

A
V216:884m,N 75I
N88.142
127479.

1891/90

ITI H Ā S

JOURNAL OF THE ANDHRA PRADESH STATE ARCHIVES

— A Bunch of old Letters	<i>Director General</i>	1
— A Memorable Visit	<i>Director General</i>	23
— How old is the Social Contract Theory ? The evidence of the <u>Aggañña Suttānta</u> – Its importance in Ancient Indian History	<i>E. Sreedharan</i>	29
— Medieval Elliptical Shrines of South India	<i>H. Sarkar</i>	49
— A Note on the <u>Vaisya</u> Community in Medieval Andhra	<i>K. Suryanarayana</i>	55
— British Policy towards successions in Bharatpur State, 1823-26, and its repercussions	<i>Hiralal Gupta</i>	65
— The <u>Kaval</u> or Police System in Rayalaseema between the early Sixteenth and the early Nineteenth centuries.	<i>D. Subramanyam Reddy</i>	76
— Turkish Archives	<i>N. Akmal Ayyub</i>	82
— Note on the Inscription on the tomb of Nawab Neknam Khan at Golkonda	<i>Z.A. Desai</i>	88



ITIHAŚ

ITIHAŚ is a sixth monthly professional and technical magazine published by the Andhra Pradesh State Archives.

Any archivist or historical scholar wishing to have her/his article published in this magazine may kindly send the material to Ms. Suseela Raju, Assistant Director of the Organization, Tarnaka, Hyderabad - 500 007.

EDITORIAL BOARD

sarojini regani
radhakrishna sarma
dharinendra prasad
parabrahma sastr
sharifunnisa begum
v.k. bawa
suseela raju
t.balakrishnan

EDITOR

t. balakrishnan
Director General,
A.P. State Archives.

EDITORIAL ASSISTANCE

Ms. g. suseela raju.
Mr. s. md. anwarul haq

Phototypesetting & Production :

Siddamsetty Press,

365/A, Bakaram,
Hyderabad-500 020.

- The Structure and the Function of Dattaraj — 102
Darul Insha Asafjah Nawab Mir Nizam
Ali Khan

Zurhunnisa Begum

- Devadasi Inams - A case study in Chittoor District — 115

T.V. Manjulatha Devi

- Images of Natarāja Siva on Orissan Temple walls : An over view — 123

Rama Chandra Misra

- Hanumān In Vijayanagara Epigraphs and Sculptures — 137

K. Sarojini Devi

- Sānis (The temple girls) of Medieval Andhra — 147

M. Krishnakumari

- Narasimha Reddi of Nossam - A Forgotten Hero from Andhradesa — 158

B. Subhanan

BOOK REVIEWS

- Amir Khusrau as a Historian — 164

- The Rule of the Chalukya Cholas in Andhradesa — 169

- Temple Culture of South India — 171

- National Movement in South India — 173

1891/90

EDITORIAL

This is the second issue of ITIHAS in 1988. Thanks to the unstinted cooperation, perceptive counsel, and generous assistance of the Editorial Board, it has been possible to bring out this issue on time.

The most interesting and thought - provoking feature in this issue is the reproduction of part of the correspondence between Sir Akbar Hydari, then President of the H.E.H. the Nizam's Executive Council and Mahatma Gandhi in 1939 — 40. The quality of statesmanship revealed by both the personages has unfortunately become a *rara avis* these days. Everything else apart, the masterly prose style of the Mahatma is a linguistic treat to be enjoyed, savoured and treasured. More importantly, this is the first time that these letters are being published.

Another instance of a rare gesture of liberalism and of touching human relationship is to be found in the article on the Mahatma's visit to Hyderabad in 1934.

In addition, we present to the readers well-researched, well-documented articles on diverse subjects of historical significance. Of particular interest is an article on Turkish Archives, and the one about the contribution of ancient Indian philosophers to political thought, especially, the theory of Social Contract. We have also included articles based on archaeological research. Besides, there are two articles on "Temple-Ladies", bringing to light certain hitherto littleknown aspects. For instance, very few are aware that in medieval Andhra, these ladies were organised in guilds — a sort of 'trade union', one might say. Again, it is almost unknown that the untiring efforts of Dr. (Mrs.) Muthulakshmi Reddy, the first lady doctor in the then Madras Presidency, were responsible for the passing of the Hindu Religious

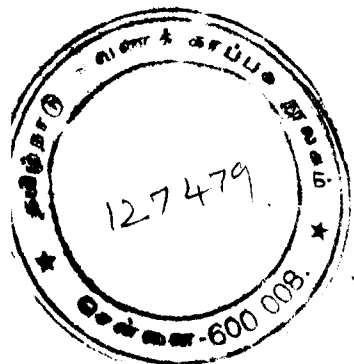
Endowments Act, 1926, according to one of its provisions, the *Devadasi* community was freed from temple service by giving a portion of *Inam* lands of the temple on a quit rent to their families.

There is also a sociological study on the efforts to ascendancy to political power by the *vysya* community in medieval Andhra.

Included also are reviews of four books of historical and archival interest and importance.

I earnestly hope that scholars and administrators alike, will continue to evince their keen interest in our publication, as they have done so far.

My earnest thanks are due to Syed Abdul Lateef Magrabi, my personal secretary, without whose personal diligence untiring efforts, the manuscript could not have gone to the Press on time.



(T. BALAKRISHNAN)
DIRECTOR GENERAL
A.P. STATE ARCHIVES

" A BUNCH OF OLD LETTERS"*

*"The days may come, the days may
go,*

*But still, the hands of mem'ry
weave*

The blissful dreams of long ago"

—GEORGE COOPER

*"Magnanimity in politics is not
seldom the truest wisdom"*

—EDMUND BURKE

*Able to approach the future as a
friend*

*without a wardrobe of excuses,
without*

*A set mask of rectitude or an
Embarrassing over - familiar
gesture*

—WYSTON HUGH AUDEN

* * * * *

It is very fortunate that the top administrators of the former Princely State of Hyderabad chose to preserve with meticulousness, diligence and care - fond care, one

might say - records pertaining to matters of State. Things which we could "freely for feit was kept with fonder a care. Fonder a care kept than we could have kept it".** Amongst such valuable documents of historic importance were found correspondence exchanged between Sir Akbar Hydari, the then President of the H.E.H. the Nizam's Executive Council, and Mahatma Gandhi. Mainly, the subject matter of these letters pertained to communal amity, the affairs of the Hyderabad State Congress, the role of the Arya Samajists, and treatment of political prisoners in jails. We are glad to reproduce here copies of the more important letters exchanged between Sir Akbar Hydari and Gandhiji. They speak for themselves. The quality of statesmanship revealed by both the personages and a willingness to accommodate each other's point of view are unique - qualities and

* Part of the correspondence exchanged between Sir Akbar Hydari, then President of H.E.H. the Nizam's Executive Council and Mahatma Gandhi in 1939-40. They were close personal friends (Ed.)

** Gerard Manley Hopkins

approaches that have unfortunately been eroded over time - even to the point of no return.

What strikes one particularly is how highly sensitive, emotive issues were discussed dispassionately and rationally - devoid of the slightest whisp of rancour.

One interesting side-light is an office note put up to Sir Akbar as to how he should like to address Gandhiji.

Segaon,
Wardha (C.P.)
26-12-38

Handwritten note:
Shankar Rao Deo to Mr. Jathas
"Gandhiji" - as per the message written to
Gandhiji - please! please! 25/1/39

* * * * *

Dear Sir Akbar,

I have purposely refrained from troubling you over the Hyderabad affairs. But as I have played an important part in shaping the decision of the H.S. Congress, I feel I should write to you. I do hope that you will appreciate the wisdom of the suspension and return a generous response to their action.

I hope you are fully restored.

Yours sincerely
Sd\ -
M.K. GANDHI

* * * * *

5th January, 1939.

My dear Gandhiji,

I was much touched by your having taken the trouble to write to me and also by your good wishes in regard to my health. I am much better now.

The decision of the Working Committee regarding the suspension of Jathas coming into the State from outside its borders, couched as it was in unconditional and unambiguous words, was very much appreciated by all of us, and my colleagues and I are proposing as unconditionally, to release the political prisoners who came into the State from outside its borders in sympathy with the State Congress. We were also very glad to hear of the advice given by you to the local State Congress unconditionally to suspend civil disobedience and to work for a clearing of the atmosphere in the State. We were led to believe, from what we had heard indirectly from those who were asked to convey

your advice, that it was to the above effect. The manner in which civil disobedience has, however, been suspended by the State Congress will be seen from the declaration made by Mr. Vaidya, the last "Dictator", who had so far avoided arrest and who thought it necessary to suspend civil disobedience by now courting arrest through a totally unnecessary demonstration. I am enclosing a copy of his declaration for you to see; it will show you not only that the suspension was not unconditional but also that it is expressly provisional; in addition, it is accompanied by a threat to resort to civil disobedience with redoubled vigour, should the necessary "moral reaction" be not forthcoming. What the moral reaction is expected to be has not been defined, but whatever it may be, the declaration does not only place the intentions of Government, so to speak, on trial we do not look at these things so narrowly as to take umbrage at such tactics as our intentions in the direction of reforms will in a few months' time be known-but is an attempt at intimidation which is hardly consistent with the professed spirit of the suspension. I am sure that no responsible Government, whatever its nature or views, will contemplate any gesture on the basis of a threat, so apparent and avowed Not only is this threat being attributed to

your advice but, as part of usual tactics, your name is being used even in connection with the Unity talks, it being freely asserted that you have secretly advised one of the representatives to break those talks. I, of course, do not believe this, as I consider you incapable of doing so

What with the hirelings employed, with the type of Satyagrahis taking liquor in order to commit Satyagraha, with the innumerable lies told by those who shouted most here about "truth", and with the opportunist use made of the forces of agitation by vested interests against recent agrarian legislation which limits usury, and is designed to relieve rural indebtedness and which prevents the peasant's land from passing into the hands of Sowcars, the whole thing has left a bitter taste in one's mouth. To crown them all, there is profitable use being made by certain sections of the messages sent by Sardarji and Bhulabhai to the Aryan Conference at Sholapur while the surprising advice given by Mr. Shanker Rao Deo that the three organisations, namely, the Hindu Civil Liberties Union, the Aryan Defence League and the State Congress, should combine is being made to prove that the National Congress is quite willing to join hands with the two former or believes that, the mere wearing of a new skin changes the spots

in his (the muslim's) camp as in the camp of the other, I am sure there are both those who wish for nothing but war and those who wish for nothing but peace and real progress. We are doing everything in our power to smoothen the way of the latter but the former are perhaps the more vocal and are short-sighted enough, for example, even to encourage students to imbibe hatred and organise a strike, the real purpose of which to bring stigma on the one University, which imparts higher education in the common language (as apart from script) of India, (a language which Mr. Vaidya, last "Dictator" of the State Congress desired to be substituted by English), and the ostensible reason for which was the ban on the inclusion of the *Bande Mataram* as part of Hindu prayer in the University. In this matter too, you are being freely quoted, also as having in writing agreed with the stand taken by the students, who have, I am sure, put their case before you in a onesided manner and could only have lied to you, as they lied here in public and in private without mentioning the endeavours made both by Government and by the University to take them back once again and to give them as assurance that once they were back, and legitimate grievances that they may bring up would be rectified.

I am sorry to have written at such length as this letter may take a good part of your time, but in view of our associations, I thought that a full out-pouring of hearts would help particularly a cause which both of us have always held dear - the union of hearts of all communities in love and co-operation for the greater glory and happiness of our Motherland.

With affectionate regards and best wishes for the year has been rung in.

Yours sincerely,
Sd/-
A. Hydari.

* * * * *

Hyderabad,
8.1.39.

1. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad.

2. M.K. Gandhi Esquire.

Bardoli.

In view of the National Congress Working Committees decision unconditionally to stop sending of Jathas in the State have unconditionally release all prisoners convicted for Satyagraha who have come from outside the State

For rest please see my letter issued fifth instant

Hydari

* * * * *

Bardoli,
20-1-39.

Dear Sir Akbar,

I have your wires and your letter of the 5th inst. with enclosure which came later.

At the outset I must thank you for the friendly tone of your letter. Nothing else and nothing less was expected of you.

Nevertheless, the letter has not given me satisfaction. The only thing relevant to my request was the statement issued by the State Congress manifesto calling off civil disobedience and its language. If it left nothing more to be desired, the immediate result should have been the discharge of the prisoner's who had offered civil disobedience from within and as members of the State Congress.

Even Shri Kashinath Rao Vaidya's statement was irrelevant. The State Congress manifesto was not before him. Had he known the

implications of the manifesto, he should not have courted imprisonment at all. But his case needs to be condoned by the State Congress manifesto. Perusal of Shri Kashinath Rao Vaidya's statement did not confirm the impression created by your letter. His statement I regard as mild and subdued. There is no threat in it. He has endeavoured calmly to argue the position of the State Congress and brought out the facts to the date of his conviction. He is noteworthy that he has accepted the fact of suspension and exhorted the State Congress members to desist from civil disobedience.

The Aryan League and the Hindu Mahasabha activities should be confused with that of the State Congress. There never was any intention of amalgamation on the part of the State Congress

You were quite right in dismissing from your mind the suggestion that I had secretly advised anyone against the attempt to reach a settlement between the Hindus and Muslims

Now about *Bande Mataram*. Some students did come to me. I told them that *Bande Mataram* was as a religious prayer but that they had a perfect right to sing it in their rooms or their prayer

rooms. I told them too that by proper representation they would get redress and that till they had the redress they should remain without their studies unless they could go elsewhere. I have seen the explanation issued by the Osmania University authorities. It has not given me satisfaction I do think that this is a matter you should set right without delay. If I have erred, not having all the facts before me, you will please correct me. But, of course, this question stands on its own footing. I have not interested myself in it. The students are not under my guidance. And I told those who came to me that I had no time to study their question, important though I admitted it to be.

You say that drunkards and the like have sought imprisonment. My informants say that if such people have courted imprisonment they were unauthorised and had nothing to do with the State Congress.

I believe I have now covered all the points in your letter.

If my argument has any substance in it, I repeat the request for the discharge of all the State Congress prisoners and for permission for the State Congress to pursue such activities, political or otherwise as are constitutional.

I hope this finds you in the

position of the best of health.

Yours sincerely,
Sd/-
M.K. GANDHI

* * * * *

(It is of interest to note that Sir Akbar Hydari had even earlier conceded that Gandhiji did say that *Bande Mataram* was not part of the *prarthana*. Sir Akbar indicated that the Government had decided that it was *not* proposed to ban the song in the University premises nor to its being sung occasionally on festival occasions, but not as a fixed routine everyday. — Ed.)

* * * * *

Copy of telegram

Wardha, 21/2/39.

To

Sir Akbar Hydari, Hyderabad.

