B.A. class in it. This college was affiliated to the Madras University in 1891.²⁵ This was one of the three first grade colleges of Madras Presidency the other two being the Presidency College at Madras and the Cumbaconum College.²⁶ In the same period, i. e. in 1894 the F. A. class was introduced in the Linton Memorial School at Kakinada and it was renamed as the Pittapur Rajah's College in honour of its liberal patron.²⁷ For improving the financial condition of the College, it was placed under the management of a Council of five - the Collector of the District, the Chairman of the Municipal Council, a representative of the Rajah of Pittapuram, the Inspector of Schools and the Principal of the Institution. The Committee registered itself under the Indian Company's Act Under the name of "The Pittapur Rajah's College Limited."²⁸ Thus by 1900 there were two colleges in the district with 103 scholars.²⁹

The District also consisted a training college. It is stated earlier that in 1858, two training classes were started - one at Narsapuram and the second at Eluru. After 1858 a number of schools for general education were established. To provide trained teachers

25. *Ibid* P. 107

26. *Ibid*.

27. Hemingway, F.R., *op cit*. p. 157

28. *Ibid*, pp. 157-158.

29. Report on Public Instruction in the Madras Presidency 1899-1900, pp. 4-5.

to those institutions the Godavari District Board started an elementary training school at Rajahmundry. It was elevated to that of a second grade training school in 1890 and to the collegiate level in 1894.³⁰ By 1900 in this institution there were 15 students under instruction.³¹ This was the only government training college in the Coastal Andhra during the period under consideration.

With regard to the Missionary agency its educational activities were confined to the teaching of primary and secondary education. In this period one more mission namely the Canadian Baptist Telugu Mission started schools at Akividu, Kakinada, Ramachandrapuram, Samarlakota and such other places.³² Early in 1884 Artman had requested the American Evangelical Lutheran Mission Board to elevate its Rajahmundry school to the level of a college. But the Board disagreed because it attached much importance to the preaching of the religion than the teaching of higher education among the people.³³ The other Missions also seem to have followed the same principle in this district during the period under survey.

Considering all the educational institutions for the general education, in this district by 1900 there were a total number of 54,880 students receiving instruction in 1,657 institutions. Considering their percentage to the population of the school going age, the population was 3,11,818 and it amounts to 17.6%. The average percentage being 15.7 in Madras Presidency.³⁴

30. Madras District Gazetteers, Godavari District, p. 157.

31. Report on Public Instruction in the Madras Presidency, p. 5.

32. Report of the Canadian Baptist Telugu Missions, 1884.

33. Dolbeer & Subhamani, P. D., Andhra Su Vishesha Luther Sangha Samgraha, Charitra, p. 55.

34. Report of Public Instruction of Madras Presidency 1899-1900, pp. 4-5.

Besides the Government and non-Government agencies, two more agencies namely the journals and Libraries also helped to spread the western thought among the Indians. These were founded by the products of English Educational Institutions on the Western lines. During the period under consideration, several journals like Vivekavardhani (1874) Hasyasanjivani (1876), Mandara Manjari (1879), Manjuvani (1898), Saraswathi (1898) were published from the important centres of the district viz., Rajahmundry, Kakinada, Eluru and other places.³⁵ They discussed contemporary problems like the illiteracy, corruption, child marriages and neglect of women in the society etc. The newly established railways and postal system facilitated their wide circulation.

Apart from the journals, libraries were started by the enlightened public to disseminate knowledge among the common people. The first library in this district is said to have been started at Rajahmundry in 1839. It had a hundred people as its regular members and also had a mobile section which circulated books in the villages.³⁶ Towards the end of the century, the social reformers like K. Veeresalingam Pantulu recognised the importance of libraries in educating the people who could not attend schools. As a result, a library was established at Undi in 1889. The Naoroji Library (1897) at Kumudavalli in the Bhimavaram Talook and the Veeresalingam Grandhalayamu (1898) at Rajahmundry were³⁷ some other units which catered to the needs of the public.

Thus during this period, knowledge was spread through several channels. This western system of education tended to bring

35. Venkata Subbaiya, G., Navamedhavi Naria, pp. 50-51.

36. Venkatappayya, V., "Andhra Telangana Grandhalaya Pragathi", Krishna Zillah Pradhama Grandhalaya, Sadassu, special Edition

37. Ramaswami Choudary, S., "Jatidyodamamu - Grandhalayamulu", Krishna Zillah Pradhama Grandhalaya Sadassu, Special Edition.

two types of changes in the society. The first was functional and occupational change and the second was the structural change.

In our traditional society the Brahmin community only was educated for spiritual purposes and remained aloof from the manual labour. The other communities like the merchant community and the agricultural classes were engaged in some occupation, trade and agriculture, and a general education helped them only to carry on their work more efficiently. But, in the western system of education, all those people who were able to pay for their studies were trained for employment under the Government. Thus, the aim of education in this period was employment. This fact encouraged not only the Brahmins but also the other communities who were oppressed by the British rule or who could afford to pay for education, to embark on education in the English Schools. These educated people worked as teachers, members of the local boards or joined the legal profession. The educated tended to regard their education as the badge that relieved them of any obligation to soil their hands through manual labour. Thus, a change occurred in the functions of various communities and a gulf had formed between the educated and uneducated.

But, this western system of education did not bring any structural change in the society as the joint family and caste system, around which the society was woven, remained undisturbed. At the same time, the new education with western civilisation and Christianity in its background succeeded in inculcating certain revolutionary ideas in the minds of the people. This study of secular education in the English educational institutions, detached the students from their Indian tradition and initiated them into the cultural stream of the west. The students of those institutions followed the Europeans in their dress and to some extent food habits. It further induced the students to develop a rational outlook. They refused to follow the traditional customs and practices which could not stand before reason. Thus, a conflict of ideas had started between the educated

few and the orthodox many which further resulted in loosening of the grip of the old social norms and familial relations on them. This development can be defined as a cultural conflict between the old and new generations.

The students of English institutions lost faith in the superstitions beliefs and practices. They came into direct contact with their Christian teachers who exposed the defects in Hinduism. One section of these students strengthened their relations with those teachers and converted themselves into Christianity. Malladi Venkata Ratnam and such others belong to this category.³⁸ The second section of students like Kandukuri Veeresalingam Pantulu, Rayasam Venkata Shivudu, Burra Rajalingam, etc. took the challenge and tried to reform their society and religion. They contacted the eminent personalities like Iswara Chandra Vidya Sagar and Mahadeva Govinda Ranade, and also studied the Hindu scriptures thoroughly for discerning the essential truths. In this process, they came into contact with a neo-Hindu cult, namely, Brahmo-Samaj which was then in vogue in Bengal and appreciated its principles. They believed "that there is a Universal reason at work in nature and in society and that religions in their pure form are the expressions of that reason in man."³⁹ They renounced idol worship and lost belief in the caste system and assumed a liberal attitude towards the women and the other weaker sections of the society. Their efforts to remove the abuses in the Hindu religion resulted in certain revolutionary changes in the society. About this time, the common people were educated through "Jangamu Kathalu", "Bhagavatha Kathalu" Nayakurali Katha", "Timmaraju Katha" and stories of Historical personalities told by a section of people called "Bhagavathas".⁴⁰ This tradition

38. Venkata Shivudu, R., *Atma Charitramu*, pp. 52-53.

39. Majumdar, R.C., *The History and Culture of Indian People*, Part X, p. 92.

40. Pratapa Reddy, S., *Andhrula Sanghika Charitra*, p. 370.

was set aside and a new system was initiated. The students of the English institutions formed themselves into a dramatic association and enacted dramas written by K. Veeresalingam Pantulu and such others on contemporary problems. This procedure enabled the public to understand the problems of their society and to cooperate with the reformers in removing social evils.

In this period, a revolutionary change occurred in the status of women in society. They suffered from illiteracy, child marriages, and from prohibition of widow remarriages. At the beginning of the period, under survey, the word girls' school meant an institution for training dancing girls to perform 'nautch' at social functions.⁴¹ But, during this period, 'nautch' was gradually prohibited and those schools were closed. Simultaneously, girls' schools of a new order emerged at Kakinada, Dowleshwaram, Rajahmundry and such other places, to educate the girls on the western lines. But, child marriages hindered their progress. Hence, early marriages were gradually abolished by raising the age of consent. First it was raised from 8 to 10 and in 1890 to 12 years.⁴² This enabled the girls to study in schools for some more years. About this time, zunana missions educated the Hindu women at their residences. Thus, child marriages were abolished and women were educated. They were further provided with opportunities to participate in the social meetings and understand the problems of their society. For example, some women had attended the district social meeting held at Eluru in 1897.⁴³

Still another evil from which women had been suffering in this period was the prohibition of widow remarriage. Due to the system of child marriages many women lost their husbands at an

41. Veeresalingam, K., *Sweeya Charitramu.*, p. 91.

42. Pratapa Reddy, S., *op cit.* p. 449.

43. Veeresalingam, K., *op cit.*, p. 86.

early age and as they were not otherwise engaged life became miserable to them. To remove this social evil old scriptures like Manu Smrithi, Yagnavalkya Smrithi and Parasara Smrithi were studied and it was found that prohibition of widow remarriage was against the spirit of Hinduism. Soon, in 1881, a social reform society was formed and people like Challapalli Bapayya Pantulu and Kandukuri Veeresalingam Pantulu ventured to convince the people in this matter. Wealthy people like Baru Raja Rao Pantulu, Paida Rama Krishnayya subscribed 30 thousand rupees for this purpose. About this time, the students of the Government College at Rajahmundry were inspired by the lectures of Pandit Shivanandha Sastri and others and appreciated the principles of Brahmo Samaj. So, some of the students came forward to marry widows. Thus, the first widow remarriage was celebrated at Rajahmundry in 1881.⁴⁴ A girls' school was started to educate the widows in 1905.⁴⁵

In this period an attempt was made to educate the out-castes also. It was observed that, during this period, most of the out-castes were converted into Christianity as the new religion promised an improvement in their economic and social status. But, the others were neither admitted into missionary schools nor public institutions. But, the spread of liberal ideas in this period changed the outlook of the society to some extent. So, in 1906, a school for educating the outcastes, dancing girls and widows was started at Rajahmundry.⁴⁶ Two years later, i. e., in 1908, the outcastes were admitted into the Kakinada college without any restriction.⁴⁷

44. Veeresalingam, K., *op cit.*, Part I, p. 184.

45. Lakshminarasimham, Ch., *Sweeya Charitramu*, p. 202.

46. Veeresalingam, K., *op. cit.*, Part II, p. 299.

47. *Ibid.*, p. 342.

In this period under survey the terms like democracy, nationalism were heard here and there. The people began to form associations and held annual meetings like the Godavari Mandala Sabha. In these meetings, they discussed national problems. People were divided into two groups, one group of people like K. Veeresalingam Pantulu, believed in the magnanimity of the British rulers and another group regarded them as responsible for our national poverty. Thus, in this period, absolute subordination and blind loyalty were gradually giving way to an independent thought and disbelief towards the Government.

Thus in the Godavari District during the latter half of the 19th Century western system of education was fostered both by the Governmental and non-Governmental agencies. Institutions imparting collegiate, secondary and primary levels of this education were established in a considerable number. As the spread of education increased it succeeded in developing rational outlook and independent thinking among the people. The influence of the Neo-Hindu cults like Brahmo-Samaj liberalised their views about religion, caste and women. As the percentage of educated people was above average a small band of social reformers emerged in this district. They tried to awaken the society by the change of mass-media. The old style of educating the common people through the adventurous stories of classical heroes was replaced by the enactment of dramas reflecting social problems. By this process the people were aware of the social evils and cooperated with the reformers in removing them. The establishment of libraries and Telugu journals also accelerated the movement. These were proved instrumental in the spread of reformistic ideas among the people. The old orthodox customs like child marriages, prohibition of widow remarriage, illiteracy and untouchability were gradually giving way to the rise of the age of consent, celebration of widow remarriages. Women were educated and even ventured to attend public meetings. Efforts were started to improve the social and financial position of untouchables.

Thus the educational progress in Godavari District brought a reform movement. Though it was unable to bring social change in the true sense of the term, it certainly made efforts to achieve social harmony which facilitated the progress of society on western lines.

THE TRADITION OF SOCIAL AMITY IN THE DECCAN (1347-1911 A.D.)

Syed Masood Hassan Jafri, M.A.,

Introduction :

The soil of Deccan has nourished remarkable rulers who cherished high values of life and kept up the torch of secularism burning in their dominions. They liked the well-being of their subjects. Most of the scholars such as Srivastava¹ and Dr. R.P. Tripathi² held Akbar as the symbol of Hindu-Muslim unity. But in fact, this kind of unity has been prevailing in Deccan since 14th century. The founder of Bijapur dynasty Yusuf Adil Khan (1489-90 AD) gifted many good offices to Hindus and even permitted the use of Marathi language for accounts and business. He married a Maratha lady,³ sister of Mukunda Rao, who became the mother of next Sultan. In fact Hindus and Muslims lived side by side for centuries amicably. An attempt has been made in this paper to highlight a common cultural background of the people under the reign of Deccan rulers.

A common cultural synthesis among the people :

There has been a phenomenal growth of a cosmopolitan culture in Deccan from the early decade of 14th century. In addition to this, it has been the cradle of peace and harmony under various regimes. The cultural florescence touched dizzy heights at various points of time. This synthesis could be noticed visibly during the Bahmani, Adil Shahi, Qutb Shahi⁴ and Asafia period. The sultans of said dynasties had opened the corridor of power for their subjects irrespective of caste, creed and religion. Men of calibre were given preference and assigned important jobs. Merit was the criteria for

all purposes. That is why, many slaves rose from ashes by reason of their abilities, eventhough, formerly they held inferior position in the society. Even many orthodox Brahmins were employed in administration and their skill and knowledge of astronomy⁵ was recognised wholeheartedly. It is interesting to note that Feroz Shah Bahmani (1397-1422 A.D.) used to hold discussions with Brahman Pandits⁶. It means that he valued their opinion and gained insight about vedic Dharma. In course of mutual dialogues, he appeared to have accumulated a good amount of knowledge about epic, shastras and tenets of religion. His thirst for knowledge, quest for truth burned in him like a spark. As a result of his flair for learning, he made a through study of vedas and wrote explanatory-notes⁷ on them. Further he entered into matrimonial relationship with Hindu women and thus upheld the flag of secularism and identified himself with indigenous people. With this policy, he earned the love and allegiance of the man of the Street. In this way, he produced his true follower in the shape of Akbar, the great who practised the same beliefs and principles in his empire. By and large Akbar's tolerance and universal outlook was a letter of reminder about the good days of Feroz Shah⁸. This credit goes to the soil of Deccan which inspired a northern Moghal emperor and enlarged the canvas of his life. Thus, the unique contribution of Deccan in the field of national integration has been significant in the annals of medieval History.

It is surprising to find a beautiful resemblance in the manners and dress style during the reign of Ibrahim Qutb Shah (1553-1580 A.D.) Hindus and Muslims wore cap and a long coat. It appears that women wore Saris and covered their heads during walks on the road. Among them, some wore long bodice to cover their novel⁹. This close similarity was another feather in the cap of secularism. It is not unreasonable to suppose that a congenial atmosphere might have prevailed in the society. In addition to this, people might have cooperated each other in all respects. It must be noted here that at this point there was a cordial relationship between Vijayanagar and Golconda and this exercised a soothing effect on

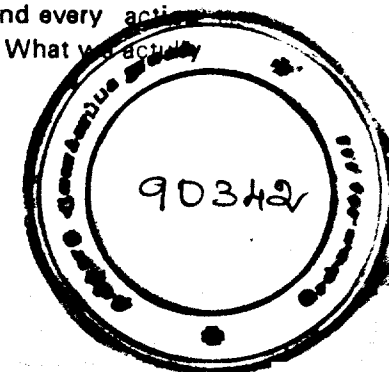
Itihas-XI, 1

people's sentiments and increased further the tempo of unity and cultural polarisation. It was gratifying to note that when every thing was calm and quite here, most parts of northern India were soaked with blood due to invasions and wars.

Adil Shahi rulers set good precedents in administrative services. They used to attach a lot of respect to their Hindu Officers. In this regard, we would cite an example to justify our stand. They have chronicled "Shaji" as "Farzand"¹⁰ and "Maharaj" in the records and this demonstrates the enlightened character of the rulers towards their subjects without communal bias. In fact, they gave top priority to the well being of people and the efficiency of their administration. To achieve these ends they contributed richly. It speaks volumes about their line of thinking and explodes the myth of misrule and alienation of local elements in the management. To elucidate our view, we would further mention that 119¹¹ Shahi Mahals were looked after mostly by non-muslims. Of late, a new trend has cropped up in the intellectual circles. Some neo-scholars endeavour to depict the Muslim regin in gloomy colour and expose it as the period of religious intolerance. They usually base their views on conjectures and draw conclusions. But here the picture is crystal clear. It need not require any hypothesis. There is overwhelming evidence to prove that people not only enjoyed complete freedom of conscience but obtained copious aid for temple¹² from the respective kings during the Adil Shahi reign. Eventhough Islam gives green signal to its followers to take meat of certain animals without any curbs. But it is interesting to note that in order to uphold the traditions and acquiesce the passions of the people. Even Adil Shah (1557 A.D. - 1580 A.D.) had instructed Mansab Khan, the Chief of the Kitchen to avoid the killing¹³ of animals, because it would hurt the feelings of other people. A unique gesture of goodwill towards the subjects constitutes memorable chapter in medieval history. It is erroneous to apply communal complexion to the political differences of some sovereigns of both communities. Each and every action cannot be attributed to the religious consideration. What was actually

1983

A
V216: 884n N83
N83



witness in the reign of Adil Shahis disproves the base-less allegations of persecution of Hindus at the hands of Muslims. On the other hand, it must be noted that non-muslims enjoyed full protection and led a peaceful life. To illustrate this, we would mention one instance of impartial behaviour of the ruler towards his subjects. It is said that during the reign of Mohammed Adil (1626-1656 AD), some Banias started emigration from Bijapur because of their humiliation by a sweeper at the entrance of the gate. When the king came to know about this incident, he ordered the construction of a separate gate of entrance for them to accord convenience and instructions were given to the sweeper to use the old gate. Fortunately, it is still there and is called the "Badeshah¹⁴ Darwaza." Such was the attitude of the rulers in medieval times. They had enshrined the ideals of service and incorporated it in practical life. Hence, It may not be unreasonable to say that the Adil Shahis revived the rosy days of Caliph Harun-Al-Rashid¹⁵ who also served people without any reservations. Besides, they can be called the architects of nationalism who sowed its seeds in the lands of Deccan which emerged later on in the concept of Maratha Supremacy and ultimately stimulated the songs of martyrs of 1857 for liberation.

Quli Qutb Shah (5-5-1580-11-1-1612 A.D.) occupied an eminent place among all Sultans of Deccan. He patronised men of talents, poets, philosophers and writers. The lustre and splendour of his time was the reminiscent of Shah Jahan's reign. His period undoubtedly constitutes a golden era of flourishing. It sounds loud; but in the light of evidence, we can say, without hesitation that under his reign, no individual felt a sense of isolation from the mainstream. He never interfered with the religion¹⁶ of others. All sections of the society were involved in the process of work who ultimately glorified his regime. Qutb Shah's legendary romance with Bhagmati and the foundation of a new town in her memory is a well-known tradition and it requires no further elaboration. In this period, Hindu-Muslim amelioration excelled all barriers and reached culmination. They joined to celebrate Muharram with a deep sense

of reverence. The earlier ten¹⁷ days of this tragic month were considered holy by Hindus as well as Muslims. This unity can be seen today in villages where Alams¹⁸ are installed ceremoniously by non-muslims with great devotion. It reflects the glorious tradition of respect towards each other's beliefs and institutions. Muslim saints and their shrines are the source of mental and spiritual solace for the members of both communities. These spots have become pilgrim centres. Hundreds of people both men and women of all age groups flock around it from different parts of the country and pray for children, health, prosperity and long life. The influx of the crowds can be seen today at the Mausoleums of Yousf brothers (Nampally) Meer Momin (Sultan Shahi) and Jahangir Peeran etc.

Though many Deccan rulers were Shias, but they gave ample freedom to the Sunnis¹⁹ to practise their faith and traditions. The first Shia Khutba was introduced for the first time at Bijapur in 1504²⁰ A.D. Quli Qutb Shah even replaced the three Caliphs²¹ and introduced the names of twelve Imams²². The Quliyat of Qutb Shah is one of the richest classic of medieval times. Most of the poems are excellent in literary flavour. It captures our imagination and projects multisplendoured shades of contemporary events. It gives us valuable source material and help us in constructing history. We get a lot of information about social, religious and cultural conditions of his age. Besides, it speaks profusely about Sultans' own temperament and secular tendencies. In this way, when we study his poetry we come across a couple of verses which shed light on festivals such as Besant, Nouruz²³ etc. We quote here a verse about spring festival to illustrate our point of view.²⁴

بست کھلیں عشق کی آبیاری
تمہیں میں چاند میں ہوں جوں تارا
جو بن کے حوض خانے رنگ من بہر
سو رما روم جو کیاں لائے دھارا

*Oh-my beloved, come let us play spring festival
 You are a moon and I am like a star
 To fill the fountains of breasts with colour
 They have brought plates of fragrance and colours.*

Basant is essentially a Hindu festival of spring. But here it seemed that the Sultan relished it with great enthusiasm. There was no discrimination between Hindu and Muslim festivals. It spotlights perfect harmony among different schools of thought. It must be noted that the same liberal approach was adopted even in the field of medicine. Ayurvedic²⁵ and Unani system continued side by side to cater the need and taste of different sections of the people. The same policy of live and let live has been the hallmark of successive Asafia regime. It left no stone unturned in the well-being of their subjects. It must be noticed that the Asafia rulers embodied the best traditions of their predecessors. They received non-muslims with open arms and showered boons on them. Hindus were employed in various branches of administration. Most of them occupied key position in revenue, trade and business. Raja Pratap-want²⁶ achieved the most prestigious post of the Prime Minister. Maharaja Kishan Parshad was the popular Prime Minister who endeared himself with all people and earned their admiration. Moreover, there was a galaxy of Hindu Jagirdars and Maqtadars in various parts of the regime. It is worthwhile to note that the seventh Nizam led a very simple life. He wore patched²⁷ clothes, ate simple diet and thus ended himself with the common people scattered over in the streets, choupal, fields and bazars.

Conclusion :

From the study of the above subject, the following facts emerge out :

1. The rulers of Deccan had not commissioned coercive methods for changing the ancestral faith of the people.

2. Though the Muslims commanded the seat of power in Deccan for more than five hundred years, but despite of it they remained in minority and it reflects the fact that they had not planted the roots of conversion.
3. Eventhough there had been repeated wars between the Vijayanagar and Bahmani Kingdoms which resulted in the battle of Talikota in 1565 A.D. But a detailed examination of the contemporary documents brings forth the fact that those events never affected the congenial atmosphere of peoples' unity within the parts of dominions. In the wake of this, the rulers also did not repeal the secular policy and teased people on the basis of religion. On the other hand, they strengthened the rank and file of the respective communities.

In the light of the above events, it may not be unreasonable to believe that the social, cultural and religious conditions were better in medieval Deccan.

Acknowledgement

The author expresses his sincere thanks to noted historian K. S. Lal, Professor and Head of the department of History, Hyderabad Central University, Andhra Pradesh, for his kind guidance in preparing the paper.

REFERENCES AND NOTES

1. Ashirabadi Lal Srivasta,, The Moghul Empire (2526-1803 AD) P. 181. Published by Shivalal Agrawala and Company (Pt) Ltd., 1964.
2. Dr. R. P. Tripathi. Rise and fall of the Moghul Empire P. 285.
3. K.A. Nilakanta Shastri. Advanced History of India P. 411. Allied Publishers, Bombay. 1970.
4. Rama Raju - Moharram Folk songs in Telugu P. 529. An unpublished thesis.

5. H. K. Sherwani - History of the Qutub Shahi dynasty. P. 322. Published at Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd., In January, New Delhi 1974.
6. Ferishta - Gulshani-Ibrahim (Persian) P. 307. part III. Translation by Briggs, Calcutta.
7. Kafi Khan - Muntakab-Ul-Lubab P. 50, Vol. III.
8. Proceedings of the India History Congress. P. 296. Allahabad 1938.
9. Moreland, Relations of Golconda in the early seventeenth Century P. 76 London, 1931.
10. Farmans and Sanads of the Deccan Sultans. PP. 11, 12, 14, 17. Govt. of Hyderabad Publication.
11. Selected Documents of Aurangzebs: reign. P. 233. Govt. of Hyderabad Publication.
12. Proceedings of the Daccan Historians Conference P. 317
13. Tazkirat-Ul-Mulak by Shirazi (Persian Manuscript) p. 77 Asafia Library.
14. S. K. Sinha, I. A. S. Medieval History of the Deccan. P. 98. Vol. II, Published by the Government of Andhra Pradesh 1968. Andhra Pradesh Government Archeological series No. 24.
15. Harun-Al-Rashid (786 AD - 809 AD) was the Abbaside caliph of Baghdad who welcomed all who were learned and skilful in the arts. In this period, visitors came to Baghdad from all over the world, especially learned men, pupils and artists. Indian scholars and mathematicians also came in large numbers to Baghdad. Sanskrit books on medical and other subjects were translated into Arabic. Many Arab students went to Takshashila in North India, Which was great University, especialising in medicine. Obviously, Baghdad was the centre of all these intellectual activities. It was the seat of empire, the centre of beauty, culture and arts where talented, men were respected and facilities were arranged for their growth and flourishing without any discrimination.
16. S. A. Naqvi, Religious Policy of Mohammed Quli Qutub Shah. P. 18 Andhra Pradesh History Congress VI Session, Osmania University, Hyderabad, Published at Dawn Press A.P. 1982.

17. Hadiqatu's Salatin, PP 49-57. It was compiled in the reign of Abdullah Qutb Shah. It has been edited by Syed Ali Asghar Bilgrami. The first part was published in 1350 H, while the whole came out in one volume in 1961.
 18. Alams - Momentoes of martyrs of Karbala, which is made of Copper, Silver, Gold etc. The installation of Alams are still in vogue in Hyderabad, Lucknow and other parts of Northern India. This tradition is observed in the tragic month of Muharram in commemoration of the great sacrifice of Imam Hussain (the grandson of the prophet Mohammad) and his family on the plain of Karbala (a desert in Iraq) at 61H-682 A.D.)
 19. Nilakanta Shastri and G. Srinivasa Chari. Advanced History of India P. 411. Allied Publishers Private Limited. 15 Grahm Road. Ballard Estate. Bombay. 1970.
- Sunnis and Shias sprang up as two major sects of Islam. The genesis of their origin and encounter can be traced in the days of the prophet, Mohammed. After his demise, a dispute arose about the succession in which Abu Bakar, the merchant and associate of the prophet managed to win the seat of Caliphate with Omar's consent, the pillar of support. Ali the cousin and son-in-law of the prophet Mohammad could not succeed in this struggle. Obviously, this victory scored by Abu Bakar caused much resentment among the kith and kin and friends of Ali. They saw a plot behind the facade of this happening and nurtured displeasure towards the ruling camp. Hence from that day onwards the gulf started widening between the followers of Ali and subsequent Caliphs and in course of time their differences reached a point of no return. The followers of Ali were called Shias whereas the Supporters of Abu Bakar were named Sunnis.
- For further details see professor Manrice Harahari, Government and politics of the Middle East. Published by Prentice Hall Inc. Engle Wood Cliffs, Enj. United States of America 1962 "Khilafat Wo-Mullokiat". by Abul Ala Moududi (A Urdu Publication).
20. For further details see Qutbiyah - P: 19-20.
 21. Sadre Jahan Mulla Hussain Tiblisi. Marghubu's Qulub. P. 51-52. The three Caliphs, namely Abu-Bakar (632-634 AD) Omer (634-644 AD) Uthman (644-656 AD) who was a member of the house of Umayya, Ali Ibne Ali Talib (656-661 AD) Succeeded one by one after the death of Mohammed, the Prophet on 8th June, 632 AD. However, the shites acclaim Ali as the only legitimate and direct heir to the prophet and consider the first three Caliphs as usurpers.

For further details see Philip Bambourgh, *Treasure of Islam* Published in Great Britain by Bland Ford Press, Link House, West street Pore Dorset B. Hi 51 LLL. And Abul Ala Modudi "Khilafat Wo Mallukiat" (A Urdu publication).

22. Imams - (descendants of Ali who are called the Ithna Ashariyyah (the twelvers) It is believed by shias that the twelfth Imam Hazrat Mahdi Akharuz Zaman has disappeared after his birth and would appear again at the time of doomsday and launch crusade alongwith Christ against Kafirs (the infidels). For further details see professor Manrice Harahari, *Government and Politics of the Middle East*. Published by Prentice Hall Inc. Engle Wood Cliffs, Enj, United States of America 1962.
23. H.K. Sherwani - *History of the Qutub Shahi Dynasty*. PP 334-335. Published at Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd in January New Delhi. 1974.
24. Dr. Syed Mohiuddin Qadri Zoor, M. A., P. hd., Professor Urdu Osmania University, Quliyata Sultan Mohammed Quli Qutb Shah (988 H. to 1020 H) P. 135 Published by Ibrahimia Masheen Press, Hyderabad Deccan 1940.
25. Prof. H. H. Sherwani, *History of Medieval Deccan (1295-1724 AD)* P. 482 Volm 1. (Mainly Political and Military Aspects) Published under the authority of the Government of Andhra Pradesh 1973.
26. Syed Abid Hasan. *Wether* Hyderabad P. 61.
27. D.F. Karka. *Fabulous Meghul*, P. 53 London 1955.

Itihas-XI, I,

CHRISTIANITY AND INDIANISATION

P.A.S. Jaya Rao

There is a misconception by many in the country that Christianity is a Western religion, but, actually it has originated in the East. Christianity in India is as old as the religion and according to tradition, St. Thomas, one of the twelve disciples of Christ came to the Malabar Coast in 52 A D.

The churches which were built after the arrival of St. Thomas resembled Hindu temples. "When Portuguese arrived in India, they found that the churches in Kerala looked like Hindu temples. Many of the old ones still do, both in elevation and plan: In elevation, because the mass of their naves is dominated by the sanctuary tower, as the temples 'mahamandapas' are by the sikharas; in plan, because both have a diminished sanctuary at the end of a larger antechamber or nave. The Indian Church on becoming Baroque, discarded the Hindu appearance in its elevation but preserved in its plan". (Jose Pereira as quoted by S.P. Gupta and Krishna Lal In *Tourism, Museums and Monuments in India* p. 71).

It was from the time of the Portuguese in India that Christianity in the country began its metamorphic change-a-change that has brought in Westernisation and alienated itself from the local conditions. This was brought about by the Western missionaries as they looked upon everything that is Indian as he then and unsuitable. The Christians gave up their native dress, they adopted foreign tongues and names and the churches were built in Gothic and Byzantine architecture. Any religion, if it has to take deep roots in the soil, has to adopt to local conditions rather than adopt a foreign

culture. Buddhism to survive in India had to adopt itself in later years in the form of Mahayana Buddhism. All this does not mean that there were no attempts to Indianise the Church.

As early as the 17th Century, the Bishops in China were instructed by the Vatican, "Nothing must be imported but the faith". (The Illustrated Weekly of India Dec. 1980). The Vatican Council II in 1959 said that the church must "draw from their native environment and absorb the customs and traditions of their people, their wisdom and learning, their arts and sciences". According to Joseph Cardinal Parecattil, "the church must manifest a sincere disposition to assimilate and adopt all positive values into its art, architecture, liturgy and such other expressions of the faith. Theology should re-formulate its theses, in intelligible native idioms and indigenous philosophical terms. Liturgy should reflect the needs, tasks, tastes, interests, concerns, hopes and aspirations of the worshipping community and be made relevant and meaningful to contemporary man." (Home life, March 1977). At the Eucharistic Congress held in Bombay in 1964, Pope Paul exhorted Christians "to express their faith in truly Indian forms".

The call given by the Vatican council II was taken up in the Catholic Bishops conference of India in January 1977 where Archbishop Lourdswamy said that "we have taken the call to be an authentic local church and realised, to some extent, genuine and deep indigenisation in our liturgy, prayer, religious life, theology, spirituality life-style, art and decoration, music and dance."

The lead in the process of indigenisation or "inculturation" was taken up by some protestant Christians but the protestant churches are still lagging behind the Catholic churches as the latter have now taken up Indianisation whole heartedly. Though the Catholic churches are late starters, yet, they are making a great progress in this direction.

Indian Christian Literature:

Kali Charan Banerjee, a Bangali Christian took active part in the freedom movement. In the first half of the 19th Century, Lal Behari Dey, an ordained Presbyterian minister was demanding equality of status with Europeans. From the 18th Century onwards we find Christian literature developing in regional languages such as Tamil, Marathi, Urdu, Panjabi, Hindi, Telugu etc. Among the outstanding Indian Christian poets and writers, we have Munshi Kedar Nath "Minnat", Rehmat Masih, The Reverend A. P. Newton, Munshi Piyare Lal "Shakir" (the late Meena Kumari's maternal grand father) who have written poems and Bhajans in Urdu, Hindi and Punjabi. Indian missionaries like the Reverends Bihari Lal Rallia Ram, Imaduddin, Tara Chand, Yunus Singh, Talibuddin, I.U. Nasir, Thakur Das, Bishop Chander and Bala Singh Chander made translations of Christian books. (The Illustrated weekly of India - Dec. 1972). There were also some Europeans who contributed for the development of Indology, William Jones, Monier Williams, Max Muller, Paul Deussen, Rene Guenon, Sylvian Levi, Winternitz Berriedale Keith, E.B. Hawell, Heinrich Zimmer. William Carey besides translating the Bible into 36 languages, founded the first news paper in any oriental language "The Samachar Darpan" which made a unique contribution to Bengali literature. Henry Martyn translated the New Testament into Urdu and Persian. There are some well known Malayalam writers and distinguished Sanskrit scholars among Christians in Kerala.

Krishna Rao Sangle composed Marathi lyrics, called Gayanamrit and set to Indian ragas which was published in 1867. He and Vishnupant Karmakar made use of Kirtans and Harikatha Kalakshepams on Christian themes. Narayan Vaman Tilak (1862-1919), another great Marathi poet wrote lyrics on the love of nature, the life of the common people and the service of India. He also made use of Kirtans. Krishna Pillai, a Tamilian Christian contributed much to the Tamil poetry by his two books—Rakshamya Yatrikam (1894) and Rakshamya Manoharm (1898). The Telugu literature was enriched

by Telugu Christian Lyricists like Purushottam Choudhary (1803-1890) who had published a book of verse in 1872, "The Gospel Trumpet". There were also other lyricists who were famous like Pulipaka Jagannadham (1826-1896) Gollapalli Nathaniel (1839-1914) and Madhava Bhaktula David (1863-1918 the writer's grand father). There is Mallela David (1890-) who wrote a Telugu hymn on Christian patriotism to sacrifice one's wealth and life for the protection of mother India. Gurram Joshua was famous for his boon "Gabbilam". In November 1981, the first Telugu Christian L.P. disc was released and the lyricists are Dr. A. B. Masilamani, Rev. Dass Babu, Rev. R.R.K. Murthy Dr. D. Franz Joshua, Rev. G. Samuel and Mr. B. John Bilmoria, (Deccan Chronicle, Nov. 28, 1981).

Indian Christian Theology :

The present pattern of theological education in theological colleges and seminaries is purely western and unless this is changed, Indian Christian theology cannot develop. The way was shown by V. Chakkarai and P. Chenchiah who worked out an Indian Christian theology by combining Hindu and Christian ideas. They also opposed to the influence and dominance of the West. They published a book in 1938, "Rethinking Christianity in India". V. Chakkarai wrote a book "Jesus the Avatar (1932).

According to Bhakti/strain of Hinduism, God takes human form (avatara) and comes down to earth to protect the good and punish the wicked. (Gita IV. 7. 8.) V. Chakkarai, Sadhu Sunder Singh and Bishop Appasamy who were of the bhakti strand of Indian thought accept Jesus as an avatara. This term avatara is also often used in hymns and Carols. According to Chakkarai, in Jesus, the avatara, the unmanifest (avyakta) God becomes manifest and we can come to know him through the way of bhakti. Jesus is sat Purusa in whom maya is cast aside.

Brahmabhandhava Upadhyaya and Swami Abhishiktananda whose affinities lie with advaita vedanta reject this theory on the

Itihas-XI, 1,

ground there are many avatars in Hinduism. The theologians of gnana marga criticised the use of avatara as God who becomes Incarnate-Isvara, the personal God of bhakti is on a lower level than the unmanifest God-Nirguna Brahman.

Keshava Chandra Sen (1838-1884) was the first Indian thinker who gave an Indian interpretation of the Logos Christology. He draws a similarity between the Trinity of Father, son and Holy spirit and the supreme Brahman of the Veda of Sat, Cit and Anand (being, intelligence and bliss or Saccidananda). Brahmabandhava later wrote a hymn

The transcendent image of Brahman,
Blossomed and mirrored in the full-to-overflowing Eternal
intelligence.

Indian Missionary Societies :

In the early part of this Century, Christians who had national self-consciousness like V. S. Azariah (1874-1945), K. T. Paul and V. Santiago tried to set up Indian Missionary Societies run on Indian money and manned by Indians. Indian Missionary Society of tinnevely was established in 1903 and the National Missionary Society (Bharat Christya Sevak Samaj) at Serampore in 1905. In recent times, the churches have become independent of foreign aid and stand on their own.

Ashrams and Yoga :

"The Ashram, if led by right kind of people, is full of great possibilities for creating a really Christian indigenous atmosphere, for practising different modes of Christian service in purely Indian ways" (Empty shoes p. 78). There were some conferences of Indian Christians before 1914 to discuss Christian faith in the context of Indian culture and a form which Indian Christianity ought to

1983

follow. One of the ideas put forward in these conferences was to make use of the ancient Indian ashram. K.T. Paul questioned as early as 1912 whether the ashram could not be adopted to Christian purpose? Christukula Ashram at Tirupattur was established in 1921, Christu Seva Sangh at Poona in 1921 and Christa Prema Seva Sangh at Poona in 1934. The Rt. Rev. P. Solomon, Retired Bishop of CSI has established Dhyan Ashram in Paloncha in Andhra Pradesh. The Church of South India is coming with the idea to adopt Yoga system. (Report on the Church of South India after Thirty years 1978). The report also suggests observing silence and meditation. There were also opinions expressed for simplification in missionary methods. Sadhu Sundar Singh attracted many by his wandering life of simplicity.