In reply your telegram has been received from Sholapur Narayanswami interviewed after permission by our representative Sunderpershad on 17th Gulburga Jail seen with convict dress and iron ring in his foot.

Gandhi.

Home Secretary,
&
Secretary, C.A.C.

Please let me have draft reply immediately. I believe this was brought to our notice. I want to see the file also.

Intld: A.H.

21/2/39

"True Copy"

Sd/-
Supdt. Constitutional Affairs
Department.

* * * * *

Issued

23/2/39.

21st February 1939

My dear Gandhiji,

You will remember sending me a telegram regarding a complaint which you had received, that Narayanswami of Sholapur

who is undergoing a sentence of imprisonment in the Gulburga Jail had been ill-treated and fettered in that Jail. I at once telegraphed to you in reply that the allegation, I was informed, had no foundation. You will be interested to see the enclosed facsimile of a reply given by Mr. Narayanswami* to specific questions which were put to him by the Superintendent of the Jail in this connection I am, however, having it examined in detail.

Yours sincerely,

Sd/-
AKBAR HYDARI

* * * * *

M.K. Gandhi, Esquire,
Shegaon, WARDHA,

"True Copy"

Sd/-
Supdt. Constitutional Affairs
Department.

* Appended.

(A refreshing contrast to what happens these days about ill-treatment — a mild expression, this — of prisoners in the lock-up or even in judicial custody-Ed.)

Mahatma * Narayanswamyji,

It appears that the Director General of Jails, Hyderabad has been informed by some body that you were fettered here and ill-treated. Will you make your statement to the following points so that I may send the same to the Director General for his information.

(1) What treatment did you receive at the hands of my staff since you have been here.

(2) Did my staff at any time molest you or behave unmannerly while you are here.

(3) Were you ever fettered or kept chained since you have come here.

(4) Have you got any complaint to make against me or my staff for any thing.

Sd/-
Superintendent, Central Jail,
Gulbarga.
15-2-39

Sir,

26th Feb 1939 as under:-

I have no complaint against the treatment received at the hands of the authorities of the jail

II No

III No

IV No

Narayanswamy

15. 2. 1939

*This formal honorific salutation to a political prisoner from the Jail Superintendent is noteworthy (Ed.)

Hyderabad - Deccan,
16th February 1939.

My dear Gandhiji,

With reference to your letter dated the 13th February 1939 enclosing a letter from Ramkishan Dhoot in which he makes certain allegations against the Jail administration, the following is the categorical reply to the various points raised in his letter.

1. The scale of diet prescribed in the Hyderabad Jail Manual is a liberal one and includes luxuries like ghee and mutton which do not form part of the diet of prisoners in British India Jails. Ghee is supplied daily to all prisoners and mutton once a week to all convict overseers, and both are in addition to the ordinary diet. On 5 days in the week prisoners are supplied with bread made from jawar, on one day with bread made from wheat, and on one day they are supplied with cooked rice. All food cereals are brought in bulk and they are carefully screened before they are ground and cooked. Fresh vegetables are purchased daily in our jails or are supplied from jail gardens. There is a regular rotation of vegetables and dall, the latter being of various kinds, such as tuvar, masoor, gram, moong etc. There is thus considerable variety

in the food supplied to prisoners. Mr. Hollins, Director-General of jails, is in close touch with all the Jails in the Dominions and he tastes the food in all jails he visits. I have his assurance that he has not found the food in any of our jails unfit for consumption. Unofficial visitors frequently inspect our Jails and taste the food. None of them have ever complained that the food was unsatisfactory - in fact all unofficial visitors comment on the high standard of the food supplied and on the cleanliness of the Jails. If you care to ask any Hyderabad here to pay a surprise visit to any of our Jails, I will instruct Mr. Hollins that he is to be given every facility for inspecting the Jails.

2. Mr. Hollins recently sent the Director, Information Bureau, a list of newspapers he wished supplied to Jails for the use of Satyagraha prisoners. Arrangements are being made by the Information Bureau to supply these papers. In the meantime, prisoners are allowed to purchase the following papers:

The Times of India.

The Hyderabad Bulletin.

The Payam.

The Sahifa.

The Rahbar-i-Deccan.

The Subeh-i-Deccan.

The Musheer-i-Deccan.

The Nizam Vijay

The Golconda Patrika.

It is true that if there is anything objectionable in any of these papers we do not allow that particular issue to be purchased by prisoners.

Ramkishan Dhoot is correct in saying that there is no library in any of our Jails. Till the Civil disobedience Movement started in the State, practically all our convicts came from the illiterate classes. Instruction in reading and writing is given to convicts in our Jails and they are taught trades and industries. Our Jails are being brought uptodate and lectures on popular subjects, games, etc. have been started and the installation of loud speakers is contemplated.

3. It is true that some of our cells are small and that prisoners have to be kept in them because owing to the Civil disobedience movement our Jails are crowded to capacity and every available cell must be used. Prisoners are never kept in solitary confinement except for breaches of Jail discipline. The statement that prisoners are locked up in their cells all day except at the time they take a bath is entirely incorrect. All prisoners

sentenced to hard labour are required to work in our factories and prisoners sentenced to simple imprisonment are given facilities for spinning thread, winding bobbins, etc. Such prisoners are not compelled to do any work, but they are given work if they are willing to perform it.

4. There are strict orders that in none of our Jails are moats to be worked by prisoners. In Jails in which there is not a regular water pipe line moats are worked by bullocks and not by prisoners. Mr. Hollins reports that he cannot believe that in any Jail was this rule disregarded but he is making inquiries in the matter and will take disciplinary action should he find that the rule has any where been broken.

5. I have dealt with the complaints about food and I have shown that there is a regular rotation of food in all our Jails. I do not admit that the diet prescribed in our Jail Manual is inadequate. The first meal is given between 7 a.m. and 8 a.m. and the second on the conclusion of day's work between 4 p.m. and 5 p.m. The question as to whether the prescribed interval between meals is too long is under consideration.

6. All prisoners are given ample facilities for prayer and

there is no interference with their worship unless they become vociferous. Even then they are not prevented from saying their prayers, but are merely told to pray in a subdued tone, so that their prayers may not disturb others. Even the quiet recitation of the Vande Mataram during the prayer hour is not now prohibited.

7. Information regarding the location of prisoners is given to their relatives whenever they ask for it. Under the Jail Manual prisoners sentenced to hard labour are allowed interviews once every four months and prisoners sentenced to simple imprisonment once every three months, provided they are not guilty of misconduct which may lead to their being refused interviews as a punishment. As a matter of fact the rules have been relaxed in the case of many Satyagraha prisoners and they have been allowed to see their relatives far oftener than the rules permit. When Mr. Narsing Rao accompanied by Mr. Janardhan Rao visited the Central Jail, Hyderabad, to see his brother, the Superintendent was on his rounds in the Jail. They waited till the Superintendent finished his rounds and then they asked for an interview with Ramchander Rao which was at once granted. They did not make any complaint that they had been kept waiting.

8. All prisoners are expected to bathe before they take their morning meal and practically all of them do so. No one is allowed to bathe during the working hours of the day and therefore the statement that certain prisoners do not take their food till they can bathe at midday is incorrect. Should any prisoner desire before the afternoon meal there is no objection to their having a second bath.

Kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Sd\ -
Akbar Hydari

M.K. Gandhi, Esq.,^{*}
Wardha

* * * * *

New Delhi
30-3-39

Dear Sir Akbar,

I am grateful to you for your kind letter.

Dr. Morey's letter is striking. You may depend upon my not rushing to print without first reference to you on matters relating to Hyderabad. I expect great things

from you. I cannot forget our talks on our return journey from London. We were to have embarked on a joint mission of peace between the two communities but God had willed otherwise. I was to go to prison instead. But though seemingly we could not work together, the wish has persisted with me, as I am sure it has with you. You have opportunities which I have not to fulfill that wish. I am watching you with a friend's interest. I am looking forward to the reforms adumbrated in your letter.

Everyday I look for the news that you have discharged the state congress prisoners. You know that I have presented resumption of satyagrah by that body. Unless you have definite information to the contrary, I would like you to believe me when I tell you that if you treated them with sympathy, they will help and not hinder you in your effort to open a new era in Hyderabad.

I thank you for your reference to my fast. I hope you are well.

Yours Sincerely,
Sd\ -
M.K. Gandhi

* * * * *

^{*} Acquaint, ironical honorific suffix to the 'foe' of feudalism!

~~It is~~ now with
30.3.39

Dear Sir Akbar,

I am grateful to you
for your kind letter
on my letter is striking
you may depend upon my
not wishing to print with-
out first reference to you
on matters relating to my dis-
band. I expect great things
from you. I cannot forget
our talks on our return
journey from London. We
were to have, even asked
on a joint mission of peace
between the two communities
but God kind killed other-
wise. I was to go to Bikaner
instead. But through some-
one we could not work together.
The wish has persisted
with me as I am sure

It is with you. You have
of poor facilities which I
have not, to fulfil that wish.
I am addressing you with
a friendly interest. I am
looking forward to the
reforms announced in
your letter.

Every day I look for the
news that you have dis-
banded the State Congress prisoners. You
know that I have presented
a suspension of the Satyagrah
by that body. Unless you
have definite information
to the contrary, I would like
you to believe me when I
tell you that if you treated
them with sympathy they
will help and not hinder
your effort to open
a new era in Indian life.
I thank you for your response
to my past letter. You are well.
Yours sincerely,
M.K. Gandhi

2-4-1939

I hope you had my letter. I
have even conferring with Aryasa-
maj leaders about their satyagrah.
Their demands seem to me to be so
small that they should lend them-
selves to easy adjustment. Is not
this possible?

Yours sincerely,
Sd/-
M.K. Gandhi

* * * * *

10-4-39

Dear Sir Akbar,

Shri Ghanshyamsinh Gupta
and Shri Deshbandhu Gupta have
followed me to Rajkot to seek my
advice after the (to the) utter
break down of negotiations be-
tween the Government and the
Aryasamaj by reason of H.E.H.
Government's denial of the reports
about negotiations.

I may state that for some time
I have been advising the Arya Sa-
maj friends who have regard for
my opinions to suspend the civil
Disobedience part of their move-
ment and give chance to negotia-
tions. I need not go in to the

reasons that actuated me to give
the advice. The friends were
seriously considering my advice,
when a door seemed to them to
open to its acceptance on grounds
other than those I had advanced. I
refer to the negotiations. They
thought that if their minimum
demand could be satisfied they
would discontinue the civil
Disobedience. But as stated their
hope was frustrated. Now they
want me to guide them as to the
next step. They wanted to issue a
manifesto stating their grounds for
entertaining the opinion that
actual negotiations had started.

On reading the manifesto I felt
that before I could give them
guidance I should write to you
myself and know your own opinion.

If the information I gather
from the manifesto is true, the
Nizam Government's denial is
inexplicable. Here are the relevant
paragraphs from the draft
manifesto which has been withheld
for the time being at my instance:

"About the last week of
February, the Divisional
Commissioner and the Collector of
Gulberga interviewed Mahatma
Narain Swami Maharaj the leader
of the movement in Jail, with a
view to ascertain the grievances of
the Aryas, and promised to move
the higher authorities to explore
the possibilities for an amicable

settlement.

On the 27th March, 1939, Mr. S.T. Hollins the Director General of Police and Jails, Hyderabad State, Nawab Ghos Yarganj Bahadur Commissioner Gulberga Division, Mr. Razvi the Collector Gulberga District, and the Superintendent Gulberga Jail interviewed Mahatma Narain Swamiji Maharaj, Kunvar Chand Karanji Sharda, Lala Khusalchandji and Swami Vivekanandji in the Gulberga Jail and Mr. S.T. Hollins made certain proposals, the substance of which was that H.E.H. the Nizam's Government would take no objection whatever to the hoisting of the Om flags, that no permission would be required for building yagna Shalas and Havan-Kundas and all Arya Samajes and Mandirs at present existing without any permission having been obtained would be recognised, and in the matter of building new temples, machinery would be provided to secure the granting of sanction within 15 days of the application, sanction not to be withheld on any ground other than the ground of its location being such as to give rise to communal disturbances and full liberty of preaching religious doctrines (Dharma-Prachar) with due regard to the feelings of the followers of other paths would be secured.

Mahatma Narain Swamiji and his colleagues expressed their willingness to recommend the above proposals as the basis for negotiating the settlement, provided the settlement conformed to the spirit of the Sholapur Resolutions. Swamiji made it clear to Mr. Hollins that the authority to call off the Satyagraha movement rested with the Sarva Deshik Sabha.

Mr. Hollins thereupon undertook to arrange a meeting of the representatives of the Sarva Deshik Sabha and the Government Officers concerned at Hyderabad and also to arrange for the transfer of Swamiji Maharaj and his three colleagues to Hyderabad for participating in the discussions. On the request of the Swamiji, Mr. Hollins and the Commissioner Nawab Ghos Yarganj Bahadur promised that the representatives of Sarva Deshik Sabha would not be molested and their records would not be seized or otherwise interfered with.

Swamiji Maharaj having been thus assured, called Swami Swatantranandji Secretary Satyagraha Committee Sholapur by telegram and also forwarded the notes recording the substance of the above conversation duly countersigned by the Jail Superintendent to the President,

Secretary and some other members of the Sarva Deshik Sabha. On the 7th instant when, I, Messrs. G.S. Gupta and Deshbandhi Gupta saw Narayan Swamiji in Gulberga Jail, the Jail Superintendent told us that before putting his own signature he had shown the notes of the conversation contained in Swamiji's letters to the Taluqadar Gulberga and had got his approval.

Swami Swatantranandji went to Gulberga and interviewed Narain Swamiji Maharaj, who asked the former that an emergent meeting of the working Committee of the Sarva Deshik Sabha should be immediately convened at Sholapur before 10th April 1939.

Swami Swatantranandji convened the meeting at Sholapur and wrote to Sir Akbar Haidari sending him a copy of the gist of the conversation Narain Swamiji Maharaj had with Mr. Hollins and his colleagues and informing him that the representatives of the Sarva Deshik Sabha would be reaching Hyderabad to meet the State representatives on the 9th April to discuss the question and requesting him to communicate the time and place of the meeting. In a letter dated the 1st April 1939, Swami Swatantranandji also wrote to the Superintendent Gul-

berga Jail informing him that in addition to the members of the Executive body off the International Aryan League, the gentlemen named in the letter, would represent the Sarva Deshik Sabha at the Hyderabad meeting.

Swami Swatantranandji received a letter No. 2697 dated the 3rd April 1939, from the Superintendent Central Jail Gulberga which is very important, as it throws considerable light on the present controversy; it reads as follows:

"With reference to your letter No. 37060 dated the 31st March 39, received today, I write to inform you that it has been decided to hold the meeting of your representatives with Mahatma Narain Swami Mr. Khusalchand and others at Gulberga but not at Hyderabad. Please get all your representatives to Sholapur and send to Gulberga by the morning mail of the 7th April 39, so that they may see Mahatma Narayanswami and others before hand and be ready for the 8th instant to talk with the State Officers.

I assure you that your representatives would never be harassed by Police nor would your papers be seized here provided there would be no demonstration on your part. Kindly let me know

the date and time of their arrival at Gulberga by telegram so that necessary arrangements may be made here. I am writing this to you with the approval of the First Talukdar, Gulberga"

The letter speaks for itself and shows that the Jail Superintendent wrote with full authority because he distinctly states that the deputation was to meet the state Officials on the 8th April, 1939.

While the leaders of the Arya Samaj were on their way to Hyderabad, the Hyderabad Government issued the surprising communique that the news published in certain sections of press that H.E.H. the Nizam's Government were negotiating with the International Aryan League with a view to arrive at some settlement or compromise was totally incorrect."

The letter dated 3rd instant and signed by the Superintendent of the Central Jail Gulberga seems to be conclusive. I suggest that even if Mr. Hollins and other officials were over enthusiastic and went beyond their authority their action should be endorsed by H.E.H.'s Government for the sake of its good name if for nothing else. Public confidence in the word of such a great Government as

H.E.H. the Nizam's ought not to be shaken. But perhaps there is a sound answer to what *prima facie* appears to be unanswerable. May expect an early reply I am fixed up in Rajkot at present.

Yours sincerely
Sd/
M.K. Gandhi

* * * * *

My dear Gandhiji,

Your kind letter of the 10th reached me as I was returned from the Minister's Committee at Bombay. I had meanwhile written to you very fully on the 11th, our letters thus crossing.

I am grateful for your advice to certain Arya Samaj friends. There was evidently some genuine misunderstanding. My letter of the 11th has already given you the course of events as we saw it. The intention from the outset was to give Khushal Chand and his fellows at Gulberga an opportunity of consulting Messrs. Gupta and Sudhakar in the matter of the three points which the Talukdar of Gulberga, and later Mr. Hollins, had talked over with them. Mr. Hollins had emphasised to them

that he was speaking in his personal capacity only and could only recommend to Government. He never recommended negotiations with Government itself. The outside Arya Samaj leaders seem to have got a different impression from the notes recorded by the leaders in Jail but which were not seen by Mr. Hollins, and from the Jail Superintendent's letter of the 3rd which did not accord with instructions given to the Talukdar.

Whatever it was, we held to our course, Messrs. Gupta and Sudhakar (with another) did come to Gulberga after our communique of the 4th, and a conversation did take place with Mr. Hollins with the unexpected result recorded in my previous letter.

It will not be long before we announce the constitutional changes, and what we feel is that the Arya Samaj, which despite its alleged disabilities has more than 150 centres in the State (and it could never have had them save under a regime of toleration), should take the long view and in its own best interests now make a contribution towards harmony between communities.

Kindest regards. Trust you are quite well now.

Yours sincerely,
Sd/-
AKBAR HYDARI

M.K. Gandhi, Esqr.
Camp Calcutta.

* * * * *

Birla House,
BOMBAY.
5th June 1939.

Dear Sir Akbar,

Many thanks for your letter of 30th ultimo and telegram.

I am pleading with the Arya Samajists to give up C.D. and wish you to grant their minimum request. It is unfortunate that the talks with Mr. Hollins broke down. I would still suggest your making a gesture of course new constructions should be subject to permission which should be governed by fixed rules and times. You alone can end the agony, why wait for the constitutional reform?

Yours sincerely,
Sd/-
M.K. Gandhi

17th June 1939.

My dear Gandhiji,

Thanks you for your letter of the 5th June. Absence at Bombay had delayed my reply.

It seems to me that any gesture is, by every standard of justice, owed from the Arya Samaj. Hyderabad has reason to be deeply aggrieved by the mendacious campaign over the whole of India which has sought, by fair means or foul, to brand the administration as one of tyranny and intolerance; we even find Sir Gokul Chand Narang indulging in the "Statesman" in such a phrase as "a semi-civilised State." The true picture is on the one hand the Arya Samaj pursuing methods which they know are risking a communal convulsion: and on the other Hyderabad working steadily at constitutional reform in the midst of intolerable abuse and distraction.

You ask why wait for constitutional reform. It is because only through new constitutional - machinery, functioning in due course, can we safely approach adjustments, which may prove to be necessary, in our regulations. Any attempt to deal with them *ad-hoc* would, in the tension created by the Arya Samaj, be communally

most dangerous, and would be doomed to failure, in that mutual agreement between communities, on which alone permanent harmony must rest, could not be obtained. We are bound, in the interests of all communities of our people, to take the long view.

On our side the proof (not merely the gesture) of sincerity of purpose will be the actual publication of our reforms (due shortly) and the provision therein of permanent advisory machinery which will give facilities to any aggrieved community complaining of important religious disability. On the other side, it is for the Arya Samaj to give up its irreligious determination to dictate terms by coercion, and taking the long view of its own future, to make a moral gesture which alone can ensure its recognition by the people of this State as a peaceful agency aiming only at spiritual regeneration.

Kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Sd/-
A. HYDARI.

M.K. Gandhi, Esq.

* * * * *

21-3-1940

Dear Sir Akbar,

I do not know if you are respon-

sible for the orders against the State Congress. They leave a bad taste in the mouth. But there was a technical flaw in the Congress action. And so I advised unqualified apology. How I wish justice could be done in this case!

Hope you are keeping well.

Yours sincerely,
Sd/-
M.K. Gandhi.

* * * * *

4-4-40

My dear Gandhi,

Thank you for your letter of the 21st March 1940.

There is only one problem before us all and that is the removal of communal tension. Here in Hyderabad we are working in face of great obstacles to bring contending parties together so that they move jointly in a truly national endeavour. Our attitude towards the National Conference has been determined by this more than any other consideration. You can do a great deal to bring such co-operation nearer in India, and the condition precedent for such co-operation is a programme

providing common ground for all men of mutual goodwill.

Yours sincerely,
Sd/-
A. Hydari.

* * * * *

14-4-40

Dear Sir Akbar,

You have given me stone when I had asked for bread.

I fail to see the slightest connection between a simple performance of a promise and the big question of communal unity. And how can unity be brought about in the face of events like Bidar if the papers are to be believed? As you know I have put a gag on myself regarding Hyderabad but I feel that I must not do so now, if I am to do my duty by the people of Hyderabad. This treatment of the State Congress and the report happenings in Bidar have filled me with misgivings.

Yours sincerely,
Sd/-
M.K. Gandhi

2-5-40

My dear Gandhiji,

My disappointment is no less than yours. The big question of communal unity governs all these minor proceedings, and, until progress is made with that problem, many other problems must be at a stand still, and communal manifestations will occur.

As to the regrettable Bidar affair (which is reminiscent of incidents last year in Bihar), cases are before the Courts involving many accused. I can only express surprise that statements have issued prejudicing some of the issues. Our first appeal here to both parties was to localise the occurrence, just as I see the Premier has recently appealed in the Punjab Assembly in reply to questions regarding certain communal incidents there. Only thus can the vicious circle, which we all desire to break, be broken.

Kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Sd/-
A. Hydari.

Sevagaon,
Wardha.
9/5/40.

Dear Sir Akbar,

Your letter makes strange reading. Communal unity would never come by generalisations or glazing over serious disturbances. I do not know what Bihar incidents you refer to. But if there was a denial of justice in Bihar, it is no precedent worthy to be copied.

And why should public criticism of a big disturbance prejudice judicial proceedings against individuals?

Yours sincerely,
Sd/-
M.K. Gandhi.

There had also been clash of sentiments and ruffled feelings as the following letters would reveal. It is also to be noted that despite the emotional strain, Gandhiji remembered the indisposition of Lady Hydari and made affectionate enquiries about her. Unfortunately, his hopes about her recovery were belied, and Lady Hydari passed

away. In his reply Sir Akbar, whilst dealing with the political matter, also conveyed his thankfulness to the Mahatma for the interest he had shown in the health of his wife. It is interesting, if not intriguing, to note that Jagatguru Sankaracharya had been treating Lady Hydari. Now the letters: (Ed.).

your sense of duty to "the people of Hyderabad".

Yours sincerely,
Sd/-
A. Hydari.

M.K. Gandhi Esqr.,
Sevagaon, Wardha.

* * * * *
Sevagaon

7-6-40

* * * * *
28th May 1940.

My dear Gandhiji,

Yours of the 9th instant.

Reference to the Bihar incident in my last letter was to an incident in the Muzzafarpur district where certain misguided Hindus had perpetrated violence and arson, if at all on larger scale than in Bihar. The attention of the Congress President was publicly drawn to the incident. It is clear that my letter was not meant to suggest that the precedent was worthy of being copied as no one regrets the Bidar incident more than I myself do. The reference was intended to show how the one escaped your notice and sympathy and how the other has touched

Dear Sir Akbar,

I have slept all these nights over your unkind letter of 28th ultimo.

I see I have lost caste with you. I thought you would take my word for it that I knew nothing of the Muzafarpur violence by Hindus. I am now trying to find out what it was for that matter I knew nothing of Bidar till parties wrote to me and sent papers. I had hoped that you knew me sufficiently to know that whenever occasion had arisen I had not spared Hindus. So far as Hyderabad is concerned I have been particularly careful and avoided public reference to Hyderabad when I might have. I thought you had given me credit too for my reticence. Given as it is I am guiding the Hyderabad state congress (now defunct) and

restraining them. But I must not plead for myself. Only I feel sorry that you can think so unkindly as to write that last sentence in your letter.

I hope Lady Hydari's improvement has continued.

Yours sincerely,
Sd/-
M.K. Gandhi

* * * * *

12 June, 1940.

Dear Gandhiji,

Many thanks for your letter of the 7th June, 1940.

My letter was not at all intended to be unkind and I am sorry you got that impression from it. On the other hand, I myself felt pained that you should think so unkindly of me as in your letter of 9.5.40. I thought you had a better opinion of my administration than to think that such things as you suspected from reports regarding the Bidar incident were possible during my time.

I was much touched by your kind enquiries about my wife. You may be interested to know that Jagatguru Shankaracharya has been treating her.

I hope you are well.

Yours sincerely,
Sd/-
Akbar Hydari

M.K. Gandhi Esquire,
Sevagaon,
Wardha.

P.S.

This letter was written before the bereavement which has since overtaken me. I could not issue it then and I am sure you will understand that those were anxious days for me. I have already acknowledged by wire your kind telegram of condolence and would like again to express my thanks to you for your very kind sympathy in my loss.

Sd/-
Akbar Hydari

A MEMORABLE VISIT

Mahatma Gandhi visited Hyderabad in March 1934. As was his want, he informed the Government of his intention to address a public meeting mainly on the Harijan Upliftment Movement. There was also a proposal to take a procession. This created, not ununderstandably, a flutter in the Government circles. For one thing, Gandhiji was a freedom fighter, and he was considered in certain circles as a 'Hindu' leader. Reaction to his notice of visit and the decision taken on it by the then Government of Nizam are contained in the letters quoted below:

SECRET

Begumpet,
February 6th, 1934.
Farwardi 5th, 1343 F.

HON'BLE PRESIDENT

Since the discussion in Council yesterday regarding the proposed visit of Mr. Gandhi to Hyderabad, I have seen the Hon'ble Political

Member's note of dissent and have talked the matter over with him. I enclose the draft of the Resolution which has been prepared and also the dissenting note referred to. I also enclose, in original, a letter dated the 6th instant that I have just received from Nawab Mahdi Yar Jung Bahadur.

I am much impressed by what the Nawab Saheb writes and, in modification of the proposals made by me yesterday in Council, now suggest that the following conditions be attached to the grant to Mr. Gandhi of permission to come here.

- (a) Only one public meeting should be allowed. This should not take place at Vivekavardhini Theatre but at Lingampalli Garden. At this public meeting Mr. Gandhi may be allowed to deliver a speech provided he keeps off politics and restricts himself to the Harijan movement. Permission may also be given for a public address to be present to him but the address must be

wholely unconnected with politics and must be submitted for approval at least one week before the meeting to Government. No address by students should on any account be allowed. Lingampalli Garden is a most suitable place for a meeting as it was Mr. Gandhi's intention to go there to open a Harijan Sewa Samiti, which he may be permitted to do.

- (b) Mr. Gandhi cannot be allowed to open a Khaddar shop in Pattarghati Bazaar or any where else.
- (c) No procession can be allowed. The Kotwal has been instructed to submit his proposals to me in due course regarding the precautions he will take to stop a procession.

The Kotwal agrees with these modified conditions. You will see that I do not go quite so far as the Hon'ble Political Member would go if Mr. Gandhi is to be allowed to come to Hyderabad. With your permission I suggest that the case be placed before Council at the next meeting for reconsideration. There is no great hurry about it as Mr. Gandhi has postponed the date of his visit till the 9th of March.

Sd/-
Revenue
& Police Member

* * * * *

VERY URGENT
SECRET

6th February, 1934.

My dear Trench,

I am not very well today and shall not be able to meet you and the Kotwal at 10 a.m. as arranged.

I put this forward, however, for your consideration.

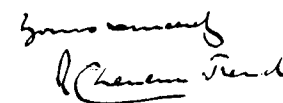
The more I think over the matter the more I am convinced that it would be a very good gesture and an act of courtesy if we let Gandhi give his lecture on the uplift of the depressed classes and also permit a procession. It would show our interest in our own depressed classes, and I cannot imagine that we have anything to fear from such a lecture. The procession would "let off steam" as it were.

But once Gandhi is here, I see great danger of serious public discontent arising if processions and public speeches were to be suppressed in such exciting circumstances when the enthusiasm of the public was at its height. Agitation based upon actual incidents happening at such a time would be all the more formidable and difficult to allay as

it would be based upon the people's actual experience and inspired by very deep feelings.

If we cannot treat Gandhi with the courtesy due to him or give him the amount of reasonable liberty that should be accorded to a man on a mission which, ostensibly at least, accords with our own aims, then it is *far better that he should not be allowed to come at all*. In a word I do not like *half measures*.

I would like the Kotwal to see this letter and also my dissenting Note in Urdu on the Council Resolution. His views would be interesting and valuable.



Mahdi Yar Jung.

(Free Translation in English-Ed.)

I am not against the arrival of Gandhiji, but I understand his not coming is far better than his arrival with the restrictions adopted.

I mean that once he has

arrived, the public will become emotional to see him. In such a moment, it will be a glaring example of non-liberty of people, if he is stopped from procession and speech. This will cause suspicion among the public, and provide the best opportunity to the opposers for starting agitation. It will be best that he is permitted to deliver a speech and taking out a procession, because we are not apprehensive of these things. The actual thing we are afraid of is the feeling among the people that they do not have the ordinary liberty which is one of the essential human rights. Clever persons will make the maximum use of such restrictions imposed on Gandhiji and provoke the public against the Government.