Indian form of worship :

Hymns set to Indian ragas must be developed and the Church must do the following. Indian Music must be taught to Christian students in schools run by them. The theology students must be trained in Indian music by competent instructors. It should encourage the use of Indian musical instruments. Bhajans and Kirtans may be practised. The village Christians love their bhajans, Kirtans, songs and dances. Burrakathas and Harikatha Kalakshepams may be made use of extensively.

"The traditional terms - Bishop, Presbyter and Deacon are imported from the West which do not fit into the context of a highly stratified society. Worship which is foreign to India is sterile rather than creative". (The significance of South India - Michael Hollis, Retired Moderator of C.S.I.) The Report on the CSI recommended that the congregation may be called Sangham, the diocese Mandala Sabha, the C S I Dakshina India Thiru Sabha, the Presbyters Sangha Sevaks, the Bishops Sabha Sevaks and the Moderator Prathana Sevak.

Changes took place in the Catholic Churches in India after the Vatican Council II. The Mass is said in regional languages and not in Latin. The Church is encouraging laity to participate and be part of the services. It has substituted Genuflection with Anjali-hasta. There is reading of Hindu scriptures at holy mass, using Chapathis for communion and squatting on the floor, Aarti is offered. There is the use of the word 'Om'. A controversy arose in Tamil Nadu over the use of Om. One section of Christians felt that the word refers to the Almighty without any religious label. Another section felt that it Connotes the Hindu God. (The Hindu, Jan 22, 1982). The garments of the priests and the Bishops, have been simplified with the Bishops wearing only a simple cassock, and a silver ring with an inscription of papal blessings. (The Indian Express, Feb 8, 1976).

Father Gyan Prakash has set up Gyan Ashram and is trying to express Christian themes through Indian dance. Though a German, he adopted to Indian way of life, adopted an Indian name and wears Indian dress. There is another priest, Father Francis Barboza who preaches the gospel through dance in Bharth Natyam style. (Femina 1981—1982). It is of interest to note how foreigners were attracted to Indian culture. Robert De Nodili (1577—1656), an Italian and founder of the Madurai Mission built his Church in Indian style and he became a brahmin sanyasi, wearing a jandhya, abstained from meat and only one meal a day cooked by a brahmin cook. He gave up the comforts and led an extremely simple life, which made him popular with the Brahmins. He allowed the new converts to retain the tufts of hair, jandhya and the bottu on the foreheads. Celebration of Pongal was encouraged. He was also a linguist and a scholar in Tamil, Telugu, Sanskrit, Indian, Portuguese and Latin. He wrote treatises in Tamil and Telugu and could quote from Manu, the Puranas and Apastamba Sutras.

Experiments have been made by the churches with Christian jatras and harvest festival and to adopt festival like Pongal or Dasara.

Art and Architecture :

In the past the Christmas greeting Cards showed show, holy, reindeer which are foreign to us. Now there is a perceptible change and a movement is started by Christian and non-Christian artists to fuse Christian themes with Indian art. Among the non-Christian artists the outstanding are Jamine Roy, Nandalal Bose and K.C.S. Pannikar and Christian artists are Angelo de Fonseca, Frank Wesley, Masoji, Sister Claire, Sister Genevieve, J.P. Gonslawes, Francis D'Sa, Jyothi Shahi etc. Art India, Poona are now bringing out Christian themes in Indian art done by Christian and non-Christian artists.

The Church buildings are built in Gothic style which belonged to Europe in the Middle Ages from 12th Century to 15th Century. Why cannot we have Churches built in Indian Style? The magnificent Medak Cathedral (1924) is built in Gothic style. The Church of the National Catechetical Biblical and Liturgical Centre, Bangalore is constructed in Indian style. Also the Dornakal Cathedral (1915-38) is built with a mixture of Dravidian and Sarcenic architecture. Its Dravidian pillars bear capitals of Hindu origin "showing a drooping conical bud from the self-propagating banana tree issuing out of an open flower of the datura, or deadly nightshade". (Azariah of Dornakal by Carol Graham). On these are inscribed the cross and the Lotus the Indian symbol of divinity. The twin towers have Sarcenic domes.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Boyd, Robin—Kristadvaita—A Theology for India C.L.S. Madras 1977.
2. Christianity in India—CBCI Commission for Evangelisation 1981.
3. Empty Shoes — The National Council Protestant Episcopal Church, New York 1956.

Itihas-XI, 1,

4. Firth, C.B. — An Introduction to Indian Church History, C.L.S., Madras 1960.
5. Gierth, Roland—Christain Life and work in South India C.L.S., Madras 1977.
6. Graham, Carol—Azariah of Dornakal C.L.S. Madras 1972.
7. Gupta S.P. & Krishna Lal — Tourist Museums and Monuments in India.
8. Hollis, Michael—The Significance of South India Lutterworth Press, London 1966.
9. Neill, Stephen—The Story of the Christian Church in India and Pakistan C.L.S., Madras 1972.
10. Report on the Church of South India after Thirty years C.L.S., Madras 1978.
11. Vandana — Gurus, Ashrams and Christians C.L.S. Madras, 1980.

MAGAZINES

1. The Illustrated weekly of India Dec. 24, 1972.
2. Ibid Annual 1972
3. Ibid Dec 26-Jan 1, 1976-77.
4. Ibid Dec 25-31, 1977.
5. Ibid Dec 21-27, 1980.
6. Home Life, March 1977.
7. Femina — Dec 23-Jan 7, 1981-82.

1983

NEWSPAPERS

1. The Indian Express Feb 8, 1976.
2. Ibid May 30, 1976.
3. Deccan Chronicle Nov 28, 1981.
4. The Hindu Jan 22, 1982.

Address :

P.A.S, JAYA RAO
 B-38, F-4,
 Vigyanapuri Colony,
 HYDERABAD-500044.

Itihas-X1, I,

THE TEMPLES AT KUCUMANCHI
(Khammam District)

K. Venkata Chalam

Introduction :

Kucumanchi is a small village located 18 Km. from Khammam, the District head-quarters. It can be reached by bus. Half a furlong away from the village, abutting on the western periphery of the village and in the midst of agricultural fields are located 3 temples of varying sizes and also having different ground plans. It is known from the Inscriptions found in the temples that they were constructed by the Kakatiyas. They are the museum specimens to study the Kakatiyan style of Architecture and Art.

Gopalaswami Temple :

This temple appears to be the earliest of the entire group. It has got garbhagriha, antarala, and the sabhamandapa. The most interesting feature of the sabhamandapa of this temple is that it is provided with 2 entrances, one on the east and the other on the north. The dwarf wall which runs round the sabhamandapa is 2 feet high. It is severely plain. The central 4 pillars of the sabhamandapa are superior in modelling and design when compared the short pillars placed on the dwarf wall on the sabhamandapa. The central pillars consists of asvapadam (base), the shaft, the circular wheel like moulding, the abacus and the bracket. The base is decorated with 2 plain pattikas and there is a recess in between them. On the central facing sides of the base, a rectangular projection is introduced. The shaft has 4 sections, viz. the lower square, octagonal section, central

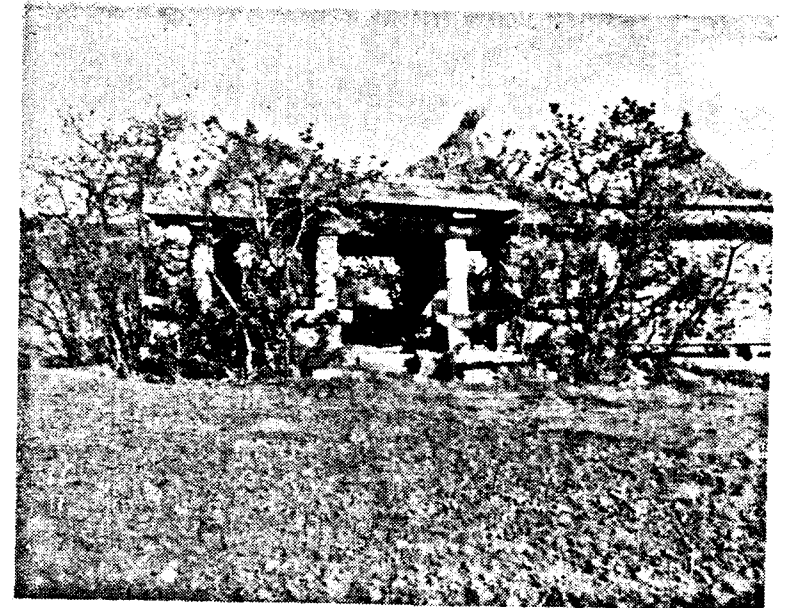
square block and circular slings top at the summit. The entire shaft is devoid of any ornamental designs. The circular wheel like moulding which is on the top of shaft and below the abacus, is very crudely modeled. The abacus has concentric circular mouldings diminishing in size as they descend and a bhalaka on the top. The bracket is of roll and patta type, but sometimes a naga hood is represented on the central facing side.

Except the central ceiling the rest of the sabhamandapa roof is flat. The central ceiling is a tiled one. It is square in shape and the corner slabs are plain. The central slab which covers and the top section of the ceiling is decorated with a geometrical design. It may be mentioned in this connection that there is a short inscription consists of 7 lines, engraved on the shaft of one of the central pillars of sabhamandapa.

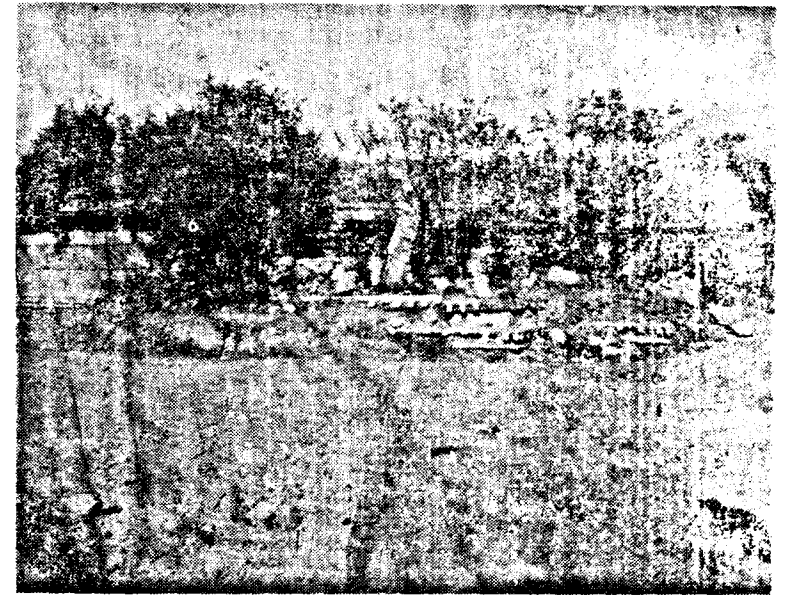
The doorways of the antarala and garbhagriha are of typical Kakatiyan style. On either side of the door jambs there is a wall pilaster which normally provides the required structural stability to the door frame. The Ratnapattika, the ornamental pilaster and a floral scroll are three prominent ornamental mouldings there, are noticed on the door-jambs. At the base of this jambs Dwarapalas are represented. The door step has graduated projections and recesses. The mangalapalaka of the door way lintel is plain. The entire door frame is surmounted by a deeply projecting cornice. The lower edge of it has a series of pendent motifs where as the upper edge of it is adorned with circular, rectangular and triangular elevations. The upper part of the doorway lintel is adorned with 3 big Indo-aryan spire motifs. In between them are inserted Latina type of miniature Nagara spires, canopied by makara toranas.

The doorway of the garbhagriha shorply differs from the doorway of antarala. In the first place, Purnakumbhas are shown at the base of the door jambs. On the outer side of these Purnakumbhas

Itihas-XI, 1.



GOPALASWAMI TEMPLE



MUKTESVARA TEMPLE

General View

are represented female Chauribearers. There is a beautiful representation of the Gajalakshmi on the mangalapalaka of the doorway. It has neither a projecting cornice nor ornamental bands nor a row of miniature spires.

It has no sikhara.

The modelling of the pillars, the plain dwarf walls, and the general design of the garbhagriha doorway generally tempt us to state that this temple represents the early Kakatiyan style of architecture.

Muktesvara Temple :

This temple is situated roughly 130 yards away from the Gopalaswami Temple. The most remarkable feature of this temple is that of its plan. It has a long rectangular sabhamandapa, the roof of which is supported by 30 elegantly designed pillars. The dwarf wall of the sabhamandapa exhibits superior workmanship. It consists of a mahapattaka, vajrabhanda motif and a elingana-pattika the edge of which has prominent semicircular elevations. The sabhamandapa is provided with 3 entrance mandapas. Directly opposite to the 3 entrances and on the southern side of the sabhamandapa are constructed a row of 3 shrines. Each shrine has a garbhagriha and antarala.

This type of plan is seldom observed in the Kakatiyan temple. However, it may be mentioned in this connection that the Paccala-Someswara temple at Panugol, has a very close affinity with the temple which is under our consideration. The Panugol temple, like the present one has a large rectangular hall. On the western side of the rectangular hall are arranged 3 shrines. But on the eastern side of the hall, directly opposite to the northern most shrine, another shrine is arranged. Thus we have got in the Panugol example 4 shrines arranged on either side of the sabhamandapa. If we eliminate the eastern shrine, the Panugol example is very closely akin to the

temple under our study. The Pachchala-someswara temple at Panugal was constructed by the Telugu Chodas of Kanduru. They were originally the sub-ordinates of the later Chalukyas of Kalyana and later on the Kakatiyas of Warangal. It is likely that the Telugu Choda architects might have drawn inspiration from the Kucumanchi temple and thereby added one more shrine with the intention of maintaining newness and novelty.

The temple under our consideration may be styled as a Trikulatalaya. But this differs from the conventional type of the Trikulatalaya. In the latter type, 3 shrines are arranged on the three sides of a common sabhamandapa. But in the present examples all the 3 shrines are arranged in a row one side of the sabhamandapa. It is this type of arrangement that made this temple unique and a class by itself.

The sabhamandapa is a very spacious one. As stated above the flat superstructure of the sabhamandapa is supported by 30 elegantly designed pillars. The four central pillars, located in front of the central shrine are superior in designing and modelling. The central square blocks of these pillars are decorated with a pair of Swans, geometrical patterns and floral designs. The central ceiling also exhibits superior work-manship. The underside of the Prastharas that support the central ceiling are decorated with lotus medallions. The corner slabs of the central ceiling have prominent floral patterns. The central section of the ceiling depicts a full blown lotus with a prominent pendent in the centre.

The doorways of the antarala and garbhagriha are the principal interior features of this temple. The doorjambs of the antarala doorways are provided with Jali work. The perforated stone screen serves both ornamental as well as functional purposes. Functionally they admit sufficient light and air into the interior of the antarala and garbhagriha. The door steps of the antarala doorways are of a foliating type. At the base of the door jambs are found male

dwarapalas. Ornamental pilaster, plain and narrow bands, floral scrolls, deeply projecting cornice and finally a row of miniature nagara spires are found prominently in the antarala doorways.

The garbhagriha doorways are devoid of jali work. Here the number of ornamental bands are more in number. Further lovely modelled Purnakumbhas are carved at the base of the doorjambs. Like the antarala doorways, the garbhagriha doorways are also having deeply projecting cornice and a row of nagara spire motifs on the lintel.

All the three shrines are not having sikharas. The exterior walls are also plain. It is of some interest to note in this connection that the shrines are provided with double roofs. It is only on account of these double roofs, fresh air is admitted freely into the interior of the Garbhagriha and the antarala. That is why in the hottest seasons one cannot feel sultry and suffocation even after entering in to the garbhagriha.

The temple has got a prakara wall which is square on plan. But most of it has been fallen down and it is constructed with huge blocks of well dressed stone.

Ganapesvara Temple :

This is the most inspiring impressive and imposing monument, located roughly three hundred yards away from the Mukhteswara Temple. It is cruciform on plan. The Kakatiyan temple having cruciform ground plans are found at Ghanpur, Palampet, Nagulapadu, Jakaram, etc.

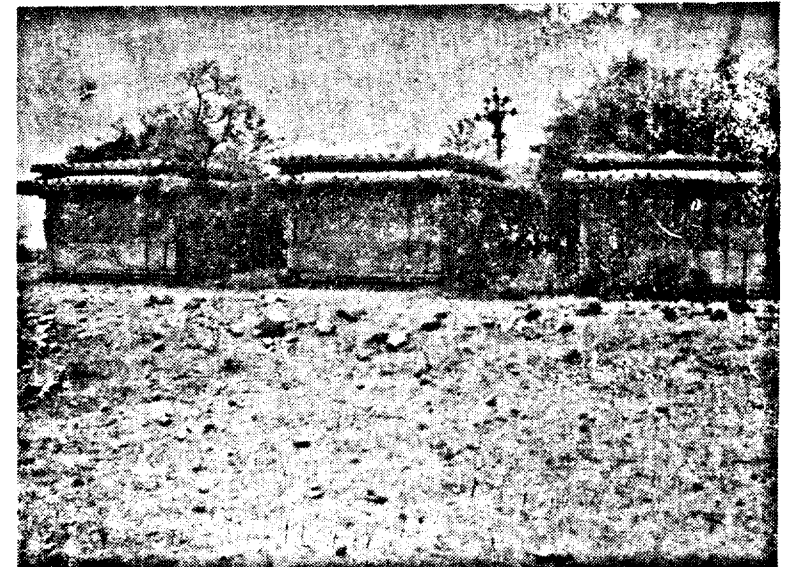
The temple stands on an imposing Upapitha which is 6M 2Cm in height. It has a broad pattika as upana at the base. It is succeeded by kshudrapattikas, antarithas, pattikas, mahapadmas, alpapadmas, tripatta etc. The use of countless mouldings of varying size and shape normally not only increases its depth but also provide an opportunity for the rich inter play light and shade in different seasons. It is

observed that in some cases triangular, rectangular and semicircular elevations are introduced on the upper and lower side of the mahapadms and pattikas. A broad space of roughly eight feet is left on the upapitha, and this serves the purpose open pradakshinapatha. This type of upapithas are also noticed in the other Kakatiyan temples that are found at Palampet, Ghanpur, Hanamkonda, Nagulapadu, Pillamarri, Nagunur and Manthani etc.

It should be noted here that the later Chalkyan and the Hoyasala temples in many a case, are provided with very high upapithas. Percy Brown rightly observes "The typical Hoyasala temple structure stands on a high platform, not rectangular in shape as its sides project or recede being carried parallel to the lines and angles on the building it supports. This platform is much wider and more spacious than appears necessary, thus leaving a broad flat surface or terrace around the temple, but it was ordained for a purpose, for in none of these temples is there an inner pradakshinapatha, and this space provides a suitable substitute for procession or circumbulation." The later Chalukyan and the Hoyasala temples at Halebid, Gadag, Ittagi, Belur, Beluguli, Harnahalli, Sinnar etc., are the best examples where one can notice imposing upapithas. It is likely that the Kakatiyan architects might have followed the later Chalukyan and Hoyasala art traditions while introducing the upapithas in the temples constructed by them.

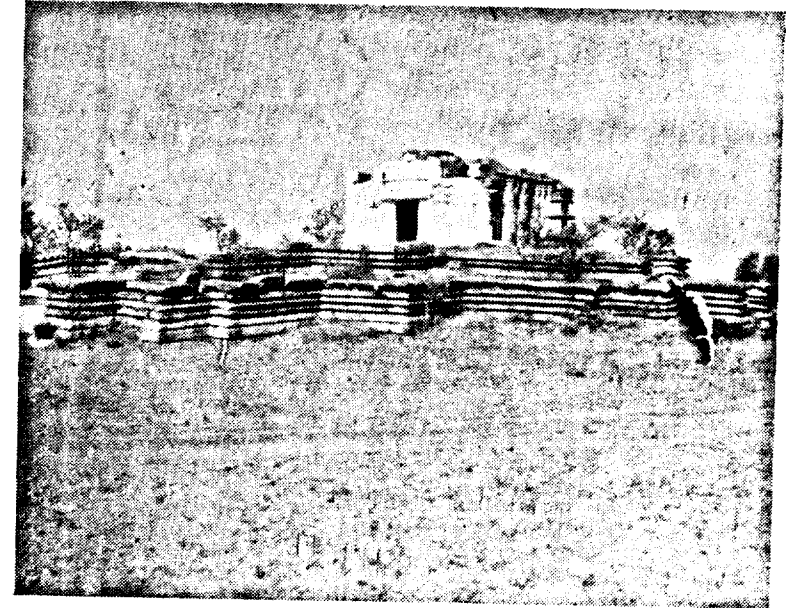
The adhisthana is placed above the upapitha and it is 1M 57cm. in height. Like the upapitha it is also decorated with various architectural and ornamental mouldings. Mahapattika, pattika, mahapadma and tripatta are the prominent mouldings that are found figured in the adhisthana of the main temple at Kucumanchi. One of the pattikas located on the top portion of the adhisthana is adorned with a sculptured frieze depicting elephants and Vylas in various postures and positions, gods, goddesses and female figures. The presence of the upapitha and adhisthana considerably increased not only the height of the temple but also enhanced the elevational architectural loftiness of the temple itself.

Itihas-XI, 1,



MUKTESVARA TEMPLE

View From Rear



GANAPESVARA TEMPLE

Front View

The exterior architectural and artistic treatment of the temple lies mainly with the treatment of the walls. The wall has been broken up into graduated projections and recesses which are strictly in accordance with the projections and recesses of the upapitha and adhisthana. In the salilantarās or in the recesses a long and slender sthambika canopied by a Latin Nagara spire motif is found prominently. Apart from this architectural motif, Dravidian spire models standing on two slender pilasters is also noticed on the surfaces of the projections. These Dravidian spire motifs are of Eka-tala type having domical finials. The most impressive architectural feature of this temple is the introduction of storied niches on the central projection section of the exterior walls. These niches are provided with dwarf walls. They are decorated with rows of elephants and Vyalas. Further the central section of it is occupied by a ornamental niche housing the figure of a god. Every storey of this niches has a cluster of plasters on either side and a projecting cornice on the top. The sides are provided with perforated stone screens. The door ways of these niches are extremely pleasing. These multi-storied niches are surmounted by a domical member with a Kalasa final. On the central facing side of the domical member a prominent Kirtimukha motif is carved.

This is not only the Kakatiyan temple where the multistoried niches are noticed on the exterior walls. The great temple at Palmpet which represents the cream of the Kakatiyan architecture and art also has multi-storied niches on the central projection of the exterior walls.

It is likely that the later Chalukyan architects were the first who employed this device to decorate the exterior walls of the temples constructed by them. The classic example to illustrate this trend is the Chennakesava temple at Gangapur. This temple may be considered as the museum specimen of the later Chalukyan style of architecture and art. Hence we may safely state that the Kakatiyan architects, who were responsible for the construction of the great

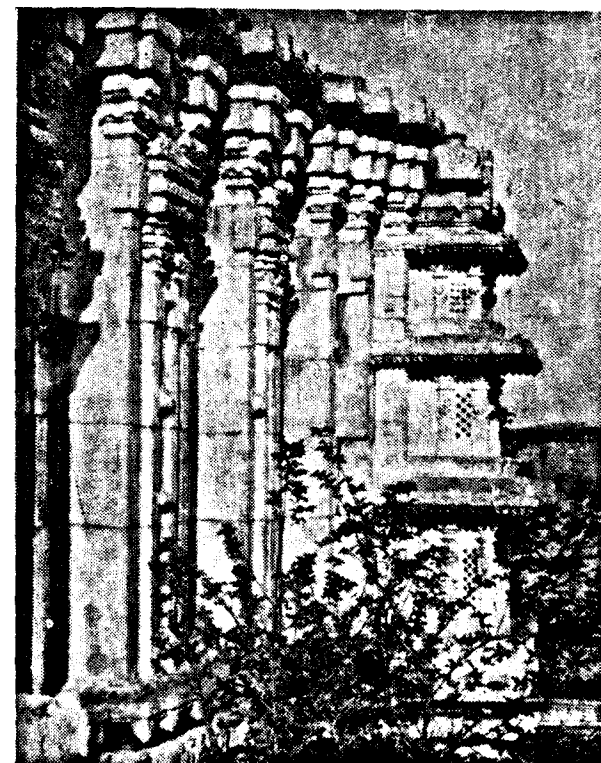
temple at Palmpet and the main temple at Kucumanchi might have been influenced by the later Chalukyan art traditions.

The sikhara of the temple has been completely destroyed. The remnants of the brick structure clearly show that it was originally adorned with a sikhara built with brick and Chunam. The Kapota or the roof which normally marks the dividing line of the prasada wall and the superstructure is of medium size. The upper edge of it has a series of semi-circular elevations. Just below the Kapota and on the top of the wall Varandika mouldings in the form of two horizontal bands are noticed. The foliations of the Varandikabandha are in accordance with the projections and recesses of the wall proper.

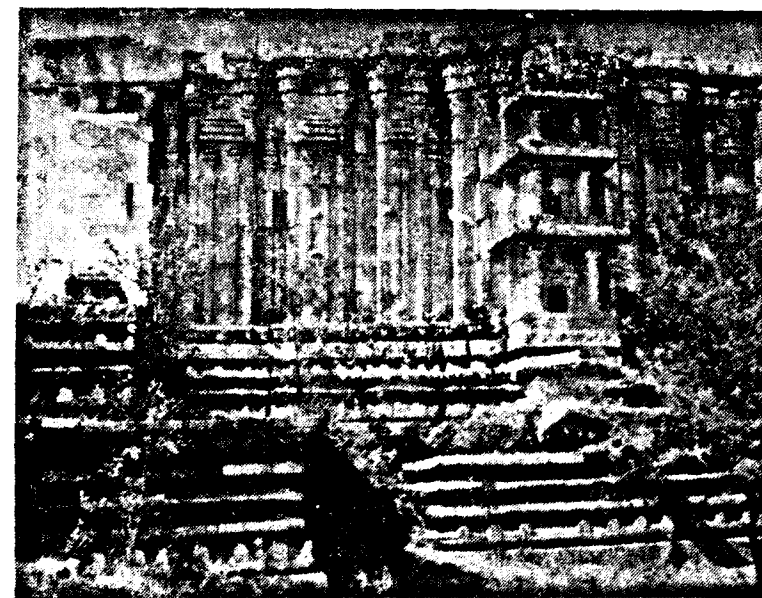
The Mahamandapa situated in front of the antarala appears to be unfinished. But the garbhagriha and the antarala are in a state of tolerable state of preservation. In the recent times the villagers celebrated the festival of God and at that time they have applied a thick coat of white wash to the doorway of the antarala garbhagriha. This act has considerably reduced the antique look of this lofty monument.

The doorways of the antarala and garbhagriha are pleasingly designed. In general design and shape both are very close except in one case. The antarala doorway is provided with perforated stone screens whereas it is not found in the garbhagriha doorway. The principal ornamental mouldings on these doorways are the ornamental pilaster motif, floral scrolls, a row of Vylas and geometrical designs. The mangalaphalaka of the garbhagriha doorway is occupied by the Gajalakshmi motif. Three female figures in different postures are shown at the base on either side of the door jambs of the antarala doorway. But a conventional four handed male dvarapala, planked on either side with two female Chauri-bearers are found on the bottom of the doorjambs of the garbhagriha doorway. Both the doorways have got deeply projecting cornices having foliating edges. The lintel above the doorways has a row of five miniature and big Indo-Aryan ornamental spire motifs.

Itihās-XI, 1



GANAPESVARA TEMPLE
Side View



GANAPESVARA TEMPLE
Rear View

The temples at Kucumanchi give us some interesting information regarding evolution of the Kakatiyan style. This is particularly evident from the pillars, exterior wall treatment and the doorways of the antarala and garbhagriha. By taking the epigraphs and the architectural features of these temples into account we may assign the Kucumanchi group of temples to the 12 to 13th centuries A.D.

INSCRIPTIONS

KUCIMANCHI

Khammam District

This is in Telugu Prose and Sanskrit verse.

Kucimanchi is 18 miles away from Khammam on the road to Suryapet. Half a mile from the village are a few ruined temples one of which by name Ganapatisvara—alaya contains this fragment of Inscription, on a broken slab of stone.

The Telugu portion records the gift of land to the deity Ganda-Gopinatha by Pindiprolu Pina-Maldevvaraju.

The Sanskrit portion records the construction of the temple by a certain.....malla in the name of his father Dharmanatha Svami. The date of the Inscription is Saka 1182 Raudri, Vaisakha, Su, Nagadivasa, Saturday. A certain scholar of the Bharadvaja gotra is referred to but further details are unfortunately lost.

II INSCRIPTION

This fragment of Inscription in Telugu and Sanskrit, prose and Verse, is carved on 2 broken slabs of stone lying in front of the Ganapesvara temple.

It was issued in the reign of Ganapati but the date is lost. A certain Damesvara, a tank of Tailapa-deva, two persons of the

names Badana and Badama are referred to. But since the inscription is damaged it is not possible to give a connected account of the inscription.

Bibliography

1. P. Sreenivasachar, *A Corpus of Inscriptions in the Telingana Districts of H.E.H. Nizam's Dominions* (HAS No. 13) Calcutta 1940.
2. P. Sreenivasachar, *A Corpus of Inscriptions in the Telingana Districts of Andhra Pradesh*. Secunderabad 1956.
3. Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture* (Buddhist and Hindu period) Bombay 1956.
4. M.R.K. Sarma, *Temple of Telingana the Architecture Iconography and sculpture of the Chalukya and Kakatiya temples*, Hyderabad 1972.
5. M. Rama Rao, *Select Kakatiya Temples*, Tirupati, 1966.
6. A. Rea, *Chalukyan Architecture*, Varanasi 1970
7. S.G.K. Murthy, *The sculpture of the Kakatiyas*, Hyderabad 1964.

Papers Consulted

1. Y. Gopala Reddy, *The Kakatiya Temples*, Nagpur University Journal, Vol. XV. No. 2, April 1965, pp. 312 ff.
2. Y. Gopala Reddy, The Exterior Architectural and Artistic Embellishment of the Kakatiyan Temples. *Itihas, Journal of the Andhra Pradesh State Archives*, Vol. VI II, No. 1, pp. 103-137.

TEMPLE IN MEDIEVAL DECCAN

Dr. A. Nagabhushanam

From time immemorial the kings, nobles, merchants and people of the Deccan were devoted to god and showed their religious fervour in the construction of a large number of temples for various deities. They attended the services of gods, made a number of gifts both in kind and cash, performed rituals and festivals and maintained the abodes in a perfect condition. When compared with the Ancient Period, the Medieval Period (1000-1300) was very significant since it saw the construction and repair of many temples throughout the Deccan. It was also an age of religious ferment. The revivalist movements started by Sankara and Ramanuja supplemented by the bhakti cult propagated by the Nayanmars and Alvars in South India along with their compeers in the Deccan exercised profound influence on the people particularly Saivism with its monotheistic character and taught the people to believe in a supreme personal god who took interest in the lives of humanbeings and helped them and exercised greater power over the masses than others. The people believed in the attainment of salvation through regular worship, offerings and service to god. The temple remained not only as a religious institution but also played a vital role in socio-economic, religious and cultural life of the people. It was an unforgettable institution in the history of Medieval Deccan. Its study is based on epigraphs and literature namely Kannada, Sanskrit and Telugu and its services to the cause of the people are vividly described under the following headings : i) Temple Management ii) Temple Staff and iii) Functions of the temple.

i). Temple management :

Four categories of officials looked after the management of the temple affairs. The Chief Priest, known as *Sthanapati* was

incharge of the temple administration. He was assisted by the officials and servants of the temple in the smooth running of the administration. He supervised the temple affairs, looked after its properties and received endowments made both in kind and cash. A Committee (Parishad) of priests known as *Sthānikas* were the next subordinate officials to the Sthanapati¹. An Inscription dated 1304 A. D. mentions that the Committee (Parishad) of the priest of the temple of Ulugōda Narasimhadēva of Sirāli helped the Sthānapati in the administration of the temple.² The superintendents known as *Adhīśvaras* also assisted the Chief Priest. They supervised the work of the temple servants and informed their negligence and failure in duty to the Sathānapati. They were delegated by the Sathānapati a certain amount of power of expelling the servants from service if they were not found devout and punctual in their duties. For instance the *Ādhīśvaras* of temple expelled the Goravas (servants) from their services when they were found guilty in their duties, the Devadasis (dancing women) who were absent for three days for the service of the god, and students who neglected their studies.³ The *Perggade* was the Executive Officer who assisted the Chief Priest in the management of the temple properties which comprised mostly of gifts of various kinds such as land, cattle, houses, oil, oil mills, shops, betel leaves, betelnuts, grain, money and the like made by the kings, nobles, merchants and common people.⁴ He was also incharge of Bhandāra i.e. treasure and store house.⁵

ii) Temple staff:

The temple, being an employer during this period appointed a large number of people to look after its daily routine. Though no exhaustive list of the temple servants is given in any inscriptions, several members of the temple staff are mentioned in some of the inscriptions. The temple of the god Akkesvara at Sūdi had as many as 1000 persons (*Sāsirvaru*) of whom the following categories of temple servants were specially mentioned: *Pādamūla*—*Parivara* (general servants), flute player (*Avamsiga*), public dancing girls

(*Sūle*), Maniyager (*Perggade*), ravalavala and bariyaravalavala.⁶ The temple of Kandarpesvara and Kesavadeva had *Patrapavulas*, *bantaru* and *Kavileyagove*.⁷ The temple of the god Dakshina Somesvaradeva at Tumbula has *pujaris*, servants (*Pārekararu*), dancers (*Pātra*), songsters (*pāduvāru*), garland makers (*mālagaru*), potters (*kumbhāraru*) and door keepers (*padiyaru*).⁸ The temple of Avvesvara according to Kharepatan plates of Silahara Rattaraja, had female attendants (*dārika kutumvam*), oil men (*tailaka kutumvam*), and washermen (*rajaka kutumvam*) attached to it, while instance of permanent artists, drummers *pauranika* and *upadhyayas*, *devadasis*, barbers and even stone-cutters are too numerous to cite.⁹ The above servants, collectively referred to as *Sthānikas* and *Devarabhattachariyogas*, are mentioned in an inscription dated 1290 A. D. at the temple of Tripurantakesvara at Tripurantakam in the Kurnool District.¹⁰

Though seventy two classes of servants are not enumerated collectively in any of the epigraphs or literature, a few of the important groups are mentioned which are described below.

- a) Sthanikas b) Pauranika and Upadhyaya c) Artists
- d) Artisans and others.

A) Sthanikas (Pujaris): The Sthanikas washed the idols, offered worship and organised celebrations of the *Pakshotsava*, *masotsava*, *brahmotsava*, *rathotsava* and other festivals.¹¹ They arranged food to the ascetics, students, engaged in the study of Kannada and their teachers, repaired and renovated the temple and distributed clothes to the employees.¹²

B) Pauranika (Puranabhattachari): The Pauranika recited the Puranas every day at the temple. Upadhyaya (teacher) taught the Khandikas of the Rig Veda or the Yajur Veda and Sastras and Commentator (*Vyakhyana*—*Upadhyaya*) taught commentaries. The above were attached to the schools run by the charities of the temple.¹³

C) Artists: Music and dance formed part of the service in the temple. It had a *natyasala* of *nataka* sale or *nritta-madira* (dancing

hall) in which dancers (Patra) and songsters (Pāduvāru) were trained by the dancing master to dance and sing before the god.¹⁴ The flute player, pipers, drummers and other artists proficient in playing, on the musical instruments also performed their respective duties at the specified hours in the functions and festivals of the temple.¹⁵

D) Artisans and others : The Panchanāḍavāru were the five artisan classes namely the goldsmiths, braziers, blacksmiths, stone-cutters and carpenters. The goldsmith prepared gold ornaments to the god. The brazier supplied images of metal used in the processional festivals of the deity. The blacksmith prepared the iron articles required for the temple. The Stone-cutters cut the stone and supplied it for the construction and repair of the temple. The carpenter prepared wooden articles and supplied them to the temple.

Beside the above important groups of staff, the following were also members of the temple staff who discharged their duties in accordance with the rules imposed by the Chief Priest. The cowherd tended the cattle and supplied milk and ghee. The garland makers, oilmen and weavers (Dēvara Kottaligal) supplied flowers, oil, pots and clothes.¹⁶ Several servants were also employed in the miscellaneous services such as sweeping the temple premises, providing water for the bath of the god, for cooking purposes required in the temple kitchen and lighting the lamps and carrying the images of the deity within the temple precincts during the daily festivals. The soldiers (Bantaru) and door keepers (Padiyaru) protected the temple and its properties. The exact functions of Ravalavala and Baliyaravalavala are not known.

Temple paid salaries both in cash and kind to its employees. A preceptor of the temple of Somesvara who studied Sri-Rudra and other portions of the Vedas and worshiped the god in the temple at the three junctures of the day was paid six gadyānās (a gold coin) annually. Two servants (paricharaka) of the same temple were paid three gadyānās each and a bhatta who recited the Sivadharmā-Purana in the presence of the god was paid four gadyanas annually.¹⁷ For

the maintenance of a watershed a certain temple maintained ten servants and paid one gadyana to each of the servants for every three months.¹⁸ A female Brahmin cook who prepared food in the satra at Telasanga was paid one hāga (a coin).¹⁹

While the above examples refer to the payment of salaries in cash the following examples show the making of land grants to a few employees. For instance the servants of the temples of Kandar-pesvara and Kesavadeva received the land for their services rendered to the god.

- 1) Pātrapavula (actors) : 200 Mattars at Asatigolla
- 2) Naisthika who lived
a bachelor's life : 6 Mattars
- 3) Two Bantas (soldiers) : 24 Mattars
(to guard the temple)
- 4) A Cowherd maintaining a tawny
cow for the god's use : 6 Mattars
- 5) To Masanōja (for ringing a bell
at the time of the incense burning
ceremony before the god : 60 Mattars.²⁰

In the Ummachige agrahara, the temple servants received grants of land mentioned against their names.

- 1) The barbers received : 8 Mattars of land and one
house site
- 2) The potters received : 6 Mattars of land and one house
site for the supply of vessels.
- 3) The drummers received : 12 Mattars of land and one
house site.²¹

Similarly the temple servants in the Nagai (Nagavavi) agrahara received the following land-grants.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1) The expounder of Bhattadarsana | : 30 Mattars |
| 2) The expounder of Nyasa | : 30 Mattars |
| 3) The expounder of Prabhakara | : 45 Mattars |
| 4) The Librarian | : 30 Mattars |
| 5) The striker of horns | : 30 Mattars |
| 6) The Pujaris | : 45 Mattars |
| 7) The cook who cooked for the offerings only | : 9 Mattars |
| 8) The time-keepers (Ghatiyars) of the guard (kapu) | : 45 Mattars |
| 9) The Songstresses | : 80 Mattars |
| 10) The drummers | : 4 Mattars |
| 11) The members of the singing party | : 60 Mattars |
| 12) Two actresses who performed the entertainment
(of the god) | : 40 Mattars |
| 13) Four dancing girls (i. e. that carried the sceptre—
staffs (Kambha) | : 36 Mattars |
| 14) The person who whitewashed the temple structure ; | |
| | 12 Mattars in the
halingalu field. ²³ |

Mattar is a measurement of land. Different opinions have been given regarding the present equivalent of the Mattar. Dr. A.S. Altekar opines that a Mattar is equal to 5 acres. (a) Fleet and Dr. P. Sreenivasachar believe that a Mattar is equal to 1100 Kammas of Land which yields two Khandikas of paddy and 30 dandas or poles respectively. (b). But according to an inscription of the period a Mattar is equal to 900 kammas and another record mentions that it is equal to 76 rods. (c) From a commentary on B asava's Vachanas it is equal to 9 acres. (d) Hence it is evident that the present equivalent of the Mattar varied from place to place.

iii) Functions of the temple :

Temple was the nucleus in the socio—economic religious and cultural life of the people in the royal capital, town and village. Its functions as a recipient of land, as an educational institution, as a charitable institution etc., were manifold and they are described in the following lines.

As the temple received gifts of lands made by the kings, nobles and common people, it had a large landed property. The gifts of land were made in common to two or three temples.²⁴ Not only lands but also villages were donated to the temples.²⁵ For the purpose of worship the temple was granted flower gardens.²⁶

The temple or temples gave lands on lease to the tenants for cultivation. A record dated A. D. 1272 mentions that the temple lands were given to 12 tenants on lease. It also mentions the conditions under which the lands were leased out. The tenants were freed from the forced labour (Bitti-solla) and also exempted from the payment of taxes on houses which they occupied to the north of the Panchakesvara temple. They were to cultivate and raise any crops on the land measuring 36 *salages* and remit for six years from Tarana Samvatsara at the rates of 32 gadyanas and two Pons (a gold coin) and from Sarvajit samvatsara at the rate of 54 gadyanas, which were to be used for carrying on worship at the above temple. Another important condition was that if any one of them failed to cultivate his share of land, the rest were to unite and cultivate the lands as *Katiuguttagi*. Further they were forbidden to mortgage, sell or exchange the lands.²⁷

Lighting perpetual lamps in the temples was considered a meritorious act. Therefore, gifts of cattle and oil mills were commonly

(e) Gadyana is a gold coin. It weighs about 100 grains and is equivalent to 10 Panas. According to the physicians it is equivalent to 64 gunjas. It is equivalent to Rs. 14/- of the present day times.

(f) Since Pana, a gold coin, is 1/10th of Gadyana, it is equivalent to Rs. 1-40. 1

(g) Haga is perhaps a copper coin. It is 1/4 of Pana. Hence it is equivalent to paise 0-35 only.

made to temples to supply ghee and oil respectively for feeding the lamps. The cattle so granted formed the herds belonging to the temples and arrangements were made by pious devotees for fodder etc.³⁸ The temple of the god Narasimha was given the right of grazing its cattle in the village of Palasi by the king Kadamba Vishnuchittadeva.³⁹ The temples had hay stacks and herdsmen's stations under their control.⁴⁰ For the purpose of lighting the lamps in a temple an amount of 50 gadyanas was allotted.⁴¹

The temples had oil mills granted by the people to supply oil for the lights of the god. As the number of oil mills granted was large, the mills were leased out to *Telligas* (oil-menglers). The oil mill of the god Akkabhevara was leased out to Kallsetti of Nidgundi.⁴² Some telliga families in Eramparage took the oil mills of the temples on lease.⁴³

Temples had also house property. For instance the temple of the god Dakshina Somesvara of Tumbula had 50 houses.⁴⁴ The other temples in the Deccan held similar house property.⁴⁵ The temple of the god Kalideva in Balguli used to get house rent of two Panas (a gold coin) every year.⁴⁶

As the temple did not require all the goods to be spent for its daily purposes⁴⁷, it used to sell some of the surplus goods in the markets. It also engaged commission agents for selling its goods. It maintained shops in the markets also.⁴⁸ The temple of the god Gopinatha had a splendid shop to the east of Ingaleshwara Agrahara.⁴⁹ As all the articles could not have been in demand in the local market, the temples were obliged to transport them to other places, where they were in demand. For the transport purposes, they maintained carrier bullocks, buffaloes asses and elephants. For example, the three turretted temple in Kurumbetta had 30 bullocks and 20 buffaloes for carrying ivory and rubies.⁵⁰ The temple of Prasannakesava at Hulgūr had 60 oxen and elephants for carrying rubies.⁵¹ The temple of Neminatha in Terdal had 120 oxen, asses she-buffaloes, carts, rafts and boats to carry on land or water all the things including jewels

within the limits of the four oceans.⁵² Sometimes the temples received draught animals as gifts. A bullock was granted by a certain person to be used as conveyance for bringing articles for the worship of the god Jambukesvara.⁵³

Temple maintained educational institutions for imparting education for which grants were made by the people. Imparting of education was considered as a pious and charitable duty of the temple. It appointed a number of teachers and professors and enrolled students and provided them lodging and boarding. The Lenka-1000 who were stated to be the pillars of the Pallava kingdom (Viravataras and Ekankaviras) and ruling over the six towns with the dandanayaka Tikanna as their chief made a grant of 100 mattars of land for the service of the god Nolambēswara and for imparting education.⁵⁴ Chalukya Someswara II granted a village to Sureswara Pandita, disciple of Gangarasi bhattaraka of the *Kalamukha* sect for the service of the god Mallikarjuna and for imparting education.⁵⁵ The grants thus received were utilised for the maintenance of *Ghatikas* (small residential universities) or *Maha-Ghatikasthanas* (great residential universities) or *Sale* (school). A record dated A. D. 1068 refers to a gift made as *Vidyadana* to a certain Narayanadeva and Bhatiyamaniyar (students) of the temple of Someswaradeva and this indicates the existence of a ghatika attached to the above temple.⁵⁶ The temple of Ramesharadeva at Kukkanur in the Kurnool district had maintained a ghatika.⁵⁷ The temple of Nonambēswara at Henjēru in the Anantapur district had a Mahā-Ghatikasthana in the time of Tribhuvanamallideva Chola Maharaja of Nidugal in A. D. 1167.⁵⁸ The temple of Traipurushadeva at Nagavavi had also maintained a Mahā-Ghatikāsthāna.⁵⁹ The Traipurushadeva temple at Erige Agrahara in the Deglur taluq, Nanded district, Maharashtra had run a Sale (school) only.⁶⁰

The Ghatika of the temple of Traipurushadeva at Nagavavi was manned by three Vedic teachers for teaching the Vedas, three Sastra teachers for teaching the Bhattadarsana, Nyaya and Prabhakara and six librarians (*Saraswati Bhanāgārikas*).⁶¹ The above ghatika consisted

of 200 students studying the Vedas and 52 studying Sastras.⁵² The Ghatika of the temple of Rameswara at Nagavavi (Nagai) consisted of 400 students of whom 100 studied Kavisunu (i.e. Sukra), 100 Vyasa (Vyasa Smriti or the literature ascribed to Vyasa including the Puranas) and 100 Manu (i.e. Manu Smriti).⁵³ The *Ghatasri* might be a graduate from a ghatika or a teacher employed therein.⁵⁴ Provision was made for the boarding, clothing (*Achchhadāma*) and lodging of the students and teachers. For example Anantapāla Dandanāyaka made a grant for feeding and clothing of ascetics and religious teachers attached to the ghatika of a temple in Tripurantakam, Kurnool district.⁵⁵ It was also the duty of the temple preceptor to provide food to the students and teachers.⁵⁶

Temple served as a charitable institution. It maintained a *satra* (choultry) and a water shed (Aravattage) and fed Brahmins, Brahmin students, ascetics, travellers and the poor freely.⁵⁷ A record dated A. D. 1115 mentions that two *hagas* were spent every day for the feeding of five Brahmanas in a *satra*.⁵⁸

Along with educational institutions and choultries, a Matha or Mathas were maintained by the temple. They were built as the components of the Siva temples only. They rendered services along with the temples in the upliftment of the poor, destitute and common people. The temple received grants of land for the maintenance of the mathas. The monks of *Pasupata* and *Kalamukha* persuasions were among those dwelt in the mathas. Mahavadibhasakti Pandita, disciple of Viramaheswara Pandita, Sadyojata Pandita of Edeya Matha, Rudrasiva Pandita, Malli Pandita etc., were some of the monks who were the Saiva teachers that lived in the mathas.⁶⁰ Though devoted themselves to study, contemplation and the propagation of the Siva-Dharma, they did not live as recluses without mixing with the people. They ran charitable feeding houses in which the blind, the maimed and destitute were fed freely.⁶¹ They also established hospitals, where the above people were treated freely and medicines were given to them without collecting any fees.⁶² The Rajaguru

Visveswara Sambhu established a *Golakimatha* at Malkapuram in which he arranged medical facilities to the poor. He also established Suddha-Saiva Mathas in A. D. 1261 in the village Mandadam and made a provision for Prasuty-Arogyasale (maternity hospital) where pregnant women were treated with kindness and given medical help.⁶³ The Kodiya Matha was known as a place for the treatment of destitute and sick persons.⁶⁴ The mathas also served as a centre of public meetings. The Entu-hittu, (Eight guilds of people 504, Panchamathasthanas and others met in the Siddheswara Matha and made a gift.⁶⁶ If the monks residing in the mathas did not discharge their duties properly and conducted themselves in an improper fashion, they were punished by the civil authority administering the area. An evidence from a record dated A. D. 1045 shows that Arasa, who was ruling the Nadu acting with the Manneya (Chief), the 12 of Morigeri and the Urōdeya could expel the celebrates of the matha, if they swerved from the path of celibacy or became otherwise obnoxious to the mathas and install others of the same families who would observe the vows correctly.⁶⁷ Thus the services rendered by the mathas in the temples were really marvellous and praiseworthy in the upliftment of the poor.

Temple was a place of public meetings. It was here people gathered to discuss problems of common interest and to make grants. The 50 Mahajanas and others of Bālguli agrahara assembled together in the temple of the god Kalideva and decided to collect grains and salt for the purpose of gainting the same to the temple.⁶⁸ The trade guilds held their *baisanige* (Mahānādu) in the temple of Habbeswara.⁶⁹ All the merchant guilds assembled (Asesha Sabha) together as mahānādu in the temple of the god Kalideva of shepherds to make a gift.⁷⁰

The following were the eight guilds of people commonly known as "Entu-hittu": Goldsmiths, Blacksmiths, Carpenters, Potters, Rope makers, Barbers, Washermen and Shoe makers.

Temple also paid taxes to the government. The temple of Kaliyagavunda had paid six gadyānas as *aruvana* on the land, house-site and an oil mill to the government.¹¹

The temple was patronised generously by the kings, nobles, merchants and common people during this period. But this practice was discontinued in the beginning of 14th century A. D. when the Hindu kingdoms were attacked and occupied by the Muslims. The temple also fell in the hands of the Muslim conquerors along with the Hindu kingdoms. The horror created by the Muslim rulers in the temples cannot be described in a simple tone. They were converted into Masjids and burial grounds, and their jewellery, wealth and landed property were confiscated. After the decline of the Muslim rule in the Deccan, many of the once flourished temples now became the dwelling houses of the beggars.

Sources

E.I.	: Epigraphic Indica
K.I.	: Karnatak Inscriptions
S.I.I.	: South Indian Inscriptions.
A.P.G.A.S.	: Andhra Pradesh Government Archaeological Series
H.A.S.	: Hyderabad Archaeological Series.
A.R.S.I.E.	: Annual Reports on South Indian Epigraphy
J.B.B.R.A.S.	: Journal of Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society
E.C.	: Epigraphia Carnatica
I.A.	: Indian Antiquary
I.N.K.K.	: Inscriptions in Northern Karnataka and Kolhapur

References

1. S.I.I. IX pt. I No. 2; A.R.S.I.E. 1940 BK No. 71; E.I.XIX p. 197
2. K.I. III No. 2
3. E.I. XV pp 80 & 93
4. Ibid, p. 81; S.I.I IX pt I Nos. 273, 276, 297, 349 etc.
5. K.I. II No. 38 of 1941; I.N.K.K. p. 163.
6. E I.XV. p. 81
7. K.I.II No. 16 of 1941
8. S.I.I. IX pt I No. 133.
9. E.I-III p. 296
10. S.I.I. X No. 465.
11. Ibid IX pt I Nos 87 & 133
12. A.P.G.A.S. IX p. 55
13. S.I.I. IX pt I Nos. 175 & 267; S.I.I. XI pt. I No. 117; Ibid Pt. II No 189
14. H.A.S XVIII p. 74; S.I.I. XI pt I No. 78
15. S.I.I. XI Pt II No. 103
16. E.I.V. PP 22-23
17. H.A.S. V PP. 9 to 12;
18. S.I.I. XI Pt. II No. 196 (See original text)
19. KI, II No 21 of 1941.
20. K I. II No 16 of 1941
21. E-I. XX P. 70
22. H.A.S. VIII PP 228 & 36-38.
23. S.I.I. IX Pt. I Nos 273, 275, 276 & 138

24. K.I. II No 16 of 1941; A.R.S.I.E. 1939 Bk No 345; J.B.B.R.A.S. IX P. 286; A.R.S.I.E. 1920 Bk No. 691
25. A.P.G.A.S. IX P. 55
26. H.A.S. V PP. 9—12
27. E.C. IV (ii) Ng 39 P. 351 (text) P. 123 (Translation)
28. A.P.G.A.S. III P. 47; E.I. III P. 305
29. J.B.B.R.A.S. IX P. 286
30. Ibid. X PP. 46 & 238
31. K.I.V. p. 60
32. A.R.S.I.E. 1927 (Supplement) Bk No. 209
33. E.I. XX p. 121
34. S.I.I. IX pt. I Nos 133 & 333
35. S.I.I. IXpt I No 102
36. Ibid No Pt I No. 89
37. I.A. XIV p. 24; K.I. IV p. 118; E. I. XIX p. 30
38. K.I.I No. 30 of 1940; Ibid II No 21 of 1941
39. I.N.K.K. p. 157
40. E.I. XIX p. 30
41. K.I. IV p. 9
42. I.A. XIV P. 24
43. A.R.S.I.E. 1926 Bk No 427
44. S.I.I. IX pt. I No. 104
45. Ibid No. 134
46. A.R.S.I.E. 1915 Bk No. 514
47. A.R.S.I.E. 1936 Bk No. 286

48. E.C. XII Si 23; S.I.I. VI No. 557
49. H.A.S. VIII p. 23
50. S.R. Ritti. Inscriptions from the Nanded District. Translation No. 12 p. 221
51. H.A.S. VIII p. 23
52. Ibid
53. Ibid p. 39
54. A.R.S.I.E. 1915 Bk No. 503
55. A.R.S.I.E. 1915 Bk No. 252; H.A.S. VIII p. 48
56. A.P.G.A.S. IX p. 55.
57. S.I.I. IX pt. I Nos 89, 119, 121, 128; K.I. II No. 12 of 1941
58. Ibid No. 192
59. K.I. IV p. 87; Kadambakula p 465
60. A.R.S.I.E. 1915 No. 522; Ibid 1938 Bk. No. 317; A.R.I.E. 1953 Bk No. 288; A.R.S.I.E. 1919 Bk No. 699.
61. E.I. XX p. 121
62. A.R.S.I.E. 1937 Bk No. 25; E.C. XI DG 74; I.N.K.E. p. 168
63. S.I.I. X No. 395
64. Local Self Government in Ancient India by Mukherji Op. cit. 9. 287
65. Ibid.
66. K. I. V. P. 120
67. S. I. I. IX Pt. I No. 101; E. I. XV pp 80 & 93
68. S. I. I. IX Pt. I. No. 89
69. K. I. I. No. 25 of 1940
70. J. B. B. R. A. S. X p. 258
71. K. I. V No. 6 p. 17.
- a) Indian Culture II p. 429.
- b) I. A. XIX p. 275; J.B.B.R.A.S. XVIII p. 270; Ibid X p. 199

- c) S. I. I. IX Pt I. No. 165 & 276; Ibid XI Pt. I. No. 88
- d) I.N.K.K. pp. 19-20; Cennamallappagalagali, Jayakarnataka Vol. VIII p. 85
- e) Kittel, Kannada - English Dictionary p. 932; A cultural History of Karnataka by A.P. Karmarkar p. 96
- f) Kittel, Kannada - English Dictionary, op. cit. p. 392; C.F. J.B.B.R.A.S. IX P. 257 F.N.
- g) E. I. XIII p. 26; Ibid XIX p. 40.

Dr. A. Nagabushanam, Lecturer in History, Silver Jubilee Govt. College, Karnool.

A VIJAYNAGAR TEMPLE AT SOMAPALEM (CHITTOOR DISTRICT)

S. Sripathi Naidu

Location :-

Sompalem is a small village in the Madanapalle taluk of Chittoor district in Āndhra Pradesh. It is very near Molakalacheruvu railway station on the Pakala-Dharmavaram railway road. The place can be reached by bus either from Madanapalle or from Kadiri. The village contains a beautiful Chennakēsava Temple, assigned to Vijaynagar period. Though it is a protected monument of the Archaeological Survey of India, tourists are warned that no facilities like food and shelter are available here. There is a traveller's bungalow at Mulakalcheruvu. Local tradition has it that the temple was named after its builder Chennappa, a local Chieftain under Achyutaraya of Vijaynagar.

Political History :-

In the History of India in general, and South India in particular, the year 1310 A.D. has great importance. Malik Kafur, the military-general of the Delhi Sultan Ala-ud-din Khilji, invaded south India, defeated Yādavās of Dēvagiri, Hōysālās of Dwārasamudra, Kākatīyās of Warangal and Pāndyas of Madurai. His expedition was supplemented by the demolition of temples and emancipation of Hindus. Tired of the muslim atrocities, the Hindu chiefs planned to unite, a Hindu empire as a challenge to Islam. The result was the establishment of the Vijaynagar Empire in 1336 AD. by the Sangama brothers Harihara Raya and Bukka Rāya, with the blessings of Sage Vidyaranya. Four dynasties ruled over this empire (Viz..... Sangama, Sāluva,

Tuluva and Āravīdu). Majority of the Historians have accepted that the two Sangama brothers were in the service of Pratāparudra of Warangal. Harihara ruled the kingdom as viceroy of God Virūpāksha. In 1340 AD. Bukka defeated the Hōysāla ruler Ballala III and wrested the important fortress Penukonda. Bukka as a ruler carried war with Venrumān Kondan and annexed Tondaimandalam (a part of modern Chittōor District). Kumara Kampana his son, is credited with this victory. In a duel Kampana defeated and killed the Sambuvarāya Venrumān Kondan. The Sangama dynasty was followed by Sāluva Narasimha establishing Sāluva dynasty. He was the eldest son of Sāluva Gunda, the chief of Chandragiri in the Chittōor district. Immadi Vīranarasimha was the founder of the Tuluva dynasty, of which the greatest ruler was Sri Krishna Dēva Rāya. Krishna Raya was a great builder of temples. It is customary to credit Krishnarāya with the building of many temples in Rāyalsēema. Infact the ceded district have been named after this King as Rāyalsēema. Many temples in Rāyalsēema have tall gōpurās named Rāyagōpuram. At the time of the death of Krishna Rāya, Achyutarāya was confined in the fort of Chandragiri. During the southern campaign, Achyuta spent most of his time in pilgrimages to the sacred shrines of Tirupati, Kālahasti, Kanchi and Srīrangam. Achyuta was followed by Rāma Rāya, whose period saw the downfall of the glorious empire in the battle of Thalikota fought on 23rd January 1565. Āravīdu dynasty founded by Tirumala Dēva Rāya continued its rule upto 1685 AD.

Builder :-

Local tradition and writers on this temple ascribed the building of the temple to Chennappa, a nāyak in the Vijaynagar administration. Sri M.H. Rama Sarma, the author of the History of Vijaynagar Empire, mentions four chiefs with the name Chennappa.

1. Chennappa odayār, son of Mallappa odēyar 1380-81 (E.C. Vol XII Kg 10)
2. Chennappa Nāyaka son of Gopēya Nāyaka C 1395 (E.C. Vol. Tp 44)

Itihas-XI, I,

3. Chennappa Nāyaka, son of Kāmeya Nāyaka c 1403 (Cha 42, E.C. Vol. IV)
4. Chennappa Nāyaningāru son of Varada Māyini c 1579 (NDI-Vol. II-pp 658-59).

None of these chiefs worked under Achyuta Rāya, as their years indicate. Because Achyuta ruled the empire from 1529 to 1542 AD. Sri N.S. Ramaswamy, in his monograph on Sōmpālem Temples, refers to a tradition mentioning the names of Basi or Kāsim Nāyudu and Mallappa Nāyudu. The Archaeological Survey Report for the year 1902-3 also refers to these two brothers. These two brothers have not been identified in the list of names of Chiefs' given by Sri H. M. Rama Sarma. Dr. M. D. Sampath in his book 'Chittōor through ages' writing on this temple also concluded that "the date of the foundation of Chenna Kēsava temple is not known from any records." The first pillar of the Unjalmandapa on its south face contains an inscription in Telugu which refers to

"Sri Hevalambi Samvatsara Jyesht Sudha Dasami,
Sompalli Krishnappa Nayanagāri Kumārte Muthyālamma Cheyinchina Utti".

This inscription brings to light the name Krishnappa. Sri M.H. Rama Sarma has mentioned the following chiefs of the Vijaynagar period having the name Krishnappa.

- 1) Krishnappa Nayaka son of Basavappa Nayaka 1518-1530-263 of 1918, M E R ; E C Vol. IX.
- 2) Krishnappa Nayanagaru. 1645 - R M I Vol. III p. 1118, No. 507.
- 3) Krishnappa Nayaka. 1653 - 54 - No. 5, 96 of 1912 M E R.

If any one of them is believed to be the builder of the temple, then the monument must be assigned to late Vijayanagar period. Sri N.S. Ramaswamy writes that "Under Tuluva dynasty eight temples were built; five in Krishna Deva Raya's reign and the rest in that of his successor, Achyutaraya. "Among them Krishna Devaraya built two chennakesava temples at Dombara Nandyala and Chinna Chappalle.

Krishna Deva Raya undertook his south Indian expedition in 1512 AD. Arogiaswamy in Kongu Desa Rajakkal mentions that the army numbered 100,000. Among the officers who commanded this expedition, Tupaki Krishnappa Nayaka is mentioned. But M. H. Rama Sarma feels that this officer was definitely after a later date. The portrait sculptures in the shepherds mandapa also attest the founder of the temple. Chennakesava temples were built during the period of Achyutaraya at Siddhavatam and Chinna Venuturla. After the battle of Talikota (1565), this region fell on evil days. In about 1714 AD the region came under the control of the Nawabhs of Cuddapah. The report of the Archaeological Survey of India for the year 1902-3 states that it was during the reign of King Krishna Deva Raya of Vijayanagar (1509-30) some cowherds who dwelt in the neighbouring jungles erected fort ... — — ... — ... ". It is interesting to note that cowherds built a temple. The kaifiyats preserved in the Mackenzie Manuscripts suggest that this was common. The Kaifiyat of Konduru states that the village was 'originally founded by a shepherd. A person belonging to Vellala caste has built the Chendramoulisvara temple at Yētavākili in Punganur Taluk. Robert Sewell in his topographical list of antiquities in old Madras presidency published in 1882 refers to a fort Kāsimkōta, said to be 800 years old. That means that the fort was in existence by about 1000 AD. There are two inscriptions of the period of Sadasiva Raya. One is dated 1558 and the other 1559. Both the inscriptions refer to grants made to the temple of Kōta Chowdesvari. If by that time Chennakesava temple existed, another grant would have made. Because the latter temple is bigger and the former a small one. Hence we are forced to conclude that this temple was built after Krishna Deva Raya and before the accession of Sadasiva Raya. The Archaeological survey report of 1902-3, states that when the muslims conquered this part of the country in the cyclic year Hevāmbi, the inhabitants of Sompalle were driven out by Mir Sahib and the temple was partly destroyed. Evidences are at present seen in the headless and limbless images still in the temple. This year referred

Itihas-XI, I,

to as 1777 A.D. That means the temple played a notable part, after the decline of the Vijayanagar Empire. In 1790 A.D. polalgār Kumāra Mallappa arranged daily puja.

DESCRIPTION OF THE TEMPLE :

Dipasthambha :—

Facing the ruined entrance Gopura, on the eastern side is a monolithic dipasthambha, rising to a height of 17.4 meters. This is located on a high square platform, which is carved with dancing figures and lotus petal designs. Two telugu words Vijaya Samvatsaram are found here. Above the pedestal occurs the sculptured base. On the four faces are sculptures.

WEST FACE :— Garuda in Anjali hasta
NORTH FACE:— Vinādhari
EAST FACE :+ A player
SOUTH FACE:— Woman wearing a fly whisk.

Above these four sculptrues, a scroll winds upwards on all sides. At beginning of the scroll are alternate men and women. On the east and west faces are two men riding lions, on the north and south two women, one standing on makara and the other riding a lion. From above these figures ascends a convolvulus creeper. The sthambha has a miniature brick shrine at the top. Very near it is the dhvajasthambha.

Gollamandapa :—

Dr. M. D. Samapath in his book Chittoor through the ages writes that to the north of the enterance gopura is a Kalayānamandapa now called Gollavāri mandapa. This mandapa is only a prākāra mandapa. Within the prākāra there is a fine Kalyānamandapa. Hence Dr. M. D. Samapath's Identification is a mistake. The Archaeological Survey Report of 1902-3 calls this mandapa as Golladāna or

1983

Peddānāyana. It is called shepherd's mandapa in memory of the temple construction by the shepherds or yadavas. The purpose of this mandapa is not known. Sri N. S. Ramaswamy in his monograph on this temple writes that "It was used as a resting place for the divine images, when taken out from temple on festivals. There is a raised platform for the purpose. If this is accepted, the manadapa must have been used to keep utsavamurthis before taking a procession. It may also be said that on festival days kalyanothsava of the God might have been performed in this manadapa as the temple could not accomodate huge gathering. In this sense Dr. M. D. Sampath's view that it was another Kalyānamandapa is correct. He refers to the central pavillion or vedi or raised platform and according to Sri N. S. Ramaswamy it was built for the above purpose.

The structure is stellar on plan. The pillars are fluted nature and carry pushpa bodhika corbels at the top. The mandapa has been built abutting the eastern prakara wall. Closed on the north and the south, it is open on the east. The mandapa has six pillars and six pilasters. The inner side of the south wall contains an empty niche, surmounted by a śāla, on the front face of which is a big simhalalata gable. There are three kalasas on the top of the śāla. Each pillar in the mandapa has the four faces of the shaft, decorated with rows of śālās and roll capital. The vēdi in the centre of the mandapa has a richly carved adhistana and four pillars, one in each corner of the adhistāna. These pillars have polygonal shafts and full developed vijaynagar capitals. The cornice of the pavilion has a convex lower portion. The ceiling part of the mandapa contains the double square with a lotus inside. There are two pillars at the entrance. "They contain large sculptures of women, as if offering a welcome to visitors" (N. S. Ramaswamy). (i.e., in anjalihasta carrying dēepās). Dr. M. D. Sampath writes "The pilasters are carved with portrait sculptures and other male and female figures, all in standing posture. Sri R. Subbaramaiah in an article on this temple, states that on the front side of the pilasters are; produced life size figures of Peddappa Naidu and Chinnappa Naidu, who could not be identified

Itthas-XI, 1

as discussed earlier. On their shoulders the names are carved in Telugu. They stand in sambhanga with anjali hasta. They are wearing conical or cylendrical caps.

To the north-east of this mandapa, according to Dr. V. Kamesvara Rao (article on Sampalem Temple-Select Vijayanagar Temples), "There is another mandapa of four tall pillars". This is locally called "Uyyāla mandapa". It is called 'dōlōtsava mandapa' by Sri N. S. Ramaswamy, who writes that 'the divine images (utsavamurthis) were placed in a swing during festivals. In the centre of the high roof they are devices which held the swing. why not this be a mandapa with a bell? Usually unjalmandapa is placed in the centre of the mahamandpa. It is built outside the prakara, to call as the people after ringing the bell.

Entrance Gōpura :-

The entrance to this temple is through the eastern gōpura. On either side of the entrance are found two elephant balustrades. The adhistāna part shows the parts like patta, wide gala, patta, tripatta, wide gala and tripatta. The Kudya part is plain. Adhistana and Kudya are built of stone, while the fallen superstructure is built of brick and mortar. Two talās are visible. In the first tala, on either side are the dvarapalaka sculptures (?). The whole gōpura is studded with divine sculputures, as is customary with the Vijaynagar sculptors.

Balipitha :-

The balipitha is chisseled out of a single rock, containing high adhistāna of three feet. It contains the usual parts like patta, gala, patta, gala and tripatta. The Kudya part of the balipitha contains the sculpture of Vishnu. The kapōta is decorated with simhalalata gables. Over the kapōta is a square base containing Urdhwapadma and a round base on it.

1983

Stone Car :—

The garuda shrine in this temple is on wheeled chariot pattern. It has the shape of a vimana. In some of the Vijayanagar temples, like Vittala temple at Hampi and Chintalavenkataramana temple at Tadpathri, have stone cars. The stone car at Tadpathri has all the component parts of a shrine on the elevation. The adhistana is richly carved and contains four wheels. In the front there are two galloping horses, shown as dragging the car. The Kudya part contains the following series - projection containing two pilasters with a kuta koshta in between, recess containing kumbhapanjara, broad control projection etc. The moulded cornice is decorated with simhalalata gables. The ekatala vimana has the series kuta, panjara, sala, panjara and kuta. The round sikhara belongs to vesara order. Dr. M. D. Sampath writes that this ratha-shrine resembles the Vittalesvara ratha-type of the temple at Hampi. "In a number of temples of the chola period in Tamil Nadu, the mahamandapa, the agramandapa and the porch are fashioned as a wheeled chariot (ratha)". In this respect the Pallava Rathas at Mahabalipuram are not rathas. M. D. Sampath feels that "the practice of constructing the various mandapas in the device of a Chariot was more popular during the 12th and 13th centuries A. D. in the Tamil country than in the Andhra region". Perhaps the Vijayanagar sculptors must have taken earlier rathas as models.

About the stone car found in vittala, temple at Hampi, A. H. Longhurst writes in his book Hampi ruins, "In front of the main temple is the stone car of the God. It is a very handsome little stone built structure which was originally crowned with a small brick and plaster dome-shaped stupi". Some writers have asserted that it is carved out of a single block of stone. Longhurst feels that 'such is not the case! Two elephants guard the entrance to the car which is approached by a very wooden like stone ladder.

The vittala temple was dedicated to Vishnu in the form of vittala or vithoba. Vithoba is a god of the Maratha country and it

rarely met with outside it. In and about the temple or not less than 23 inscriptions, dates ranging from 1513 to 1564. Achyuta Raya and Sadasivaraya are also associated with the construction of this temple. Let us study about the inscriptions found in Venkataramana temple at Tadpathri. Writing on this temple, Dr. V. Kamesvara Rao in his book select Vijayanagar Temples of Rayalaseema, states that 'the earliest dated' inscription, in this temple, registering gifts made to the temple is in S. 1473 (1551 AD) (MER-439 of 1940-1941). But Sri N. S. Ramaswamy in his monograph on Temples of Tadpathri writes that "the earliest of the inscription in the Venkataramana temple is dated 1563 AD". Engraved on the gopura it mentions a gift of land. The village kaifiyat mentions many of the structures that were built including Garuda Mandapa or the stone car. Golla obaladasni was appointed the store keeper. From the above facts, it may be presumed that Somapalem temple was built later than the Tadpathri Temple. The stone car of the latter must have served as a model to the maker of a similar car in Somapalem. Then the year of construction should be after 1550 AD. Our presumption that this temple was built during Achyutaraya's period is attested by the stone car.

In the temple of Chennakesava the wheels are at the sides in the adhistana portion. They have axle, linch-pin and tyre design sculptured in proportions. The horses have been damaged. The shrine of Garuda or the stone car, in the shape of vimana has an adhistana, bhitti, prastara, griva and sikhara. The adhistana contains upana, kumuda etc. The kudya part is plain. The prastara is simple without decorations except kudus. Above is a row of vyalas. The griva and sikhara are square in shape. The niches of the griva have images in the four cardinal directions. On the three sides are Vishnu images and on the north the image of asina narasimha.

Mahamandapa ;

The doorway of the mahamandapa has pushpa-sakha decoration. The circle formed by this ornamentation, issued out of

the mouth of makara, encloses standing lata-bhanjika figure, holding a lata in her right hand. The creeper terminates at the top showing a swan motif. A relief in standing posture, with crossed legs and playing flute is found carved above the makara motif at the bottom. Above this is a frieze of hamsas. Above the door-lintel is a relief of sala. All these shrine reliefs are connected by a kapota with kudus. There are figures of asina Vishnu against the kuta. Rama, Sita and Anjaneya against the sala decoration. Above the doorway are carved Vishnu anantasayi, ksheerasagara madhana, visvamithra receiving dana etc.

The adhistana of the mahamandapa has additional members like adahpadma and a kapota. The tripatta-kumuda above the padma moulding is very thin and the kantha below the kapotha is high. The kudya part is free from decorations. The prasthara has the valabhi showing urdvapadma. All along these mouldings run figures of Agni with two heads riding a ram, Ganapathi, ganas, elephant riders hamsas, yama on a she-buffalo, Lakshminarayana etc. Above the kapotha are kudus carrying the figures like horse riders, Niritti riding a horse-like ass, Brahma riding a swan, stanaka narasimha, sthanaka vishnu, Bhuvārāha etc. The alinga moulding above the kapotha has an adah-apadma moulding, decorated with figures like Balakrishna, camel riders, drummers, musicians, ganas, dancing figures and animal motifs.

The mahamandapa has a navaranga formed by four pillars in the centre. Similar one is found in the Venkataramana temple at Tadpathri. Sri N. S. Ramaswamy (Monograph on Temples of Tadpathri) writes that "the mukhamandapa is a lovely creation. It contains fourteen pillars each containing architectural motifs in two sections. Four columns form an inner mandapa". This mandapa in the Sompalem Temple is called as Navaranga by Dr. M. D. Sampath. The dome of the navaranga is built on a horizontal arch. The ceiling contains padma design in two large circles and floral patterns. In between the two are the ganas in four cardinal directions. Another

row shows eight ganas. The outer octagonal frame work of this dome is embellished with standing female figures, serving as bracket figures. The actual brackets supporting the ceiling are highly ornamental.

The Mahamandapa contains 14 pillars arranged in four rows. The central part of the mandapa contains 6 pillars, arranged in two rows of three in each. The pillars carry pusha-bodhika corbel capitals at the top. It is to be noted that some of the pilasters have rolled corbels. Each pillar has a pitha, lower cubical sandrum, padma bandha ending in naga bandha, octagonal lower part of the shaft, upper square sandrum, octagonal kalasa, octagonal tadi, circular kumbha and pushpa bodhika corbel. The carvings on the pillars in the central ankana contain the figures of divinities like avatars of vishnu, Narasimha killing Hiranya, Lakshminarayana, yoga Narasimha, Garudaruda Vishnu, Rama and Lakshmana, Gajendramoksha, Kinnara, Kaliya damana, rati figure etc.

Mukhamandapa :

A vertical on either side of the entrance of the mukhamandapa contains the figure of a woman standing under a creeper. The mandapa contains six pillars each in two rows. The front two pillars contain the sculptures like sthanakalakshmi in dwibhanga, Stanaka Vishnu in samabhanga. The second pillar has some interesting sculptres like Lakshmi emerging from the branches of a tree and worshipped by two lady devotees. Each pillar has pada, rectangular block wide patta, circular part, gola, lotus decoration, phalaka and vijaynagar capital. These pillars contain interesting sculptures like yoga Narasimha, Garudaruda Vishnu, Rama and Lakshmana, Sthanaka narasimha, Narasimha killing Hiranyakasipu, Venugopala, Vishnu with Sri Devi and Bhudevi, Kurmavatara, Matsyavatara, Varahavatara, Saraswathi, Anjaneya, Vamanavatara, etc. There is a raised square in between the four pillars. The ceiling above has a double square with a lotus in the centre. It is peculiar that here in this temple mukhamandapa is at a lower level than the garbhagriha and antarala.

Antarala :

There is a pial on either side of the entrance of the antarala, with a flight of steps in between. Each pial contains a pillar with Vijaynagar capital. Some of the sculptures found on these pillars are Gopikavasthrapaharana, Chamaravahini and sthanaka vishnu. Vaishnava Dwarapalakas are found on either side of the entrance.

Garbhagriha :

The garbhagriha is a square structure housing the Vishnu image, locally called Chennakesava. He stands in samabhanga on a square padmapitha. He has four arms. The upper two arms hold sankha and chakra, while the lower right is in abhaya and left is resting on gada. This makes us believe that this idol must have been that of a dwarapala, installed later. This assumption is confirmed by the local tradition. He wears all the ornaments. The doorway leading to garbhagriha shows pushpa sakas with a lotus design on the lalatabimba.

Vimana :

Over the garbhagriha, there is a brick Ekatala Vimana. The griva part is decorated with alternate kuta, sala and panjara decorations. One of the sala contains the image of sthanaka Vishnu. There are garuda figures in the four cardinal directions. The round sikhara is adorned with simhalalata gables. On the west face of the vimana is a miniature vimana structure.

Structures in the Prakara :

There are two empty shrines built against the inner side of the southern half of the eastern compound wall.

There are three short kutas one on each of the four corners, excepting the north-eastern corner of the compound wall. In the centre of the west and north compound walls there are two salas.

Built against the inner side of the south wall of the compound, there are three empty shrines.

Built against the inner side of the south half of the west wall of the compound are three small shrines, facing the east. All the three shrines have only garbhagriha.

The shrine in the south west corner has in garbhagriha, a richly carved Vedi with a mutilated image on it. The jambs of the dvara have vertical scroll decoration. There is a dvarapalaka on either side of the entrance. The lintel contains gajalakshmi decoration. There is a canopy above with a central projection. Above that is an architrave containing the figures—six women, sthanaka vishnu in samabhanga with a devi on either side and sages. Above is the kapota decorated with simhalalata gables.