Only owing to these reasons, I suggest that Mr. Gandhi may be asked not to arrive here. This will not create such an adverse effect compared to our stopping his close contact with the public.

It is expected that the reason for my dissent will be clear from the above statement.

Sd/-
Mahdi Yar Jung

Dt. 5-2-1934

* * * * *

پیرچہ اختلاف رائے

میں بذات خود گاندھی جی کے آئینکے خلاف نہیں ہوں بلکہ میں اُن شروط کے ساتھ
(جو عائد کی گئی ہیں) اُن کے آنے سے اُن کا نہ آنا بدتر جہاں بہتر سمجھتا ہوں۔
مطلب یہ ہے کہ ایک مرتبہ جب وہ آجائینگے اور اُن کو دیکھ کر عوام الناس میں
جوش اور ولولہ پیدا ہوگا اُس وقت جلوس کو روکنا اور انکو تقریر بھی نہ کرنے دینا رعیت
کی نظروں میں رعیت کی عدم آزادی کی ایک بین دلیل اور چشم دید نظیر ہوگی اور لوگوں میں
اس سے بددلی پیدا ہوگی جس سے مخالفین کو اچے ٹیشن کیلئے بہترین موقع ملے گا۔ سب سے
بہتر یہ ہوتا کہ انکو تقریر اور جلوس کی اجازت دیجائی۔ کیونکہ ان چیزوں سے ہمکو ڈر نہیں
ہے بلکہ ہمکو خوف جس چیز کا ہے وہ یہ ہے کہ رعایا کے دلومیں یہ بات نہ سما جائے
کہ انکو معمولی آزادی بھی حاصل نہیں ہے جو انکی نظر دہنیں انسانی حقوق میں سے ایک مسلمہ
حق ہے۔ ہوشیار لوگ گاندھی جی کے ساتھ اس روک ٹوک کو اور ان فیود کو ایک
عبرت ناک واقعہ ظاہر کر کے لوگوں کو اس حکومت کے خلاف مشتعل کرینگے۔ لہذا انکی جوڑ
کی بناء پر اور نہ کسی اور وجہ سے میں رائے دیتا ہوں کہ مسٹر گاندھی کو حسب سابق بیان
آنے سے روک دیا جائے۔ اس کا اثر اتنا بُرا نہ ہوگا جتنا خلاق کے ساتھ روک تھام
کرنے سے پیدا ہوگا۔ کیونکہ عوام الناس کی ذہنیت یہ ہوتی ہے کہ وہ کسی ایسے واقعہ
کو زیادہ محسوس کرنے میں جو خود اُن پر گزرتا ہے یا جس کا وہ یکشم خود مشاہدہ
کرتے ہیں۔ امید ہے کہ وجہ اختلاف اس تحریر سے واضح ہو جائیگی فقط

اسٹنٹ سیکریٹری

SEAL

Revenue Member
H.E.H. the Nizam's Government
Begumpet
February 6th, 1934.

SECRET

My dear Nawab Sahib

Many thanks for your letter of today's date. I am sorry to hear that you are seedy and hope that it is nothing serious.

I have discussed with the Kotwal the question of Gandhi's visit and have shown him your dissenting memorandum and your letter. If I may be permitted to say so, you have put your case admirably. Although I do not go the whole way with you as regards the freedom that should be allowed to Gandhi if he is permitted to come here, you will see from the copy of my memorandum to the Hon'ble President of today's date, that I have modified my original views to a considerable extent. I hope you do not mind my sending your letter to him. As you ask me to show it to the Kotwal, I am sure that you have no objection to the Hon'ble President seeing it.

Yours sincerely,
Sd/-

Nawab Mahdi Yar Jung Bahadur,
Hon'ble Political Member.

SEAL

Political Member
7th February, 1934.

SECRET

Dear Sir Akbar Hydari,

Kindly read and return the enclosed papers. You will observe that the Hon'ble Revenue Member is willing to refer the matter again to the Council regarding the proposed visit of Mahatma Gandhi to Hyderabad.

I hope you will be able to support the idea of ordinary courtesy being shown to Mr. Gandhi and liberty of speech being given to him in regard to the uplift of the depressed classes. I am sure this will do no harm, but will have an excellent effect both in the State and outside.

If this cannot be done, then it is best to prevent Gandhi from coming to Hyderabad at all.

My views are more fully expressed in the letter which I wrote to Trench on the 6th February, 1934, which is on this file, as also in my formal note of dissent, a copy of which is also on the file.

Yours sincerely,
Sd/-

Mahdi Yar Jung

The Hon'ble Sir Akbar Hydari
Nawab Hyderabad Nawaz Jung
Bahadur, Kt., LL.D.,
Hyderabad (Deccan).

* * * * *

SEA
SECRET

Finance Member
7th February 1934

My dear Mahdi,

Many thanks for letting me see these papers. I am very glad to see that you have been able to effect a change in the Hon'ble the Revenue Member's attitude. I take it now that you will be a unanimous one.

Yours sincerely,
Sd/-
AKBAR HYDARI

The visit was by a person, who was a self-declared opponent of the British rule, which he had vowed

to throw out. However saintly and revered undoubtedly as he was, a visit of such a person of devout anticolonial conviction, what with his intense personal magnetism and charisma to a Princely State ruled by H.E.H. LIEUT-GENERAL ASAF JAH, MUZAFFAR-UL-MULK WAL MUMALIK NIZAM-UL-MULK, NIZAM-UD-DOWLA, NAWAB SIR MIR OSMAN ALI KHAN BAHADUR, FATEH JUNG, FAITHFUL ALLY OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT,* G.C.S.I., G.C.B.E., NIZAM OF HYDERABAD, was remarkable, to use a lame expression.

A rare gesture of statesmanship of the highest order and an instance of touching human relationship.

A refreshing, fragrant breeze, in our present times.

* emphasis ours (Ed.)

HOW OLD IS THE SOCIAL CONTRACT THEORY? THE EVIDENCE OF THE AGGAÑÑA SUTTĀNTA - ITS IMPORTANCE IN ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY

E. SREEDHARAN *

ABSTRACT: Facile generalisations have been made by Western scholars—including luminous ones like Max Muller and Ernest Barker—about Indian thought. Not that they regarded Indians only as snake-charmers and sleepers on piked beds—but they did not recognize Indian thought on practical political philosophy and political thought. The author explodes the Western myth with a sharp and skilful intellectual scalpel.

What is the ethos of the Indian mind? - a question often asked. The answer generally is unthinking expressions like 'spirituality', 'religiousity', and 'other worldliness'. Nineteenth

century Western scholarship, which was mainly responsible for the recreation of India's academic past held it as an axiom that religious spirit exercised such an exclusive hold on the Indian mind as to shut it out from all secular pursuits. One of such pursuits, regarded as particularly foreign to the Indian genius, was political thought - an inquiry into the phenomenon of the State, its origin and its rationale.

The trend of western thought found classic expressions in the facile generalizations of scholars of political thought of that part of the World. Examples:

* **About the author:** Prof. E. Sreedharan is working in the Institute of correspondence courses, University of Kerala, Kariavattom, Trivandrum-695005. (Kerala State).

— MAX MULLER

The only sphere where the Indian mind found itself at liberty to act, to create, and to worship, was the sphere of religion and philosophy; and nowhere have religious and metaphysical ideas struck roots so deep in the mind of a nation, as in India. The Hindus were a nation of philosophers. Their struggles were the struggles of thought; their past, the problem of creation; their future the problem of existence. The present alone, which is the real and living solution of the problems of the past and the future, seems never to have attracted their thoughts or to have called out their energies....., taken as a whole, history supplies no second instance where the inward life of the soul has so completely absorbed all the practical faculties of a whole people, and, in fact, almost destroyed those qualities by which a nation gains its place in history. It might, therefore, be justly said that India has no place in the political history of the world.¹

— P. JANET

"The East in general, India in particular, has not known the idea of the State.... To use a Christian expression, the only city for the wish Indians is the City of God."²

— W.A. DUNNING

"The Oriental Aryans never freed their politics from the theological and metaphysical environment in which it is embedded today.... The Aryans of Europe have shown themselves to be the only people to whom the term "Political" may be properly applied.....³

— SIR ERNEST BARKER

Sir Ernest Barker, the famous historian of political thought harps on the same theme of the apathy of the Indian mind, in contrast to that of the Greek, to take a rational view of the things of the world.⁴

1. F. Max Muller, *A History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature* (Varanasi, 1968) p.28.
2. P. Janet, *Histoire de la Science Politique*, I, cited in U.N. Ghoshal, *A History of Indian Political Ideas*, (London, 1959), p.14.
3. W.A. Dunning, *A History of Political Theories, Ancient and Medieval*, (New York, 1953 Reprint) pp. XIX-XX.
4. Ernest Barker, *Greek Political Theory: Plato and His Predecessors*, (Suffolk, 1964; Reprint, pp.1-2).

The first point to be treated bears on the nature of the Indian mind, the essential genius of the people. Is the Indian mind so suffused with the religious spirit as to render it incapable of rational, intellectual attitudes? In other words, does religion exercise a monolithic hold on the Hindu mind to the preclusion of all secular thought, particularly of political thought? Is the idea of the State, of law and government, foreign to the Indian genius?

Aurobindo discerns in India's essential genius three component qualities.⁵ The first is admittedly its spirituality, "the master-key of the Indian mind."⁶ The second is India's "Stupendous vitality, her inexhaustible power of life and joy of life, her almost unimaginable prolific creativeness."⁷ And the third is her "strong intellectuality, at once austere and rich, robust and minute, powerful and delicate, massive in principle and curious in detail."⁸ A sense of balance and rhythm kept

these dissimilar tendencies from resulting in disorder while a genius for synthesis fused them into a creative harmony.

The *strong intellectuality* listed by Aurobindo as one of the three constituents of the characteristic genius of India has implications important for our study, for it is at the root of the wide range of intellectual interests of the ancient Indians such as politics, economics, fine arts, civil and religious law, philosophy and religion, *belles-lettres* and poetics, grammar and lexicography, medicine, astronomy, astrology, mathematics and even erotics. More particularly, politics are invariably included as a separate branch of knowledge in all the three traditional lists of 'sciences' (Vidyas) drawn up by ancient Indian writers. The shortest of these lists as found in *Kautilya*, *Kamandaka*, *Manu-Samhita* and *Sukranitisara* comprises four sciences of which two are politics and economics.⁹

5. Aurobindo, *The Foundations of Indian Culture and The Renaissance in India*, (Pondicherry, 1971) p. 400, XIV.
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Ibid.*, p. 401.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 402.
9. U.N. Ghoshal, *Op.cit.*, p. 14.

In Brahmanical and Buddhist writings, the science of polity is variously styled 'the royal science' (*rajasastra*, *nripasastra*, *rajavidya*) or 'the Kshatriya science' or the Kshatriya rule of life' (*Kshatravidya* or *Kshatradharma*). And this because, in the four-fold division of society the Kshatriya class was consigned as the ruling class. Ancient Indian political thought centred mainly on territorial monarchy, which had evolved out of the Indo-Aryan tribal polity of the Vedic and later Vedic times and which from the sixth century B.C. onward became the normal type of political organization. The constituents of the State (which are seven in ancient Indian political theory) came to be conceived in terms of the components of the territorial monarchic state. The category of the seven State-constituents included the king and his staff of officials, a permanent revenue, a standing army, and a permanent ally in the context of a complex state-system.¹⁰ A science of polity so conceived at a comparatively early stage of our civilized existence gathered a vast literature around itself through the centuries down to the thirteenth.

Bloomfield objects that the pervasive dominance of the Indian religious institutions as typified in the *asrama dharmas* of *brahmacharya*, *garhastya*, *vanaprastha*, and *sanyasa* makes no provision for the interests of the State and the development of the race.¹¹ We point out that the horizontal division of life into the four *asramas* or stages is an ideal meant for the individual and is irrelevant to the point at issue. More important and involving the whole race is the vertical division of society into the four classes or castes (*varnas*) each with its distinctive law or function. And here the Kshatriya is bound by the distinctive law of his order which is to rule the country and protect the people.

It is precisely because of the high significance of this obligation that the duty of the king (*rajadharma*) is held by the authoritative verdict of Bhishma in the Mahabharata to be equivalent in moral values to the duties of all castes and orders put together.¹²

The Kshatriya king is, if anything, a political institution *par*

10. *Ibid.*, p.8.

11. M. Bloomfield, *Religion of the Veda, The Ancient Religion of India* (New York, 1908) pp.4-5.

12. U.N. Ghoshal, *op. cit.*, p.10.

excellence. A military and political aristocracy¹³ the *kshatriya* order in the fourfold division is comparable to the guardian class of Plato's scheme. It was realized quite early that the very continuance of the race, of civilized existence, depended on the institution of the State and the office of the king. Politics was not kept out of sight, nor was it held in subordination to the other aspects of life; on the other hand, it was given the place of honour.

Willoughby notices in the thought of the Eastern peoples a vitiating confusion between law and religion so much so that they failed to develop political science as an independent branch of knowledge.¹⁴ Now, the Hindu concept of society was certainly based on the *vedic* dogma of Divine creation whilst the law of this order was primarily based upon the Vedas.

But from the first, writes U.N. Ghoshal, custom or convention was regarded as a secondary and distinct source of this law, while reference is made to the opinion of the learned for the interpretation of

its supplementary or doubtful points. In the branch of state law in particular, while the canon and custom are held to be its two conjoint sources, the king is urged from early times to seek the advice of learned Brahmanas and to apply reason for the decision of suits at his court. In later times Manu and Yanavalkya and their successors, evidently under the influence of Kautilya, credited the king's executive edict with the force of law. It is perhaps permissible to find in these successive stages of the development of the Indian concept of State law a distant parallel to the stages of the ancient Roman law marked by the *responsa prudentia*, the *acquitias* and the *lex*¹⁵

Besides canon and custom, Kautilya mentions current law and reasoning as the sources of state law, he further lays down that whenever a conflict arises between reasoning based on the law and the canon, the former prevails; in such cases, the letter of the canon is to be regarded as dead.¹⁶

13. Aurobindo, *The Foundations of Indian Culture*, (Pondicherry, 1959) p. 397.

14. Willoughby, *Nature of the State*, cited in U.N. Ghoshal, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

15. *Ibid.*, pp.12-13.