To the north of this shrine is the one housing the image of Lakshminarayana. The vertical on either side of the entrance has at its base, a woman standing, holding kalasa. The architrave above the canopy contains the figures of chamaravahinis Sita, Rama, Lakshmana, Anjaneya and two monkeys.

Another shrine, third in the row, has an empty garbhagriha. The vertical on either side of the entrance has a lotus. Above it is a woman standing and holding kalasa. The architrave above the canopy contains the figures of sages, Sita, Rama, Anjaneya and three men.

Kalyanamandapa :—

In the south-western prakara of the temple is the Kalyanamandapa in two sections. Writing about this mandapa, Dr. M. D. Sampath says "The raised mandapa in front of the three sub-shrines in the south-western corner of the prakara is a highly ornamental structure in black granite construction. The date of this structure may be assigned to the late Vijaynagar period". As already stated Dr. M. D. Sampath considered the prakara mandapa as the kalyanamandapa and the present one as a raised mandapa. The purpose of gollamandapa

was to keep the utsavamurthis before taking in procession. It may also be said that the low-caste people in those days were denied admission into the temples, Hence the construction of prakara mandapa.

Elaborate details are shown in the adhistana part. The adhistana mouldings consist of jagati, pattika decorated with ganas, and elephants, in the recesses are hamsas, adahpadma, kanta, tripattikumuda with adahpadma moulding, urdvapadma and prati. In the middle of the projected portion of the adhistana, is shown a small seated Garuda with four arms. A row of male and female dance figures are seen.

The mandapa contains highly ornamental pillars with pillarets. They have standing male and female figures against four miniature pillars attached to the main shaft. The main pillars have stellar bases, shaft alternately square and octagonal showing pushpa sakha and miniature kuta decorations. Dr. M. D. Sampath writes "it can be said that these pillars must have come into existence during the late Vijaynagar period as the predomiance of the pushpa-bodhika and other intricate details of ornamentations on embellishments show". These pillars show some figures on their base. They contain well defined corbels exposing lotus petal decorations, terminating in a bud. The pillarets attached to the shaft have a small base, ornamental shaft, and a pushpa bodhikas. The portion above the pillar contain a replica of a vimana with sala sikharas in low relief. The utara on the east and west facing sides of the kalyanamandapa have Telugu inscriptions in three lines each. The valabhi is decorated with lotus petal ornamentation,

The mandapa has an empty ornamental pedestal with animal figures in the corners. The vedi or the pedestal has a superstructure, square griva and sikhara built of brick forming the first tala. The hara of this tala has the decoration of kuta, panjara, sala, panjara in a row. The kudya part is almost covered with hara decoration. The prastara carries kudas in a row. The griva part contains images in the four cardinal directions. These vimana devathas represent various forms

of Vishnu. On the north is Vaikunta perumal. The sikhara has foliage ornamentation (Kodikkarukku). The stupi is absent.

The front mandapa has four pillars with fluted shafts and cubical capitals. The corbels show taranga ornament, with a gana figure. The pillars contain images depicting various avatars of Vishnu. In two different pillars are reliefs portraying aspects of Narasimha like yoga - Narasimha, Narasimha killing Hiranyaksha, Sthanka narasimha etc. The other two pillars contain relief sculptures relating to Rama.

Paintings :-

This temple has paintings as the ceiling of mukhamandapa. These paintings have been dated to late Vijaynagar period by Dr. M. D. Sampath. It must be said that for a serious student of paintings, these are disappointing as they are very much damaged. These were first discovered in 1937 by Dr. James H. Cousins the then principal of Besant Theosophical College. Stella Kramrich in her book on a survey of painting in the Deccan and Sri C. Sivaramamurthi in his book South Indian paintings have given the date as 1576 A. D. The year agrees with the probable year of its construction. Sri C. Sivaramamurthi has no hesitation to compare these paintings with those from the arddhamandapa at Lepakshi. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri accepts that the paintings found in this temple and elsewhere belong to the class of Frescosecco (The colon- 1975-P. 737). These paintings illustrate stories from the Ramayana. The figures are shown in profile. The following are the important and visible scenes.

Scene I :- Rama attacking and killing Thataka. Rama is shown aiming the arrow at the demon at the suggestion of sage Visvamithra.

Scene II :- This scene is shown in three phases preparation for Sita's marriage, Rama garlanding Sita and Janaka observing it.

Scene III :- In this scene Dasaratha is ordering Rama's banishment on the eve of pattabhisheka. The next phase represents Dasaratha trying to appease his wife Kaikeyi.

Scene IV :- This scene represents people looking at Anjaneya whose tail is burning (Lankadahana).

Scene V :- This scene represents the story of Vibhishana saranagathi.

Scene VI :- The scene shows Sitha returning to Rama in a palanquin and in the extreme is her agnipravesa.

The nature of portrayal of figures in these paintings is that treatment differs from figure to figure. Janaka besides being an emperor is a Brahmarshi. He is shown with a beard. Visvamatra being a sage is shown as maharshi. The absence of ornaments in this figure clearly distinguishes it from the other. The difference between Rajarshi and Maharshi is clearly indicated. The forms of dress of Rama differ from scene to scene. The observation of the painter in representing the royal personalities, sages and common people is highly interesting.

In short the Chennakesava Temple is a treasure house of Vijaynagar art splendour.

IDENTIFICATION OF BRAHMAN AND BRAHMA THE RATIONALE OF MYTHOLOGY

(Supported by Blood Grouping)

Dr. M. Amjad Ali

"The history of mankind is a history of more or less blind endeavours to conceive a common purpose in relation to which all men may live happily, and to create and develop a common consciousness and a common stock of knowledge which may serve and illuminate the purpose. In a vast variety of form this appearance of Kings and priests and magicmen was happening all over the world under the Neolithic condition. Everywhere mankind was seeking where knowledge and mastery and magic power might reside, every where individual men were willing, honestly or dishonestly, to rule, to direct, or to be the magic beings who would reconcile the confusions of community".

We appear to be too sensitive to avail our scriptures such as Vedas, Old Testament and Quran as a source of our proto and prehistory. The belief, their being revelation from god makes us shiver to have a dialectical approach to these important sources of our past history. Though presented in a distorted form with poetical exaggeration and some times with a willful omissions as a myth, as it suits them, it still remains a document of our ethnic groups.

While examining our scriptures we fall in a trap that our fore fathers were better developed people than we are to day. This wishful thinking may be just due to the regard that we have naturally for them. From evolutionary point of view our brains specially the

frontal areas and association² fibres in sulci and gyri of the brain are developing and every generation of us moving forward in this regard. A quotation from H. G. Wells³ may clear my point of view. He writes "There is a disposition on the part of many writers to exaggerate the intellectual and physical qualities of these latter paleolithic men and make wonder of them. Collectively considered these people had remarkable gifts but little reflection will show that they had almost as remarkable deficiencies (too) for all the quantity of their brains the quality was narrow and special". This anecdote could be applied to our predecessors too .. For example we appear to be proud of our forefathers who used to memorize the scriptures and spent much of their time on it. Now this may appear a foolish act, to burden your memory when these can be recorded in writing.

To me, our mythology to a great extent, represents the ethnic struggle, noted first in the western part of Asia, 8000—12,000⁴ years ago, which was once the cradle of Homosapiens sapiens civilization being in a age of domestication of crops and cattle, later followed into Europe and Africa etc. The application of same historical process was noted every where; in which first confrontation took place among them, later followed by mutual understanding and assimilation. Ofcourse the dominating ethnic dictated the history. They raised their image by becoming a noble race and even their great conquerors were treated as gods⁵ or prophets⁶ (avatars) where as the vanquished were pushed into a dark period of

2) Richard Leakey 1977, Origins, P. 122

3) H.G. WELLS, Outline of History, P. 47

4) Richard Leakey, Origins, P. 170, 1977 (Glaciation between 100,000 to 10,000 years ago)

5) Old Testament, Exodus chapter 7 : 1 "To Moses said the Lord that he will be God to Pharaohs"

6) Quran: Chapter 18 : 83, Zulqarneyn is taken as a reference to Alexander the Great.

history and were labelled as demons, Satans and Raksasas and were turned into slaves.

According to Huxley's⁷ classification, the caucasians with whom we are now concerned were divided in two types 1) Nordic Caucasians alpine included in) were the Aryan stock; probably first inhabiting the Danube⁸ valley of southern Russia near about 4000 B. C; the nomads noted for their chariots and cattle. 2) Mediterranean caucasians were of Dark white Brunet stock, settled mostly in the eastern side of Mediterranean coast and north Africa. Probably they were a mixed race of caucasians and the Egyptian Negroid ethnics with white brown and dark skin. To this Mediterranean race Huxley assumes the semitics — Arab and Hebrew belong, along with the Dravidians, (who appear more allied to Egyptians). This group of Mediterranean ethnics might have branched from the Iberians because their language appears originating from the Berbers of Africa who have the same grammar. This non-semitic stock of caucasians Dravidians is said to be the founder of Sumerian (Probably) and Indus⁹ valley civilization, in about 4—3 millennium B. C. Later the Sumerian civilization was replaced by the Akkadian and Chaldean semitics when the Baby lonian Empire emerged. This was the phase when the Canaanite Hebrew semitics, to whom Abraham belonged, were in captivity¹⁰ there with him (2000 B. C.). The Nordic caucasians, the aryaans, still in their nomadic stage, started crossing these areas towards the Indus Valley (Mohenjodaro) in between 3000—2000 B. C. with Chaldean they formed an alliance against the northern Assyrian of Nineveh, whom they defeated. The Baby lonian semitic

7) H.G. Wells, Outline of History, P. 134

8) B.B. Lal, Indian Express, 19th Oct. 77 "Clue to Aryan Puzzle" came to India from S.E. Caspian region of U.S.S.R. Via Iran and Afghanistan.

9) Tarachand, A short History of the Indian People, P. 26

10) Genesis 11 : 31

civilization changed this barbaric race into a civilized one, as the Sumerians did to the barbaric Semites earlier¹¹. The Sumerian myths of Heliolithic culture, recorded in cuneiform writing were adopted by both the Semitic and Nordic Caucasians. In Old Testament and Quran the story of Noah appeared, as it did as Manu¹² (Mnu) in Vedas. In these scriptures we find the incident of the great¹³ flood described in like manner. We are aware of the fact that the Sumerians (Dravidians) were good at navigation and controlled the trade of the world by sea routes of this stage. Probably their ships were going to the Pacific touching the Southern Indian ports in about 4 - 3 M.B.C. So did the Phoenicians (Semites) later, whereas the Nordic Aryans did not enter the sea yet, and remained in their early nomadic stage of being hut dwellers and bull chariot drivers on land routes alone. Naturally we expect Noah's (Mnu's) story taken from the Sumerian or Semitic sources only. It is difficult to date the great flood. Probably it might have occurred at the end of the 4th glacial when the world's water level got up and up or it may be just a local flood somewhere in the Western part of Asia or Middle East. If we take up the story of construction of the Noah's ark as a historical fact, then we can date it in early Neolithic¹⁴ period when the man started leaving the Jungle and Cave life and resided on river or seaside, still hunting and fishing and not yet a civilized settled farmer of the city guilds. So we can place Noah in the Neolithic era, probably on Eastern Mediterranean coast in about 10,000, 12,000 years ago. The Old Testament¹⁵ and Quran gives us the name of his three sons who also survived. They were, Shem—from whom the Semites sprung. Ham gave origin to

11) H.G. Wells, Outline of History, P. 131.

12) See the table of pronunciation marks, front page of the Holy Bible King James version. American Bible Society, New York.

13) Gordon Stowill, Book of Knowledge, P. 489, Kish Excavation, Mesopotamia.

14) Francis Celoria, Archaeology, P. 50 (5300-2600 B.C.)

15) Old Testament, Genesis, Chapter 6, 10.

Hamites (African and Ethiopian races) and Japheth or Yafes (in Arabic) who is said to be the predecessor of the Nordic Aryans. We see these barbaric Aryans (Kshatriyas) becoming ultimately the masters of all ancient civilization entering the civilized world in between¹⁶ the priesthood (the temple rule) and the monarchical state formation. They found the drama half played and naturally were influenced both way of thought at this juncture. When these foreign conquerors invaded the distinction between the priesthood and king became definite, and now the god achieved a universal position. The wealth and authority of his temples outshone those of the Kings. Semitic thought of monotheism lured the nomadic Aryans. This became the basis of Vedas and Sahife Ibrahimī of Abraham, said to be started in writing at this stage near about 2000¹⁷—1700 B.C. We know the Semites were the first people who began to think of god as a righteous¹⁸ dealer when the Aryans knew more of war than the priesthood. Their domination started a wave of Aryanization. We see Hittites¹⁹ becoming Aryanized and losing their distinction. The Semites who swallowed the Sumerians gave place to the Aryan rulers of Medes and Persia. We can expect the replaced Semites too (Elamites) partly getting Aryanized and absorbed. This assimilation of course does not mean a one way traffic. It is really a giving taking affair. The more civilized race of Semites we expect giving lessons to the warrior and boisterous nomads. This assimilated Semites who followed Abraham's teachings, I presume, may be the nucleus of the Brahmans of Abraham (Brahma) who became the priests of the Kshatriya Aryans. These talented Brahmins with their knowledge of Abraham's abstract god (Monotheism) were turned into teachers. In the same way we expect the Dravidian part

16. H.G. Wells, P. 107

17, H.D. Sankalia, Pre History and Protohistory, Vedic times, P. 553.

18) H.G. Wells, Outline of History, P. 96

19 H.G. Wells, Outline of History, P. 84

of this Mediterranean ethnics also aryanized by a give and take process. Vaisyas becoming the traders and sudras turning into farm labour and artisans. Probably the first phase of aryanization of Semites—as Brahman or people of Abraham or Brahma alongwith the Dravidians, got established in Indus Valley in Vedic period where as the Hinduism was shaped later in the Ganges Valley, when Indo Aryans dominated unchallenged throughout India.

We find a similar absorption of an Iberian group of people with megalithic cult, known as Druids, with their Western Europe offshoot known as kelts²⁰. The Druids took up the priesthood of the Aryan Kshatriya fighters. From above datas we are justified to conclude that in a martial nomadic ethnic expectation of an intellectual highly civilized group of people forming a core of their society is out of question. Atmost what we expect is a single genius leadership and not a group of learned people. Definitely the priesthood and intelligentia was absorbed and assimilated from an outside developed ethnics and aryanised. We can trace the Aryans now who started with the faith;

1) Aryanpath - The Nature worshippers, the Surya cult - Heliolithic culture dominating in early Neolithic period about 4000 - 3000 B. C.

2) The Persian Aryan path, in which the Persian²¹ Aryan gods Varuna, Aryaman and Mitra were adopted. The rift between Indo Aryan group, when Indra became the leader of this group, this was dropped in about 3000-2000 B. C.

3) Vedic way - From 3000 B. C. - 600 B. C. (Indus Valley). This is the period we are concerned with in which the Sumerian and

20) H.G. Wells, Outline of History, 142

21) H.D. Sankalia, Prehistory and Protohistory of India & Pakistan P. 339, Preharappan culture linked with Persia, Iraq etc. P. 344 Iranian and Sumerian Inspirations.

Semitic cultures effected the Aryan path. From Sumerian they took the Noah and job (Ayub? yama) story and Babylonian semites gave the Narduck - Maruts²² (Rudras). At Indus valley after the assimilation of the Dravidian Saivite²³ cult the full fledged Vedic cult appeared. After the fall of Indra it got grounds. The semite priesthood—Brahmans of Brahma (Abraham) were accepted and aryanised. Abraham later defied as Brahma, replaced the Aryan Kshatriya gods. Visnu was to humble to accept this position and Siva the Dravidian fertility god was defeated and humbled. According to Veronica²⁴ Ions—the indologist - "when None emerged as supreme lord. The hierarchy speculated whether one of the Vedic god should occupy the supreme position or whether a new deity Brahma should be considered a manifestation of one of the old gods". This acceptance of "new deity" clears our point of view that now Brahma, became part of the trinity with Visnu, the Aryan Kshatriya god, and Siva the Dravidian fertility god, accomodated all together. Brahma at this stage remained superior as a creator Visnu as a sustainer, and Siva as a god of fertility and production combined with the power of destruction too.

In about 600 B.C. Kshatriyas revolted against Vedic ways and formed Buddhism and Jainism which stayed for some time to be replaced by Hinduism.

4) Hinduism: In this fourth phase of true Hinduism, in Ganges valley. The gods were personified (anthropomorphic) and idol worship came in from 600 B.C. to 600 A.D. The Trinity appeared. The mutual understanding between the Brahmans, Kshatriya Aryans, the Saivite Dravidian grew more and a new Society formed which absorbed the Southern Naga and Shakti cults of Negrettoes and Australoid ethnics. This Polytheism with its Brahmanical domination and caste system is the Hinduism what we see now.

22) Quran chapter 2: 102

23) Tarachand, History of India People, P. 31. fireless religious cults.

24) Indian Mythology, P. 38, Paul Hamlyn Publication.

To support my assumptions, a study of the customs, habits, rituals and metaphysical conceptions will reveal the truth that Brahma was deified from Abraham, the semitic patriarch (1800 B.C.) and Brahmans are the same chosen people of god, the Hebrews, enjoying a privileged position yet. Vedas the book of knowledge Brahma and Sahife Ibrahim²⁵ – the book of Abraham may be the same, in their earliest writing form started in about 1800–1700 B.C. Even the names of their first wives Sara and Saraswati²⁶ resemble too. Both being talented handsome females. Probably born in the Chalcolithic age of metal. This view is supported by Vedas and Old testament that it was the age of metals.

The scriptures were not only book of knowledge but also contained our pre and protohistory till then memorized as epics, fables and folklores. During the period of Hinduism, a Golden age, records of this struggle and formation of a new Society were march in this era. Their classical forms appeared in standard sanscrit language and Prakrits. Such myths as the 'Churning of the milky Ocean' for amrita (Ambrosea) by Visnu (Aryan) avatara depicts typically a compromise phase between the different ethnics now living peacefully, side by side in India with a common aim and understanding by sharing the resources among them. Ofcourse the Brahmans still hold the commanding churning stick Mount Madara of Brahma (Mediator) rested on the turtle (Kurma avatar of Visnu). The rope is said to be made of Naga (Serpent) Vasuki – representing the Naga race who was helpful to both the groups the Aryans and Dravidians at this stage. These rival groups anxious to get the amrita – to be immortal by getting the power—were churning the Ocean to share the resources. At the tail were the Indoaryan gods and at the head of the Vasuki stood Siva with the raksasas, demons

25) Quran, chapter 87: 18, 19

26) Sir Alexander Cunningham, P. IX: Coins of Ancien India says in ancient Persian SW changes to Khasim S. So sarawati becomes harakhaiti and in greek Arakhotos.

and globins to help the churning. When Vasuki vomited poison, to avoid falling it in the Ocean and killing the humanity, Siva's gallantry saved the world from this catastrophe. He swallowed it. Paravati rushed to save Siva and Choked his throat to get it out. Siva was saved. Only a blue mark on the neck remained, which was a proof of this noble deed. During the churning all the precious contents were distributed among both the groups but when the turn of amrita came the gods (Aryans) deceived the Dravidians by depriving them by a ruse. Mohini played the role of a traitor who successfully delivered it to the Arvans who got the immortality and power. Only few drops which fell during this struggle were swallowed by the Nagas who also became immortal. Other similar myths of this period show the struggle for power among these ethnics e.g., cosmic Linga myth in which Brahma is said to have deceived Siva by telling a lie to him that he reached to the full height of Linga and brought the lotus petals from there, though really he got it from the down coming sacred cow. Visnu was truthful and admitted his failure to reach the depth of the Linga. Siva removed one of Brahma's head with his finger nail as punishment. These myths clearly show the struggle and later understanding among them in holding the power. In these feuds we find instances of Mediterranean ethnics, the Brahmans and Dravidian being closer, against the foreign invader²⁷ Aryans.

Before going into that question we will examine what these words actually mean. A standard dictionary gives following:

Brahman : The ever growing, the absolute, the Supreme spirit.

Brahma = means god, one of the priests officiating at the sacrifice
 Brahma = Creator god, one of the Hindu trinity. Brahmin = Brahman, knowledge, truth and intelligence. With this knowledge a

27) H D Sankalia, Prehistory and Proto-history of India and Pakistan quotes Sir Mortimer Wheeler's famous theory that the Aryans destroyed the Indus Valley civilization, P. 344, 45.

closer study of these myths disclose the facts which prove that the Brahmans may be of semitic origin from Abraham (Brahma). Abraham is known as Abram, Brahim and Ibrahim.

1) Factors common among Brahmans and Hebrews:

- i) Both enjoy a privileged position for being a special creation of god - the chosen people. Brahmans created from the mouth of Brahma while others from parts of his body and feet.

Both are known for their intelligence, knowledge and Priesthood²⁸, with highly developed brains. You can not expect such a class of people in Aryan nomads of low civilization.

- ii) The unilateral laws (One sided harsh to offenders) with which they tried to protect themselves are common. These gave them a superiority complex and kept them safe from the larger group of ethnics. Both are highly strong people.
- iii) Both keep themselves isolated and no recruiting and entry of other ethnics in their society is allowed. Inter marriages are not allowed.
- iv) The Biblical dress of Kashmiri Brahmans (Pandit) is quite suggestive of their origin from Israel Semites. Probably they may belong to the semites²⁹ ruling at one time Gandhara area (Khandar) of Afghanistan. Patronization of later Gandharvas

28) Role of Parashu Rama, a Brahman Priest in Ganges Valley, P 37, Tarachand, A Short History of the Indian People. (Genesis, 10:7 mentions similar names eg Seba and Raamah as sons of Ham)

29) Sir A. Cunningham, Coins of Ancient India P. 33, quotes Dr. Isaac Taylor, in Gandharian alphabets having 22 Aramic consonants. Strange enough to note that Afghan pathans call themselves "Bani Israel" (Children of Israel)

(Probably people from Khandar) by Brahma also favours this view. They are said to be enemical to the Indo Aryans; killed Chitrangada son of Santanu.

We find in the south specially, a sect of Saivite Brahmans (from a common Mediterranean stock) who put cross lines on their foreheads like Brahma and worship Linga. Some of them still wear a chest³⁰ plate of silver container with sacred Linga in it. This custom we find in semitic priesthood too. We know one hanging in Aaron's neck when Moses made him a priest, having in it Urim and Thamin. Similarly Syamantaka is said to be used by the Aryan priesthood. We also note these Lingavat Brahmans inhumate their dead bodies, like the semites and don't follow cremation practices of Aryans. Another sect of Brahmans, Visnuites, put vertical signs on their forehead. Most of them are non vegetarians. They may belong to the Aryanized Brahmin groups who did not take up the vegetarianism of later Buddhist and Jain cults. The sacrificial ceremonies and old historical records show that earlier to 600 B. C., in their Vedic way, these people were non vegetarians and probably ate³¹ beef too, leaving the horse. Dakshas (Brahma's son) sacrificial party to the gods which created a brawl when Siva was omitted, is an example in which everybody tasted the offering. Still now we find Brahmins of Bengal and Malabar taking fish and egg.

- (v) The customs of shaving their heads shaved, leaving a cluster of hairs hanging (Juttu). We find Moses presented in the same way.

30) Exodus 28:30, Old Testament.

31) K. A. Neelakantha Shastri History of South India 1966, P. 131 records about the Aryans, Brahmins too were included as Aryans. See H.G. Wells P. 142 also (outline of History).

The importance of the "first born"; washing³² the feet as a purity sign; removing the shoes³³ before getting in the sacred place also appear of semitic origin.

Circumbulation around the sacred place, prostration and offering the sacrifice also are common. Anointing their bodies with oil is noted in Southern Indian Brahmins.

- (vi) Visvakarma, the divine artificer (Architect & town Planner) who built Lanka and Pushpaka (the magic chariot) appears to be of Mediterranean Dask white stock, probably a Brahmin. He helped Kubera the King of Yakshas—half brother of Bali in this regard. (Kubera is said to be later changing sides and probably joined the Aryans against the Dravidian). We cannot expect such a builder in the Aryan ethnics. They were still the hut dwellers knowing little about the stone masonry³⁴
- (vii) Sacred Places :- Garbhagruha—Construction is similar; a cubicle³⁵ construction facing the east with pradakshana. Kaaba has (said to be built by Abraham) has the same type of construction with an area left around called Haram³⁶. The sanctity of these places is guaranteed. Enemy can not enter there.
- (viii) The heroes of Mediterranean ethnics like Brahma, Siva, Ravana and Karttika are shown with several heads and arms probably showing them intellectually and physically superior

32) Old testament Genes 18:4 Abraham fetches water to his guests. Diti forgot washing feet and Indra deviated her womb.

33) Old Testament, Exodus, chapter 3:5

34) H.G. Wells, Outline of History, P. 137

35) OC. Gangoly, Indian Architecture, P. 19

36) Quran S 11:125

where as the Aryan gods are shown though with several arms but have one head. This may mean their physical greatness only.

- (ix) The Cyclical calendar used in Pre Islamic days and the sacred nights observed, and the fasting practices appear common in both.

2. Points favouring Brahma and Brahmins were ethnically allied to Dravidians (Mediterranean caucasians) and played a role against the Aryan domination.

- (1) Brahma gave boons to Ravana and Bali belonging to Raksasas against the Aryans. Ravana is said to be a staunch Brahmin,³⁷ worshipper of Siva. (probably changing their faith of monotheism to polytheism again as they did in Mesopotamia too).
- (2) Yakshas (Demons) – Hiranvaksha and Yakshapu got boons from Brahma against the Aryan Avatara Narasimha. (Interesting to note that Haran was the name of one of Abraham's brothers too)
- (3) Asura (Probably the Persian Aryans or Assyrians³⁸) got boons from Brahma. Viritra is said to be a Brahmin descendant of sage Pulastya was killed by Indra for causing drought – a Brahminicide. Sisupala³⁹ was also killed by Krishna, and got married to his wife.
- (4) The Kashyapa sage descendents: who married Diti daughter of Daksha (Brahma's son) were given boon against the Aryans. We hear of Naga race belonging to Kadru and Andhaka being in league with Brahmins. Nagas (Serpent worshippers) controlled the Patala – Southern India.

37) P.T. Raju: Great Asian Religions P. 5. Saivas identify Siva as the Brahmin of Vedas.

38) P.T. Raju: Great Asian Religions P. 26, Note 5

39) We know of an Assyrian King Assurbanipal who ruled 669–620 B.C.

- (5) There are supposed to be different heavens and hells for each ethnic. Brahma having his at Mount Meru; Indra's Swarga in Himaliyas and Sivas Kailasha too some where there. Probably these nice places in North under their rule became their heavens where as the Southern (Patala) ruled by their enemies were hell, the places not worth living.
- (6) Brahmins are more allied to Sabeans,⁴⁰ a semitic race, settled in Southern Iraq in about one Millennium B. C. They are said to be compilers of Vedas in a language allied to semetic Phoenicians. They were said to be immersing their bodies in water several times a day. Quran treats them as righteous beings.

3) Brahma identified as Abraham

- (1) Both belong to the Chalcolithic, age of metal when city guilds were changing into monarchical states.
- (2) Vedas and⁴¹ Sahife Ibrahimi (Book of Abraham appear at the same age starting from near about 1700 B.C. to 600 A.D.)
- (3) Rituals preached by both are the same which give importance to sacrifice on a fire altar, at a special sacred place.
- (4) Promiscuity⁴² in Sex: Brahma is said to have committed incest with his daughter where as Lot (Abraham's brother Harans' son) a prophet, is recorded doing the same.
- (5) H.G. Wells⁴³ figures him out bearded with four heads and four arms, holding in each a book, water jug, resary and a sceptre.

40) S ii: 62, See foot note, Abdulla Yousuf ali

41) P T. Raju, Great Asian Religious P 5, Quran included (622 A. D Hijrat)
See S. iii: 67 Abraham is taken as first Muslim and Islam is called Deene Ibrahim.

42) Old Testament Genesis 19:33

43) H. G. Wells, Outline of History, P. 204

The Sceptre is said to be a sign of authority. Moses too is said to be holding one. These symbols are contradictory to the Aryan gods who are usually depicted holding weapons. Veronica⁴⁴ Ions describes him as a red raced bearded man, in long white robes, with long hairs falling on the neck; quite like a semitic priest.

- (6) Addition of Hindi "He" . . . instead of Phoenician glottal ʕ "Hai", said to be of Indoaryan origin to his name Abram⁴⁵ at the age of 99, is quite suggestive, that his name too was Aryanised Later he was known as Brahma, and Abraham.
- (7) Teachings and metaphysical conceptions of both resemble as their rituals do. Both have a saviour god and believe in after life and being reborn. The belief in cataclysm and the creation-ist point of view is also shared. The rewarding and punishment idea in heaven and hell is also there. Brahma was taken as an omnipotent, omnipresent god alike the monotheism of Abraham in Vedic path but later in Hinduism he was personified and shared power in Trinity. We know Abraham was against the idol worshipping. Probably this makes him rare to be represented as an idol in the temples in India till now.

Interesting features of Indian mythology are the strange creatures introduced in such as Hanuman Garuda, Jambavan and Sugriva etc. They are conversant and intelligent beings, helpful to the aryan side only, in their Southern infiltration. They appear to be the inhabitants of this area. We wonder whether we are dealing with Homosapiens Neanderthalis who looked more like ape, a hairy creature. We know this species co-existed with Homosapiens Sapiens and interbred⁴⁶ too 25,000 to 35,000 years ago.

44) Indian Mythology, P. 81

45) Old Testament Genesis, 17:5

46) Origins, Rechar Leakey, P. 124, 137

Summary

- (1) Mythology though a poetical exaggeration, allegorical and picture of religious symbolism, precipitates into our past unwritten history of the forgotten ethnics.
- (2) Our scriptures are a good source of our pre and proto history. A fair dialectical approach will help us a lot.
- (3) There are many things common in our mythology which show its common origin in the past from the forgotten civilizations. Their merits and demerits should be taken in the light of evolution of the brain.
- (4) In history conquerors become gods and dictate history where as the losers are turned into demons and thrust into dark period. The positive phase of religion should be accepted at one stage in which it helped in binding together of humanity. Now its negative phase should be recognised when it can not solve our problems in this era of Science and Technology.
- (5) Brahmans and Hebrews appear to be of same origin, the Mediterranean ethnics of Dark white caucasians stock. We can not expect such a group of talented people among the low cultured warrior Aryans, specially learned scholars like Brahma and Visva karma the great architect and planner.
- (6) Abraham⁴⁷ alias Brahma was a great man and reformer of the Chalcolithic age (3500—2500 B.C.), who compiled book of knowledge and laws.
- (7) The Nordic Aryans—Caucasians, were still in a nomadic, tribal⁴⁸ stage in this Chalcolithic age. They were migrating in search of pastures and were not as civilized as the Dravidians and Semites of Mediterranean common origin.

47) Father of many nations Genesis 17:5

48) Tarachand, A short History of the Indian People P. 33

- (8) The Caucasian common myths start, in the Neolithic period when these ethnics were forced to leave the submerged Mediterranean Eastern coast at the end of 4th glacial period 8,000 to 12,000 years ago. Noah (Mnu) was taken first from Sumerians myths and later Abraham and Sara were deified as Brahma and Sarasvati.
- (9) There is a possibility that Paleomen Homosapiens Neanderthalis or Thaloids⁴⁹ co-existed with the Neolithic (Homosapiens Sapiens) specially in Southern India whom we know as Hanuman, Garuda, Jambavan and Sugriva etc.

Conclusion

A close study of mythology and scriptures gives clues to our pre and protohistory. This story of ethnic struggle clearly differentiates Brahmans being a Mediterranean Dark white stock of caucasians to which the semites and the Dravidian (like Egyptians) belong. Probably they were the founders of Sumerian (4th Millennium B. C.), Indus (300—2000 B. C.) and Ganges cultures at 1000 B. C. The semites of Abraham followers of Monotheism were alike the Vedic cult people. Scriptures were said to be in writing near about 1800—1700 B. C. The Dravidians follows the fertility cult of Yogic god, siva with Nandi (Bull) and phallic worship. These river side civilization were connected with each other by land⁵⁰ routes only. Where as another might have existed to South India and South East Asia connected by sea routes. These people of Abraham (Brahma) the Brahmans, and the Saivites at this stage of Chalcolithic age were civilized and much developed races than the Nomadic Nordic caucasian race of Aryans who were still in hunting and fishing stage without knowing much about farming and architecture. When they

49) Origin, Richard Leakey, P. 124, Neanderthal like people's remains in Java, Zambia and Iraq

50) Tarachand, Short History of the Indian People, Connected with Nile, Euphrath Helmund civilization, P. 29.

started migrating in waves, probably from Danube valley, they displaced these peace loving people, now with sedentary habits. This warrior group of Aryans, Kshatriya ethnic, easily dominated them and were able to Aryanise and assimilate them; though first confrontations took place. After settling in Ganges Valley (1000 B.C.) they infiltrated in the South and soon overcame the resistance of Dravidian and Naga races still patronized by the Vedic Brahman Semites (of Abraham). We can take the Saivite Brahman also being a group of semites too who followed Saivite cult, but were still bounded by their common heritage to the Mediterranean race. They were mostly traders and were well acquainted with navigation and knowledge of stars. At one stage we expect them forming city guilds and small states all over India, specially in the North West (including Afghanistan) and Southern India. Even now an area called Brahma Desam in Tennevally district of Andhra Pradesh is said to exist.

The recent work done in Human⁵¹ Genetics, Department of genetics Osmania University Hyderabad (a Cosmopolitan centre) by T. Padma and and J. S. Murty confirms my point of view.

	A	B	AB	O	P	Q	R
1) Brahmin	29.5	30.4	5.5	34.6	0.195	0.201	0.604
South Indian castes.	24.8	31.7	5.7	37.8	0.177	0.222	0.600
2) North Indian Castes	20.2	38.4	11.1	30.	0.176	0.287	0.537
Kshatriya	18.4	40.1	6.1	35.4	0.132	0.258	0.600

The Blood group pattern with 'O' domination of Brahmin is allied to the South Indian Dravidians, who once formed with semites the Mediterranean Cauc. stock. Where as in (2) we see the allied pattern in Northern Indians and Kshatriyas of Nordic Cauc. origin - the Aryans, in whom 'B' Group dominates.

From this data we can assume that the Brahmins are genetically nearer to the Dravidians than the Aryans. We know the Dravidians belong to the Mediterranean stock of caucasians as semites do.

51) Distribution of A, B, O, Blood groups in Hyderabad Population I. J. Med Res. Vol. 62, P. 745, 1974.

THE HISTORICAL SURVEY OF THE BATTLE OF BOBBILI

Dr. R. Ramam.

The battle of Bobbili (1757) is no less significant than that of any other battle fought in the history of modern India. The battle was fought in the present Vizianagaram district of Andhra Pradesh between Raja Gopala Krishna Ranga Rao of Bobbili and Raja Vijayaramaraju of Vizianagaram assisted by the French under Bussy.

Before we come to the actual event, it would not be out of place to give a brief account of Bobbili and its rulers. Bobbili with the four revenue divisions of Kaviti, Bobbili, Rajam and Seethanagaram was by far the most chivalrous and adventurous Velama Zamindari in the Northern Circars. The Ravus of Bobbili are well-built and of warlike disposition. They are very daring and reckless of life when anything happens to offend their notions of respect. They "esteem themselves the highest blood of native Indians next to the Brahmins, equal to the Rajaputs, and support this preeminence by the hautiest observances, in so much that the breadth of a different religion and even of the meaner Indians requires ablution."¹

Nirvana Rayappa, generally called Pedda Rayudu, the 15th Raja of the Venkatagiri Zamindari was said to be the founder of the Bobbili family. In 1652, he arrived in the Northern Circars in the train of Sher Mahammed Khan, the Fauzdar of Srikakulam, on his march against Visakhapatnam. Another retainer of the Khan's was Pusapati Madhavavarma, the ancestor of Vizianagaram family and the rivalry between these two houses dated from this period.² Pedda Rayudu rendered valuable services to Sher Mahammad Khan and obtained from him the Rajam hunda (division). He was also granted the hereditary titles of *Raja* and *Bahadur*. After everything was

settled in the Circars, he returned to his ancestral Zamindari of Venkatagiri, leaving his son Lingappa at Rajam.³

Raja Lingappa built a fort and town which he named 'Bebboly', after the name of his patron, Sher Mahammad Khan (Sher means tiger; Bebboly, a royal tiger). From Bebboly, the name of the town and Zamindari had been corrupted into Bobbili. Lingappa soon distinguished himself by rescuing the Fauzdar's son out of the hands of a powerful Fittooridar whom he defeated with great slaughter at a place called Rangavaka near Palasa in Ganjam. The Fauzdar was pleased so much and rewarded Lingappa with the title of *Ranga Rao* (victor in battle) which had been used by all his successors.⁴

When the Northern Circars were assigned to the French in 1753, Raja Gopala Krishna Ranga Rao was ruling over Bobbili. He was a great Velama Warrior. He had high sense of dignity and valour. He had never once yielded to his arch enemy pusapati Vijayaramaraju of Vizianagaram. There was traditional rivalry between the Ravus of Bobbili and the pusapatis of Vizianagaram and I would like to trace it briefly in the following pages.

In terms of area, income and population, Bobbili Zamindari was smaller than that of the neighbouring Vizianagaram. As the climate of Bobbili caused malaria and other fevers of the hill region and as the area was in the midst of inaccessible woods, the rulers of Bobbili were confident that they could defend themselves against any enemy. Ranga Rao was frequently raising insurrections in the Vizianagaram territory and was encouraging the subordinate Puspati hill-tribes not to pay their revenue to Vijayaramaraju. The people of Ranga Rao were diverting the water of rivulets which pass through Bobbili territories to Vizianagaram and thereby deprived the irrigation facilities to the peasants of the Vizianagaram Zamindari⁵. On account of these and some other border disputes, Vijayaramaraju vowed vengeance against Bobbili.