16. *Ibid.*, p.11

Professor Beni Prasad (*Theory of Government in Ancient India*) does not join the chorus of denunciation but observes, however, that "the philosophical Hindu intellect is at its best in synthesis", but "is seldom at home in analysis and induction." As a result of this proneness to synthesis, politics, even when recognised as a separate science, "could never make itself completely independent of religion and ethics."¹⁷ Against this may be pointed out that Indian writers on politics held their science to be equal in status to the *Vedas*, two of their early schools going to the extent of eliminating the *Vedas* from their list of sciences on the ground of their uselessness for men of the world while Kautilya held wealth to be the root of virtue and pleasure.¹⁸

Political thought in India which, in the course of its development through the centuries, estimated the relative importance of the constituents of the State, discussed the problems of internal government as well as inter-state relations, and did not shrink from advocating policies and methods which would have made even Machiavelli to blench, cannot be said to have been the handmaid of

religion and ethics. Buddhist canonical writers on political science represented, in fact, an ethical reaction against the creed of absolute selfishness and ruthless violence.

The one object of the foregoing account was to show in a brief compass that political thought was not alien to the Indian mind and that it was not wholly dominated by religion and dogma. That this thought even in the creative period of our history was not as rich as that of ancient Greece or as prolific as that of post-Renaissance Europe is readily admitted. Yet, it looks strange that a popular modern theory of the origin of the State which in the hands of Locke and Rousseau contained great revolutionary potential should have been propounded in India centuries before Christ.

The thought process in India had gained immensely from the revolt of the Buddha and Mahavira. The mind was, as it were, cleansed of much of its dross of dogma and tradition, and metaphysical cobwebs as well as ritualistic outrages were swept away by a simple appeal to reason and experience. The Buddha's

discourses, preserved in scattered references in the Pali canon, give us, though in the language of parables and similes, a whole new order of ideas. His speculations about man and his institutions often had the quality of incisive inquiries into their rationale.

Such a one was the Social Contract theory of the origin of the social order and the phenomenon of State which occurs in an extract of the *Pali Digha Nikaya* entitled *Agganna Suttanta*¹⁹ which Rhys Davids has translated as *A Book of Genesis*.²⁰ The *Agganna Suttanta* purports to be a discourse of the Buddha to two of his disciples. Herein the Master sets forth a theory of the social order and of the state which must silence a critic like Willoughby who observes that Indians and, generally all Eastern peoples, were so fixed in the dogmatic belief in the Divine creation and ordering of the world that they were never tempted to

inquire into the rationale of their social and political institutions.²¹ The Buddha asks:

There are, Bhaggava, certain recluses and brahmins who declare it as their traditional doctrine the beginning of things was the work of an overlord, of Brahma?²²

Rhys Davids has concluded that the *Digha Nikaya* and the rest of that part of the Pali literature were North Indian in origin and that they were compiled in the fifth century, and indeed, certain parts of them, in the sixth century B.C.²³ Elsewhere he states that:

The great compendiums — that is the Four Nikayas, and the Vinaya — grew up side by side and were probably completed in their present shape about a century after the Buddha's death.²⁴

17. Beni Prasad, cited in U.N. Ghoshal, *op. cit.*, p.13, n.4.

18. U.N. Ghoshal, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

19. T.W. and C.A.F. Rhys Davids, (trans.) *Dialogues of the Buddha*, part III (London, 1921) pp. 77-94.

20. Rhys Davids has followed Buddhaghosha's explanation of the *Agganna Suttanta* as 'Genesis of the World' or a History of the Genesis and Course of the World.

21. U.N. Ghoshal, *op. cit.*, p.10.

22. Rhys Davids, *op. cit.*, p.25.

23. *Ibid.*, p.vii

24. *Ibid.*, p.viii.

The *mise en scene* of the discourse in question is interesting and important. The Buddha is staying near Sravasti at the mansion of the Mother of Migara.²⁵ There, at Sravasti, two young Brahmin recruits to the Sangha — *Vasettha* and *Bharadvaja* (*Vasistha* and *Bharadvaja*) are passing their probation as *Bhikshus*. One evening, the Master, arising from his meditations, comes down from the house and walks to and fro in an open air, in the shade of the house. Seeing this, the two *Bhikshu* probationers approach him to try their good fortune to hear a talk on matters of doctrine. The Buddha asks them whether their fellow Brahmins do not blame and revile them for joining the Sangha. *Vasettha* answers that the Brahmins do blame and revile them "with characteristic abuse, copious, not at all stinted."²⁶ "But in what terms..?"²⁷ demands the Master. *Vasettha* answers: "The Brahmins, Lord, say thus:

"Only a brahmin is of the best social grade: other grades are

low. Only a brahmin is of a clear complexion: other complexions are swarthy. Only brahmins are of pure breed: not they that are not of the brahmins. Only brahmins are genuine children of Brahma, born of his mouth, offspring of Brahma, created by Brahma, heirs of Brahma. As of you, you have renounced the best rank, and have gone over to that low class — to shaven recluses, to the vulgar rich, to them of swarthy skins, to the footborn descendants. Such a course is not good, such a course is not proper, even this, that you, having forsaken that upper class, should associate with an inferior class, to wit, with shaveling friar-folk, menials, swarthy of skin, the offscouring of our kinsman's heels."²⁸

When *Vasettha* had ended, the Buddha said that in spite of their claim to have been born of Brahma's mouth, the brahmins were as much womb-born as other beings were. For the brahminees, the Sakyamuni

says with a touch of ironic humour, are known to be fertile, are seen to be with child, bringing forth and nursing children."²⁹

The discourse thus begun develops into a direct, open challenge of the Vedic dogma of the Divine creation of the social order. The Buddha comes down strongly on the institution of caste and summarily rejects the Brahmin's claim to be the best class in comparison with the others. Men are not born good or bad; good and bad qualities are "distributed among each of the four classes."³⁰ Men are to be judged by the standard of righteousness or Dharma.³¹

In support of his contention the Master advances a highly speculative theory of the periodical evolution of the world and of man and his institutions. At aeonian intervals the world dissolves into a formless void, a gloom profound, out of which it evolves again with self-

luminous glorious being traversing the air. But these beings lose their celestial brilliance and acquire solidity of body in proportion as they, prompted by greed, feed upon the earth and its products. Greed and craving, which takes the same place in the Buddhist lore as 'original sin' was to take in the Christian, lead to changes of a fundamental character: differences of sex appeared with resulting passion among men and women; differences in appearance became pronounced, some becoming comely and others not; differences in fortune became marked, some being well favoured and others ill favoured. The more comely and fortunate began to despise the less comely and less fortunate. Pride, vanity, conceit and jealousy found permanent lodgement in the human heart. The Buddha's account in the *Agganna Suttanta* of beings (men) feeding first on the "savory earth"³², then on the "outgrowths of the soil" (mushrooms)³³, then on "creeping plants"³⁴, before at last they came to feed on rice, may be

25. Visakha. For details see *Ibid.*, p.77.

26. *Ibid.*, p.78.

27. *Ibid.*

28. *Ibid.*

29. *Ibid.*

30. *Ibid.* p.79.

31. Rhys Davids translates Dhamma as 'norm'.

32. Rhys Davids, *op.cit.*, p.82.

33. *Ahicchattako*. Meaning snake-hood but here used for a kind of mushroom shaped like a snake's hood.

34. *Badalta*. A beautiful creeper of sweet taste, says Buddhaghosha.

taken as suggestive of a food-gathering phase of human life passing to a food-producing one.

III

It is a story of progressive deterioration from a state of physical and moral excellence into one in which the need for political and social regulations is keenly felt. The first step in the direction is the appearance of private property, the great divide between barbaric simplicity and civilized barbarism. Here the real story begins. Nature was still bounteous and rice grew in abundance in open spaces without having to be cultivated. Men carried away rice³⁵ for each of their meals. The reason for the rise of private property is stated to be greed and laziness and the visible signs of the rising institution is the storing of rice which clearly implies the development of the institution of family and the building of houses. This, again, implied the beginning of cultivation of the soil, i.e. the transition from the food-gathering to the food-producing stage. The discourse in the *Agganna Suttanta* seems to indicate this transition.

There must have existed, in far off times, some kind of village commune, and some kind of cultivation of the soil which may be called, with extreme caution, collective farming. Now, says the Buddha, "some being of a lazy disposition"³⁶, instead of making separate journeys to gather rice for each of the meals, gathered rice enough for two meals. Others followed his example and began to hoard rice (the beginning of private property). But hoarding led to the disappearance of the self-ripening rice for "the reaped or cut stems did not grow again."³⁷

Men gathered together as they used to at every stage in their degeneration, bewailing the evil customs but for whose appearance they would have continued in their former state of celestial glory and happiness:

Where we plucked and took away for the evening meal every evening, there next morning it had grown ripe again. Where we plucked and took away for the morning meal, there in the evening it had grown ripe again. There was no

break visible. Enjoying this rice, feeding on it, nourished by it, we have so continued a long-long while. But from evil and immoral customs becoming manifest among us, powder has enveloped the clean grain, husk too has enveloped the clean grain, and where we have reaped is no regrowth; a break has come, and the rice-stubble stands in clumps. *Come now, let us divide off the rice fields and set boundaries there to! And so they divided off the rice and set up boundaries round it.*³⁸

Thus was individual, private, property established, the source of all economic, political and social inequality, and most evils of modern life. For the drift could not be arrested, it could only be submitted to. Private property begot the evils of theft, censure, lying and punishment. Thus the Buddha:

Now some being, Vasettha, of greedy disposition, watching over his own plot, stole another plot and made use of it. They took him and holding him fast said: Truly, good being, thou has wrought evil in that, while watching thine own plot, thou hast stolen another plot and

made use of it. See, good being, that thou do not such a thing again! Ay, sirs, he replied, And a second time he did so. And yet a third. And again they took him and admonished him. Some smote him with the hand, some with clods, some with sticks. With such a beginning, Vasettha, did stealing appear, and censure an lying and punishment became known.³⁹

Thereupon, men gathered themselves together bewailing the appearances of further evils. Since, however, they could not get back to their former state of moral excellence, they decide to make the best of the situation by selecting a person charged with the duty of regulating men's degenerated conduct. The appearances of private property made the institution of State an imperative necessity. The Buddha tells the story:

Now those beings, Vasettha, gathered themselves together, and bewailed these things saying: From our evil deeds, sirs, becoming manifest, in as much as stealing, censure, lying, punishment have become known, what if we were to select a certain being, who should be

35. Men carrying away rice from the field indicates that houses of a sort had come to be built and households organized. See Rhys Davids, *op.cit.* p.86.

36. *Ibid.*

37. *Ibid.*

38. *Ibid.*, p.87, italics mine.

39. *Ibid.*, p.87.

wrathful when indignation is right, who should censure that which should rightly be censured and should banish him who deserves to be banished? But we will give him in return a proportion of the rice.

Then, Vasettha, those beings went to the being among them who was the handsomest, the best favoured, the most attractive, the most capable and said to him: Come, good being, be indignant at that whereat one should rightly be censured, banish him who deserves to be banished. And we will contribute to thee a proportion of our rice.

And he consented, and did so, and they gave him a proportion of their rice.⁴⁰

The bargain is struck, the State is made. But neither society, nor the State is a Divine creation. Not only is the Buddha careful to make the

state a purely human institution but he insists on giving it a popular basis. The passage quoted above is immediately followed by an emphatic assertion of popular sovereignty:

Chosen by the whole people, Vasettha, is what is meant by Maha Sammata; so Maha Sammata (the Great Elect) was the first standing phrase to arise (for such a one)⁴¹.

Ideas seem to have little regard for differences of age and clime. To the Buddha, private property is the concomitant of the state; to Rousseau it is no less so. The eighteenth century French philosopher could not have suspected the existence of an Indian brand of his theory five centuries older than Christ when he wrote that:

The first man who, having enclosed a piece of ground, bethought himself of saying, *This is mine* and found people

40. *Ibid.*, p. 88.

* Maha Sammata. Name of a famous king in the beginning of time, who was the first king of the Solar race, and the legendary ancestor of many lines of kings (among others of the kings of the *Sakya* clan.)

41. *Ibid.*

simple enough to believe him, was the real founder of civil society⁴²

The election of the Maha Sammata with which the Kshatriya class (mandala) arose became, the Master explained, the signal of the division of the social classes. Khattiya — 'Kshatriya' — means Lord of the Fields. The class (mandala) of Brahmins came into being when some of the men retired to the forests and meditated to put away (*bahenti*) from them evil and immoral customs. They were also called *jhayaka* or those who meditate'. Some of these who could not endure the rigours of meditation in forest went down and settled on the outskirts of villages and towns, making books.* Those who did not meditate came to be called Ajjayaka (repeaters of the Vedas)⁴³. "At that time", says the Buddha, "they were looked upon as the lowest; now they are thought the best".⁴⁴ Now those who adopted the married state and started various trades came to be known by the standing phrase vessa

(tradesfolk). Thus arose the social circle (mandala) of the Vessas. Now those of the men who remained over took to 'hunting' and 'suchlike trifling pursuits' came to be known, explains the Buddha, Sudda (the lowest grade of the folk).

The essence of the Buddha's discourse is that human society and the State were institutions brought about by the continuous moral decline of man. In the original State of nature men lived in a condition of God-like perfection. As they succumbed to the passion of greed and selfishness, they established private property by mutual consent or by a kind of Social Contract. The further fall of man symbolised by the appearance of theft, censure and violence led to the institution of kingship or the State. This was done through a Governmental Contract with the most distinguished individual in their midst who was charged with the maintenance of law and order. Once the Kshatriya or the ruling class was identified, the other three classes - Brahmana,

42. Rousseau, *Discourse on the Origin of Inequality in Social Contract*, cited in Will and Ariel Durant, *Rousseau and Revolution*, New York, 1976, p.30.

* Ganthé Karonta; tayo Vede abhisankaronta c'eva vacenta ca - compiling the three Vedas and teaching others to repeat them', says Buddhaghosha's commentary.

43. Rhys Davids. *op.cit.*, p.90

44. *Ibid.*

Vaisya and Sudra — developed out of the original undifferentiated stock by the process of division of labour.

The *Digha Nikaya* story of a bilateral compact between the community and the elected ruler is found repeated in slightly varied forms in some of the Jatakas (Nos. 32,537, and 270) with the difference that the election of the ruler is carried to the world of the birds, quadrupeds, and the fishes of the sea. It is recounted in the Mahavastu (I 338-48) of the Lokottaravadin and again in the Vinaya section of the Mulasarvastivadin schools of Buddhism. A shorter version is found in the Lokapranapti (Exposition of the World). The story occurs in Buddhist non-canonical works as well like Vasubandhu's Abhidharmakosa and Buddhaghosha's Visuddhimagga (Chapter XIII). In Buddhaghosha the Great Elect was the Buddha himself! These references show that the idea of the social and the governmental contract had become a persistent theme in Buddhist political thinking. And wherever, and in whatever form, it appears the emphasis is on the functional basis, the ethical norms and the popular foundation of kingship.

IV

The primary object of the Buddha's discourse was the

formulation of a social theory which involved, incidentally, the enunciation of a theory of the origin of the State. This is but natural in the Indian context in which the first myth to be exploded was not the Divine origin of kingship but the Vedic dogma of the Divine origin of the social order with its caste divisions.