If the local records are to be believed, Vijayaramaraju had made four vain attempts to suppress Bobbili before the great battle. First, when Vijayaramaraju was sending his army through the Bobbili Zamindari under Sagi Narayana Raju to conquer Narayanapatnam near the present Parvatipuram town of Vizianagaram district, Ranga Rao's forces attacked those of Vizianagaram and defeated them.⁶ Secondly, within a short time after this incident, Vijayaramaraju collected all his forces and attacked Bobbili. In this battle Vijayaramaraju was defeated and was pursued by the Bobbili army till he took refuge in his own fort at Kumila.⁷

Thirdly, with the intention of taking revenge on Rangarao, Vijayaramaraju built the fort of Belgam near Parvatipuram and entered into intrigues with the Bobbili people. From here he succeeded in subduing the Raja of Narayanapatnam but failed in attacking Bobbili.⁸ In the last attempt, one of his relations Pusapati Rama Chandraraju was beheaded and his head was sent to Vizianagaram with Vishnava marks on his forehead⁹. In these expeditions and battles, Vizianagaram lost four thousand men either by fighting or by malaria fever. The pride and prestige of Vijayaramaraju had thereby been shattered and he was waiting for an opportunity to destroy the Bobbili power.

It was at this juncture that Salabat Jang, the new Subedar of Deccan ceded the Northern Circars consisting of the 470 miles area in the East Coast from the river Gundlakamma in the Guntur district to the Chika lake in Orissa to the French by the treaty of Aurangabad in 1753. In order to remove the Bobbili thorn from his path Vijayaramaraju remained loyal to the French when Ranga Rao and other Zamindars proved dangerous to their authority in the Northern Circars.¹⁰ When Bussy was dismissed from the service of Salabat Jang and was in dire need of money, Vijayaramaraju furnished through his agent at Hyderabad as much gold as Bussy needed for the occasion.¹¹ Bussy could never forget this help of Vijayaramaraju and began to have a soft corner for him.

Immediately after getting himself reinstated in power at Hyderabad, Bussy proceeded to the Northern Circars at the head of 500 Europeans and 4000 sepoys to put down all the rebellious Zamindars. On his arrival at Rajahmundry, Ibrahim Khan who rented the Srikakulam Circar earlier left the country for fear of severe punishment for disavowing the French authority during the critical days of Bussy.¹² Vijayaramaraju who had adhered faithfully to the French authority came to meet Bussy accompanied by Vatsavayi Jagapatiraju of Peddapuram, Narayana Deo of Parlakimidi and other Kshatriya Zamindars with a powerful force of 10,000.¹³ All the Zamindars of high and low rank went to the camp of Bussy. Only Gopala Krishna Ranga Rao of Bobbili was conspicuous by his absence.¹⁴

That Ranga Rao is defiant and contemptuous of the French authority, is best proved by the fact of his abstaining from coming to pay his respects to Bussy, while so many Zamindars did so in obedience to his summons. His earlier alignment with Jafar Ali Khan the ex-Fauzddar of the Circars to oppose the French and instigating the Maratha inroad into the Circars further prove the refractory behaviour of Ranga Rao.¹⁵ Moreover his friendly contacts and giving asylum to Ibrahim Khan prove beyond doubt that Ranga Rao intentionally abstained from paying his respects to Bussy.¹⁶ Otherwise, he would have sent one of his subordinates to Rajahmundry as a mark of respect.

Taking advantage of his faithful attachment to the French, Vijayaramaraju who had long been contemplating the extermination of Bobbili instigated Bussy against Ranga Rao. Bussy's Diwan Hyder Jang and the French Dubash (Interpreter) Lakshmanna who had received substantial bribe from Vijayaramaraju added fuel to the fire.¹⁷ Bussy who had already dissatisfied with the defiant attitude of Ranga Rao to the French authority was convinced with their arguments and decided to act.

The combined French and Vizianagaram armies marched towards Bobbili through the shortest route via Peddapuram, Kasimkota, Vaddadi, Devupalli and Poram.¹⁸ The last moment attempts of Ranga Rao to acknowledge the French authority by sending three successive embassies headed by Mantena Butchchenna, Damerla Dharma Rao and Chelikani Venkanna proved futile on account of the intrigues of Hyder Jang.¹⁹ Before attacking the fort, Bussy pardoned Ranga Rao and proposed that he should quit his hereditary Zamindari of Bobbili in exchange for other lands of greater extent and value (which however have not been mentioned in any document now available) in another part of Srikakulam Circar. Rangarao treated the proposal as an insult and determined to defend his fort to the last. Soon after, it became necessary for Bussy to send a detachment of sepoys to some districts at a distance, to which the shortest road lay through some parts of the woods of Bobbili. Permission of Ranga Rao was obtained, but either by some contrivance of Vijayaramaraju or the pre-determination of Rangarao, the detachment was sharply attacked and obliged to retire with the loss of 30 sepoys killed and more wounded.²⁰ This unexpected incident became the last straw that broke the camel's back and Bussy, not foreseeing the terrible havoc to which he was proceeding determined to reduce the whole country of Ranga Rao.

The allied army was divided into four divisions and attacked the four towers of the Bobbili fort at 5.0' clock in the early morning of the 24th January 1757. Ranga Rao and his brave Velama contingent of 250 men defended the fort with the indignant ferocity of wild beasts unto the last. The numerical strength of the enemy and the efficacy of the French artillery proved beyond his capacity and by 2.0' clock in the afternoon partial breaches were made on the ramparts of the fort. When the position became desperate, Ranga Rao ordered for an indiscriminate massacre of his women and children so as to save their honour from the violence of the Europeans and the ignominious authority of Vijayaramaraju. His orders were implicitly obeyed by setting fire to the ladies apartments. All those who tried

to escape the fire and suffocation were mercilessly stabbed. Not even the helpless infants clinging to the bosom of their mothers were allowed to survive. While the fighting was severely going on Ranga Rao, the finest flower of the Andhra chivalry was killed by an unexpected musket ball. His younger brother Vengala Rao was severely wounded and fell unconscious on the ground. Nevertheless, none of the defenders quitted the rampart nor would accept quarter from the enemy. The fighting was continued till sunset when all perished struggling against the advancing enemy.²¹

When the victors entered the fort at sunset, they were horrified to see the fire and desolation on all sides. However, an old man ~~much~~ against the wish of Ranga Rao, preserved his only infant son by name Chinna Ranga Rao and presented him to the French Commander Law. The old man and the child were immediately sent to Bussy who remained in his tent outside the fort. The latter received "the sacred captives with the humanity of guardian appointed by the strongest claims of nature and ordered them to be strictly guarded in the camp from the danger of the enemies". As compensation to the incalculable damage done to the family, Bussy appointed Chinna Ranga Rao as the lord of the territory which had been formerly offered to his father in exchange for the districts of Bobbili²². His wounded uncle Vengala Rao was fortunately alive to act as his guardian.²³

The number of defenders in the Bobbili fort given by Robert Orme is only 250. This is evidently not correct. Rao Venkata Swetachalapati Rangarao, the Bobbili Kafiyat and the Pusapati katiyat state that Ranga Rao was having under his control an army of 4000 men and a band of one thousand Velama warriors.²⁴ If the duration of the battle which lasted from early morning till the evening be considered, it would appear impossible for a small force of 250 men to have defended the fort for so long a time against the large combined army which attacked it. Therefore, the account given by the Bobbili and Pusapati Kafiyats and Rao Venkata Swetachalapati Rangarao appears more correct.

Once Bobbili had fallen, Vijayaramaraju triumphantly entered into the city and hoisted the French flag over the fort.²⁵ He was very jubilant for his long cherished ambition had been fulfilled. But unfortunately he was not destined to enjoy the fruits of his hard won victory for a long time. Three nights later, when the Vizianagaram camp was buried in sleep, two followers of Ranga Rao crept into the Raja's tent and stabbed him to death, inflicting 32 wounds on his body. Meanwhile, the sentries had awakened and shot down the assassins.²⁶ One of the two who stabbed Vijayaramaraju to death was Tandra Papayya, the brother-in-law of Ranga Rao. He was in charge of the Rajam fort and hence, did not come in proper time to participate in the battle. As soon as he heard of the Bobbili tragedy, he proceeded there with one or two of his followers and accomplished the deed. Robert Orme, Martineau and the records of Fort St. George surprisingly do not mention the name of Tandra Papayya. They simply state that some followers of Ranga Rao (whose number is differently mentioned in various records as two or three or four) entered Vijayaramaraju's tent at night three days after the tragedy and stabbed him to death. However, from the account given by the Local Records and Rangaraya Charitramu, we are sure that it was Tandra Papayya who killed Vijayaramaraju.

As Bussy did not enter the Bobbili fort after victory and censured Vijayaramaraju for the total destruction, we can suspect that he had his hand in the assassination of Vijayaramaraju. The recall of the French guard from Bobbili fort where Vijayaramaraju was staying and the unsuspected and unchecked manner by which Tandra Papayya entered Vijayaramaraju's tent, give the impression that the above suspicion was not without any basis. John Lewin Smith, the provisional Chief of Visakhapatnam in his letter dated the 10th March 1757 to George Pigot, the Governor of Fort St. George at Madras, clearly indicated that Bussy was at the bottom of Vijayaramaraju's death²⁷. Ranga Raya Charitramu also states that the French except Hyder Jang were happy over Vijayaramaraju's assassination and pillaged his tent.²⁸ On the basis of all these evidences, we may

safely conclude that Bussy was indirectly responsible for Vijayaramaraju's death. He might have presumed that after the removal of Bobbili, it would be impossible to control Vijayaramaraju who by his opportunistic behaviour might endanger the French position at any time in the Northern Circars by aligning himself with the neighbouring English at Visakhapatnam. The danger from Vijayaramaraju would become more threatening especially when Bussy would go far away to Aurangabad and other parts of the Deccan.

The battle of Bobbili was perhaps the first instance in the history of modern India where an Indian prince offered stiff resistance to defend his freedom knowing fully well that death was certain against the political domination of the Vizianagaram - French alliance. Since the advent of the Europeans into our country, we did not come across such a resistance anywhere in India. The gallantry shown by Ranga Rao and his followers made such a deep impression on the minds of the people that it has been commemorated into ballads which are sung even to this day in many parts of the Telugu speaking area. The valour shown by Ranga Rao and Tandra Papayya is still a source of inspiration to the people of Andhra Pradesh.

Even the course of Indian history was indirectly affected by this battle. At a time when Bussy was contemplating of going over to Bengal from the Northern Circars on the invitation of its Nawab Siraj-ud-daula to destroy the English settlements there²⁹ he was influenced by Vijayaramaraju of Vizianagaram to attack Bobbili. The unfortunate Bobbili tragedy coupled with that of the defiant attitude of the Raja of Gumsur in Orissa later,³⁰ diverted the attention of Bussy for several weeks and thereby, prevented him to go to Bengal from the Northern Circars to prevent the capture of Chandranagar (March 1757) by Robert Clive before the battle of Plassey. Otherwise, Bussy would have gone to Bengal in proper time to face Robert Clive and the final struggle for Colonial Empire between the French and the English in India would then in all probability have taken a different shape.

References

1. Robert Orme, *A History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan*, London (MDCCLXI), Vol. II, P. 254.
2. D.F. Carmichael, *Vizagptam District Manual*, Madras (1869) P. 291; Dittakavi Narayanakavi, *Rangaraya Charitramu*, Madras (1914), pp. 32-33.
3. Rao Venkata Swetachalapati Ranga Rao, *A Revised and Enlarged Account of the Bobbili Zemindari*, Madras (1907), P. 36
4. *Ibid*, pp. 37-38
5. *Sangraha Andhra Vijnana Kosamu* Hyderabad (1958), Vol. VI, P. 461. V.R. Jagapativarma, *Peddapuramsthana Charitramu*, Rajahmundry (1915), P. 91; E. Nagamamba, *A History of the pusapatris (1652-1794)*, P. 149, (unpublished Thesis)
6. Government Oriental Manuscript Library (Madras), *Pusapati Kafiya*, Vol. IV pp. 11-12.
7. *Ibid*, P. 18; Government Oriental Manuscript Library (Madras) Vol. IV, *Bobbili Kafiya*, pp. 213-214.
8. *Pusapati Kafiya*, pp. 20-24; *Bobbili Kafiya*, pp. 214-215.
9. *Pusapati Kafiya*, p. 26. *Bobbili Kafiya*, pp. 215-216.
10. Alfred Martineau (English translation by Miss. A. Cammiade), *Bussy in the Deccan*, Pondicherry (1941), pp. 263-265; V. R. Jagapativarma, *Op. cit*; pp. 86-87.
11. Robert Orme. *op. cit*; Vol. II, p. 103.
12. *Ibid* p. 253; Henry Morris, *Descriptive and Historical Account of the Godavary in the presidency of Madras*, London (1878), P. 222.
13. Dittakavi Narayanakavi, *op. cit*; 41-44; V. R. Jagapativarma, *Op. cit*; 91.
14. Dittakavi Narayanakavi, *Op. cit*; p. 42.
15. Robert Orme, *Op. cit*; Vol. I, p. 373; W. K. Firminger (Ed), *The Fifth Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Affairs of the East India Company*, Calcutta (1917-1918) Vol III, p. 111.

16. Sarojini Regani, *Nizam British Relations (1724-1857)*, Secunderabad (1963) pp. 104-105.
17. Dittakavi Narayanakavi, *Op. cit*; pp. 61-62; *Sangraha Andhra Vijnana Kosamu* Vol. VI, p. 462.
18. Kavikondala Venkata Satyanarayana Murthy, *Visakhamaandala Charitramu*, Kakinada (1927), p. 77.
19. *Sangraha Andhra Vijnana Kosamu*, Vol. VI, p. 462; Rao Venkata Swetachalapati Ranga Rao, *Op. cit*; pp. 66-77.
20. Robert Orme, *Op. cit*; Vol. II, pp. 254-255.
21. *Ibid*, pp. 256-258.
22. *Ibid*, pp. 258-259.
23. D.F. Carmichael, *Op. cit*; p. 292.
24. Rao Venkata Swetachalapati Ranga Rao, *Op. cit*; p. 49; *Bobbili Kaffiyat* pp. 216-217; Pusapati Kaffiyat, p. 40.
25. Alfred Martineau, *Op. cit*; p. 268.
26. Robert Orme, *Op. cit*; Vol. II pp. 259-260; *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, New Delhi (N.d) Vol. VIII, p. 253.
27. *Records of Port St. George - Military consultations 1757*, Vol. 7-A, from John Lewin Smith to Madras, dated the 10th March, pp. 234-236.
28. Dittakavi Narayanakavi, *op. cit*, pp. 164-165.
29. G.B. Malleon, *History of the French in India*, London (1893) p. 502; Nirade Chaudhuri, *Clive of India*, London (1975), pp. 191-192.
30. Robert Orme, *Op. cit*; Vol II, p. 260; T.J. Maltey, *Ganjam District Manual*, Madras (1882), pp. 103-104.

EARLY INDIAN JEWELLERY - A CRITICAL STUDY

M. L. Nigam.

The Buddhist monuments at Bhārhut, Sānchī, Bodhagaya and Amarāvati, which are attributed to the Sunga and Satavāhana Phase of Indian history, provide ample evidence on Indian jewellery through their intricate stone carvings. The jewellery, as noticed through the carvings of the figurative sculptures, is important for two significant reasons, viz; firstly, the forms of jewellery have been continued throughout the ages with little or no changes and secondly, the identification of various ornaments worn by the male and female figures at Bharhut can easily be made with the help of ancient literature of India. Another important fact which can be brought out by studying early sculptural art of India is that the trait of wearing beautiful jewellery was common with the male and female sections of the society. Further, the jewellery was worked in precious and semi-precious metals and the same was encrusted with the pearls and glittering gems for the royal use.

A careful scrutiny of the Sunga and Satavāhana art would reveal that a large variety of ornaments to be used on the head, ears, neck, arms, waist and feet had come in vogue. The forms, motifs and designs of ornaments were drawn either from Nature or the sectarian symbols. For example, the ear-rings are very often shaped as full blown lotus flowers and petals. The numerous animal motifs, such as the snout of a crocodile, lion's head and coil of a serpent have been imitated to shape the numerous ornaments of the Satavahana period. At Bharhut, the famous Buddhist symbol, Tri-ratna, is very often found depicted in the personal jewellery of male and female figures. Again, the ornaments, like ear-rings, necklaces, armlets and bracelets, seem to have been commonly worn by both the male and female members of the Society. However, the forehead

ornaments, long necklaces, girdles and anklets were worn only by the fair sex. The males probably used an embroidered cloth, sash or Pataka, to tighten the waist. The nose-ring is probably a later addition to Indian jewellery.

Forehead ornaments :—

The female sculptures, from Bharhut are invariably shown wearing a star-shaped ornament just below the parting of the hair on the top of the forehead. The term, "Lalatika", as used in ancient Sanskrit literature, has been interpreted as a jewelled ornament on the forehead (Sivaramamurti, 1956). Similarly, the gem 'Chudamani' or the 'Makarikā' (crocodile gem) are found adorning the foreheads of the female sculptures of Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda (Sivaramamurti, 1956).

Ear ornaments :—

Ear rings were used by the men and women both. Sometimes, the ear-rings are shaped as Tri-ratna symbol. Even today, the Christians wear the cross as ornament. Cunningham described a special type of ear-rings used at Bharhut, wherein the middle portion was formed of two spiral tubes and ending with a four petalled flower (Cunningham, 1962). Agrawala has identified them with Prakravapra Kundalas, as mentioned in the Virāta Parvan of Mahabharata (Agrawala, 1956). The crescent-shaped kundalas (mrshtakundalas), which find mention in the Jatakas, are found represented in Amaravati sculptures (Cunningham, 1962). The actual specimens of this kind of Kundalas were excavated from Taxila by Marshall (Marshall, 1902-3). The 'Vallika, as mentioned in the Cullavagga, has been identified with modern Ballikas or Bala (Sivaramamurti, 1956).

Necklaces or Kantha - bhusa :—

The necklace seems to have been the most popular ornament amongst men and women in ancient India. The necklaces were made

of gold, beads, pearls and other precious stones. Kautilya in his Arthashastra has mentioned a large variety of necklaces, including their characteristics and names (Shama Sastry, 1923-24). The necklaces were generally composed of numerous strings, popularly known as 'Yashti' and the central part of it was adorned with a large gem, called nayakamani. A necklace comprising of gold coins was named as 'Nishka', which was also the name of a gold coin (Apte, 1965).

The necklaces used to be both, short and long. The short necklaces were known as Kanthi or Kantha, a name which is still retained in Indian vernacular. In the Bharhut sculptures, the short necklaces are broad and flat, going around the neck. They might have been made of plain gold. The other varieties of necklaces were probably made of gold beads, pearls and precious gems. The necklaces were made either of one string (ekāvali) or more than one string. If the central gem is large sized pearl, the necklace was called 'Sirshak'. A necklace composed of alternating pearls and gold globules was termed as 'apavaritaka'. Ratnāvali was a variegated necklace composed of gems, pearls and gold globules (Shama Sastry, 1923-24).

Another notable variety of necklace used in Maurya and Sunga age is the "Phalakshāra", which comprised of three or five slab like gems, rectangular in shape and set at regular intervals of pearls. It consisted of numerous strings, as noticed from the sculptures of Bharhut and Amaravati (Sivaramamurti, 1956).

Bracelets :—

The armlets or bracelets were commonly worn by men and women of the Sunga period. They seem to have been made of gold and encrusted with precious gems. The bracelets were known as "Valayas". According to the 'Gāthāsaptasāti', the valayas were considered as a symbol of auspiciousness for the ladies whose husbands were alive (K M. Series, 1889). The bracelets seem to have been named after the material employed and sometimes even after

the workmanship. For example, the Ratnavalayayas (Mudrārākshasa, Act IV, 5 p. 192) were the bracelets set with precious stones and corals, the Sankhavalayas were made of conch and the Jalavalaya (Gāthāsapataśati I, 80) were the bracelets showing perforated workmanship. The bracelets made of ivory were also in vogue. The most elaborate bracelets, as worn by the Yaksha, Yakshis and Nāga figures at Bharhut; consist of spirals of ten coils each, with a jewelled plate on the outside of the wrist and on the inside a curious arrangement of four perpendicular wires attached to a loop, for keeping the spiral closed (Cunningham, 1962).

Like bracelets, the armlets were also known as Valayas due to their ring-like shape. The various shapes, based on the creeper and "makara" motifs, of armlet are mentioned in ancient Sanskrit literature (Sivaramamurti, 1956).

Girdles :-

There are numerous references to female girdles in early Sanskrit and Pali literature. The various names of female girdles seem to have been based on the number of strands in the ornament or the tinkling sound produced at the time of movement. The names, such as Mekhalā, Kanchi, Saptaki, Rasanā and Sārasanā, which are found mentioned in Amarakosa, are said to have signified the number of strands composing the girdle (Sivaramamurti, 1956). For instance, the term, "Saptaki" denotes a girdle with seven strings. "Rasanā" is probably the tinkling girdle with small bells suspended downwards. Sivaramamurti believes that the Rāsanā or Rasanākalāpa probably resembled a mekhalā but was fashioned like a cord or chain with numerous links composing it (Sivaramamurti, 1956). Similarly, the names Kanchi or Kakshā, as Cunningham suggests, denote the specific girdles composed of brilliant red seeds of Gunjā or Abrus Precatorious (Cunningham, 1962). The same scholar, on the basis of early Buddhist literature, takes the term Mekhalā as being "set with gems in newly burnished gold and silver" (Cunningham, 1962). The other names of girdles, such as the Maddavina, Kalabuka, muraj

and deddubhaka had their special characteristic qualities (Cunningham, 1962). The Maddavina type of girdle had a rich, jewelled border. The Kalabuka was composed of many strips plaited together. The Muraj had drum-shaped knobs and the deddubhaka had knobs in the form of a water snake.

Initially, the girdles seem to have been composed of beads, including those of gold and silver. The same might have been followed by chains of gold and silver with jingling bells, specially used by the dancing girls. This is how, as Cunningham takes it, the lady's girdle assumed the elaborate and costly form of five, six and seven strings of gold beads (Cunningham, 1962). These girdles are found worn by the various female figures of the Bharhut stupa. The most elaborate girdle, worn by the goddess, Sirima, represents similar motif and design in construction.

Anklelets :-

Anklelets were popularly worn by the ladies of the Sunga and Satavahana periods. The most common variety appears to be formed of spiral coils, piled one over the other (Cunningham, 1962). The various names, such as 'manjira' 'tulakoti', 'nupura', 'padangada', 'Hamsaka' and 'palipada' in Sanskrit and Pali languages would suggest a large variety of anklelets in ancient India (Sivaramamurti, 1956). However, the popular form of anklelets noticed at Bharhut can be identified with the ancient term, Manjira, which are supposed to resemble the coiled strings of the churning stick (Sivaramamurti, 1956). Sometimes, the anklelets were embedded with small bells, 'Kinkinis' to produce the jingling sound. In the temptation of the Buddha, some of the dancing Apsaras are said to have, "tinkled the bells on their feet" (Cunningham, 1962).

Finger rings :-

The finger rings or Anguliyaka are found worn by the female figures at Bharhut. However, the same are not to be noticed at Amaravati in its earlier phase. The finger rings appear at Amaravati only during the 3rd c. A.D. (Sivaramamurti, 1956).

The foregoing description of Indian jewellery would reveal that the Indians, both male and female, had great love for ornaments right from the Indus Valley period. In the initial stages, the beads of semi-precious stones in different shapes and sizes were used as an aid to personal beauty. The beads of gold and silver were sparingly used by the rich people. The advances of metallurgy in Vedic era, made it possible to use largely gold and silver for fashioning of intricate jewellery. At the same time, the other materials, like ivory, wood, clay and terracotta were also used to fashion jewellery for the poor section of the society. Coming to Maurya-age, the major parts of the country were united under one paramount rule. The vast resources of the country and intimate relations of the Maurya emperors with west Asian monarchs might have introduced some new traits and traditions of west-Asian origin in Indian jewellery. Some of the ancient jewellery found from Taxila would suggest such a cultural blending.

The beginning of the Christian era is full of political turmoil and confusion in Indian history. The various nomadic tribes, such as the Bactrian Greeks, Sakas, Parthians and the great Kushans had crossed the Indian borders and established their kingdoms in whole of the north-western regions of the country. This provided a further opportunity for the west and central Asian cultural forms and traditions to penetrate into Indian soil. Again, the opening of sea-routes led to the development of Indian foreign trade with the Roman empire as its chief customer. The huge quantity of Roman gold was coming to India every year as a result of the brisk trade. The art of jewellery and work in precious stones were attaining unprecedented heights. However, the scant archaeological material is hardly adequate to form an idea of the alien forms or techniques, if any, introduced in Indian jewellery due to the cultural contact with west and central Asian world. Some of the jewellery pieces from central India, presently kept in the National Museum, New Delhi, are akin to the jewellery found from Himachal Pradesh and Punjab. Thus, the north-western regions seem to have preserved the ancient modes

and traditions for the last two thousand years. However, the Buddhist motifs, floral designs and animal and bird forms in these ornaments might suggest the Indian influence which might have travelled along with the migration of Buddhism to central Asian regions. The forms like, belt buckles, amulets and medallions are definitely of central Asian origin and the lavish use of semi-precious stones, like ruby, turquoise, coral and lapis lazuli bespeak of the characteristic quality of that region.

The jewellery found at Sirkap and Bhir, the two notable centres of the Taxila region, comprises of necklaces, pendants, ear-rings, bracelets, clasps, rings and hairpins etc. The necklaces, made of many pieces strung together by thread or wire, can be attributed to Indo-Parthian and Kushan period. The gold beads are usually hollow with small holes to be filled in with lac. In one of the elaborately made necklaces, "the larger pieces are centered with oval medallions of crystal cut en-cabochon in a beaded border enclosed by two fish facing one another with minute circlets of inlaid white cells between their heads and tails" (Jamila B.B., P.P. 48). This probably indicates the beginning of 'Kundan' work which later found much favour with the Mughals in India. The metals i.e. gold, silver and copper have been used to fashion the ancient forms of jewellery from Taxila. The falling down fastoons from the necklaces and ear-pendants are made of thin entwined wire and are also sometimes studded with semi-precious stones, like the garnet, amethyst and corals. The various manufacturing techniques, like the filigree, repousse, moulding, enamelling, heating, soldering and encrusting of stones are found employed in making the ornaments. The delicacy and boldness of design, accurate and precise modelling and the perfect finish of ornaments from the Taxila excavations would suggest that the art of jewellery had been fully evolved there.

The art—motifs employed in the jewellery pieces from Taxila are varied indeed. They exhibit a fine blending of the Hellenistic and Indian traditions.

The figures of Eros and Psyche riding the sea—lions in one of the gold pendants found from ancient Taxila might suggest "the traces of important and strong Greek influence which are not found in the Southern and Eastern parts of India" (Jamila, B.B. p. 53). Of course, the Greek motifs are blended with the Indian lotus, crescent, lotus buds and other flowers. The Greek motifs in Indian jewellery must have been introduced by the Indo—Greek and Parthian rulers of Taxila. The religious motifs, like the Chakra or Wheel Triratna and Swastika are also noticed. The other motifs represented are the resettes, the creepers and the circles. Sometimes, the pendants are shaped in forms of a 'crescent', tiger's claw' and the 'peepal leaves'.

In South India, the jewellery of the Ikshvāku period from Nagarjunakonda is somewhat plain and simple as compared to that of the Taxila region. A necklace and ear—rings made of gold, along with the Buddhist caskets, were recovered from the Nagarjunakonda excavations in the Krishna Valley. The technique employed to fashion the Nagarjunakonda jewellery, datable to 2nd c. A.D., is confined to Filigree. The beaten gold wires are fastened together and soldered to produce ornaments. The notable discovery of goldsmith's entire stock-in-trade, which included moulds of various designs and crucibles etc., from the Site 58 at Nagarjunakonda is a positive evidence to show that the craft of jewellery had fully come into vogue in the Deccan of Ikshvāku period (Sarkar et, 1972). Similarly, the gold necklace from the Stupa—site at Gummediduru, with fifteen beads including spacers, would further strengthen the above statement (Sarkar et, 1972).

Jewellery of the Gupta period :—

With the emergence of the mighty Gupta emperors on the scene, the political condition of the country attained solidarity and stability for a considerable period. The science and technology had made rapid strides, resulting in an over—all development and prosperity of the people. The stable political condition and the material progress raised the living standards of the people in general and the nobility in particular. It aroused aesthetic impulse of the

people who craved for the finer aspects of life and thereby set norms for beauty. The various treatises on the numerous arts and crafts were composed, giving technical expertise and their characteristic features. It was an era of artistic effulgence and perfection.

Accordingly, the art of gems and jewellery reached the culminating point during the Gupta-age. The earlier ornaments were continued and modified and so also many fresh forms were introduced to suit the new social traits and traditions. The use of precious stones with splendorous shades on the glittering surface of the gold became the characteristic feature of the Gupta jewellery. It necessitated the "Ratnapariksha" or the examination of jewels, which was included among the sixty-four subsidiary branches of knowledge in Vatsyana's Kamasutra. The Buddhist chronicle, 'Divyavadana', prescribes this science as a part of training to the sons of trading merchants (Divya, p 26, 99—100). Another important work, 'Brihat-Samhita' gives a vivid account of different gems, their provenance, colours and other characteristic features (Kern, 1865). The numerous literary sources provide countless references to the use of gems for various purposes, such as their appliance in jewellery, costumes, furniture, seals and other objects of house-hold. The gems were encrusted as well as inlaid on the objects of exceeding beauty. The art of cutting and polishing the precious stones was pursued with great vigour and industry.

Jewellery seems to have been in great demand during the Gupta period. The ornaments were worn all over the body. The Amarakosa gives a long list of the names of ornaments for the head, forehead, the ears, the neck, the arms, fingers, waist and feet.

Head Ornaments :—

During the Gupta age, the Kirita was a well known head ornament for the kings (Raghu, Vi). The gems Chūdāmani and Makarikā (crocodile shaped jewel) were commonly worn by the ladies on the parting of the hair, the former at the hinder end and the latter on top of the head (Sivaramamurti, 1956). The ornament,

Chūdāmani was shaped like a full-blown lotus with petals, all composed of pearls and precious stones. The ornaments, like the ratnajāla (jewel festoons) and Muktaajāla (pearl festoons) woven in the hair of the ladies, are mentioned by Kalidasa (Raghu, IX). This type of ornaments are noticed in the wall paintings of Ajanta and Bagh.

Ear Ornaments :—

The ear-rings or Kundalas were of many shapes. The makara Kundala, showing the fantastic animal with curled snout, was very popular during the Gupta age. The Manikundalas or the ear-rings fitted with jewels were greatly admired (Ritu, II, 19). The festooning of hair with hanging pearl strings is not noticed before Gupta-age. Hence, it must be a novelty of this period. The ear-rings shaped as leaf (patra-kundalas) seem to have been greatly in fashion. The leaf-shaped kundalas of gold (Kanakapatra) are also described in literature (Sivaramamurti, 1956).

Necklaces :—

The most common necklace of the Gupta period, as seen in the sculptures, was the 'ekāvali' which consisted of a single string of pearls, variegated by a large sapphire in the centre. Kalidasa has noted the beauty of this ornament when he says, "Remarkable is the beauty of the pearl itself, nothing to say when combined with the radiant sapphire" (Raghu, XVI). Varahamihira mentions a large variety in necklaces, wherein they were named after the varying number of strings. For instance, the 'Induchhanda' (1008), 'Vijayachhanda' (504), 'Devachhanda' (81), 'Rasmikalapa' (54), 'Guchha' (32) and the like comprised of multiple strings (Brihat, LXXX). 'Nakshtramala' was a necklace having twenty seven pearls in one string.

Girdles :—

The girdles were mostly made of gold. The name 'Hema' for the girdle might suggest its material as well. Hēmasūtra was

probably a chain of gold with precious stones in the centre. The other types of girdles, i.e., the mekhalā, Kānchi, Kinkina and rasanā have already been referred to above. In fact, the 'rasana' with a melodious sound of chains and the 'kinkina' with a jingling sound of small bells had attained greater popularity in Gupta period (Megh. XIII).

Bracelets & Armlets :—

The various names such as the 'Valaya', 'angada' and 'Keyūra' were common for the bracelets and armlets during Gupta-age. The bracelets and armlets were made of gold and encrusted with precious stones. The Keyūras were shaped as animal's heads. If it was without tassels, it was known as 'Angada'.

Anklets :—

The term 'nupura' and 'maninūpura' are found mentioned in the literature of the Gupta period (Raghu XVI). The 'Maninūpura' which meant the anklets with two ends, each bearing a slight cubical enlargement as noticed at the ends of a balance beam (Sivaramamurti, 1956).

Finger Ring :—

The finger-ring or 'Anguliyaka' seems to have become popular during the Gupta-age. The finger-rings with a jewelled top 'manibandhana' has been mentioned by the poet, Kalidasa (Sakuntalam VI).

The Gupta-age witnessed perfection in every field of Indian art. The high ideals and standard set by the artisans of the Gupta era invariably inspired the artists of the subsequent centuries to follow the same age-old forms, motifs and designs in their art and crafts. The cycle of progress had reached the highest point and it was now moving in the reverse direction. The most articulate sparingly used jewellery of the Gupta era, as seen through the wall-paintings and sculptures, is put to exotic use in sculptures of the

subsequent periods. No doubt, some of the names and forms of the ancient jewellery are still continued in literature and art of early medieval period of Indian history. For example, the terms, 'Chudamani', 'makara-kundalas', 'nupura', 'mekhala' and 'ekavali' etc. were commonly used during the period of Harshavardhana. Some new names of ornaments also occur in literature.

During the 9th and 10th centuries, A.D., there does not seem to have occurred much change in ancient forms of Indian jewellery. The ornaments were in great demand. Abu Zaid, who came to India during the period under consideration, remarked that the kings and nobles wore costly ornaments which were made of gold and studded with rubies, emeralds and pearls (Abu Zaid, P. 14). The kings preferred gems mostly of red and yellow colours (K.M. VIII). Pearls were profusely used as festoons in jewellery. The kings maintained a band of artists and skilled craftsmen in the court. Rajasekhara, a poet of the Gurjara-Pratihara mentions the presence of the jewellers, gem-setters, and goldsmiths amongst various artisans seated at western end of the royal court (K.M. X). Amongst the favourite ornaments of the ladies, the 'Chūdāratna' or 'Shikhāmani' was put on the hair; 'Nishka' was a necklace made of coins or the big golden beads; 'Manilatā' was golden chain studded with gems; 'kundalas' were the ear-ornaments; 'katisūtra' was a golden chain for the waist and the 'Nūpura' or 'Manjira' were the anklets (K.M. V). Some new names to be met in the literature of this period are the 'Dalavītaka' and 'Sisapatraka'. These are mentioned as ear-rings, which must have been shaped like lotus petals and leaves (Kuttanimitam, p. 65). The 'Valayakalapi' were the bracelets shaped as peacock (Kutt. 345). The 'Tittibhika' was a neck ornament worn by the ladies of the period (Kutt. 739).

The onslaughts of Islam caused great political turmoil and social disorder in the country. Initially, it resulted in a great setback to the art and crafts of India. With the lapse of time the Muslims got settled and mingled with the main cultural stream of the

country. The early Muslim invaders from the Arab (Bagdad) did not leave any abiding impact on Indian culture. The Muslim rulers in India, prior to the Mughals, were constantly engaged in warfare to establish their political suzerainty. The historians too were obsessed with the political situations and left little record of arts and crafts. Hence, there are very few literary references about the jewellery of this period and the extant specimens are not of much artistic significance. However, the Mughals, who had a great regard for the Persian Cultural norms, heralded a new era and opened wider horizons for the Indian craftsmen. The Indian artisanship, which was passing through the stage of depression and stagnation received a new lease of life. It acted with fresh vigour and enthusiasm to develop new techniques and perfection and there after produced masterpieces in fields of Indian art and crafts. Although, no significant new forms seem to have been introduced in Indian jewellery yet, the craftsmanship had considerably improved. The sophisticated taste and the munificence shown by the Mughal emperors to Indian artisanship gave an un-precedented impetus to the art of Indian jewellery. The talented artists of India used their indigenous skill and artistry to fashion the most subtle and gorgeous ornaments to suit the taste of their new masters. This happy blending of the alien taste and Indian workmanship provided a new look and extra-ordinary charm to the crafts of Indian jewellery.

Jewellery of the Mughal era :—

The Mughals entered into India from Central Asia. On their way, they had developed great love for the Persian culture. Later, the armies of the Mughal empire over-ran the whole of upper India including the Deccan. The great wealth of the gold and diamond mines of the Deccan also came to the treasuries of the Mughals by way of political ransom and royal gifts. The sound political and economic conditions of the Mughal rulers and their close relationship with the contemporary Persian monarchs had infused new vitality and vision in Indian craftsmanship. Thus, the art and crafts of the Mughal period in India reflect a soft blending and synthesis of the

artistic norms and traditions, ideas and concepts and the traits and techniques of the two great cultures, viz; Persian and Indian. The Mughal jewellery is no exception to this general rule. Thus, the superb draughtsmanship, controlled rhythmic linearism and the balanced colour-scheme of the Persian art got mingled with the intricate forms and breathless chiselling of the Indian goldsmith. The combining of more than one technique and mixing up of the Indian figurative and floral motifs with the Persian arabesques and geometrical designs added grandeur and enhanced charm to the jewellery of the Mughal period. Hence, the Mughal contribution to Indian jewellery lies not so much in its exquisite forms and amazing variety, which had continued from the remote past, but in its embellishment and perfection. The accurate draughtsmanship in dealing with the decorative motifs and design, the perfect inlay of wires and the colourful enamelling over the glittering surface of the gold provided excellent appearance to the rare specimens of the Mughal jewellery. Over and above this sublime treatment, the studding of precious gems emitting multiple rays of colours, which was the speciality of Indian jewellers (Manikya—bandhakas), further enhanced the grandeur of the Mughal ornaments.

The main characteristic features of the Mughal jewellery of India are the beautiful enamelling at the back side of the gold ornament, the front being set with uncut precious gems. The Indians generally never allowed the originality of a gem to be spoiled by cutting, unless it had a flaw to be removed. The Mughal jewellery exhibits the art of enamelling at its best. The tiny but beautiful figures of birds, animals, trees, flowers and leaves in natural colours, enamelled at the back of an ornament, provide the same pleasure and satisfaction which one may get by seeing a Mughal miniature painting. The purity of gold probably held the precious stone in its place and this is the reason that this particular technique was known as 'Kundan' work.

The *Ain-i-Akbari*, which was composed by Abul Fazl, a contemporary of Akbar, provides a list of the names of ornaments for

females worn at that time. Similarly, the other chronicles, like the *Akbar Nāmāh*, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, *Shāh Jahān Nāmāh*, and the accounts left by the European travellers further enrich the list of ornaments which formed a part of the Mughal jewellery. The ornaments for men-folk, as mentioned in the contemporary literature, are as follows :—

Head ornaments :—

A large number of male head-ornaments are found mentioned in the literature of this period. A jewelled crown 'Taj' was the main head-gear of the kings (A.N. P. 154). The 'Kulang' was also a jewelled aigrette to be worn on the turban. Shah Abbas of Persia had sent through his emissaries a 'Jigha', studded with an engraved ruby, and a 'Kalagi', valued at Rs. 50,000, to Jahangir as tokens of friendship (Tuzuk, P. 195). Thus, the 'Jigha' and 'Kalagi' were used by kings also. Another notable turban-ornament was called 'Turā'. Prince Shah Jahan had presented a jewelled 'Turā' to Jahangir, when the latter visited him at Ahmadabad (Tuzuk, P. 9). The 'Sar-pech' and 'Sar-band' were also placed on the turban. The Sar-pech was often studded with a tablet of gems in front. However, 'Sar-band' seems to have been used for male and female both (A.N. 643). The 'Sihra', made of pearls and precious stones, was a special ornament worn on the head by the bridegroom at the time of wedding (Ain, 553). It was a common marriage present. The pearl strings of 'Sihra' covered the face of the bridegroom completely to avoid the casting of evil sight.

Necklaces :—

A string of pearls 'Mala', was worn as a necklace. However, the jewelled *Urbaśi* was the most popular necklace for men-folk of the Deccan, as mentioned by Jahangir himself (Tuzuk, Vol. II, P. 36). It was worn around the neck. Another type of necklace was called 'dhukdhuki'. It took its name from its raising and falling with the action of the heart. It contained precious gems, like diamonds, and emeralds etc. (A.N.P. 454). The *Gulu-āvez* was another variety of

necklace made of rubies (Aziz, A.P. 119). The 'baddhi' was another ornament worn around the neck (Aziz, A, p. 120). It was a long necklace hanging down to the waist.

Armlets :—

The 'bazu-band' was an armlet set with rubies and pearls (A.N.P. 643). The 'Kara' was a massive type of bangle worn on the wrist. The 'Pahunchi' were the bracelets studded with costly gems (A.N.P. 454).

Finger-Rings :—

The finger-rings had become very popular ornaments for men during the Mughal period. The finger-rings were sometimes made of one single precious stone. The costly gems were very often engraved with the names of the owner and then set on a finger-ring.

The Ain-i-Akbari also mentions the following names of the female ornaments which must have been in vogue during Akbar's period (Ain, P. 552).

Head ornaments :—

Teeka was a jewel in the shape of serpent and it was worn upon the forehead. *Bindelee* was a round gold ornament and worn on the forehead.

Ear-ornaments :—

The *Khantehla*, probably a corrupt form of *Kundalas*, was an ear-ring of a conical form. *Kurrenphool* was again ear-ring, resembling a rose. *Peepal putty* was a small crescent and nine or more of them were worn in each ear. The *Ballee Chumpakollee*, was a small flower-shaped ear ring worn on the thick part of the ear. Another type of ear-rings were known as *Mourbhenwir*, as the shape resembled a peacock. The *Deerbutcha* was another variety of ear-ring.

Nose ornaments :—

It is during Akbar's period that we find mention of the nose ornaments. The *Phoollee* was a nose ring which resembled a rose bud with a stalk. The *Lowang* was a golden clove worn in the nose. *Nath* was a gold ring studded with a ruby and two pearls and the same was worn in the nose. *Beyser* was a kind of nose jewel, shaped as a flat crescent.

Necklaces —

The *Gooloband* was a necklace consisting five or seven strings of small rose shaped beads. A *Har* was a string of pearls and golden flowers hanging from the neck. The *Hars* was collar made of gold.

Armlets and Bracelets :—

The *Bazoband* was an armlet. The *Taar* or probably *Tora* was a hollow ring worn around the arms. The *Kungun* is a term still in use for bracelets. *Gujreh* was another variety of bracelets made of pearls and gold (Ain, P. 553). *Bahoo* was a small variety of armlets. *Chooreen*, although mentioned as bracelets, are probably the gold bangles, seven of which were worn around each wrist. The *Toar* was a hollow ring, worn upon the arm (A.N.P. 939). The *Ungoothee* is still used as finger-ring.

Girdles :—

The *Katimekhala* was a gold belt worn around the waist. The *Choodirghunta* (*Chhudrighanta*) were the small gold belts strung upon a silver wire and worn around the waist.

Anklets :—

The '*Jeeher*' consisted of three gold rings worn in each ankle. The *Choore* were the two half circles made of gold, which join round the leg. Similarly, the *Doondneeh*, *Mussowree* and *Payil* were all anklets which had come in vogue at the time of Akbar. The

Ghoonghroo were the little gold bells strung upon silk and worn around the anklets between the Jeeher and Payil. The Bank ornaments were meant for the top of the foot. They were either square or triangular. The Beetcheva were toe rings made of gold. Unwut was a ring worn upon the great toe.

The craft of jewellery had attained maximum heights during Mughal period. The talented artisans of India were so adept in their workmanship that they produced exquisite specimens of very high quality. Abul-Fazl, while describing the craft of Indian jewellery, remarks, "The Hindu Goldsmiths are such exquisite workmen, that sometimes they charge a gold mohur for working a tolah of gold" (Ain, P. 554). Even Bernier, who was in India in 1658-59 remarks that "Indians make excellent muskets and following pieces and such beautiful gold ornaments that it may be doubted if the exquisite workmanship of these articles can be exceeded by any European goldsmith".

The fall of the Mughal empire led to an overall degradation of art and crafts of India. The disturbed political conditions and lack of proper patronage created a feeling of insecurity in the minds of artisans who thought in terms of leaving Delhi for better employment and protection. They did receive temporary shelter with the rulers of the hilly regions of Punjab, Oudh and Hyderabad. It was, however, a temporary relief. The political supremacy of the British over Indian sub-continent gave a final blow to native craftsmanship by introducing concepts, forms and motifs of European origin. Hence, the art of jewellery during the British regime was confined mostly to copying of the European forms and techniques to suit the European taste.

References

- Abul-Fazal; Ain-i-Akbari. Translated by Francis Gladwin, Vols 2; London, 1800.
- Aziz, A; Arms and Jewellery of the Indian Mughals. Abdul Aziz, Lahore, 1947.

- Agrawala, V. S; Studies in Indian Art Vishwavidyalaya Prakashan, Varanasi, 1965.
- Apte, V. M. Social and Economic Condition. The Vedic Age, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan Series 4th ed, Bombay, 1965.
- Bana; Harsha-charita Ed. P.V. Kane, Bombay, 1918.
- Bana; Harsha-charita Nirnayasagara Press Bombay, 1918.
- Bana; Kadambari, Nirnayasagara Press Bombay, 1912.
- Beal, S; Travels of Fa-Hien And Sung-Yun Orient Series, Trubner and Co., London, 1869.
- Beal, S; Si-Yu-ki, Buddhist Records of the Western World Trans. From the Chinese of Hiuen Tsang. 2 Vols, London, 1906.
- Cunningham, A; Stupa of Bharhut Indological Book House, Varanasi, 1962.
- Damodaragupta; Kuttanimatam, with Comm. of C.M. Tripathi, Gyarati Printing Press Bombay, 1924.
- Dutt, R.C; A History of Civilization in Ancient India Regan Paul, Trench Trubner & Co., Ltd., London, 1893.
- Hala; Gathasaptasati. Kavyamala Series, Nirnayasagara Press, Bombay, 1889.
- Jamila, B.B; Indian Jewellery, Ornaments And Decorative Designs. D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Ltd., Bombay.
- Kalidasa; Raghuvamsha, Ed. by S.P. Pandit, 3 Vols, BSS, Bombay, 1869-74.
- Kalidasa; Ritusamhara, Eng. Trans. by E.P. Mathers, London, 19
- Kalidasa; Meghaduta, with Comm. of Mallinatha, Ed. by M.R. Kale, Bombay, 1926.
- Kalidasa; Sakuntalam, South Indian Rec. Ed. Vani Vilas Press, Srirangam, 1917.
- Kazim, M; Alamgir Nama Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1868.
- Kautilya; Arthashastra. Ed. by Shamasastri, R. Mysore, 1919.
- Rai Krishnadas; The Pink enamelling of Banaras. Chhavi, Golden Jubilee Volume, Bharat Kala Bhavan, 1971.

- Rajasekhara; *Kavya-Mimamsa*. Trans. by Pandit Kedar Nath Sharma, Bihar Rashtra Bhasa Parishad, Patna, 1954.
- Sarkar, H & Misra, B N: *Nagarjunakonda Arch. Surv. Ind.* 2nd ed. New Delhi, 1972.
- Sarkar, H & Nainar, S P; *Amaravati Arch. Surv. Ind.* New Delhi, 1972.
- Sivaramamurti, C; *Amaravati Sculptures in the Madras Govt. Museum*, 2nd ed., Madras, 1956
- Tuzuk-i-Jehangiri; Trans. by A. Rodgers & ed. by H. Beveridge Royal Asiatic Society, 2 Vols, London, 1909.
- Varahamihira; *Brihat Samhita* Ed. by H. Kern, Bl Calcutta, 1855; Ed. by S. Sastri and Bhat, R. K. 2 Volumes, Bangalore, 1947.
- Visakhadatta; *Mudrarakshas*, with commentary of Chundiraja, Bombay Sanskrit Series, Nirnayasagara Press, Bombay, 1900.

Journal

The Journal of Indian Art and Industry Vols II, IV, VI, VIII, IX & XII.

PRIVATE ARCHIVES OF ANDHRA PRADESH

P. Krishna Moorthy

Archives are our memory. They contain a mine of information on a variety of subjects. Archives can be broadly classified into two Categories as 'Public Archives' and 'Private Archives'. Public Archives are those archives which are preserved in all institutions or the organisations of Government whether union or state. The Public archives of the Government of Andhra Pradesh are housed in the Andhra Pradesh State Archives and its regional repositories. The archives in the custody of Private individuals, families, scholars, zamindars etc. are known as Private archives. Such Private archives are lying scattered all over Andhra Pradesh.

Private archives have been defined in various ways. The Committee on Archival Legislation in defining the private archives, adopted the view that "it is difficult to define 'private archives' in precise terms as it is not feasible to lay down any definite line of demarcation between public documents and private records. However it will ... include in the definition all records which accumulate through the activities of individuals, families, institutions, business and industrial undertakings etc., covering practically all records which accumulate outside public and semi-public offices".¹ Dr. K. P. Srivastava is of the opinion that "In India, in addition to family papers, are seconds belonging to societies learned private institutions, religious institutions, erstwhile Rajas, Maharajas, Taluqdars, Zamindars etc., are included among private archives".² Hence private archives are those which accumulate through the activities of individuals, families and institutions like business and industrial undertakings etc. In Andhra Pradesh, private archives are mostly available with individuals, scholarly families,

religious institutions, erstwhile Rajahs, zamindars, Samasthanams, Diwans, trust boards, village officers, Freedom fighters, Journalists etc.

Private archives can take almost any physical form like books, manuscripts, palm-leaves, papers, maps, photographs, diaries, micro-films, movie films, gramophone records, recorded tapes and other documentary material.

Public archives (1) provide the Government with precise information about its past decisions, (2) they form the basis of our judicial system, (3) their study helps in the planning of social and economic policy and (4) they provide the basis for historical research. Whereas the Private archives are the most inexhaustible and useful source for historical research. About the importance of private archives, the Committee on Archival Legislation felt that 'it does not require to be emphasised that the history of a country may be better reflected in the papers of a great family or a private institution than even in the records of a government department. They quite often throw light on obscure aspects of (government business and help to explain subtle influences that might have been responsible for the making of government policies affecting important national issues. For a study of economic and social history private archives are quite indispensable.'³

In the recent decades, to supplement the official sources and to build the missing gaps and connections, the value of private archives as source material for research purposes has been increasingly realised. Private archives throw much light on social economic and political conditions. Hence they are indispensable source material for a study of economic, social and political history.

The Andhra Pradesh State Archives of Government of Andhra Pradesh under the scheme of compilation of *National Register of Private Archives* is surveying the archives in the custody of private individuals, institutions, family collections etc. by employing three Research Assistants for doing field work in the three regions of

Andhra Pradesh State.⁴ The National Register of private archives contain information regarding the address of the owners, nature of documents, class of documents etc. which are much helpful in locating the private archives⁵. The staff appointed by the Andhra Pradesh State Archives have done commendable work in surveying the private papers but efforts made so far are hardly commensurate with the magnitude of the the problem.

The Scheme of compilation of National Register of private archives in Andhra Pradesh reveals that in an urban centre like Hyderabad and Secunderabad, out of 86 cases of owners, 74 owners came forward to give their archives on sale and in 12 cases, the owners were not agreeable to part with their collections. In four cases at Mehboobnagar, three at Karimnagar, three at Imbrahimpatnam, one at Hanumkonda, three at Bobbili, the owners have donated their collections to the Andhra Pradesh State Archives. In fifteen cases of Chittoor and three of Krishna Districts, the owners have agreed to sell their collections for a reasonable price.⁶

Some of the main categories of records in the private custody are :

Estishahad (taking evidence or summoning witnesses),

Takidi (instruction or direction),

Sivah (an account-book or inventory),

Hukumnama (a written order or a written award or judgement),

Sanad (a document under the seal of the ruling authority)

Parwana (an order under the Royal seal),

Yaddasht (a note, a memorandum or a petition),

Firman (a Royal mandate, an order or a command),

Ahkam (orders or commands)

Puranas (compilations of old Hindu chronicles and legends)

Sikshas (instructions, Peddabalasikshas)

Shastras (Science, art, law or an authoritative work on any one of those)

Siddhanthas (mathematical works, principles)

Manuscript Books

Memoranda

Files

Judgement copies

Certificates

Bonds

Agreements

Accounts

Gift deeds

Letters

Biographical notes

Life History

Inscriptions

Grants

Appointments, etc.⁷

These archives contain information on various subjects like historical, political, literary, cultural, religious, social, geographical, medical, astrological, philosophical matters⁸ etc. Among other things, in them are treasured the most considered views and ideas of

Itihas-XI, 1,

the most experienced statesmen, administrators and religious leaders of the past on a variety of vital matters of public interest.

The condition of the private archives is very unsatisfactory and the steps taken by the owners for preserving them are inadequate and unscientific. The owners of the private archives are generally ignorant of the importance of the records in their own custody to others especially to the world of scholarship. As prevention is better than cure, first preventive measures should be taken from further deterioration of the private archives. Whatever may be the form of custody of private papers, they should be scientifically preserved and maintained for posterity.

The Andhra Pradesh State Archives is making all possible efforts to acquire private papers, documents etc. from various parties.

The Andhra Pradesh State Archives is acquiring the private records directly from the owners wherever the parties are prepared to part with their records either as donation or gift. Alternatively, every year, the Andhra Pradesh State Archives is purchasing private archives by holding Manuscripts Purchase Committee Meeting through a Committee of experts constituted by the Government of Andhra Pradesh.⁹ The Committee recommends the purchase of the manuscripts etc. for reasonable sums.¹⁰ The Andhra Pradesh State Archives has either purchased or acquired large collections of private archives which are extremely useful in the study of Social, Economic, Political administrative history of South India in general and Andhra Pradesh State in particular.¹¹

Apart from several individuals, institutions like Saraswathi-ketan, Vetapalem in Guntur District, Sri Goutami Library (Established in 1898) of Rajahmundry, Hithakarini Samajam (Registered in 1907) of Rajahmundry both in East Godavari District, Venkatagiri Samasthanam Library, Venkatagiri, in Nellore District, are some of the sources where a good number of Private archives of immense research value are available.

Owners of the Private records are generally reluctant to throw open their archives to others. They may be made conscious of the importance of their records. They may be persuaded and convinced of the desirability of transferring their archives to organised institution like Andhra Pradesh State Archives by way of donation, gift or sale. The owners may also be persuaded to give access to their records to the bonafide researchers recommended by Andhra Pradesh State Archives.

Efforts should be made to develop general archival consciousness among the people through the media like radio, press, television, news reels, special documentaries on archives etc.

The National Register of private archives survey may be intensified by employing one qualified person for each district for field work. It will definitely bring much more records to the light before they are destroyed unnoticed.

Public should be made aware that no records more than hundred years old should be destroyed. All such records may be registered with the Director of Andhra Pradesh State Archives.

More and More manuscripts can be purchased if the manuscripts purchase committee meetings are held in important centres of the State on the lines of circuit committees. This committee should be given more powers and adequate funds should be placed at the disposal of the committee for purchasing private papers.

Wherever the owners are not willing to part with their collections, microfilm copies of their archives may be acquired by the Andhra Pradesh State Archives, with the consent of the owners to throw them open to the scholars also.

If the programme of acquisition of private papers is implemented with more personnel and adequate funds for purchasing Private archives it is quite possible that more and more important Private archives will come to the light.

Iihas-XI, I,

References

1. National Archives of India, *Report of the Committee on Archival Legislation* (New Delhi, December 1960), P. 104.
2. Dr. Srivastava, K.P., *Private Archives - Its care*. (Proceedings of the VIIth International Congress on Archives held in Moscow from 22 August to 25th August, 1972)
3. Report of the Committee on Archival Legislation, *Op. Cit.*, p. 104.
4. One Research Assistant to each region of Circars, Rayalseema and Telangana.
5. **PROFORMA FOR THE NATIONAL REGISTER**
 1. Location of the find spot
 2. Owner, with name occupation and address :
 3. Description of the collection to be given separately for each collection.
 - (a) Class of documents (archival or non-Archival)
 - (b) Chronological limit :
 - (c) Nature of documents (correspondence, diaries, memories, minutes, farmans, particulars, etc.)
 - (d) Subjects in broad outline (diplomatic, financial, business, trade etc.)
 - (e) Relations to any known collection:
 - (f) Circumstances under which acquired (inheritance, purchase etc.)
 - (g) Material (Palm leaf, paper etc.):
 - (h) Language :
 - (i) State of preservation :
 - (j) If any portion published :
 - (i) Whether the present owner is agreeable to part with his collection and if so under what conditions ;
 - (ii) Whether he is agreeable to grant research facilities to accredited students and
 - (iii) Whether he is agreeable to allow copies to be taken of his collection :

See records available on National Register of Records in A. P. State Archives, Hyderabad.

1983

7. Ibid., 3 (c)
8. Ibid., 3 (d)
9. G.O. Ms. No. 502 Education (L) Department dated 3-5-1976 of Government of Andhra Pradesh. The Committee constituted under this order is valid for a period of two years and the Committee will be reconstituted from time to time.
10. The sums depends on the value and importance of the documents offered for sale.
11. Some of the collections have been transferred to the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library and Research Institute, Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad consequent on its separation as a Directorate separating from State Archives of Andhra Pradesh. Details of private collections are available in the Andhra Pradesh State Archives.

LAW AND SOCIAL CHANGE

R. Parthasarathy IAS

"If you have no regard for the Lord
You are on the side of the wicked ;
but if you it, you are against them".

(Proverbs-29)
(Book of old Testament)

"Wisdom does move for a person than ten rulers can
do for a city".

(Ecclesiastes)
(Bible-old Testament)

"Sacred law (dharma), evidence (vyavacara)
history (charitra), and edicts of kings
(raja sasana) are the Four legs of Law.
Of these four, in order, the later is
superior to the one previously named".

(Kautilya's Arth Sastra
by R. Shyama Sastry)

"State to secure a social order for the promotion of Welfare of
the people :- The State shall strive to promote the welfare of
the people by securing and protecting as effectively as it may
a social order in which justice, social, economic and political,
shall inform all the institutions of the national life".

("Article 38)
(Constitution of India)

"Equal justice and free legal aid :- The State shall secure that the operation of the legal system promotes justice, on a basis of equal opportunity, and shall, in particular, provide free legal aid, by suitable legislation or schemes or in any other way, to ensure that opportunities for securing justice are not denied to any citizen by reason of economic or other disabilities".

(Article 39A)
(Constitution of India)

**Excerpts form a Speech of Sri R. Parthasarathy, I. A. S.,
Commissioner of State Archives on the occassion of the
visit of Sri Avula Sambasiva Rao Garu, Vice Chancellor,
Andhra University to the State Archives.**

Chief Guest, Distinguished guests, Ladies and Gentlemen,

On occasions such as this when I rise up to welcome eminent visitors to the Citadels of the Archives, I am usually given to an 'extempore' speech. Today, however, I have decided to circumscribe my ideas in written contours, firstly because of the expansive nature of the subject of talk by our distinguished guest, Sri Avula Sambasiva Rao Garu. Social change or the seachange that has been taking place and that is occurring now, is like a vast expansive sea and I do not want to aimlessly swim in it without a swimming suite of specific ideas, so that I can be afloat on its vast surface with ideas, or Fathom into it to mine ideas, instead of thoughtless backward and forward strokes of swimming. The greatness of the dignity with us who was a legal Luminary, Chief Justice of the Andhra Pradesh High Court and now the Vice-Chancellor of a reputed University has also overawed me into giving a written speech, lest I should occasionally go astray with random thoughts. Under the bright sunshine of knowledge and experience, combined in our Chief Guest, I wanted to bask in the sunshine protected by the canopy of an umbrella, rather than that get burnt by the heat of the sun by thoughtless ramblings over ideas.

Itihas-XI, I

2. Our guest :

Sri Avula Sambasiva Rao garu, starting as an outstanding lawyer, was perhaps always given to talking; As a judge he would have always been a listener as a judge is always at the receiving end of orations except when he gives his final findings or verdict. Presently as a Vice-Chancellor, our guest has switched over to his earlier role of talking to students who do not always listen to profound wisdom. We assure him that here when he talks to our Research faculty, Academic advisors and service corps of people we are going to listen to him intently and listen with very deep respect and reverence. My association with the Vice Chancellor dates back to the early seventies when I had the good fortune of working with him in some cultural organisations of Hyderabad.

3 Issues :

Like a station master who, in his daily conversation, borrows railway terms, such as "my plans are off the track" "my troubles have come up one after another in a line" I got the *green signal* from my boss "My son's education has been blocked," "In my house I am over burdened like a porter" "we are literally on the platform", "my wife has put the red signal to my project," "I cannot suppress my pent up anger like smoke from the railway engine". I am also used to speaking borrowed from legal slang, because I belong to a family of lawyers and judges. In a civil case the preliminary work of the court is usually to get the issues framed; It is only after the issues are framed, evidence is let in and court comes to conclusions on the various issues. When I am standing up today to welcome our eminent advocate of Jurisprudence I am trying to frame the issues on the subject of the talk namely (i) what is the scope of law in subserving social change? (ii) What is social change with reference to Universal context and Indian context and (iii) whether law and law alone can usher social change and (iv) what are the requisites for Law to trigger social change and form of social structure engender an environment for the application of the rule of law. When once I

1983

have framed the issues, I am sure the eminent judge with us to-day would settle the issues soon in his final verdict for the benefit of all of us. In framing the issues and in giving solutions to them in my individual capacity I have drastic suggestions and solutions to end Social-leprosy but unfortunately I cannot air in this August Assembly untrammelled by any limitations because of my belonging to a particular service and because of the nature of the audience present. I have deliberately subdued myself so that I can strictly conform to the discipline of the service and the code of conduct as a Government Servant.

4. Unjustified criticism against law :

Law is like the 'much maligned daughter-in-law' in a household who gets all the bad name from the mother-in-law, after performing all the household chores, or like a servant or a subordinate from a bad master or boss; when everything goes well the master takes the credit, and when petty inadvertence occurs the servant gets the odium of fault. Similarly for all the achievements of law, in ushering in an orderly society much credit has not been given, but for occasional distortions vitriolic or disproportionate criticism against the failures of law are made. Such terms like 'Jungle of law' (jungle is the abode of wild animals) legal battle (battle symbolises destruction), spate of litigation (spate is flood of destruction) and such other terms are used as adjectives for Law. It was Bhagwan Ramakrishna, I recall, who described God as something like electricity, not seen but felt. Law should be like electricity and more than god. Must not only be seen, but also move like an electric motor. There is a familiar dictum that "justice should not only be done but should also be seemingly done and the wheel of justice should grind and grind surely. There are both vision and movement in law and a dynamic concept is associated with the application of Law to any process including social change. Law is like a bulldozer. When it moves it smoothes all the obstacles in front of it or while performing the required job of softening the road or cutting the unwanted undergrowth. A bulldozer may also incidentally kill some insects or some useful plants on the way. Similarly as Law moves, in the

midst of its manifold advantages, innocent may suffer. A water flowing along a canal wets useful plants but also some wild growth along the path is watered. Similarly Law, in serving good causes may be utilised by a few opportunistic people to their own sinister advantage.

5. Many faces of Law :

Law may also be guilty of certain inconsistencies, inherent in the wording of such terms like "we are morally convinced that so and so has committed the crime but Legally we cannot punish him". No doubt 'the accused is guilty but the guilt is not proved beyond the hilt'. 'There is vicarious responsibility and not real' and the guilt has not been established beyond all reasonable doubt, "It is not exactly murder but culpable homicide not amounting to murder". Law thus rejoices in mutually inconsistent statements clothed in words giving opposing ideas. I have seen children weeping, but switching to fits of laughter. I have also seen the alternate 'scenerio' of a child laughing, but suddenly getting into bouts of weeping. When I speak of Law I am reminded of this alternations of smiles and frowns by law on people. Law could also be compared to a garland, which when adoned adds dignity and beauty - to the wearer as well as the person who sees, but the same garland could be in the hands of a monkey—with what results all of us know. Thus I have compared law to a child as well as a monkey—respectively the best of god's creation as well as the funny among god's creatures. In giving all these epithets about Law I am only anxious to protect the various faces of law. However, when I have not received any formal education in Law, and I have no particular claims to nuances of Law, perhaps it is an act of temerity on my part to speak about law. There is one more thought which occurs to me when I speak of law. Law is like a ring in the circus in which the camels, horses and lions go round and round endlessly without reaching an end. Interpretation of one law leads to another law or dictum; Implementation of one law may lead to negation of another. Law could be like a ring master in the circus (using the same circus

example in disciplining and training the tiger and the goat to step up on the same bench, face to face with each other, without the tiger frowning, or the goat gasping for breath in fear. Law could thus protect the weak from the strong.

6. Social change :

A word about Social Change : When I think of social change, other connected changes come to our mind—political change, and economic change. Many political kingdoms have tumbled down the pages of history, including that of Napoleon and Hitler but social changes and social history have only a record of continuity. When there was a great battle in England between the King and the Parliament (Rex or Lex) it was Calvin the thinker, John and Knox the Philosopher who made history and he stirred the people into action. Similarly it was not the booming of guns, but the flowless pen of Rousseau, Karl Marx Engels, and of Mahatma Gandhi nearer at home, which made history. In a tribal society, of which I am a great admirer, there may be no law, but fear of social boycott acts more effectively. Political system can, and may bring about social change, but not always. The same thing can be said of economic change which can never be the only effective precursor of social change. There are countries which have set their foot on the moon by technological advancement, but if in these countries, a white skin is discriminated against the blacks or if a crusader like Martin Luther King or a Kennedy can fall to Assa-sin's bullet, Social advancement is still primitive. There may be a country which had turned the wheels of Industrial revolution, but if the Law of the land prescribed virginity test for the women, which is a great affront to womanhood, certainly in such a situation social order is not of the accepted form. South Africa has the wealth of diamond mines, but if there is racial discrimination practised there, social bankruptcy is discernible. In our own country we see that economic development and overall prosperity of the Nation has not led to corresponding degree of prosperity of all sections of the people. In the absence of social restructuring and a social rearrangement, the National cake may

grow bigger and larger, but it cannot reach all the people. That is how our Founding fathers of the Constitution have spoken of justice, social, economic and political, distinguishably and differently. Economic and political justice do not 'ipso facto' mean social justice. Social reformers and crusaders like Ramakrishna Paramahansa who said the man of high birth as well as the Chandala are equal in the eyes of god, the saints of christianity who prophesied that kingdom of heaven is nearer to the poor than the rich, and the great saints propounded Dir-e-Ilahi and who preached religious harmony got permanent niche in the pages of history than those who conquered and established empires. It is only a Vivekananda who crusaded from Chicago to Chittagong or an Ambedkar who moved from Kashmir to Kanyakumari who is remembered by people with reverence not the founders of Empires or the propounders of Law.

7. Social Engineering :

When we think of Law in relation to social change we have to contend with the basic course of caste with its communal underladder. There were attempts at social revolution by legal methods or by administrative fiat which have gone on unnoticed without focus and without getting the importance they deserved. I am thinking of intercaste marriages as one example. Great changes could be brought about by Government encouraging intercaste marriages so that social vivisection could have been forgotten beyond recognition. On the other hand there have been a law enacted with great paraphernalia for effecting social change, but which have collapsed on the bedrocks of sabotage. Prohibition was better implemented by persuasion than by Legislation, which I can say from my personal experience as a Deputy Commissioner of Excise who tried to implement the prohibition law very rigidly. The same thing can be said of the Anti-dowry Act or the Untouchability Act, or in case of laws prescribing greivous punishment for those committing atrocities on women or weaker sections. In all these cases, there must always be an affected party who should complain as law does not accept complaint from any other body. It makes a subtle distinction between crime against

individual and crime against society. In the case of crime against individual the Law does not take cognisance, unless the individual moves the process of law, and unfortunately it is not an exaggeration to say that in the case of crimes against society, our society is so meek that does not complain at all. In an Adultery case it is the husband who has to complain and no self-respecting husband normally complains. In a rape case a woman wronged against will have to lead evidence but Society, being what it is, can she complain and be in the limelight of disgrace? I remember one or two interesting examples when I tried to do a bit of Social reform as Collector. In one case of rape, I transplanted the woman from her natural abode of the village or residence to an entirely new place, under a changed name and asked her to have a fresh lease of life which she did boldly without humiliation in the new environ. Such a step of destroying of the identity of the woman is an administrative step and a social change was brought about by an administrative action. In the height of Naxalite activity, instead of relying much on the big stick or the gun, I tried to counter bad propaganda by socially fruitful activities so that dis-satisfaction and dis-contentment could not be breeding ground for any destructive activity. Here again, a cadre of dedicated workers can counter a social menace without recourse to law. When I was working as a Block Development Officer, I remember an order called 'Levy of paddy from the primary producers and millers being implemented vigorously. This order was, and is always followed in its breach as every time a law is made the law-breaker knows how to evade it. I started an interesting experiment in a village called Musunur in Nellore district, where I appealed to every house hold to contribute half a bag of paddy to feed school children under what is now widely spoken as mid day meal scheme (in the year 1964) without any Law being enforced there was tremendous spontaneity from every house hold to deliver the paddy to the school immediately after harvest. This was acceptance of social or community responsibility for the common goal without any stringent law being applied. Law can be an agent for social change but law alone is not sufficient to bring about social change,

Iitias XI, I

just as political change and economic change may to some extent be precursors of social change, but social change should always come first in the order of priority even for economic change or political change to bear fruit. Social change must be at the beginning of the tunnel, and other things will follow at the end of the tunnel, and not the other way about.

8. Challenges to Law and Social Change :

When we think of Law and Social Change we have to guard against four important factors - (Nalugu Stambhalata) as Telugu would put it : (1) Reactionaries and vested interests who would always be bent upon Law breaking or tongue twisting law to their advantage. (2) the caste system with its evil influence in our country. (3) Pseudo-sanyasins and religious reformers who preach prosperity out of nothing and who herald miracles, but are real parasites who sap the society. (4) Innocent and gullible people who are prepared to believe anything or who do not know law. The entire process of law, in its efforts to ... bring out social change, has to 'play hide and seek' or Nalugu Stambhalata with the above four. To put it differently, for law to achieve results, there must not only be a giver of law, but also a taker of law. It is something like respect being asked and not given. Unless we have law-abiding citizens law giving men achieve little purpose. If the police and the executive, who are the custodians of law can be *Purchased* the poor people can only buy peace. I am deliberately using the word 'purchase' in the former context and 'buy' in the latter context, because purchase always refers to acquisition of things like a building or a car at a great cost, while the buying is for a low amount of money such as buying brinjals in the market. Thus rich can purchase, while poor can only buy and that too peace only i.e., to be at peace with everybody instead of confrontation for fear of reprisals, which is way a wronged Lavijon or a wronged tenant or an affected woman never complains. Very honest people and good people are maligned for example by yellow journalism or by mud-shrugging. Another *na'ugu stambhalata* between the law maker, law breaker, law giver and the law taker has also to be played in the

Iitias-XI, I,

social environment in our country. The example of socially handicapped people who are politically partitioned, traditionally down-trodden socially segregated, economically exploited are instance where we never reaches the end of musical chair. The 'inter-se' exploitation among down trodden people themselves, is another interesting challenge to law. It is something like giving a stick to a blind man to support himself, but if that blind man, instead of using it as a crutch wields it against another, the situation would be comparable to the help being rendered to an exploited person, who begins to exploit others. I do not want to further elaborate this further, but exploitation with in and by the exploited sections is something law should take care of if social change were to be meaningful.

9. Legal costs of Social change :

Before concluding, I want to bring before you the vision of a pilot with several hours of flight experience manœuvring the most modern aeroplane, fitted with sophisticated equipment: He has an excellent runway below him on an even field and the weather is very fair, he has to content with, there is a good radar aiding the instruments landing system, but if there is no proper ground control, the plane with all the perfections of men and machinery would crash-land. Law and justice are like the ground controls, if society has to land on an even ground of social change, besides other things, ground control by social engineers is very necessary. I manifest my usual weakness for legal terms again in a civil suit, the judge concludes order saying what side should bear the costs. In effecting social change, there are many parties who have to bear huge costs, the political leadership executive the makers of Law, namely the Legislature the givers or of law interpreters namely the courts, and the takers of law namely the citizens. Unless each is prepared to bear the heavy cost, law and social change remain unfulfilled dreams. To put it the other way, again in court language relating to criminal case if a murderer is to be executed the judge pronounces the verdict that the murderer should be hanged without inflicting any pain on

him, and in the quickest possible time in the presence of the executioner and the magistrate. The Execution of the social evils confronting the society should also be done subject to the similar conditions of quickness and least pangs of suffering to society. Mother India or Telugu Talli is suffering from labour pain. She has to deliver the child of social change quickly and painlessly. Law should be the mid-wife who should do help the delivery as a caesarian operation may prove dangerous to the Mother or injurious to the child. The mother of society and the child of social change are to be protected. May we, the present generation of independent thinkers and honest men in all walks of life be the mid-wives for the society to bear a chubby child of effective social change.

10. Law helpless in a Society with two faces of Mr. Jeckyll and Mr. Hyde :

Jesus had to bear the cross for other's sins ; In our society there are some followers of Gandhi who say that Gandhiji's model of monkey seeing no evil, hearing no evil, speaking no evil, has not forbidden them from 'doing evil'. Dr. Ambedkar said that " if the constitution does not work satisfactorily in future we would have to say not that the constitution failed, but that man is vile; I only want to read the same prophesy with the word 'Constitution' substituted by 'Law', and the word 'society' substituting the word 'man'. If in a society man is made out to be what he is not, and if one is not what he appears by outward mask, what can law do to usher-in change in such a make-believe society? There is onerous responsibility on all of us to answer this question. In this situation honest and independent people have to bear the cross for others and suffer like copernicus who was criticised for saying the earth was round based on pains-taking calculations, or Plato or Aristotle, whose wounds society took long time to heal. Law may reform a man in his life time, but social change brought about by a Jesus, or Plato, or Gandhi or Vinoba reforms society for all times to come, but often after their life-times.

Annexure

Some of the Enactments pertaining to *Social Legislation*.

- (1) Child Marriage Restraint Act, 1929.
- (2) Hindu Marriage Act, 1955.
- (3) Dissolution of Muslim Marriage Act.
- (4) Christian Marriage Act.
- (5) Indian Divorce Act.
- (6) Parsees Marriage and Divorce Act.
- (7) Special Marriage Act.
- (8) Hindu Succession Act, 1956.
- (9) The Indian Succession Act.
- (10) Hindu Adoption and Maintenance Act, 1956.
- (11) Hindu Minority and Guardianship Act.
- (12) Religious and Charitable Endowments Act.
- (13) The Wakfs Act.
- (14) The Indian Trust Act.
- (15) Prevention of Beggary Act.
- (16) Children Act, 1960.
- (17) Lepers' Act, 1898.
- (18) Probation of Offenders Act.
- (19) The Reformatory Schools Act.
- (20) The Drug and Magic Remedies (objectionable advertisements) Act, 1954.
- (21) Cinematographic Act.
- (22) Dramatic Performance Act.
- (23) Suppression of Immoral Traffic in Women and Girls Act.

Itihas-XI, I

- (24) Removal of Civil Disabilities Act.
- (25) Untouchability Offenses Act.
- (26) The Medical Termination of Pregnancy Act.
- (27) Epidemic Diseases Act.
- (28) Prevention of Food Adulteration Act.
- (29) Workmen's Compensation Act.
- (30) Payment of Wages Act.
- (31) Minimum Wages Act.
- (32) Factories Act.
- (33) Employees State Insurance Act.
- (34) Industrial Disputes Act.
- (35) Plantation of Labour Act.
- (36) Maternity Benefit Act.
- (37) Urban Land Ceilings Act.
- (38) Ceiling on Agricultural Holdings Act.
- (39) Payment of Gratuity Act.
- (40) Agriculturist Debt Relief Acts.
- (41) Enactments for the benefit of tribal community like Land Transfer Regulations, Money Lenders Regulations, etc.

A FORGOTTEN REBELLION OF BOMATARAUG

Dr. B. Sobhanan

Bomatarauz, the poligar of Gudikota in the Bellary zillah rebelled against the British authority in 1828.¹ The poligar chieftains who played a prominent role in the military, administrative, political and revenue history of the peninsular India during the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries were subjected to the most brutal annihilation following the establishment of the British hegemony. The poligars of Tamilnadu, Malabar and the Ceded Districts engaged in a life and death struggle against the British imperialism. Among them Vira Pandya Kattabomman of Panjalamkurchi, Marudu Brothers of Sivaganga, Kerala Varma of Malabar, Anantaph Naik of Adoni, Jelli Dewanker of Pullalacheruva, Jelli Buswapah of Ballapilli, Perumal Nair of Doodicondah, Gungamah of Verulah, Mohabut Khan of Talpooala fought and fell down as the brave martyrs to protect their feudal privileges.