The Buddhist theory explains the rise of class divisions not as in the Brahmanical canon by the dogma of Divine will but by the voluntary selection of occupations. The weakness of the theory is clear: how could men, originally free, have submitted themselves to a lower state and thus chosen to be less free by voluntarily taking to "hunting" and "suchlike trifling pursuits", as the Buddha avows? What the Master may have had in mind was that the voluntary choice of occupations was based on individual aptitudes. Even then the Buddhist theory fails to give a satisfactory account of the origin of caste.

Perhaps, feeling the weakness of such a position, the Buddha hastens to stress human equality and gives to his theory an ethical basis also. For he adds:

Their origin was from among those very beings, and no others; like unto themselves, not unlike; and it took place

according to the Norm (*dharma*) (according to what ought to be, justly), not unfittingly.⁴⁵

Enthroning moral stature in the place of birth as the proper standard of judging men, the Buddha holds up before men of all castes the possibility of attaining the highest position in society. Whoever among the four castes, says the Sakyamuni, has, as a monk, destroyed all moral taint and attained perfect knowledge, has wholly destroyed the fetter of re-becoming, is declared to be the chief of men by virtue of Dharma.⁴⁶

The Buddhist theory holds the origin of private property responsible for the origin of the State. Private property itself was the economic expression of the most primary of human institutions, viz., the family. With family, with private property, appeared the evils of theft, lying, censure and violence. The Buddha might have taken, as Hobbes did, a biological view of human nature and of history. Man is moved to action, as Hobbes held, not

by reason but by his appetites, desires and passions. Selfishness, i.e., the desire to possess and enjoy for oneself all that is useful and beautiful, is a hardy perennial of human nature, an instinct too insistent to be checked except by an institution endowed with coercive authority. Hence the supreme importance ascribed to civil society in Buddhist theory, hence the precedence accorded to the Kshatriya class over that of the Brahmins.

Such a view of the origin of the State is apt to lean toward the concept of a Police-State, of political absolutism, in which the ruler's part is confined to the maintenance of law and order and the subject's to the support of the ruler with taxes.⁴⁷ To a thinker of ethical bent like the Buddha, the only way to avoid such a contingency is to circumscribe political authority with ethical injunctions. In the Buddhist Social Contract the State itself is created for an ethical purpose: men lamenting the appearance of the four evils of theft, lying, censure, and violence decide to select a person.

45. *Ibid.*, pp.88-89, No *adhammena* (not unfittingly) means, according to Rhys Davids, that there was no tribal difference, no difference of blood, between them and all the rest.

46. *Ibid.*, p.93.

47. U.N. Ghoshal, *op.cit.*, p.64.

Who should be wrathful when indignation is *right* who should censure that which should rightly be censured, and should banish him who *deserves to be banished*.⁴⁸

There seem to be two currents of thought in the Buddhist theory of the State running in opposite directions — one emphasizing the supreme necessity of political authority because of the degraded nature of man, and the other, censuring that authority on ethical grounds. Certain clichés in the Jataka stories indicate the supreme need for governmental authority.⁴⁹ “A woman without a husband, a river run dry and a realm without a king are naked”, “one needs a king and a warrior for protection”, “a realm without a king cannot be protected and it cannot stand”; “just as the tree is the refuge of birds, so is the king the refuge of his people”. These mean that the king’s office is the foundation of security of the individual and the community. On the contrary, the State according to Buddhist conceptions is a necessary evil. There is in the *Digha Nikaya* (I.p.9) a strong censure of Khattavijja (*Kshatriya Vidya*, i.e.,

political science). It belongs to a group of low arts (*tirachchhanavijja*) and wrongful occupations (*michchajiva*).⁵⁰ The Jataka stories that deal particularly with this aspect of political science (Nos. 528, 537 and 546) agree in condemning politics as a dismal science and purport to show that Kshatriya duties are antithetical to morality, being based on unbridled selfishness and ruthless cruelty. In one such story (No. 528) the great problem of ends and means is shown in relief. The story condemns the Kshatriya creed that approves of killing one’s parents or relatives to serve one’s interests — a matter of usual occurrence attending on change of governments, the king of political crime with which history abounds. We have it on record that even as the Exalted one was preaching his *dharma*, Bimbisara, his royal friend, met with a tragic death at the hands of his own son Ajatasatru; and Prasenajit of Kosala, Bimbisara’s royal brother in law and another friend of the Master, fared but little better than his Magadhan counterpart. A Jataka story (No. 537) tells us of the virtuous Kuru prince, Sutsoma, who returns to a man-

eater (to be eaten by him) in accordance with his plighted word telling the latter that he has given up all Kshatriya duties as being contrary to morality.⁵¹ Buddhism raised morality to a position of unqualified supremacy over governmental matters. The Buddha would have perfectly agreed with Fox’s dictum: “what is morally wrong cannot be politically right.”

But if morality gained, politics lost. After a brilliant beginning made by the Master, Buddhist political thought did not live up to its great promise. Buddhist philosophers in aftertimes were either seized by the moral fervour or were stricken with the metaphysical fever.

The Social Contract theory has a long history. It is found referred to by Kautilya and has been known in the West from at least the time of Plato. The two postulates of the theory are common to all its exponents: that men originally lived in a state of nature without any governmental organization, and that the State is the result of an agreement entered into by such men. All agree on its essential idea, the rationale of the theory, viz., that the State is not

of Divine origin, but of human creation, the result of a contract entered into by men. Not only does the Agganna Suttanta discourse subscribe to these postulates but, viewed chronologically, it makes the Buddha the precursor of the Social Contract theory itself.

But the great question, resting on the nature of the contract and the nature of the government created, is the right of revolution the right of a people “to alter or to abolish”⁵² (The U.S. Declaration of Independence) a government which is the leaven of the social contract theory. Defenders of popular liberty like Manegold in the eleventh, Locke in the seventeenth, and Rousseau in the eighteenth employed the Social contract theory to resist the claims of rulers to absolute power. Locke and Rousseau did this by the device of a two-fold contract - first among men to constitute a sovereign community and, the second, between such a community and the government. To these thinkers government is in the nature of a ‘trust’, it holds power ‘on condition’ which, when violated, gives the sovereign community the right to replace the government by another. The essence of such a

48. Rhys Davids, *op.cit.*, p.88.

49. U.N. Ghoshal, *op.cit.*, p.68

50. *Ibid.*, p.65.

51. Robert Chalmers (Trans.), *Jatakas or Stories of the Buddha’s Former Births*, Vol.VI, (Delhi, 1973, Reprint.), pp.246-279.

52. John W. Caughey and Ernest R. May, *A History of the United States* (Chicago, 1964), p.103.

position is that government depends on the consent of the governed.

What is the position of the Buddha? The state of nature pictured by Rousseau is one of 'idyllic happiness': the Buddha saw it as one in which man was happily divine in physique and morals. When Rousseau speaks of the rise of private property and the resultant evils leading to the creation of civil society through a contract, i.e., by mutual consent, he seems to echo the discourse of the Buddha two thousand three hundred years earlier. Always a defender of popular liberty, the Buddha, in the Agganna Suttanta, envisages a (sovereign) community and a governmental contract. The first contract in the Buddha's discourse constituting the sovereign community is, like the second contract in Locke's theory constituting the legislature, more implied than overt. But its existence in the Buddhist theory need not be doubted: for, it is the sovereign community that demarcates the rice-fields, and arrests and censures the thief; and, in the interests of a permanent arrangement it elects its worthiest member — the Mahasammata or the Great Elect — invests him with coercive power and supports him with a portion of

the rice. The Mahasammata's power, in its nature and extent, is comparable precisely to what Milton (*The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*) permitted rulers to hold:

The power of kings and magistrates is nothing else, but what is only derivative, transferred, and committed to them in trust from the people, to the common good of them all, in whom that power yet remains fundamentally and cannot be taken from them, without a violation of their natural birthright.⁵³

In the Agganna Suttanta account the compact between the community and the Mahasammata is bilateral and, as in Locke and Rousseau, terminable on violation by the ruler. But the limitations imposed upon the ruler's authority are clothed in terms not legal and political, but rather moral. The Great Elect was to perform his duty by being wrathful *when indignation is right*, by censuring that *which should rightly be censured*, and by banishing those *who deserve to be banished*. The passage compares favourably with what Manegold wrote in the eleventh century:

No man can make himself emperor or king; a people sets a man over it to the end that he may rule justly, giving to every man his own, aiding good men and coercing bad; in short that he may give justice to all men.⁵⁴

But what Manegold asserts in the same passage is only implied in the Buddha's discourse:

If then he violates the *agreement* according to which he was chosen, disturbing and confounding the very things which he was meant to put in order, reason dictates that he absolves the people from their obedience; especially when he has himself first broken the faith which bound him and the people together.⁵⁵

Locke and Rousseau developed the idea of social contract into a weapon to defend the people's right to revolt against a tyrannical ruler. When a government violates the trust reposed in it, then the people may invoke the right of revolution, overturn the government, and establish a new one. It is common knowledge that Locke was the chief inspiration, particularly through

the second of his *Two Treatises of Government*, behind the American Revolution. And Rousseau's *Social Contract*, insisting that the government is never the same thing as the sovereign, became a byword for revolution.

The right of revolution, though only implied, seems to have become a persistent theme in the Buddhist lore. A king might forfeit his right to rule if he becomes destructive of the ends for which the community invests him with power. The implication finds overt expression in a Jataka story (No. 432). A wise youth tries, through a series of tales, to bring home to a king his guilt — the king's guilt — of perpetrating a robbery in his own palace. These tales end with morals pointing to the king's obligations toward his subjects. The king is the refuge of the people even as water, earth, and fire are, even as the tree is the refuge of the birds and, so on. In the end the youth proclaims the king's guilt to the assembled multitude and tells them that water has turned into blazing fire, safety into fear, and refuge into bane. The people, he concludes, must protect themselves. The people, taking the hint, kill the wicked king and his priest and place the wise youth on the throne.⁵⁶

53. Milton cited in A. Appadorai, *The Substance of Politics* (London (1952), Reprint), p.22.

54. A. Appadorai, *Ibid.*, p.21.

55. *Ibid.*, pp.21-22.

56. Robert Chalmers, *op.cit.*, Vol.III, pp.298-306

If that is only a story, there have been dramatic instances in the actual history of India showing, in the first instance, how a government persistently contravening the general will of the community might justly be overthrown and, again, how a virtuous ruler might be elected. The fundamental discrepancy in the Puranic (Matsya Purana) and the Buddhist (the Ceylonese Chronicles) accounts of the Saisunaga - Nanda kings of Magadha relates not only to the number of kings, their period of reign and their priority of posteriority, but to a certain story involving a certain principle which finds mention only in the Buddhist version. The version says that king *Udayin* of *Magadha* who is an historical figure, was followed by three kings all of whom were parricides. The last of the three, *Nagadasaka*, was banished by the indignant citizens of *Pataliputra* who appointed a worthy minister, *Sisunaga*, as their king. It

is a case where the latent sovereign power of the community had manifested itself to get rid of a tyrant. There is again, in the eighth century of the Christian era, in the history of Bengal, an excellent example of a virtuous king being elected by the multitude (*Maha Sammata*). *Gopala*, the founder of the *Pala* dynasty of Bengal and Bihar, had saved the country from anarchy. He was 'elected' to the throne in view of his services. And *Gopala*, the king who thus earned his title directly from the people, was a Buddhist. Such instances may not have had any casual connection with the Buddhist theory of the State. Yet they indicate that the idea of social contract had persisted in Buddhist thought. At any rate, the Buddha's discourse in the *Agganna Suttanta*, given at a time when the Gangetic plain was rapidly passing under an absolute monarchy, should be reckoned an event in the history of ideas.

* * * * *

MEDIEVAL ELLIPTICAL SHRINES OF SOUTH INDIA

H. SARKAR

ABSTRACT: A well-researched article on the archaeological aspects of temples in South India. Of Par-

ticular interest is the author's discussion on the structure of the famous Srirangam temple.

About the author: The late Dr. Sarkar — Who, unfortunately has ceased to be with us since last year — specialized in Ancient Indian History and Culture. As a distinguished member of the Archaeological Survey of India, he conducted several explorations in India and Afghanistan. He was the author of seven historical books of seminal value, besides several academic papers.

On the basis of the archaeological evidence it may be affirmed that structures built on elliptical plan attained some popularity in India during the period from the sixth century B.C. to the fourth century A.D., because the Jivakamravana monastery at Rajgir, the Gopika or nagarjuni cave of the Ajivikas in the Nagarjuni Hills, near Gaya, a stupa in the Ghoshitarama monastery at Kausambi and a stupa at Sravasti followed the elliptical form.¹ Further, the excavated temple at Nagari, in Rajasthan, and a similar one at Besnagar, near Vidisha, in Madhya Pradesh, are found to have been built on a similar ground plan. These two shrines, both dedicated to some Vaishnava deity or deities² date back to the second century B.C.

Perhaps the Jainas, too, made use of this type of ground plan, as a temple on the Udayagiri hills, near Bhubaneswar, in Orissa, was, at some period, constructed on an elliptical plan; the date of this brick-built shrine may be placed to the times of the King Kharavela, of the Mahameghavahana dynasty, who flourished possibly in the first century B.C.³ All these examples may be described as a linear structures with semi-circular extremities and do not exactly compare with the oval form that is noticed in the medieval tradition of south India.

All the known oval or elliptical structures of south India are Brahmanical shrines and their plan answers correctly to the description

1. H. Sarkar, *Studies in Early Buddhist Architecture of India* (Delhi, 1966) pp. 15—24.
2. Basically the oblong form does not differ from the elliptical one, and both the ground-plans are well-suited for enshrining reclining images or more than one image collectively. At Vidisha and nagari, perhaps three deities were housed. From the neighbourhood of Vidisha were discovered two *dhvaja-stambhas*, one *tala-dhvaja* and the other *makaradhvaja* evidently meant for Samkarshana and Pradyumna. The third flag-staff was the Garuda-dhvaja as is referred to in the Heliodorous pillar-inscription (Devadevasa Vasudevasa Garuda-dhvaja). Thus the third deity was definitely of *Vasudeva*. It is quite likely that the elliptical shrine at Besnagar, near Vidisha, housed three images in whatever forms they may be. Likewise the temple at Nagari was also meant for the trinity: *Narayana*, *Vasudeva* and *Samkarshana*; in fact the Hathibada inscriptions mention specifically the two gods, Samkarshana and *Vasudeva* besides referring to the *Narayana-vatika*.
3. *Indian Archaeology 1958-59 — A Review*, pp.40, fig.17.

of Kukkuta-anda-sadrisa ('like a hen's egg') of the *Vastu-sastra*. The *Samaranganasutradhara*, *Agni-purana*, *Garuda-purana* etc., refer to elliptical temples; as a matter of fact, it is one of the five types of *Vimanas* known by the name *manika*.⁴ The *hamsa prasada* of the Brihat-samhita⁵ might have had an elliptical plan as the body of the swan is elliptical or oval in outline. Furthermore, the Tantra-samuchchaya refers to this type of temples as *vrittayata-prasada* (patala II, 68) and *Isanasiva-gurudeva-paddhati* (III, ch. XXX, 4IF) includes this as one of the eight types of *sikhara*.⁶ This later type, with a clearly oval plan, does not seem to have any direct relationship with the earlier tradition of elliptical structures which have, more or less, an oblongish outline with semi-circular ends and not having an egg-shaped plan. Indeed the earlier form may be closer to the apsidal plans than the oval ones of the medieval times. Significantly, the older tradition, archaeologically speaking is confined to the north which the

later examples are found only in south India. Even then it is not possible at this stage to completely eliminate the possibility to the earlier tradition inspiring the construction of temples having an oval form in the later times. It is proposed to give brief descriptions of these temples first before proceeding further.