After that there came a period of lull. The poligars who accepted the terms and conditions put forward by the English were reduced to the status of mere pensioners. Despite the tight military vigilance of the English there took place sporadic uprisings against the British. But the published books find no reference about the later upheavals which took place in Rayalseema. In this paper an attempt is made to trace one such forgotten rebellion led by Bomatarauz of Gudikota with the help of hitherto unexplored source material.

Originally the poligar of Gudikota remained under the Mysore rulers and in 1799 the pollam was occupied by the Nizam. In 1800

1. Bellary District Records, Vol. 3828, pp. 180-181.

along with other Ceded Districts, the English East India Company absorbed the revenue and military administration of Gudikota.² In 1801 the poligar requested a monthly pension of Rupees five hundred.³ The Collector overlooked his claims and thereafter he was reduced to severe financial crisis. For sometime he was supported by some of the relatives. After the end of that support his brothers stated before the Amildar on 28 June 1828: "We die for want of bread, we thus long fearfully acted to the Company's Circar our boys were of under age and were therefore contented with what meal they had or not for their belly, but they having become older tired with starving. So they prefer death than calamity"⁴ Further during crops of the years he was in the habit of visiting field to field and there begging alms of grain but the failure of crops in the that year rendered him incapable of getting even the usual alms, he was therefore too much reduced into poverty.⁵ Siddaramapah, the younger brother and Ramapah, the nephew of Bomatarauz met the Amildar and explained the above factors. It shows the pathetic situation of the poligar chieftains who once exercised all the paraphernalias of a luxurious extravagant life. Following the establishment of the British hegemony they were reduced to object poverty and starvation. Finally Bomatarauz, the Gudikota poligar collected a number of peons and threatened the British authority in 1828.⁶ J. W. Robertson, the assistant Collector of Bellary wrote on 13 July 1828 that the peons commanded by the poligar was more than a match to the English soldiers in that area.⁷ So as a first step he directed the officer commanding Bellary to summon Bomatarauz and his lieutenants like Sevalingapah and Ramapah for an amicable settlement. But he

2. Ibid., Vol. 3823, pp. 1-3.

3. Ibid., Vol. 3824, pp. 5-6.

4. Ibid., Vol. 3823, p. 3.

5. Ibid., p. 4.

6. Ibid., Vol. 3809, p. 289.

7. Ibid., p. 290.

disobeyed all the summons including the Collector. It made the Collector to issue orders to the immediate apprehension of the rebels. He provided additional forces to the accomplishment of the order. They overpowered the poligar and his followers and captured as prisoners.⁸ Despite his limited resources and man power Bomatarauz was capable of making a heroic resistance to the British when its power was at its zenith.

8. Ibid., Vol. 3322, p. 96.

SOCIETY BY PLACE NAMES FROM INSCRIPTIONS FOUND IN MAHARASHTRA

Dr. Malati Mahajan

Place names are generally looked upon for the extension of the rule of a particular dynasty and historical geography of the region. But very often these names stand for some meaning and throw light on different cultural aspects. Scholars like Whiteway, Taylor, Chatterji, Chettiar have studied place names from different points of view.

Here an attempt is made to trace the society of Maharashtra in ancient times with the help of place names found in inscriptions. Most of the place names are composed of two parts,—prefixes and suffixs. The study is based on the first portion of the place names.

Place names from the inscriptions of different dynasties suggest that society in ancient times in Maharashtra was divided in many castes and tribes. We know from our records that King gave donations to brāhmanas to form *Agrahara* i. e. brāhmana colony. Place names after brāhmanas may be the names of such colonies founded after the order of donor King. Names indicating brāhmana colony have been found in one Kalachuri inscription dated KE 360, one in Kadamb record dated S. 1028 and three yādava records of S. 1211, 1214 and 1240.

Koli :—

It is the other caste which is mentioned in inscription. Place name denoting *Kolis* are found in one undated record of Vishnukundin King, Rāstrakuta record of S. 788, Yādava record dated S. 925,

and two Silāhāra records of S. 946 and 956. The Kolis are once associated with *Mahars* in the Rāshtrakuta records of S. 848. The name Kolimahāravishaya denotes the settlement of *Kolis and Mahars* near Sanjan in Thane district during the respective period. There are many places like *Wolivada* and *Maharavada* in Thane district and it is quite possible that ancient *Kolimahara* vishaya mentioned in Rāshtrakuta inscription was composed of such separate settlements.

Other castes mentioned in the inscriptions are Maireyaka and Bhada. While the former is met with in the record of Bhogasakti, dated K. 461 the latter is found in Silāhāra (nk) inscription dated S. 919.

Thus, in ancient times, as our records show, people belonging to different castes were so concentrated in particular region so as to give their name to that place or region. Following is the list of such place names.

Brahmanas	Ancient names	Modern names
Kalachuri	Bhattaurika	Bhatgaon, Nasik District.
Kadamba	Brahmapuri	In Goa.
Yadava	Brahmapuri	Brahmapuri, Kolhapur Dist.
	Brahmapuri	Brahmawadi, Bhir Dist.
Kolis		
Rashtrakuta	Kolapadra	NI.
	Kolimahara vishaya	Some portion of Thane District.
Silahara (nk)	Kolapallika	Kolamandle, Kulaba Dist.
	Kolihiraka	NI.
Yadava	Kolamaruha	NI.
Vishnukundin	Kolikagrama	Kola, Satara Dist.
	Kolikavatika	Kolvade, Satara Dist.

Other castes

Bhogasakti	Mairika ¹	NI.
Silahara (nk)	Bhadana ²	Bhadan, Thane Dist.

Besides, some place names represent some tribes too. There are eleven place names denoting different tribes. Of these one is represented once in the Traikutaka, inscription dated KE 256 two are in Chālukyas (B) record of S. 627, and S. 640, one in a grant of 11th Ry of Nala Bhavattavarman, one in Silāhāra (nk) charter of S. 939 and one Kadamba pls. dated S. 1028.

Vattara-Vadara tribe is denoted by four place names, one each in undated record of Vishnukundin King, in the Rāshtrakuta inscription of S. 836, Chālukya (k) record of S. 930 and Silāhāra (sk) record of S. 1072. The records of Chālukya (k) King Vikramāditya VI, dated in his 35th, 37th, 39th and 40th regnal year supply us with the place names signifying Sabara tribe. Thus, there are following place names after tribes.

Dynasty	Ancient names	Modern names
Traikutaka	³ Mandikalani	NI
Nala	⁴ Malukaviraka	NI
Chālukya (B)	⁵ Davilagrāma	Divale, Pune Distt.
	Pulindra	Punadi, Sangli Distt.
Silāhāra (nk)	⁶ Tokabalāpallikā	NI.

1. Maireyaka - Mairika - A name of mixed caste, MW, SED, P. 834.
2. Bhada - Bhadana - A name of mixed caste, MW, SED, P. 749.
3. Mandika - Name of people, MW, SED, P. 775.
4. Maluka - Name of people *ibid*, P. 814.
5. Dravida - Name of people, *ibid*, P. 501.
6. Toka - Race, *ibid*, P. 455.

Kadamba	Madaka	Madkai, Goa
Vishnukundin	Vattārikā	Wathar, Satara Distt.
Rāshtrakuta	Vattāragrāma	Wathar, Nasik Distt.
Chālukya (k)	Vattāra	Wathar, Kolhapur Distt.
Silāhāra (sk)	Vattāragrāma	Watar, Thane Distt.
Chālukya (k)	Savaravalli Savaravalli	Sagroli, Nanded Distt.

Thus, it seems that different tribes had occupied portions of Ratnagiri, Sangli, Pune, Thane, and Nanded districts during the respective period. Vattāra, a wandering tribe was residing in some parts of Nasik, Kolhapur, Thane, and Satara District during the reign of respective dynasties. Of these, three tribes viz Drāvida, Pulindra and Sabara have been mentioned in ancient literary works too. Damilas are frequently mentioned in Buddhist texts⁷. It was a powerful south Indian tribe. The region occupied by Damilas is generally identified with Kerala or Malabar coast. Drāvida or Damila is usually regarded as the Sanskrit name of the Tamil country some people of this tribe seems to have occupied, as the Bopagava record of S. 640 of Chalukya's shows portion of Pune district.

Pulindas :—

It appears to be a quite ancient tribe and seems to be a southern tribe. In Aitareya Brāhmaṇa it is associated with Andhras, Pundras, Savaras, and Mutibas. Mahābhārata also places them in Dakshināpatha along with the Andhras' Guhas, Savaras, Cucukas and Madrakas. The Matsya and Vāyu Purāṇas have also referred to them as Dakshināpatha-Vāsinah along with Vaidarbhas, Dandakas, Vindhya and others. According to Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa they were living in Deccan along with the Pundrakas, Keralas, Kalingas, Abhiras, Andhras, Vidarbhas, and Kuntalas.

7. Madaka - Name of people, *ibid*, P. 774.

8. Law, B. C. *TAI*, Ch. XXXIV, PP. 168-169.

The capital of the Pulindas of Southern branch was Pulindan-gara⁹. Asoka's rock edict V and XIII, state them along with the Andhras, Bhojas and Rāstrikas. But the most interesting information regarding Pulindas is supplied by Ptolemy. He describes them as occupying a region northward of Nasik, Ozene, Minnagara, Larika or Latadesa, Barygaza etc.

Though references in Vishnupurāṇa and in Bengali recension of the Rāmāyana denote the existence of Pulindas also in northern India¹⁰, Pulindas in Deccan appears to be the large branch and during the reign of Chālukyadynasty, as the Kundal record dated S. 627 shows, they were probably occupying portion of Sangli district.

Sabaras :—

These aboriginal people appear to have wide spread habitations in ancient times. According to Matsya Purāṇa and Vāyu Purāṇa the Sabaras were the inhabitants of Dakshināpatha. The Mahābhārata also places them in Deccan along with Andhras and Pulindas¹¹. Varāhamihira associates them with Pulindas and also refers to a band of Sabaras, hunters and thieves¹². Cunningham identifies Sural of Pliny with the Sabra of Ptolemy. Both these have been identified further with the aboriginal Savaras or Suars who represent a wild race of wood-cutters and live in jungles without any fixed habitations. The country of Savaras was extended upto Pennar river in South. They are also found in wild hilly country about the sources of the Wain Ganga, and also along the valley of the Kistna river¹³. It seems quite probable as the place name in Chalukya's Sagroli records dated

9. Law B. C. *TAI*, P. 174, 75.

10. *Ibid*.

11. *Ibid*, P. 172.

12. Shastry, A. M., *IBV* P. 94.

13. S. Majumdar Sastri Cunningham's *A.G.I.P.* 583.

S. 1110, S. 1115 show, that they occupied some portion of Nanded district during the period and the place acquired the name after them.

Arts and Crafts :—

Different arts and crafts were known and general artisans were probably distinguished from the skilled or specialised craftsmen. Artisans in general are specifically mentioned in the Vākataka record of Pravarssena II, issued in his 23rd regnal year, as Karmmakar and one Chalukyan (B) inscription, dated S. 632, mentions them by the term *Karu*. According to Silahara (nk) inscription of S. 1181 the gang of workmen was known by the term *padi*¹⁴.

Dynasty	Ancient names	Modren names
Vakataka	Karmmakaragrama	Kalamgaon, Amravati Dist.
Chalukya (B)	Karuvagrama	Karegaon or Karva in Satara Distt.
Silahara (nk)	Padivasemgrama	Ranvad, Kulaba Distt.

Professions :—

People were engaged in different professions and there are about twenty one place names denoting different professions. Of these, eight are after cowherds, two denote potters, two ironsmith, one forester or huntsman, one shoemaker, two gardners, one priest, one physician, one denotes agricultural labour and one signify as a vendor.

Cowherds :—

Of the eight names in this group two are from Chalukya (B) inscriptions, one dated in S. 552 and one undated, one from Bhoga-saktis pls. of, KE 461, one from Silahara grant of S. 939, four names are from Kadamba records of S. 981, 1021, 1028, and one record of Kaliyuga era 4348, and one from Yadava record of S. 1232.

14. Padi - Gang of workmen, Kittel, *KED*, P. 1025.

Dynasty	Ancient names	Modren names
Chalukya (B)	Goparashtra vishaya	
Bhogasakti	"	
	According to James Bird valley of Nasik May have been known in Chalukya's time as Goparashtra	
	Goviyanakagrama	Goran, Nasik Distt.

Gopaka :—

The person rearing or incharge of cattle, was known as Gopa or Gopala in the Vedic period. These terms indicate that cows were reared for milking purpose. Gopalaka and Govallava, probably synonymous are mentioned by Patanjali¹⁵. Patanjali mentions Gopa as a special jati or class.

Dynasty	Ancient names	Modern names
Silahara (nk)	Govini	NI
Kadamba	Gopaka	
	Gopakadvipa	Modern Goa Region.
	Gova Diva	
	Gopakapuri	
Yadava	Golegahvana	Gavanathadi, Bhir Distt.

Iron smith :—

There are only two names indicating this profession. While one of these is noticed in Rashtrakuta records of S. 734 the other is found in Yadava record dated S. 1193.

Dynasty	Ancient names	Modern names
Rashtrakuta	Loharagrama	Lohara, Akola Distt.
Yadava	Khatigamva	NI.

15. India in the time of Patanjali B. N. Pari, P. 124-125, FN.5.

Potters :—

Though pottery formed one of the most essential necessities of life there are only two names signifying potter—one is from undated Kolhapur inscription and the other is from the record of King Berma, dated S. 1110.

Dynasty	Ancient names	Modern names
Kolhapur inscription	Kummaragrama (Kumbaragrama)	Kumbhavade, Kolhapur Distt.
King Berma	Kumbaragere	Kumbhargaoon, Sholapur Distt.

Forester or Huntsman :—

There is only one name representing huntsman. It is from Silahara (nk) record of S. 939 and was situated in Thane District.

Place Name	¹⁶ Katyalakagrama	NI.
------------	------------------------------	-----

Shoemaker :—

A place name denoting shoe maker or leather seller is from Chalukya record, of S. 613.

Ancient names	Modern names
Kurata ¹⁷ (Kurata)	Kirata, Thane Distt.

Gardener :—

Some people were engaged in this occupation. A place name Maliggrama in the inscription of Rashtrakuta dated S. 882 and the place Sugundhavritee from the Ratta inscription of S. 1124 denotes the existence of group of people doing the profession of gardening

16. Kata - A forester, huntsman, Kittel, KED, P. 425.

17. Kurata - Shoe maker, leather seller, MW, SED, P. 293.

during the respective period. The first place is identified with the modern place in Kolhapur district but the other one could not be identified.

Priests :—

From the place name Uvatyalevadi from the Rashtrakuta inscription of S. 695 it seems that people doing priestly duties were living together at one place. According to Dr. Gai it is Upadhyayavadi. It was situated in the Sangli district but could not be traced.

Physician :—

The profession is signified by only one place name appearing in yadava inscription dated S. 1193. A place Vaidyaghogharagrama is identified with the modern place Ghoghargaon in Aurangabad District.

Agricultural labour :—

A place Kudattari in the Kadamba record dated S. 1028 denotes agricultural labour. Kudattari—may be kulakari. Many people pronounced in the place of L and ta instead of K. Kulakari is a agricultural labour and Kudattari seems to have come from Kulakari. It is modern Kudatori in Goa.

Vaivadraka (Vaivadhaka) :—

According to Kittel¹⁸ it means vendor of oil, grain, ghee, etc. The place name occurs in the Rashtrakuta record of S. 615. It is not identified.

Domba :—

Dombas are mentioned among despised class in Jaina texts¹⁹. Dombas are mentioned in Rajatarangini too. It was a caste of

18. Kittel, KED, P. 1511.

19. J. C. Jain, LIAJC. P. 360.

degraded musicians and may be regarded as representing early inhabitants of northern India. In present times Dombas are placed in charge of cremation ground. Yadava record dated S. 1200 show that they used to live together at one place. There are two names of this category.

Ancient names	Modern names
Dombilavataka	Dombivali, Thane Distt.
Domegaum	Domegava, Aurangabad Distt.

Officers :—

Place names after designations of officers are very few. These are names denoting the designation of officers and royal persons. Two inscriptions of Chalukya (K) dated A. D. 1088 and 1130 refer to the village officer and one inscription of A.D. 1204 of Yadava dynasty mentions place names after royal officer. There are nine place names denoting royal personages. Of these, one is from Chalukya (B) inscriptions dated S. 411, S. 619 and 622, two from Rashtrakuta records of S. 692 and S. 732, one is found in Silahara (nk) records of S. 1070, one from Kadamba record dated S. 1028, one from Yadava inscription dated S. 1232 and one is collected from Pandharpur inscription dated between S. 1195-1199. Thus, we have following place names.

Dynasty	Ancient names	Modern names
<i>Village Officers</i>		
Chalukya (k)	Gaumdagave Gavudagave	Gaundagaon, Nanded Distt.
<i>Royal officer</i>		
Yadava	Samantana Dhudunige	Satandudhani, Sholapur District,

Royal persons

Chalukya (B)	Narindakagrama	Narande, Kolhapur Distt.
	Rasenaganara (Raisenaganara)	Rasin, Ahmadnagar Distt.
	Rasenapura	-do-
Rashtrakuta	²⁰ Arasiyavada	Alas, Kolhapur Distt.
	Rajaura	Rajuri, Jalgaon Distt.
Silahara (nk)	Rajali	Ranjali, Thane Distt.
Kadamba	Raigrama	Ray, Gao.
Yadava	Rajagaum	Rajegaon, Bhir Distt.
Pandharpur	Rayari	Rayari, Pune Distt.

Family :—

Family was the smallest unit of the society. Some place names provide us with the terminology for father, grand father, mother, grandmother, brother, maternal uncle etc. There are thirteen names after the relationship. Of the three signifying father—One each is from Rashtrakuta, Silahara (nk) and Silahara (k) records dated S. 680, S. 1161 and S. 1037 respectively. There are three names after grandfather—one from Rashtrakuta records dated S. 697, and S. 836 and one from Kadamba pls. of ky. 4357. Coming to the place names denoting mother the term *Mata* seems to be quite famous and has been mentioned in the Chalukyas (B) undated inscription, Silahara (nk) record of S. 971 and Yadava record of S. 1201. The Marathi terms *Ai* and the word *Mauli* denoting mother are known only from Rashtrakuta records of S. 728 and 836. The place name denoting grand mother is from Silahara (k) inscription.

²⁰ Mulays HGLE. Inscription Arasa is Kannad word for king, Arasi p. 191. means in Kannad Queen.

Dynasty	Ancient names	Modern names
<i>Father</i>		
Rashtrakuta	Bopakhalugrama (Bapa)	Bopakhal, Pune Distt.
Silahara (nk)	Bopagrama	Babgaon, Thane, Distt.
Silahara (k)	Boppeyavada	May be Akkalkhop, Sangli. Distt
<i>Grandfather</i>		
Rashtrakuta	²¹ Ajjalonigrama	NI
Kadamba	Ajjagave Kampana	Ajgaon in Goa.
<i>Mother</i>		
Chalukya	Matridinagrama	NI
Silahara	Mataragrama	NI
yadava	Matapura	Mahur, Nanded Distt.
Rashtrakuta	Aivachchhagrama	Awasgaon, Bhir Distt.
	Mahuligrama	Malegaon, Nasik Distt.
Silahara (k)	²² Ajiragekholla	Ajra, Kolhapur Distt.

There is only one name signifying brother inscription of S. 1212 of yadava king mentions one²³ *Anjoragrama*. It is identified with Anjura in Thane District.

Ghosts and Demons also played their part in contemporary society. Ideas about the existence of ghosts were prevalent as, the Nasik cave inscription no. 18 of Satavahanas, Silahara (nk) inscription of S. 970. Silahara (k) record of S. 980 indicate, in Nasik, Kulaba and Kolhapur districts during respective periods. There is only one name after demons from one private record of 12th or 13th c. A. D.

21. Ajja - Aja - A word for grand father.

22. Aji - A word for grand mother.

23. Anna - A kannad word for brother.

Dynasty	Ancient names	Modern names
<i>Ghosts</i>		
Satavahana	Pisachipadaka	May be pisore in Nasik District.
Silahara (nk)	Bhutavaligrama	Bhutabali, Kulaba Distt.
Silahara (k)	Hadalivada	Hasur, Kolhapur Distt.
<i>Demons</i>		
Bidkin inscription	Rashsabhuna	Rakshasbhuvan, Aurangabad Distt.

Houses :—

Houses probably provided with both flat and sloping roofs were in existence. Those belonging to the former group have been specifically indicated by the place name from inscription of Soyideva dated S. 1093. The other name indicating house is found in the inscription of S. 1012 of Chalukya (k) Vikramaditya.

Dynasty	Ancient names	Modern names
Soyideva	Malige ²⁴	Madgihal, Sangli Distt.
Chalukya (k)	Bhuvanachala	Bhuvana, Parbhani Distt.

Utensils and other household articles :—

Houses were equipped with pots and utensils and other essential objects. Among the pots and utensils there are references to three varieties of large pots, two types of small waterpots and only one name signifying a dish. Place names belonging to first variety are seven in number. Of these, three names begin with the word Koda²⁵ which means an earthen pitcher or pot of metal in Kannad. These are mentioned one each in Junnar cave inscription No. 29.

24. Malige - House with flat roof, Kittel, *KED*, P. 1320.

25. Koda - An earthen pitcher, a pot also one of metal, *Ibid*, P. 314.

Rashtrakuta record dated S. 882, and Silahara grant of S. 1048. Three place names beginning with *Kumbha* — a large pitcher, made of clay or costly metals like gold and silver, have been referred to in two Chalukya pls. of S. 411 and S. 627 and Udayadityas record of S. 1066, Ranjana — a big store jar has been mentioned in one yadava record of S. 1182. Place names signifying small pitchers are three mentioned one each in Chalukya record of 12th regnal year of Mangalisa, Rashtrakuta pls. of S. 680 and Silahara record of S. 956. A place name signifying dish is mentioned in the grant of Bhanusena Kumbhakarna. It probably belongs to 6th or 7th A. D.

Dynasty site	Ancient nemes	Modern nemes
Junnarcave	Kodaka ²⁶	NI.
Rāshtrakuta	Kodavali	Pattankedoli, Kolhapur District.
Silāhāra	Kodavallikhampanaka	Kodoli, Kolhapur Distt.
Chālukya	Kumbayija	Kumbhoj, Kolhapur Distt.
Udayāditya	Kumbhaiphala	Kumbhaiphala, Bhir Distt.
Yādava	Rānjanagaum	Ranjani, Ahmadnagar Distt.
Rāshtrakūta	²⁷ Kalasa	Kalas, Pune District.
Chālukya	²⁸ Kundivatakagramu	Kundi, Ratnagiri District.
Silahara	Kundagrama	Kunde, Thane District.
Kumbhakarna	Sthalinagara and Sthalakanagara	Thalner, Dhulia District.

26. Koda — An earthen pitcher, pot also one of metal, kittel, *KED*. P. 514.

27. Kalasa — Small pitcher.

28. Kundi — A student's water pot made of a hallow coconut, *ibid*. P. 465.

Grinding wheel, mortar (*ukhala*) and winnowing basket, as the place names derieved from these objects show, were probably important objects required in every house. Though there is only one name after each of these objects their importance in every house in the absence of flour mills in ancient times is beyond doubt. Place name after grinding wheel is found in yadava record of S. 1193 and the thrashing equipment — mortar is referred to in Rashtrakuta inscription of S. 708 and in Chalukya, record of A. D. 1138. A famous place Surparaka, only name after winnowing basket, is mentioned in five inscriptions, viz. Nasik cave inscriptions No. 5, 7 of Rishabhadata, Nanaghat cave inscription No. 9 of Satavahana, three Silahara (nk) records of S. 1016, 1070 and 1072. One Yadava grant of S. 1222 refers to one name after small winnowing basket.

Dynasty	Ancient names	Modern nemes
Yadava	Jamtegamvu	Jategaon, Aurangabad Distt.
Rashtrakuta	Ukhalapadra	N.I.
Chalukya (k)	Ukkulagaveyalli	N.I.
	Sorparaka, Sorparaga	Sopara, Thane Distt.
Yādava	Supaligrama	N.I.

Lamps :—

Houses were lighted with lamp and place like Dipakagara was probably famous manufacturing centre or was distinguished from other agaras for its illumination. The place is mentioned in four records of these, three, are issued by Silahara (nk) Kings and are dated S. 949, 975 and 1176 and one is a private grant of S. 982. There are two more places signifying lamps of these, one is referred to in undated Chalukya record and one is from Pandharpur inscription dated between S. 1195-1199.

Dynasty	Ancient names	Modern names
Silahara	Dipakagara	
	Dipakagaragrama	
	Dipakagrama	Dive-agar, Kulaba Dist.
Private	Dive	
Chalukya	Divi	Divi, Dhulla District.
Pandaharpur	Divi	

Dress and ornaments :—

There are place names denoting the production of woven cloth but there is no place name signifying dresses of the people. Some place names from our records suggest the use of some ornaments. There are names signifying ear rings, bracelet and anklets. Of the three names representing Kundala-ear ring—one is from Sendraka record of S. 602, one from Chalukya (B) record of S. 627 and one from Rashtrakuta record of S. 708. The only name after bracelet is from Junnar cave inscription No. 18. While the yadava inscriptions dated S. 1193 and S. 1200 denote the ornament for foot the one place name from Yadava inscription dated S. 1020 probably represent ring worn on the fingers of foot. Thus there are following place names :

Dynasty	Ancient names	Modern names
<i>Ear-rings</i>		
Sendraka	Kundalikamalavi-shaya	Kundalgaon Nasik District
Chalukya (B)	Kundili	Kundala, Sangli Distt.
Rashtrakuta	Kundala	Kundala, Dhulia Distt.

Bracelet

Junnar cave ²⁹Kadaka—kataka Kadghe, Pune Distt.
inscription

Foot ornament

Yadava	Neuragamvu	Nevaragaon Aurangabad,
	Nupuragrama	District.
	Jumyurvegrama	Jorwe, Ahmadnagar Distt.

Precious stones :—

A few place names indicate that people were aware of the use of different precious stones and some places were named after them. While Rashtrakuta record of S. 836 mention the place names after *Kurunda* Rashtrakuta record of S. 701, Silahara (sk) inscription of S. 930 and Yadava record of S. 1020 mention the places named after *Mani* and place names signifying *Ratnas* are known from Kadamba inscription of S. 1210. There is one name after *Mauktika* in undated Inscription of Yasovarman. Diamond mines, as the inscription of Kalachuri dated KE. 866 and Yadava inscription of S. 1232 indicate, were also known. These place names suggest that these places were either centre of production of that particular precious stone or market town famous for that particular stone.

Dynasty	Ancient names	Modern names
Rashtrakuta	Kurundaka	Kurunda, Parbhani Distt.
Sendraka	Manipura	N. I.
Silahara (sk)	Manigramma	N. I.
Yadava	Maniyavaligrama	Manoli, Ahmednagar. Distt.
Kadamba	Rayavalli	N. I.
Yasovarman	³⁰ Vajrakara	Wairagadh, Chanda Distt.
Kalachuri	Vairagara	-do-

29. Kadaka - A bracelet, Kittel, *KED*, P. 359.

30. Vajrakara - Diamond mine, MW. *SMD*, P. 914.

Place Wairagadh appears to have been quite famous as the find spot of diamonds. Varahamihira in his *Brhatsamhita* has named the bank of Vena (Wainganga near Nagpur) as one of the findspots of diamond. According to A. M. Shastri the Vena seems to refer to Wairagadh situated on its bank where diamonds are found in laterite grits. Since the place was famous for its diamonds it was known as Vajrakara or Vajragrha in ancient times. A place Vayiragara in Tiruvorriur Adhipurisvara temple inscription of Kulottunga Cola I and Vajiragara in Pandava-Perumal temple inscription of his fifth regnal year refer to this Vajrakara or Vajragrha. These inscriptional references has led Kielhorn to opine that its original name was Vajrakara³¹. From a reference to a place named Vajiraghara in the Hathigumpha Inscription of Kharavela, K. P. Jayaswal and R. D. Banerji have also stated that its original name was Vajragrha.

Toilet articles ;—

People knew the use of toilet articles like lac dye and collyrium. A place Alaktaka was quite wellknown and has been referred to in one Chalukya record of S. 411, and in two Rashtrakuta grants dated S. 692, 882, and in one Chalukya pls. of S. 930. Place names derived from collyrium have been found in two Rashtrakuta grants of S. 722, 730, and two Yadava records dated S. 1139 and 1232.

Dynasty	Ancient names	Modern names
Chalukya	Alaktaka	Alatage, Kolhapur
Rashtrakuta	Altage	District
Rashtrakuta	Anjunavatya	Anjanavati, Amravati District.
Yadava	Kajalakovi	N.I.
Rashtrakuta	Rattajjuna	N.I.
Yadava	Ratamjana	Ranjana, Parbhani District.

These places were probably famous either for the production or for the use of these objects.

31. Shastri, A.M.I.B.V., P. 325, F. N. 6.

Metals :—

Metals such as iron, copper, silver and gold were known to the people and were probably used for preparing different articles. Places were probably named after these metals due to the availability of the particular metal at that place. Names after iron are found in Vakataka record of Pravarasena II of 27 Ry, Chalukya (B) record of S. 310, and S. 552, inscription of 6th A. D. of Munda King, Rashtrakuta record of S. 855 and Pandharpur inscription dated between S. 1195-1199. Names denoting copper are only two, one is from Rashtrakuta Inscription of S. 671 and one is from undated record of Vishnukundin King. While place names representing silver are only two from Rashtrakuta inscription dated S. 722 and S. 882 and gold is represented by four names. Of these, one is from Rishabhadattas Nasik cave inscription No. 5, one from Vakataka record of Pravarasena II of his 23rd Ry., one from Chalukyas (B) undated inscription and one from Yadava Inscription of S. 1186. Following names have been found in our records.

Dynasty	Ancient names	Modern names
<i>Loha</i>		
Vakataka	Lohanagarabhoga	Loni, Amaravati Distt.
Chalukya (B)	Lohanagara	N.I.
	Lohanagara	Lohaner, Nasik Distt.
Munda	Laughsalaka	Lohagaon Amaravati Distt.
Rashtrakuta	Lohagrama	Lohagaon Dhulia Distt.
Pandharpur	Lahora	Lahore, Oosmanabad Distt.
<i>inscription</i>		
<i>Silver</i>		
Rashtrakuta	³² Kuregrama	Kurha, Amaravati Distt.
	Kureggrama	Koregaon, Satara Distt.

32. Kure - Pure silver, Kittel, KED, P. 475.

Copper

Rashtrakuta	Tambasahika	Tamsahi, Thane Distt.
Vishnukundin	Tambatirtha	Tambve, Satara Distt.

Gold

Rishabhadatta	Suvarnamukha	N.I.
Vakataka	Hiranyapurabhoga	Sonegaon, Amaravati Distt.
Chalukya (B)	Kanakochara	N.I.
Yadava	Sonalige (Somnigenagara)	Suburb of Sholapur

Food and Drink :—

Rice, pulses, spices, fruits and vegetables, milk and milk products, formed the food of the people of ancient Maharashtra. Oil extracted from *Karadai* and Sesamum seeds must have been used by them for seasoning and frying purposes. It appears that some places were famous for their particular production and so had obtained the name after it.

Rice :—

Place names after rice have been mentioned one each, in Kadamba record of KY. 4348, Yadava record of S. 1150 and Pandharpur inscription dated between S. 1195-1199. Thus, there are following names after rice.

Dynasty	Ancient names	Modern names
Kadamba	³³ Salibhatti	Somewhere in Goa.
Yadava	Salivavi	N. I.
Pandharpur Inscription	Samlivem	Salve, in Kulaba, Distt.

Among other cereals *Kulattha* is known from Kadamba record of S. 1028, *Mudga* from Bhogasakti's record of KE 461 and the place

33. Sali - A rice of ten varieties, Puri, B. N. IP. P. 94.

name vorabali from Chalukya (K) undated inscription suggests that some kind of pulse produced at this place was so popular that the place got name after it. Besides there are place names after *Karadai* and Sesamum from Chalukya (K) records of A. D. 1076, and Silahara (k) inscription of S. 1109 respectively. Two Rashtrakuta inscriptions dated S. 793 and 836 probably suggest the abundance of cereals.

Dynasty	Ancient names	Modern names
<i>Pulses</i>		
Kadamba	³⁴ Kulatahali	Kutthala, Goa
Bhogasakti	³⁵ Mudgahitaka	Maganpada, Nasik Distt.
Chalukya	Vorabali	N.I.
<i>Karadai</i>		
Chalukya (k)	Karadikalla	Karadakhed Nanded Distt.
<i>Sesamum</i>		
Silahara (k)	Tillindille	N.I.
Rashtrakuta	Dhannauragrama	Dhannar, Nasik Distt.
	Dhannavallika	Dhanoli, Thane Dist.

Milk and Milk Products :—

Food made from cereals was supplemented with milk and milk products. There are some places after milk and milk products. Of the five places named after milk one from Rashtrakuta inscription of S. 722 and one from Chalukya (k) record of S. 930 denote milk while the two from Yadava records of S. 1150 and 1232 and Pandharpur Inscription dated between S. 1195-1199, denote cream of the milk. Sweets made from milk were also known. Two names denoting sweets made from milk are from Silahara (nk) record of S. 970 and

34. Kulatha - Kulattha - Kind of Pulse, Kittel, KED, P. 477.

35. Vora - Kind of pulse, MW, SED, P. 1028.

Yadava record of S. 1172. Of the four names after curd, two are from Rashtrakuta record dated S. 715 and S. 733, one is from Chalukya (k) record of A.D. 1122 and one is found in Yadava inscription dated S. 1182. One name mentioned in Silahara (nk) inscription of S. 915 signifies butter milk.

Dynasty	Ancient names	Modern names
<i>Milk</i>		
Rashtrakuta	Gorhasodva	Gahva, Amaravati Distt.
Chalukya (k)	Duddhigrama	Dudhgaon, Sangli Distt.
Yadava	Saya	Saigaon, Bhir District.
	Saegahvana	Saigaon, Jalgaon Distt.
Pandharpur Inscription	³⁶ Save	Save, Sholapur Distt.
<i>Sweets</i>		
Silahara	Pedhalagrama	Pelhara, Thane Distt.
Yadava	Pedha (Pedha)	Ped, Sangli Distt.
<i>Curd</i>		
Rashtrakuta	Dadhivahala	N.I.
	Dahiyapippala	Dahiphala, Parbhani Distt.
Chakulya (k)	Daithana	Dahitan, Sholapur Distt.
Yadava	Dahigaum	Dahigaon, Ahmadnagar Distt.
<i>Buttermilk</i>		
Silahara (nk)	³⁷ Majjigrama	Majgaon, Kulaba Distt.

36. Save - Cream, Kittel, KED, P. 1625.

37. Majjige - Butter milk, Kittel, KED, P. 1259.

Molasses and Sugar :—

There are only two place names representing molasses and they are found in the inscription of Silahara (k) dated S. 1032. Both these have been identified with the place in Kolhapur District. Kolhapur region is still famous for its production of molasses of best quality. Of the two names after sugar one is from Chalukya (k) record of S. 969, 988 and A. D. 1079 and one is mentioned in the record of S. 1201 of Yadava dynasty.

Dynasty	Ancient names	Modern names
<i>Molasses</i>		
Silahara	Gudayagrama	Gudal, Kolhapur Distt.
	Gudalayagrama	
<i>Sugar</i>		
Chalukya (k)	Šakkarage 60, 84, 80.	Shekarga, Nanded Distt.
Yadava	Sakaragavam	Sakhargaon, Yeotmal Distt.

Honey :—

There are two names representing honey. Of these, one is from the inscription of Nala king, dated in his 11th Ry. and the other is found in the Yadava record of S. 991.

Dynasty	Ancient names	Modern names
Nala	Madhukalatika	N.I.
Yadava	Madhuvatika	Madhukhede, Jalgaon Distt.

Salt :—

Spices used in preparing food included ordinary salt and black pepper. Of the five names denoting salt two are from Silahara (nk) inscriptions of S. 919 and S. 1083 one is found in Vakataka record of Prithivishena II, of his 2nd regnal year, one is from the record of

S. 1068, of unknown dynasty and one is mentioned in Kalachuri record of S. 1093.

Dynasty	Ancient names	Modern names
Silahara	Lavanetata	Lonad, Thane Distt.
	Lonavataka	-do-
Vakataka	Lavanatailaka	Lonara, Bhandara Distt.
Bhandak inscription	Lonara	Lonara, Buldhana Distt.
Kalachuri	Lonara	Lonar, Sangli Distt.

Black Pepper :—

Black pepper is indicated by place name Mirinja. It appears to have been very famous during the period and is mentioned in nearly seven records of Silaharas of Kolhapur, one undated record of Chalukya (k) and one Yadava record dated S. 1136. There are two names signifying cardamom mentioned in Rashtrakuta records of S. 664 and 851.

Dynasty	Ancient names	Modern names
<i>Black Pepper</i>		
Silahara (k)	Mirinja.	
	Mirinjadessa, Miraja.	
Chalukya	Mirinja-gampana 300	Miraj, Sangli, Distt.
Yadava	Mirinjidessa	
<i>Cardamom</i>		
Rashtrakuta	Elapura	Ellora, Aurangabad Distt.
	Elauri	Yerli Buldhana Distt.

Fruits and Vegetables :—

Cereals were supplemented with fruits and vegetables. There are nearly fifteen place names after fruits. Of the five names denoting jujbee, one is found in Rashtrakuta record of S. 663, one is from Silahara record of S. 970 and three are from Chalukya (k) records dated S. 972, A. D. 1078, 1101, 1130, 1134, 1138 and one undated record. There are three names after wood apple (Kavitha), one each, from Chalukyas (k) undated record, private inscription dated S. 1204, and from Pandharpur inscription dated between S. 1195-1199. Of the two names after Phanas one is from Chalukya (B) undated record and one from Rashtrakuta record of S. 720. One name signifying grape is mentioned in Rashtrakuta record of S. 733, and one each indicating mango, *Amalaka*, coconut and pomegranate are from grant of S. 1066 of Udayaditya Rashtrakuta record of S. 690, Chalukya (K) record probably S. 1076 and one undated record respectively. Following are the names after fruits from our records.

Dynasty	Ancient names	Modern names
<i>Jujbee</i>		
Rashtrakuta	Badarika	Khultabad, Aurangabad Distt.
Silahara (nk)	Voriyalagrama	Borivali, Thane Distt.
Chalukya (k)	Borevali	N. I.
	Borigave	Borgaon, Nanded Distt.
	³⁸ Erige	Yergi, Nanded Distt.
<i>Kavita</i>		
Chalukya (k)	Kavithi	Kavathe, Aurangabad Distt.
Private	Kavithem	Kavathe, Mahakala, Sangli Distt.
Pandharpur	Kavitha	Kavitgaon, Sholapur Distt.
Inscription		

Phanasa

Chalukya Panasa Palus, Sangli Distt.

Rashtrakuta Panasa -do-

Grape

Rashtrakuta ³⁹Pariyali Parali, Bhir Distt.

Mango

Udayaditya Amba Ambejogai, Bhir Distt.

Amalaka

Chalukya Amalakagrama N. I.

Coconut

Narial Naral, Aurangabad Distt.

Pomegranate

Rashtrakuta Dadimagrama Dalimb, Pune Distt.

Vegetables :—

The vegetables we known from inscriptions are lady's fingers, gourd, Kareli and Brinjal. Of these Kareli and Lady's fingers are referred to by two place names and gourd and brinjal are referred to only once.

Dynasty	Ancient names	Modern names
---------	---------------	--------------

Lady's fingers :—

Place names, one each are from Chalukya (K) inscription of S. 930, and Ratta record of S. 1124.

Bhemdavada	Bhendwade, Kolhapur Distt.
Bhendevara	-do-

39. Pariyala - A tree, bunch of grapes, MW, SED, P. 711.

Gourd :—

Only one place name from Silahara (sk) record of S. 930, denotes gourd.

Kushmandigrama N. I.

Kareli :—

Of the two names after this vegetable one is from Chalukya (B) record of S. 532 and one is mentioned in Chalukya (k) record of S. 1049

Karelikagrama Kareli, Ratnagiri Distt.

Kereyeli Kerli, Kolhapur Distt.

Brinjal :—

A place name from Silahara (nk) record of S. 961 signify *Brinjal*.

Vainganigrama Vangni, Thane Distt.

Means of Amusement And Pastime.

Wrestlers and Wrestling;— Some place names after wrestlers and wrestling indicate that people of that particular region were probably fond of wrestling bouts. Three names signifying wrestling are found one each, in Rashtrakuta record of S. 882, undated record of Yadava dynasty and from one private record dated S. 1221 and the only one name denoting wrestler is from Rashtrakuta record of S. 720.

Dynasty	Ancient names	Modern names
<i>Wrestling</i>		
Rashtrakuta	⁴⁰ Choke	Chokaka, Sholapur Distt.
Yadava	⁴¹ Poragava	Pohargaon, Sholapur Distt.
Private	⁴² Khade	Khandole, Goa.

40. Chokkeys - A device, a dexterous feat of wrestler Kittel, KED, P. 661.

41. Pore - Wrestling, *ibid*, P. 1091.

42. Khada - Wrestling match fierce dual, *ibid*, P. 445.

Wrestlers

Rashtrakuta Mallakagrama 300 N. I.

It will, thus, be seen that society in ancient Maharashtra was composed of different sections all of which have survived in the modern society also. The place names, thus, throw fresh light on the antiquity of certain sections of Society, professions, arts and crafts, besides production of some variety of cereals and other productions.

To sum up the above detailed study of society, though presents a partial picture being based only on place names in inscriptions, will go a long way to conduct further comprehensive study of the historical development of society in ancient Maharashtra.

PROSCRIBED TELUGU WORKS DURING THE FREEDOM MOVEMENT

*Pala Krishna Moorthy**

The achievement of independence by India was the result of the growth of national consciousness among the people of India and the able leadership supplied by the intelligentsia. The people living in all parts of the country were involved in some way or other in the great fight for freedom. Various methods were evolved and used from time to time to create freedom conscious among the people. Particularly, the writers and the press played an important part in moulding the public opinion towards the achievement of freedom. The numerous Telugu Newspapers spread the ideas of nationalism. The contribution made by some of the Telugu works during the freedom movement for rousing the interests of the Telugu people especially the rural masses for their freedom is itself forms a subject for elaborate research. These Telugu works in simple style and well known themes with soul stirring and emotional appeal created a real political movement. They prompted the people to take prominent part in the movement.

After passing the phase of movements viz., Bandemataram movement, Home Rule Movement, Non-Co-operation movement etc. the freedom struggle movement by 1920 took a definite shape in Andhra and events like Civil Disobedience Movement, Chirala Perala Struggle, Palnad incidents, Pedanandipad no tax campaign, non-co-operation movement etc. moved rapidly from 1920. The present survey of proscribed Telugu works covers this crucial and important period from the year 1920 till the advent of freedom.

* Archivist, Andhra Pradesh State Archives, Tarnaka, Hyderabad.

The years from 1920 onwards saw a number of Telugu works trying to educate the people for freedom and exhorted them to take active part in the struggle for country's freedom. All such works were either prescribed or banned or forfeited under some pretext or the other by the Government. The dramatic performances of some dramas were prohibited. Some editors of newspapers were warned and some were prosecuted. These Telugu works were in the form of newspapers, books, pamphlets, dramas, booklets containing patriotic songs, stories, bhajan songs, Harikathas etc.

The proscribed Telugu works can be broadly grouped as 1) Proscribed or forfeited works, (2) dramatic performances prohibited, (3) warned works under Press and Registration of Books Act, (4) Prosecuted works under certain sections of Indian Penal Code and (5) works on which proscription considered not necessary.

1. Proscribed or forfeited works :—

Bharatha Gitamulu,¹ Hindu Desamu purva prastuta stitulu,² Panchala Parabhavamu,³ Swarajya geetamrutamu,⁴ Swarajyamantram,⁵ Santa Sarangadara Natakamu,⁶ Chirala Perala Gandhi desa Natakamu,⁷ Sahaya Nirakaranamu,⁸ Sri Bharatiya Vilapam,⁹ Swapna Prayanamu,¹⁰ Swarajya Geetamulu,¹¹ We do not want this white government,¹² Garimella Satyanarayana was arrested for writing this popular and inspiring ballads "Maku vaddu yii Tella dorathanamu"¹³ Satyarthaprakasam,¹⁴ Swarajya Jhanda and Swarajya Sanku,¹⁵ Shanti Sangramamu,¹⁶ Maharani Jhansi Lakshmibai Natakamu,¹⁷ Jatiya Swarajya Pathamu,¹⁸ Navayugamu, Gandhivijayamu,¹⁹ British Vasthu Bahishkaramu,²⁰ Daridra Narayaniyamu,²¹ Rajaneeti saramu,²² Bharata Swarajya Yuddhamu,²³ Gandhimahatmuni Nithimanjari,²⁴ Neti Russia,²⁵ Vinayaka Savarkaru Jeevitamu,²⁶ Krishna Patrika issue dated 14th July 1934,²⁷ Samrajyavedamu,²⁸ Kommunistu Pranalika,²⁹ Amma,³⁰ Atma Tyagi,³¹ Sardar Bhogat Singh,³² The 1922 Ryot Revolt in Manyam (Alluri Sitaramaraju),³³ Anna,³⁴ Russia Viplavamu,³⁵ Vahini dated 3-9-1939,³⁶ Gurubabu.³⁷

2. Dramatic performances Prohibited :

Navayugarambam or Gandhi Mahodayamu,³⁸ Panchala Parabhavamu,³⁹ Swarajya Soupanamu,⁴⁰ Swarajya Rathamu,⁴¹ Roshanara alias Jowharibai,⁴² During this period Kodali Anjaneyulu's political drama entitled '*tri palana parivartana*' was also proscribed from being enacted.⁴³

3. Warned works under press and Registration of Books Act:

The printers of Maneti press, Bezwada was warned under press and Registration of Books Act⁴⁴. Similar warnings were also given for the following for publication of alarming news, objectionable articles, matters from prohibitory books etc. Janmabhumi volume III No. II, dt. 16-2-1921,⁴⁵ Kanti,⁴⁶ Zamin Ryot Patrika,⁴⁷ Vahini,⁴⁸ Janasakti.⁴⁹

4. Prosecuted works :

The Proprietor, editor and a correspondent of Ryot Patrika were prosecuted under sections 124 A, and 153 A of Indian Penal Code.⁵⁰ Later its prosecution was withdrawn on 12-7-1921.⁵¹

5. Books on which prosecution considered not necessary :

Desabhimani of 6th March 1921, and 13th March 1921,⁵² Gandhi Mahatmuni Jivitamu,⁵³ Publication of expurgated edition was permitted in case of the novel Malapalli,⁵⁴ Life of Alluri Sitaramaraju,⁵⁵ Bardoli vijayamu,⁵⁶ Maharani Jhansi Lakshmi bai,⁵⁷ Prabhutwa Dhanamu Mana bidathanamu,⁵⁸ Kamyunistulu korede-miti,⁵⁹ Revolution in Andhra literature,⁶⁰ Kastajeevi.⁶¹

In certain cases criminal proceedings were also initiated besides proscription against the proprietors and the editors for offences under sections 124 A and 153 A of the Indian Penal Code.⁶² The charge was that they attempted to promote feelings of enmity between different classes of His Majesty's subjects. Similar proceedings were also initiated against the correspondent who contributed

the article.⁶³ When the matter was referred to the Advocate General for opinion, he expressed doubts for proscription.⁶⁴

Some writings exhorted the people on the value of Swaraj. A correspondent to the Ryot Patrika of the 16th January 1921 expressed the sentiments that: 'Swaraj is your chief right. You will attain salvation in this world only when you secure that right. When you do not possess that right you are degraded. How long will you continue thus to be slaves get up. Gird up your loins. Take up the weapon of non-violent non-co-operation and win swaraj.' As the article offends against section 153. A Inasmuch as it attempts to promote feelings of enmity between different classes of His Majesty's subjects, it was referred to the Advocate General C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar for opinion who expressed doubts about its proscription.

Certain writings described the contemporary conditions in India with poetic hyperbols. Desabhimani of 6th and 13th March 1921 contained verses on the actual tragic happenings in the Punjab which were brought to the light by official and non-official enquiries.

Most of the proscribed patriotic songs were so popular and sung at all the gatherings during the freedom movement. They infused new enthusiasm and spirit among the people to follow the path of non-violent struggle headed by an able architect Mahatma Gandhi. Telugu freedom movement leaders and the Telugu people proved second to none in the country. Similarly Telugu Press and Telugu works jointly took the burden of placing the Telugu people on the correct track towards freedom and guided them for the achievement of Indian Independence.

Most of the proscribed works are not easily available to the scholars. Some are available among the Government records in various departments and very few are available with private individuals. The present generation lost touch of these works. It is time for the Government to collect all the proscribed works that emerged during freedom movement and reprint them on selective

basis for the use of the present generation and for the posterity which forms part of the culture of the Telugu people. The proscribed works which became non-violent weapons to attack the British Government spread their wings to all parts of the country. The citizens of free India should not forget these non-violent silent instruments that played a very important role for the achievement of independence.

References

1. G.O. Ms. No. 212 Public Department, dated 12-4-1921.
2. G.O. Ms. No. 594 Public Department, dated 14-9-1921. In exercise of the powers conferred by sub-section (1) of section 12 of the Indian Press Act, 1910, the Governor in Council declared to be forfeited to His Majesty all copies wherever found of the pamphlet in Telugu entitled "*Hindu desamu purva prastuta stitulu*" written by Madduri Annapurnayya and printed at the V. N. Press, Rajahmundry and all other documents containing copies of translations of or extracts from the said pamphlet. This leaflet briefly surveys the condition of India during the Hindu, the Muhammadan and the British rule and concludes with a contrast of the conditions of India under the British rule with that of India past (under Hindu and Muhammadan rule).
3. G.O. Ms. No. 791 Public Department, dated 12-11-1921.
4. G.O. Ms. No. 816 Public Department, dated 19-11-1921.
5. G.O. Ms. No. 816 Ibid.
6. G.O. Ms. No. 222 Public Department, dated 10-3-1922.
7. G.O. Ms. No. 559 Public Department, dated 4-7-1922.
8. G.O. Ms. No. 844 Public Department, dated 21-10-1922.
9. G.O. Ms. No. 367 Public Department, dated 29-4-1922.
10. G.O. Ms. No. 904 Public Department, dated 3-11-1922.
11. G.O. Ms. No. 466 Public Department, dated 26-5-1922.
12. G.O. Ms. No. 331 Public Department, dated 15-4-1922.
13. Dr. Sarojini Regani, *Highlights of the Freedom Movement in Andhra Pradesh*, Shivaji Press, Secunderabad, 1972.

14. G. O. Ms. No. 356 Public Department, dated 22-4-1927.
15. G. O. Ms. No. 906 Public Department, dated 4-9-1931
16. G. O. Ms. No. 895 Public Department, dated 2-9-1931.
17. G. O. Ms. No. 643-4 Public Department, dated 8-6-1931
18. G. O. Ms. No. 1215 Public Department, dated 3-12-1931.
19. G. O. Ms. No. 1006 Public Department, dated 21-7-1932.
20. G. O. Ms. No. 171 Public Department, dated 30-1-1932.
21. G. O. Ms. No. 134 Public Department, dated 22-1-1932.
22. G. O. Ms. No. 317 Public Department, dated 27-3-1934.
23. G. O. Ms. No. 209 Public Department, dated 5-3-1934.
24. G. O. Ms. No. 318 Public Department, dated 27-3-1934.
25. G. O. Ms. No. 1059 Public Department, dated 16-10-1934.
26. G. O. Ms. No. 73 Public Department, dated 25-1-1934.
27. G. O. P. No. 1183 Public Department, dated 26-11-1934.
28. G. O. Ms. No. 826 Public Department, dated 23-5-1935
29. G. O. Ms. No. 657 Public Department dated 26-4-1935.
30. G. O. Ms. No. 1180 Public Department, dated 18-7-1935.
31. G. O. P. No. 1277 Public Department, dated 2-8-1935
32. G. O. P. No. 1882 Public Department, dated 11-11-1935.
33. G. O. Ms. No. 1451 Public Department, dated 24-8-1938.
34. G. O. Ms. No. 1834 Public Department dated 5-11-1938.
35. G. O. Ms. No. 668 Public Department, dated 11-4-1938.
36. G. O. Ms. No. 1706 Public Department, dated 13-10-1939.
37. G. O. P. No. 2049 Public Department, dated 18-9-1941.
38. G. O. Ms. No. 520 Public Department, dated 17-8-1921.

39. G. O. Ms. No. 631 Public Department, dated 21-9-1921. The local Government were of the opinion that the Telugu drama "*Panchala Parabhavam*" about to be performed in a public place in the Guntur District is likely to excite feelings of disaffection to the Government established by law in British India, under g3 (b) of the Dramatic performance Act, 1876, it was ordered to be prohibited the performance in any public place within the (Madras) Presidency.
40. G. O. Ms. No. 28 Public Department, dated 26-1-1921.
41. G. O. Ms. No. 83 Public Department, dated 28-1-1922.
42. G. O. Ms. No. 1294 Public Department, dated 10-12-1927.
43. Dr. Sarojini Regani, *Highlights of the Freedom Movement* Op. Cit. P. 78.
44. G. O. Ms. No. 234 Public Department, dated 22-4-1921. The District Magistrate of Krishna warned the publisher of the Maruti Press that failure to comply with the provisions of Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867 will be liable for prosecution. In another case, the prosecution of the Printers, Maruti Press, Bezvada was ordered for having failed to supply a copy of the Publication entitled '*Sangamesvara Satakam*' for the use of the London Libraries (G. O. No. 294 Home (Education) Department dated 28-2-1921). After the book was received, the Printer was warned.
45. G. O. Ms. No. 509 Public Department, dated 12-8-1921.
46. G. O. Ms. 1920 Public Department, dated 26-9-1940.
47. G. O. Ms. No. 69 Public Department, dated 11-1-1941.
48. G. O. Ms. No. 2389 Public Department, dated 28-10-1941.
49. G. O. Ms. No. 506 Public Department, dated 15-2-1943.
50. G. O. Ms. No. 258 Public Department, dated 28-4-1921. Under the provisions of Section 196 of the Criminal procedure code His Excellency the Governor in Council authorised the initiation of Criminal proceedings against Ramulapati Venkata Krishnayya Chowdary and Jampani Anjaneyulu, the Proprietor and editor respectively of the Telugu Weekly periodical entitled "*the Ryot Patrika*" printed at No. 2 Vijaya Press, Bapatla and published at Nidubrolu for offences under Sections 124 A and 153 A of the Indian Penal Code in respect of a out dated article which appeared in the issue of the paper of the 16th January 1921. Similar prosecution proceedings were also authorised against the correspondent who contributed the article.

51. G.O. Ms. No. 442 Public Department, dated 12-7-1921.
52. G.O. Ms. No. 479 Public Department dated 29-7-1921. The Desabhimani of the 6th March 1921 contains some verses in Telugu to the effect that the authorities have dragged innocent women to the public and outraged their modesty. They tied the hands and feet of the people and whipped them asking them to crawl. They shot young boys like birds. They consigned the beautiful houses of the people to bombs. Consider what misdeeds they have refrained from doing. If it right to help the continuance of that rule for even a moment? Resort, O, Indians/to the path way of the soul in order to free the mother from servitude. O / Indians / say that so long as there is life in the bodies of the Indians, they will not bear foreign rule. A correspondent in the same paper under date 13th March 1921 contributed the verses to the effect They stripped women of the clothes covering the thighs in the way in which *Panchalee* was stripped of her clothes mischievously. When this was referred to Sri C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyer, Advocate General for opinion he did not advise its proscription, saying that it is extremely doubtful whether a proscription will be successful.
53. G.O. Ms. No. 763 Public Department, dated 2-11-1921. *Gandhi Mahatmuni Jivitam* (Life of Mahatma Gandhi) published by Kala Venkata Rao, Amalapuram, the then Godavari District now East Godavari District and printed at the Maruti Printing House, Amalapuram.
54. G.O. Ms. No. 307 Public Department, dated 30-3-1928.
55. G.O. Ms. No. 1017 Public Department, dated 30-9-1931.
56. G.O. Ms. No. 519 Public Department, dated 18-5-1934.
57. G.O. Ms. No. 172 Public Department, dated 23-2-1934.
58. G.O. Ms. No. 654, Public Department, dated 9-4-1938.
59. G.O. Ms. No. 1557 Public Department, dated 1-6-1939.
60. G.O. Ms. No. 850 Public Department, dated 24-4-1940.
61. G.O. Ms. No. 1413 + A Public Department, dated 12-6-1945.
62. G.O. Ms. No. 253 Public Department, dated 28-4-1921.
63. Ibid.
64. Ibid.

Itihas-XI, I

HISTORE OF THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY IN HYDERABAD - (ANDHRA PRADESH)

P. A. S. Jaya Rao.

The Charter Act of 1813 had permitted the missionaries engaged in India to carry on their work unhindered and given them a free hand without any restrictions imposed by the British Government. This liberal policy of the British government towards the missionaries gave rise to the formation of several Missionary Societies in England—The Church Missionary Society in 1813; The Wesleyan Mission in 1818; The Scotch Mission Society in 1822; The General Missionary Society in 1832; The Basel Mission Society in 1834; The Protestant Lutheran Missionary Society in 1834; Women's Association of Education of Females in the Orient in 1842; The American Baptists and others. (Social, Cultural and Economic History of India By S. C. Raychoudhary, p. 192). These Missionary Societies began to establish their missions in different parts of India and also outside the British Controlled territories. Their main objectives were three dimensional—to spread Christianity, to spread education by setting up schools and colleges and to spread health through hospitals. This age came to be known as Mission Schools Period.

Thus the role of these missionaries was to relate their work with the needs of the Society through schools, colleges and hospitals. They have spread education and health to the nook and corner of the country, facing great hardships leaving their kith and kin, a comfortable and luxurious life at home. It is these educational institutions which have given us the philosophy of Rousseau, Locke, Hobbes and the ideas of liberty and freedom. The flood gates of knowledge were opened dispelling the darkness of mind and body.

The first Missionary Societies which were set up in Hyderabad and Secunderabad were the Church Missionary Society in 1845 in Hyderabad and the Society for the propagation of the Gospel (the S. P. G) in 1842 in Secunderabad. The other Missions, which were later established in Hyderabad and Secunderabad were the Mennonite Bretheren Church of India in 1899, the Wesleyan Mission in 1879 in Secunderabad, the Methodist Mission in 1875 in Hyderabad and in 1882 in Secunderabad. The Church Missionary Society and the S. P. G. missions were the oldest in Hyderabad and Secunderabad. Both these represented the Anglican Church. The C. M. S. (the Church Missionary Society) founded St. George's Church St. Luke's Hindustani Church in Hyderabad and St. John's Church in Secunderabad.

Growth of St. Luke's Hindustani Church

As the writer began to search for the Church records of the church history, the old records were not traceable and to put in Rev. T. I. Chinniah's own words, "they were not properly maintained". The information is gathered from the interviews the author had with Rev. T. I. Chinniah, the Presbyter of the Church, Mr. Solomon Sata-vahana and Mrs. I. Butt. 80 years old lady who is the oldest member of the Church.

The C. M. S. after founding St. George's Church in Hyderabad, turned its attention to the establishment of the Hindustani Church. Hindustani was the Lingua— franca of the erstwhile Hyderabad State. The spread of the Gospel among the Muslims was first started in 1891 by the Madras Diocesan Board of Missions but the work was not successful and was dropped for sometime. To quote Mrs. I. Butt, Rev. Canon Goldsmith, the brother of the famous English poet Goldsmith came to Hyderabad in 1891 and was looking after the S. P. G. Church in Secunderabad. He was in Secunderabad for one year and in 1892 came to Hyderabad to establish the Hindustani Church. The Year 1892 is to be taken as the founding year of the church as the Register of Baptisms contains the list of Baptisms

given in the Church. According to this Register, the first Baptism given by Rev. Canon Goldsmith was on 24th April, 1892. On the first page of the Register is printed "Diocesan Hyderabad Mission A. D. 1892". Along with Rev. Canon Goldsmith the others who were also associated with the starting of the Church were Mr. John F. Cornelius, Mr. Charles Cornelius and Mr. Ebenezer Charles. Rev. Goldsmith worked as an honorary Pastor of this church from 1892 to 1909. He established an Industrial School for Boys, a Book shop for Religious Literature and a Gospel Hall for Evangelistic work. Rev. Canon Goldsmith and Mrs. Brown started the Zenana Society which was located in the corner of the church site where now stands the C. L. S. Book shop. Mrs. Nundy also helped in the Zenana Society's work. As there was no church building when it was started, the church services were conducted in the hall of Rev. Goldsmith's residence — "Lenaine House" and the Holy Communion service was held in St. George's Church. (Hindustani Church, Church of South India, Hyderabad—Dn. Thirtieth (1919-1949) Anniversary thanks giving (Souvenir) 4th November, 1949, p. 2). The average membership of this Church at that time was forty—two.

Rev. Goldsmith was an English man who represented C. M. S. in London. The C. M. S. Hindustani Church founded by Rev. Goldsmith was taken over in 1909 by the C.M.S. of Australia and Tasmania and Rev. George Edward Brown took over as the Presbyter. In this connection it may be recalled that the foreign missionaries associated with this church upto 1923 beside Rev. Goldsmith and Rev. Brown were Rev. Duddley, Rev. Canon Philip and Rev. C. Bellingham. From 1923 onwards the Indians were incharge of the Church.

The efforts to build the church were taken during Rev. G. E. Brown's tenure. The European Officers in the British army stationed in Hyderabad contributed to the Church building. The family of the late Rev. Norman Miller donated their property on the Nampally station road and a part of the building was remodelled and built in 1905 into the Norman Miller Memorial Chapel. The tablet on the Church building reads as Norman Miller Memorial Chapel. The

following Indians were the Presbyters of the Church— Rev. Laxman Singh Dhan Singh, a Rajput convert from 1922—1933 was a linguist and had a command over Hindustani, Canarese, Telugu, Tamil and English. During his tenure the strength of the congregation had increased considerably. From 1934–1939 the Church had no Pastor as there was a paucity of Hindustani knowing Pastors. Rev. Qudrat Shah Khan conducted the Church services till a permanent Pastor was appointed. Rev. M. H. Durrani was appointed in 1940 and worked upto 1944 when he resigned. From 1944–1946 Rev. Qudrat Shah Khan again helped in conducting the Church services. From 1946 to 1949 Rev. R. Jacob was incharge of the Church.

An Endowment fund known as the Hyderabad Hindustani Church Fund with an investment in B. G. 4% securities of Rs. 4,000/- was created in 1926 and held in trust by the Moderator of the Church of South India. The interest that is accrued is for the use of the Church. From its birth upto 1947, the Church was under the Madras diocese. When there was the Union of the Madras, Travancore and Cochin, Tinnevely and Dornakal Dioceses of the Church of India, Burma and Ceylon; The Madras, Madura, Malabar, Jaffna, Kannada, Telugu and Travancore Church Councils of the South India United Church; and the Wesleyan Methodist Church in South India comprising the Madras, Trichinopoly, Hyderabad and Mysore Districts into one church in 1947, this church merged with the church of South India. Today the congregation strength has risen to forty four families. The Men's Club of the Hindustani Church was formed in November, 1963, to promote spiritual, intellectual, social and physical interests of men. Also to promote religious and educational discussions, debates and lectures and similar activities. (The constitution of the Men's Club undated). The name of the church was changed to St. Luke's Hindustani Church in 1965 by Rev. Donald Hood. (Quote Mrs. I. Butt) The C. L. S. Book shop and the Petrol Bunk adjacent belong to the church and the rents are credited to the Medak diocese.

Growth of St. George's Church.

As in the case of St. Luke's Church, so also in St. George's Church records pertaining to the history are not traceable or incomplete and had to depend on interviews for the history material and the Souvenir published on the occasion of the Centenary Celebrations in 1967.

St. George's Church was started in 1845, not in the present St. George's Church building but in the St. George's Grammar School for Boys in what is now known as the library foyer. The school was established in 1834. The land on which the school's, the church and the cemetery stand was the grant received from the Nizam for the use of the protestant inhabitants of Hyderabad. The Library Foyer of the school was a big hall which could accommodate a hundred people. The hall is supported by plain pillars. The place where the altar stood has a rounded arch. This hall was built specifically for worship or a temporary church or was made use of for the purpose, one cannot conclude as there is no material available. Now today there are rooms built for the office use and the hall has shrunk in size. The services were conducted in this hall and the Church was known as Christ Church. There was no Presbyterian upto 1875 and the services were conducted by a Secretary and Warden of the School. The Christ Church and the School were closely related to each other and interdependent. When writing the history of the Church, the history of the school cannot be separated. Both go together.

The question of constructing a church building was considered at the Preliminary Meeting held in the Residency School Room presided by the Resident Mr. G. U. Yule, C. B., later Sir. George Yule, C. B., K. C. S. I. There were Thirty members present in the meeting who were Europeans and Anglo-Indians. The motion that they all should contribute a month's income was introduced by Mr. Charles, the Secretary to the Church Committee. The zeal of the members was so much that the motion was passed unanimously.

The total cost was estimated at Rs. 22,000/-. The Church was built by Public subscriptions. "Captain Tweedle, First Assistant Resident stated in his note (dt. 23rd Dec., 1869) that the majority of subscribers to the Schools and the Church were furnished by the Residency Staff. The whole community contributed a month's pay". (Dr. Devraj's unpublished thesis "A General Survey of the work of the Missions in Telengana" p. 117). The contributions came from the following: (St. George's Church Centenary Celebrations Souvenir p. 3).

The Resident and his staff	—	(H. S. Rs. 5,000)
The School Fund	—	(H. S. Rs. 2,000)
Sir Salar Jung	—	(H. H. Rs. 2,000) and
The Congregation	—	(H. S. Rs. 9,600)

Out of the remaining balance of Rs. 8,400/- the Government grant was Rs. 2,000/- and Rs. 6,400/- was raised by a fete. "According to Captain Tweedle, a great fancy bazar held on November, 8th 1866, contributed many thousands of rupees to the building fund". (Dr. Devraj's unpublished thesis "A General Survey of the work of the Missions in Telengana" p. 117). The foundation stone of the Church was laid on 25th November, 1865 by Lady Yule and named it St. George's Church. The Rev. C. M. Taunton, Joint Chaplain of Secunderabad, conducted the service. The church was opened on 10th April, 1867. The Church was licensed on 25th July, 1867 by Bishop Gell, Lord Bishop of Madras.

On Christmas eve in 1869, Bishop Gell visited the parish and stressed the need of a resident chaplain. He wrote to the British and Nizam's governments. Upon his recommendation, the Government of India had appointed the Rev. Henry Fitzpatrick on April 1, 1875 as "Incumbent of St. George's Church and Chaplain of Chudderghat". Thus he became the first resident chaplain. He remained in Office till his death on 5th June, 1895. His

grave lies in the Narayanaguda cemetery. On the grave is written "In Memory of the Rev. Henry Fitzpatrick-for 20 years chaplain of Chudderghat—Erected by the congregation of St. George's Church". Rev. Fitzpatrick was succeeded by Rev. Johnston who was appointed by the Lord Bishop of Madras in consultation with the Resident of Hyderabad. He continued in Office till his death on 3rd April, 1916 in his 89th year. His salary was paid from the grants by the Government of India, the Nizam's government and a special allowance from the Resident as the head of the local government. The Nizam's munificence was recognised by the Government of India in the letter from the Secretary to the Government of India to the Resident at Hyderabad, No. 1284, February 27th, 1875. (As quoted by Dr. Devraj in his unpublished thesis "A General Survey of the work of the Missions in Telengana" p. 118).

Till 1918 the Church and the Schools were managed by the Diocese of Madras. The Church and the Schools faced financial stringency and the Diocese of Madras was unable to maintain the church and the Schools. The Resident had signed an agreement with the Church Missionary Society of Australia and Tasmania on December 16th, 1918. The Australian Church Missionary Society agreed to manage the affair of the Church and the Schools and accordingly the Church and the Schools were handed over to the C. M. S. (Australia). The agreement was signed by the Resident at Hyderabad, Sir Stuart Fraser and P. J. Bazeley on behalf of the Australian Church Missionary Society. (Dr. Devraj's thesis p. 119). According to this agreement there would be two Schools - one European Co-educational School and the other High School for Boys to which Indians might be admitted. The Schools were directly under the Education Minister of the Government of Hyderabad. (Dr. Devraj's thesis p. 120). The agreement of 1918 was again renewed and signed on June 28th 1933 by the Resident at Hyderabad, Col. Terrence Keyes and Rev. Stephenson, Federal Secretary of the Church Missionary Society of Australia and Tasmania. It was again renewed in 1946. When in 1947 the Church of India, Burma and Ceylon entered into the union of Church of South India, St. George's Church merged with the C. S. I.

The Church is built in Gothic architectural style which belonged to Europe in the Middle Ages from 12th Century to 15th Century. "The English Cherished the Gothic style, and this love was not confined to anyone social class. Indeed, in the eighteenth Century it was the members of the upper class, such as Horace Walpole, who wanted a return to the Gothic style. It is from this state of mind that the Gothic style could develop, first an expression of romanticism and then of historicism". (Gothic Architecture by Paul Frankl published by Penguin Books, 1962, p. 216). Thus the Gothic Style had become dear to the Anglican heart. This architecture is associated with description such as pointed arches, piers, rib-vaults, windows, doorways, roofs and towers. St. George's Church does not have all these Gothic Characteristics but for the exterior tower and rounded arches. The entrance to the nave of the Church is through the huge wooden doors on the Western side with rounded arches. There are two side small entrance doors to the right and left of the main door leading to the North and South transept. There is a porch before the entrance door which is a must for Gothic style. The porch is for the members to assemble for the procession to take out round the church on such days as Palm Sunday. There is a tall tower with a clock and a cross on the top. The transept to the North and South is divided by plain pillars without any capitals with rounded arches. The pulpit is to the South on a raised platform from where sermons are preached. The Choir is behind the pulpit where the massive organ stands. The interior of nave-vault and Choir vault are plain and supported by wooden beams. The altar has three stained glass windows; The middle glass showing the ascension of Christ. There are two chancels to the North and South of the altar reserved for the clergy and Choir.

Itihās-XI. I.

BOOK REVIEW

"The Brahmo Samaj and the Shaping of the Modern Indian Mind" by David Kopf; Published by Princeton University Press, 1979. Price not stated, pp. XXIII, 399.

It is well known that the Brahmo Samaj has played an important role in the process of modernisation of Indian society particularly in Bengal. Throughout the 19th Century the Samaj was in the vortex of the social and religious reform movements. But even in the history of the Brahmo Samaj one could find an evolution and the readjustment of the Brahmo ideology to the realities of the situation in different periods of time. This was symptomatic of the transformation of the mental thought process that lay behind the evolution of the Samaj. David Kopf, Professor of History at the University of Minnesota and a well known scholar of South Asian history, has tried to read this process through the ideas and achievements of the Brahmo luminaries from Rammohan Roy to Rabindranath. The volume under review is "an analysis of the lives, the consciousness, and the ideas of early rebels against the Hindu tradition" (preface). But it must be conceded that the Brahmo challenge was something more than a mere rebellion against the traditional Hindu set up. It had a positive contribution to the shaping of the mind of a class of people (basically educated middle class) who spearheaded the modernising efforts in the country. The author has made it clear that no "undue emphasis to the psychohistory of ideas" has been given though he included "relevant biographical data to establish casual relationship between the ideas and the actual life situations of the men who conceived them" (Preface-XIII).

The book is divided into four parts, the first three of which actually deal with the three major stages of evolution each having its distinct contribution in the shaping of the thought process. Part IV

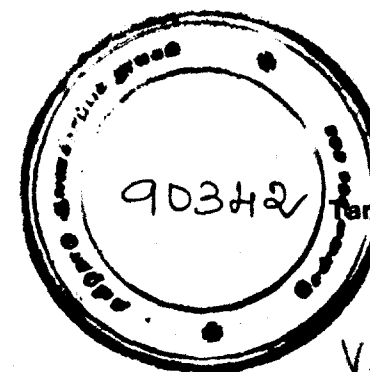
is the concluding portion which traces Bengal's legacy to India in the present century. Part I studies the response of the Hindu educated middle class to the new waves of western thinking and institutions giving rise to what the author calls 'reformist modernism'. The stirring up of the mind leads to a more positive thinking in the shape of nationalism. A secular modern phenomenon as it was, nationalism had two opposite elements the desire for preserving the identity and the urge for cosmopolitanism. Part II traces the reaction of the Brahmos and the educated middle class in general. It is no wonder that a frustration came at the end of this stage and the tendency to lean on the revolutionary path put the society in the whirlpool of opposing forces. At the turn of the century and in the 1st quarter of the present century a quest for a synthesis of western and Indian values and ideas led to a kind of adjustment which was highlighted in the life-story of Keshab Chandra Sen, the 'Prophet of Harmony'. The synthesis between 'Hindu Brahmoism and universal Humanism' was a characteristic feature of the ideas of Tagore.

Brahmoism was diffused all over India in the long run no doubt, but the reviewer has a feeling that Bengal's legacy to India in the present century, at least in this respect, has been overestimated. There is much truth in the observation of the author that the legacy of Brahmoism was "profoundly felt in the rise and growth of political consciousness and nationalism in India" (p. 315). But Brahmoism had a rather limited impact in terms of the all-India scene. The reviewer is constrained to say that gaps in modern Indian historiography, especially in English, has unfortunately resulted in underrating the contributions and thought processes of other linguistic areas. The contribution of the area now known as Maharashtra is a case in point. The limited space of a review will not permit a detailed discussion of this. There is a huge mass of materials in Marathi to show that the same ideas which had been propagated in Bengal during the life time of even Rammohan Roy, had been asserted by the Marathi men of ideas almost at the same time though there was no contact between the two. The shaping of the Indian mind has thus

Itihas-XI, I

been made synonymous with the shaping of the mind in Bengal. Perhaps what the author has intended to project is the contribution of Bengal to the shaping of the Indian mind. But this attempt has been a little confused and one has to guard against a possible error of judgement. One more point over which the reviewer has a serious disagreement is the projection of the concept of 'Bhadralok'. The term was given currency earlier by John Broomefield and since then it became a pet expression with many writers, especially Western writers. Perhaps P. C. Ray could not imagine that the term he first coined would serve the purpose of historians in the way he never intended. The expression has been catchy no doubt in recent years. But the reviewer feels that the term is utterly inadequate to explain a socio-economic situation in Bengal in the colonial setting. It is wrong to suppose that only the 'new urban Hindu elite of Bengal' constituted what may be called the 'Bhadralok' Class. The semi-urban as well as rural educated middleclass men in different white collar occupations also belonged to this category. An indiscriminate use of the term creates a confusion in the readers' mind.

Notwithstanding this disagreement, it must be conceded that the volume under review is marked by a sound theoretical framework, a dependable methodology and a lucid presentation of facts of history. The absorbing interest it arouses will enable the volume to reach a large cross section of discriminating readers who love books in general. The painstaking and devoted search for materials which is clear from the impressive Bibliography, should inspire the younger generation in the quest of history. The book may serve as a model of sophisticated research in modern Indian History.



1983

V216:884 n N83

N83

19/4
20/2/92



“శ్రీశైలశిఖరం దృష్ట్వా పునర్జన్మ విన్యతే”

శ్రీ శైల మహాక్షేత్రము

ద్వారకాక్షోభింగములలో రెండవది అయిన శ్రీమల్లికార్జున మహాలింగమును అష్టాదశ మహాక్షేత్రాలలో మహామహిమావ్యక్తమైన శ్రీద్రామరి శక్తి శ్రీద్రమరాంతా దేవిని దర్శించి, సేవించి, పూజించి తరించండి.

× × ×

శాశ్వత కళ్యాణ పథకమునకు	 రూ.	1400-00
శాశ్వత అన్నదాన పథకమునకు	 రూ.	1116-00
శాశ్వత లక్ష దీప్తార్చన	 రూ.	5000-00
దేవి సవరాక్షరాలయందు ఒక్కరోజు శాశ్వత ఉభయము.	 రూ.	10,000-00

మరియు దొనేషన్ స్కీముక్రింద ప్రస్తుతము నిర్మాణములోవున్న సూరుగదుల సత్రమునందు ఒక్క డబుల్ రూము (బాత్ రూము, లావెట్రీ వసతితో) విర్మించుటకు రూ. 15,000/-

ఇంకను సదరకములైన శాశ్వత పూజలును విరివిగా విరాళములు వచ్చి శ్రీద్రమరాంతా మల్లికార్జునస్వామి వారల కృపకు పాత్రులు కాగోరుచున్నాము.

సం. యన్. చిట్టిబాబు

B.A.L.L.B.,

కార్యనిర్వహణాధికారి మరియు

డిప్యూటీ కమిషనర్.