So far only a half-dozen examples have come to the notice of the present writer from the south and these are: the Jvaraharesvara temple at Kanchipuram, Sri Ranganathasvami temple at Srirangam, the Kalla lagar temple at Alagarkovil in Tamil Nadu, the Vidyasamaka temple at Sringeri, Karnataka, Siva temple at Vaikom and the Mahadeva temple at Changanur in Kerala.

The Jvaraharesvara temple occupies rather an unimportant place in the temple city of Kanchipuram as it has neither the antiquity and beauty of the Kailasanatha nor the towering

4. Stella Kramrisch, *Hindu Temples*, (Calcutta 1946), pp.277-85.
5. Adh. LVI (*Prasada-Lakshanadhyayah*), st.26. The passage runs as follows: *Vrishha-eka-bhumi-sringo dvadesahastah samantata vrittah. Hamsa-hamsakara ghato-ashtahustah kalasarupah.*
6. N.V. Mallaya in his *Studies in Sanskrit Texts on Temple Architecture with Special Reference to Tantrasamuccaya*, (Annamalainagar 1949) gives a good summary of the reference to elliptical temples in various texts. In the *Mansara*, elliptical temples are classed as *Vesara*.

height of the Varadaraja or Ekamranatha temple; its individuality lies in its elliptical architectural form. Situated between the Ekamranatha and the Pandavaperumal temple, it underwent renovation in the early years of this century. This unique shrine would have been pulled down but for the timely intervention of the officials. It appears from the available report⁷ that the main shrine escaped plunder; hence, the extant plan of the garbha-griha may be taken to be intact. Even the garbha-griha walls, with devakoshthas kumbapanjaras and pilasters carrying the early form of pushpa-potika have retained much of their original features. It is an example of ekatalavimana, the walls of which are of stone masonry, in all likelihood, its superstructure, made of bricks, is a later addition. In front of the garbha-griha stand the ardha-mandapa

maha-mandapa and front portico, all arranged axially, Detached from the main complex, but in the same alignment, is the pillared nandi-mandapa, fronted by a *bali-pitha*. (sacrificial platform).

That it is a *saiva* shrine needs no explanation: moreover, the *linga* inside is still intact. In the Chola record, the deity is described as Suravattalamudaiya Nayanar. It is this name which possibly got transformed, as the inscription of Kampana shows, into Suravadinda Nayanar. In subsequent times, the very name might have been Sanskritized as Jvaraharesvara meaning "the God who wards off fever." (Suram in Tamil means fever). Anyway, it is quite apparent from the above that the temple was in existence during the time of the Cholas. The earliest known epigraph in the temple belongs to Vikrama Chola who ruled from A.D. 1118 to 1135.⁸

7. *The Annual Report of the Archaeological Department Southern Circle, Madras, 1910-11*, p.37 records the event as follows: "The Sanctum is of oval shape, being thus unique and unlike those elsewhere. There are inscriptions over the walls of the mahamantapa and also some fine sculptures and perforated granite windows of the good workmanship. The temple measures 125'-250'. The *mandapa* in front has been totally demolished by Chetties and all the sculptural pillars and stones of which it was built are lying in the courtyard. No intimation of this demolition was received from the Revenue Department despite the Government order issued in 1904. The destruction was observed on one of the Departmental visits of inspection, and it was also learnt that a unique shrine was to share the same fate, prompt measures were taken....."

8. *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy 1910-11*, p.73. Besides the inscriptions of Vikrama Chola and Kampana, there is also an inscription of the Telugu-Pallava Chief Vijaya Ganda-Gopala.

The *sanctum sanctorum* of the Sri Ranganathasvami temple at Srirangam is often incorrectly described as circular⁹ though it is elliptical both internally and externally, having its minor and major axes measuring 6.1 m and 7.9 m respectively. Though the nucleus of the Srirangam temple dates back to the *Sangam* age, it was perhaps the Cholas who were primarily responsible for the present structural form of the main shrine having an elliptical garbha-griha. Here the earliest known inscription dates back to the seventh year of Paranaka I (A.D. 907-955) and it registers the gift of several gold pieces for the burning of a perpetual lamp. The occurrence of several other Chola records in the temple may tend to show that the early Chola rulers were intimately associated with the development of this *Vaishnava* centre. In all probability it underwent a major renovation during the time of Jatavarman Sundara Pandya (accession A.D. 1257). In the Srirangam temple, the deity enshrined is the Anantasayi form of *Vishnu* and for this type of reclining images, rectangular shrine is generally used. Indeed, the elliptical form serves the same purpose as the

rectangular one.

Yet another elliptical *garbha-griha* (Sanctum-sanctorum) measuring 5.5 m. in longer axis and 45m in shorter axis is the one of the Kalalagar temple-complex at Alagarkovil, near Madurai. This was built possibly in the time of Raja Raja I, for there is an inscription of his twenty second year (A.D. 1007) in this temple.¹⁰ Also, to be found here is an inscription of the Chola-Pandya viceroy Jatavarman *alias* Sivan Sri Solanpandyadeva, who has been identified as a son of Rajendra Chola I.¹¹ There are inscriptions belonging also to the kings of the regular Pandya line of rulers but these are later than the epigraphs cited above. It thus seems certain that the temple dedicated to Tirumalirunjolai-Paramasvam existed in the eleventh century. That the temple enjoyed the patronage of the later Pandyas and the Vijayanagar rulers is evident from the innumerable inscriptions recording grants to this god.

The Vidyasamkara temple at Sringeri, Karnataka, built in A.D. 1338 represents a fine blending of the divergent architectural tradi-

9. V.N. Hari Rao, *The Srirangam Temple* (Tirupati 1967), p.48-50.

10. *Annual report on South Indian Epigraphy*, no. 80 of 1910.

11. *Ibid.*, no.4 of 1931-32 and part II, p.58.

tions and in endowed with many a unique feature. In this case, a highly ornate elliptical form has been introduced to emphasize this uniqueness. "The temple stands on a high platform or upapitha which is more than five feet in height, and in plan is a double apse or more correctly a square with apsidal (chapa) ends, east and west. The same plan is followed in the rest of the structure above."¹² In other words, it is elliptical both in plan, as well as in elevation.

The other two examples of elliptical shrine come from Kerala.¹³ Of the two, the earliest example is represented by the *adhishtana* of a deserted temple, now used as *kutumbalam* (where dance, music and other recitals are performed), before the Mahadeva temple at Chengannur in Alleppy district. It may be dated to the Middle phase (A.D. 1001-1300) of the architectural development of Kerala. The other elliptical shrine is the *Siva* temple at Vaikom in the district of Kottayam and may be dated to the sixteenth century A.D.

All the elliptical or oval shrines in the south came up in a period ranging from say A.D. 1000 to 1500. The three examples from Tamil nadu were probably built during the time of the Chola ascendancy in the South. This was the period when the construction of temples was strictly guided by the principles laid down in the *Vastu-sastras*. In the circumstances, it was hardly possible for an architect to deviate from the rules enjoined on them in the text. no doubt, the occurrence of this form is a sporadic one, but there is no reason to assume that these are imperfect circles, as the *sthapatis* of South India were fully conversant with the principles of construction of circular structures as is evident from the presence of a large number of circular temples in Kerala.¹⁴ However, antecedents of this temple form and the line of evolution are yet to be established, specially when there are definite textual references to such temples. It was also to be established whether the oval form of the later times was at all inspired by the earlier tradition as represented by the temples at *Nagari* and *Vidisha*.

12. K.R. Srinivasan, The Vidya Samkara Temple-Sringeri, in Sringeri Vignettes, ed. K.R. Venkataraman.
13. H. Sarkar, An Architectural Survey of the Temple of Kerala, (New Delhi 1978) pp.71 and 269-71.
14. Ibid., pp.63-73 Except Kerala, the occurrence of circular shrine in other parts of the south is rather sporadic. Of the circular shrines in South India, most well-known is the inner shrine of the Vijayalayacholisvaram temple at Narttamalai, in Tamil Nadu, Karnataka has at least two circular shrines, one at Agara and the other at Belgola. See H. Sarkar, *The Ghata-prasadas of ancient texts*, in Professor K.A. Nilakanta Sastri Felicitation Volume (Madras 1971) pp. 270-79.

A NOTE ON THE VAISYA COMMUNITY IN MEDIEVAL ANDHRA

KOLLURU SURYANARAYANA *

ABSTRACT: In the medieval age, Andhra witnessed an unprecedented agitation amongst the 'lower castes of Hindus for their social recognition. The *Sudras* - the last in the fourfold caste hierarchy, ascended to power and established their own principalities as rulers or chieftains.

This spurred the *Vaisyas* on — the third in the caste rank — to earn for themselves a place in the ruling class, though financially they were well off. As Bertrand Russell once remarked, political power can and does attract money power.

An interesting sociological study.

One of the interesting things that medieval Andhra witnessed was the sudden upheaval within the caste and communal organisations of what were considered the 'lower strata.' A sea-change in the attitude of the 'lower' castes and their varied subcastes is

remarkably noticeable in this period. The *Vaisya* community of the then Andhra, though not a neglected group, also made a bid to climb on the social scale. A brief examination of the circumstances that paved the way for their upheaval is the core of this paper. This study is mainly

* *About the author:* Dr. Kolluru Suryanarayana is the Research Scholar in the Dept of History and Archaeology, Andhra University, Waltair-530 003, (A.P. State).

confined to the coastal Andhra region between the 11th and 16th centuries. The information called from Telugu literature particularly from *kanyakapuranam*¹ written by Guru Bhaskaracharya in the last part of the 15th century, in addition to the other details known from records have been utilized.

The vaisyas of Andhra have not been a neglected community since ancient times. They were also known as *Sreshtis*, *Setties* and *Komatis*. How the term 'komati' originated, there is no satisfactory explanation. But *Kanyakapuranam* states, because the Vaisyas were supposed to have descended to the earth from the stomach of the Holy Cow, they are termed as *Gomnathulu*.²

Regarding their position in the society, though sources are scanty, it can be said that they were quite a prosperous community. They chose the profession of trade and commerce which made them rich and also connected them with diverse groups of society - from the 'high' to the 'lowly'. For purposes of either

purchase or sale, they travelled throughout the land and had their organisations everywhere. They established guilds and such other caste-oriented or profession-oriented bodies and strengthened themselves with its back ground. Thus economically and professionally they were sound. Some sources like the *Ahandakaram* records³, which belong to the *Chalukyas* of Vengi, refer to the activities of these guilds; but, the exact details of their status in the societal hierarchy are not known.

Until the 10th century, the *sudras* who belonged to the lower strata of the society did not aspire high status. They seem to have been content with their position. As artisans, as cultivators, they chose many a profession and stood as the backbone of the economy of the period. But with the political unrest and in the internecine warfare that took place after the downfall of the *Chalukyas* of Vengi, these *sudra* families entered into politics. Even earlier to this period, some of the members of this 'fourth caste' distinguished themselves by their

bravery and skill in the art of warfare, became respected military and civil officers of State. By this time they established kingdoms and exercised their authority. To this category belong the families like the *Velanatis*, *Kotas*, *Kondapadumatis*, *Kakatiyas*, *Racherlas*, *Koppula Chiefs*, *Reddis* and some minor chieftains in the lower Godavari valleys. With such an establishment of power in some regions of Andhra, the *sudras* emerged as rulers; and this new status enabled them to come nearer to the 'upper' castes. With the attainment of authority, they contracted alliances of marriage with the *Kshatriyas* and even with the *Brahmanas*. Sri M. Somasekhara Sarma noticed⁴ a great change in the attitude of the civil law, with the rise of the *sudras* of this period to political power. Previously, the right to make a gift of land either to the temple or to a Brahmana rested only in the ruling authority according to the *Dharmasastras*. But some of these rulers were either overlooked or disregarded, when the *sudras* community rose to power. In the period of *sudra* political ascendancy any one and every one, who desired to make such a gift, did so even without the formal sanction of the king. Similarly until then, *sudra*

communities were not allowed to study Sanskrit literature. This period witnessed the *sudras'* study and sometimes composition of the Sanskrit works. This was, indeed, a great change. This attests to the internal desire and zeal for rights and privileges of the *sudras*, who were socially suppressed until then. They eliminated the chiefs and potentates and assumed different titles likewise. Almost every important community like the *Balanjas*, *Visvakarmas*, and *Telikis* had this kind of *prasastis* recorded in their inscriptions. It would seem that almost all these professional classes in the *sudras* associated themselves with a place which they considered as their original home, and boasted of themselves as lords of one particular town. Each of these communities busied itself with inventing a mythical origin for itself. They went to the extent of deriving their origin from the celestial beings. This was perhaps with a view to outdoing the *Brahmanas*. In claiming their origin to celestial beings, these 'lower' communities expected superior treatment and held claims to the privileges that were enjoyed by the upper classes like the *Brahmanas*. On the basis of the soundness of these claims, this may be considered as a movement

1. *Sri Vesava Kanyakapuranam*, published by Arya Vaisya Yuvajana Sanghamu, (Penugonda, 1951).

2. *Ibid.*, Chapter, 54, Stanza, 45.

3. *Studies in India Epigraphy*, Vol. I, p.124.

4. M. Somasekhara Sarma, *History of the Reddi Kingdoms*, p.277.

within the caste system by the 'lower' castes to upgrade themselves. This movement, inspite of its drawbacks, made the common people to realise their power and infused self-confidence in them. In the light of this change in the attitude of the *sudras*, let us study the response of the *vaisyas* in regard to the betterment of their position in the society.

The *Vaisyas* are given the third place in the traditional caste set-up, whereas the *sudras* were neglected the last-fourth-place. In the fourfold caste organization, the duty of the *Vaisyas* was trade and commerce and the duty of the *sudras* was cultivation and handicrafts. But as stated earlier, the latter endeavoured steadily to upgrade their social position. By this time, the conditions of the upper castes also favoured their decision. With the downfall of the Chalukyan authority in Telugunadu, or even in their period the *vedic* rituals were pushed back to a secondary place and the Brahmanas took up various professions in addition to imparting knowledge to the pupils. The position of the Kshatriyas was also not encouraging. The country of Andhras became '*anayakam*' as

Vikramachoda the son of Kulottunga I went to the South to rule the Tamil country⁵. Though some Kshatriya families tried to restore their authority, they succeeded in occupying only small portions of the country⁶. Taking this as an advantage, *sudras*, who were waiting for an opportunity established kingdoms and began to be rulers. With this *sudras* ascendancy to power, all the three castes except that of *Vaisyas* enjoyed the taste of power. This new change might have probably stirred the hearts of the *Vaisya* community. The *sudras* who were next to them in the social order superseded them, discharged the powers of the Kshatriyas and established themselves as the ruling authority. In spite of their wealth, inspite of their vast organisations, inspite of their command over imports and exports, the *Vaisya* remained where they were in the social position. Until then, they were content with the acquisition of more and more property and wealth. But the advancement of the *sudras* encouraged and drove them towards power and new claims for social status. As soon as they realised that power was desirable than money, they started their attempts to enter

into the field of administration.

As stated already, trade was the main profession of this community. It brought them more riches and hence naturally they were given importance on some occasions. They were given respect in the royal courts. An epigraph of 10th century from Vemulavada in the Karimnagar district refers⁷ to a band of nine *sreshtis* along with other important elders of the royal court. This is the earliest epigraphical evidence that mentioned a position of dignitary to the *Vaisyas* in Andhra. With such backing of their property and position in the society, this community of *Vaisyas* entered into royal service and joined as bankers and transurers to the royal courts. A record of the 12th century describes⁸ one Penugonda merchant as having served the needs of the Velanti Choda King Gonka II. Srinatha's *Haravilasa* which was dedicated to Avachi Tippayya Setti, states⁹ that Tippayya Setti's family was in the service of the Reddi rulers of Kondavidu. Devaya Setti, the father of Tippayya Setti is said to have

acted as a Setti to Vemareddi. He was the banker of Vemareddi and financed him for building steps to Srisailam and Paratalagangu, and probably for raising armies. Tirumala Setti, the brother of Tippayya Setti used to serve king Kumarangiri and was equally in touch with other important rulers of the time, Harihararaya of Vijayanagar, Feruj Shah of Bahmani Kingdom and the Gajapati of Orissa. Tippayya Setti was the greatest of all he even received insignia of royalty and different titles from king Kumaragiri. Thus there are number of instances of their entering into the royal courts. As they were already the masters in the art of money dealings, they used to win over the rulers to their side. This made them to expand their fields of service into administration. Some of them were appointed as Mahasenapatis and Mahapatras. A record of 14th century from Simhachalam mentions¹⁰ one Gurudasa of *Vaisya Kula* as a Mahasenapati. In another record, one Srikarana Mahanadha Senapati of the *Vaisya* community is mentioned¹¹ as Senadhyakshavara

5. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p.226.

6. *Ibid.*

7. A.R.E., No. 170 (1966.)

8. S.I.I., Vol. IV, No. 1131.

9. M. Somasekara Sarma, *History of the Reddi Kingdoms*, p.272.

10. S.I.I., Vol. VI, No. 853.

11. *Ibid.*, Vol. V., No. 1284.

and as the governor of the Southern Kalinga province. They seem to have been conferred the royal insignia of office like horse, umbrella, Alavantuka, Kanche, *Kilavatta* etc.¹² Occasionally they were granted *agraharas* also.¹³ Thus, within a short period, they succeeded in acquiring a status of their own in the administrative set-up.

Regarding the so called social status, they had already acquired it through their riches and guild activities. But they had no traditional glory and ancestry which were claimed even by the lower groups in the society like the *Telikis*, *Balanjas* and the *Visvakarmas*. Though they had the initiation ceremony according to the *Vedic* injunctions and could have had the *gotras* of the *rishis*, the early Andhra records are conspicuous with their absence. But during this period with a view to enhancing their glory they claimed many more *gotras* from various sages. The *Haravilasam*, which was dedicated to Avachi Tipayya Setti by Srinatha, refers to thousand *gotras* of the *Vaisyas*.¹⁴ In the

Kanyakapuram by Guru Bhaskaracharya, it is said that the *Vaisya* belong to 714 *gotras* among which 200 *gotras* consist of *Bhargavarishi Gana*, 252 consist of *Sandilyarishi Gana*, 66 consist of *Prabhatarishi Gana* and the remaining 196 consist of *Kasyaparishi Gana*. An elaborate list of a number of these *gotras* in that purana and they tally with the names of the *gotras* of the *Vaisyas* found in the incipitions.

The *Kanyakapuram* gives us an account of communal history of the *Vaisyas* not known from other sources. The *Vaisyas* were the devotees of the god Hagarasvaradeva. In all *Vaisya* towns, there is a temple of Nagaresvara. According to the *purana*, Lord Siva whilst instructing the *Vaisyas* to leave Heaven to take up residence on the Earth so that the earth might be lifted from the morass of poverty in which it had sunk, promised as compensation for their loss of heavenly residence, that He would assume the form of Nagaresvara to be particularly worshipped by the *Vaisyas*. According to the *Purana*,

there are 18 towns that constituted the original habitat of the all *Vaisyas* of 714 *gotras*. The names of those towns and the respective names of the families which resided in the are given in it. In that list towns like Visakha, Achanta, Dhanada, Ghantasala, Pithikapura and Penugonda could be identifiable with the present Visakhapatnam, Achanta, Ghandavolu, Ghantasala, Pithapuram and Penugonda the towns in the coastal Andhra. But the places like Dharma, Panchala, Triguna, Viranarayana and others are not yet identified. The *Vaisyas* of Andhra seem to have formed themselves into a corporate community with their principal sent at Penugonda in the West Godavari district. Since all these places are situated in close proximity to each other and since there are instances of merchants of one place visiting another place, it is reasonable to suppose that the communal organization visualised in the *Kanyakapurana* might have survived to bind these *Vaisyas* into a compact body. Probably the *nakaram* at Penugonda looked to the general interests of the entire community of the *Vaisyas*. In the case of critical issues, they could be settled at a meeting of the assembly comprising all the heads of the

Nagaras.

Interestingly, the *Purana* narrates a critical event that happened at Penugonda which put the whole community to a severe test out of which only *Vaisyas* of 102 *gotras* emerged successfully. One king Vishnuvardhana of the Rajamahendravaram when in town, came to Penugonda, chanced to see Vasavikanya, the daughter of Kusuma Setti, the chief setti residing at Penugonda. He fell in love with her and asked the *Vaisyas* to give her in marriage to him. But his request was rejected out of hand.¹⁵ In the assembly of the *Vaisyas*, some expressed the opinion that to agree to marry the girl to a Kshatriya would be a sacrilege and against the caste rule *manarikam* of the *Vaisya* community.¹⁶ But it appeared that they could not survive in peace as the king became insistent in having the girl married to him. So, on the advice of their priest Bhaskaracharya, they decided to sacrifice their lives for honour. This, however, did not meet the approval of all and among the total number of 714 *gotras*, the families of 612 *gotras* decided to leave their kinsmen and to live separately in other parts of the country. Thenceforward, the *Vaisyas* of the remaining 102 *gotras*,

12. Ibid., Vol. IX, No. 41.

13. A.R.E., No. 165, (1959-60)

14. Haravilasam, Chapter II, stanza, 139.

15. *Kanyakapuram*, op.cit., chapter 32, stanzas 12, 13.

16. Ibid., chapter 40, stanzas 53, 54.

whose elders entered into firepits along with Vasavi, came to be regarded as the pure *gotras* of the *Vaisyas*. Even now in the Andhra country, those 102 *gotras* of *Vaisyas* are considered to be the 'pure' *Vaisyas*, and even now their tutelary deity is Vasavikanya of Penukonda in the West Godavari district. Offenders against the social conventions of the *Vaisya* caste who as a consequence, had been excommunicated could be brought back into the fold of the community through an elaborate and costly *prayaschitta** ceremony which is stated at length in the *purana*. Though this work belongs to the 15th century, there is independent evidence of the epigraphs beginning from the 12th century regarding donations in various places of merchants with different *gotras*, who describe themselves as the lords of Penukonda, celebrating the importance of Penukonda, which is depicted in the *purana*. Moreover, an inscription of 16th century from Undavalli gives an interesting information about the Lords of

Penukonda that has some connection with the above *purana*. It states that they erected a temple to God Bhaskaresvara at Undavalli, and made arrangements for the daily services of the God. It is plausible that these *Vaisyas* installed that deity in the name of the *guru* of their community which is known from the *purana*.

Though the historicity of the *Kanyakapurana* is not unquestionable,¹⁷ it is the most important and unique source of information regarding the social life of the *Vaisyas* in Andhra. Art of business, following *Dharma*, protecting cows, obtaining expertise in examining all the commodities including diamonds, are stated to be chief characteristics of the *Vaisyas*.¹⁸ A record of the 12th century describes the Penukonda merchants in glowing terms.¹⁹ They were the followers of *Dharma* and obtainers of the grace of the wise. They were endowed with kindness and they pleased all people by their

acts. They belonged to the race of *Kubera* - the famed god of wealth - with their renown spread all over the world. Being enriched with the wealth obtained through various sorts of business some of the *Vaisyas* according to the *Purana*, claimed superiority over the *Kshatriyas*. They put forward a question that in what aspect the kings were superior to them.²⁰ They reminded others that their community was everywhere in the country and held command over all trade and commerce. They said that they need not obey the orders of the Kings. They preferred to follow their *Kuladharma* in protection of which, they would even sacrifice their lives. Though they respected Brahmanas and offered them grants, it seems that they were denied *vedic* rituals. They wished to prohibit the *vedic* rituals like *Asvamedha*, *Gomedha*, *Jyestabhaga*, *Palalasraddha* etc. along with the social reforms like widow remarriage and intercast marriage.²¹ They no more desired to follow *vedic* mantras. Instead of

Vedavidhi, they wished to follow *puranaoktavidhi*. Even then, their non-vedic ideology by no means turned them against the Brahmanas. Moreover some of them stated themselves as *Srotiyas*. A record of the 12th century from a place near Adhoni refers to one Ereyamasetti as a great merchant of the *Srotiya* family.²² *Vaisya Vamansudhakaram* also states²³ that *Vaisyas* were entitled to the privileges of *Svadhyayana*, *Yajana*, *Dana*, of marrying with in their own caste, and of following the occupations of trade, agriculture and tending cattle. The *Vaisyas* offered grants to Brahmanas and, even in *Kanyakapurana* itself, the various rates of amounts the *Vaisyas* had to offer to their *purohitas* have been specified.²⁴ For instance, it states that all the *Vaisyas* have to honour the *purohitas* by offering 8 *varahas* on his annual visit, 12 *varahas* in the time of marriage, 6 *varahas* on the occasion of *Simanta*, 3 *Varahas* on the occasion of *Garbhandana*, 6 *varahas* on the

* purification.

17. The historicity of *Kanyakapurana* (*op.cit.*) is discussed in my paper "Vishnu Vardhana and Vasavikanya" presented at the Andhra Pradesh History Congress, VI session held at Hyderabad, 1982.

18. *Kanyakapurana*, Chapter 24, stanza 9.

19. *S.I.I.*, Vol. X, No. 82.

20. *Kanyakapurana*, *op.cit.*, chapter, 35, stanza 47-48.

21. *Ibid.*, chapter 36, stanza 29-30.

22. *A.R.E.* No. 504 (1915).

23. *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. II, p.442.

24. *Kanyakapurana*, *op.cit.*, Chapter 44, stanza 25-27.

occasion of *pumsavana* respectively.

From the above study, it can be seen that the *Kanyakapuranam* of 15th century, is a useful work throwing light on the conventions of the *Vaisyas* and their status in society, which is otherwise unknown. Though epigraphs refer to their role in the fields of economy and religion their social life in Andhra is not forthcoming from it. It is interesting

that the practices of the 15th century or even earlier, are still in vogue among the *Vaisyas* of Andhra. The conditions which favoured the emergence of the *Sudras* to power in Andhra could not be otherwise for the *Vaisyas* as well to advance their equal, if not superior, claims in society. Owing to the wealth they possessed, they could remain as an exclusive community without much interaction with other communities in matters of marriage etc.

BRITISH POLICY TOWARDS SUCCESSIONS IN BHARATPUR STATE, 1823-26 AND ITS REPERCUSSIONS

HIRALAL GUPTA *

ABSTRACT : The cunning coil of the Doctrine of Lapse — how it quietly and imperceptibly brought the States ruled by *rajahs* — benign or otherwise — into the ironclad paramountcy of the Crown — is known history. What is not as well known is that the origins of this quietly plotted scheme lay in the sordid machinations regarding the succession to the Bharatpur throne — Bharatpur, with its impregnable fort and its formidable holders and watchmen yet lay unconquered, unvanquished. The vengeful role played, for personal reasons, by the then British Resident to dethrone and debase without authority, a popular ruler,

the Resident himself having been disowned and dismissed by his own superiors for reasons of 'tactical' military expediency, the subsequent *volte face* by the Governor-General, when militarily the tides were turning in favour of the East India Company — all these unsavoury events, which unfold like those in a Greek tragedy — have been described by the author with documented details with a historian's objectivity. As he says, the Bharatpur 'experiment' was a "cornerstone of the growing concept of British paramountcy in Indian States."

About the author: Dr. Hiralal Gupta was Senior Professor and Head of the Department of History, Sagar University. He has been associated with many Universities and other academic organisations. He is a life member of the Indian History Congress. He was a member of the Editorial Board of the *Madhya Pradesh Freedom Fighters Who-is-Who*. He is a member of the North East Indian History Congress. He has numerous research articles on varied subjects of historical interest to his credit.

Bharatpur was the only State in Rajputana which defied British arms in self defence twice within less than a quarter of a century to maintain its sovereignty, independence and honour. The British East India Company had realised the importance of cultivating good relations with it in the beginning of the nineteenth century due to its strategic situation, as it formed the principal gateway from the north to the interiors of Rajputana, and it had potential of being a formidable barrier against the Maratha incursions in the north. Its mud fort was known to be impregnable, its population of *Jats* was a warring race proud of its independence, and it had been an ally of the Marathas during their northward drives in the pre and post Panipat eras.

Lord Wellesly entered into an alliance with Bharatpur in 1803, which was at once offensive and defensive. After a short break of amicable relations, he decided to humble the pride of Bharatpur and make it subservient to the British because of its pro-Maratha attitude. But, the military adventure under General Lake to achieve the cherished objective miserably failed in 1804.¹ This military

failure of the British was considered by the British in India as well as England as a stigma on their military prowess and political prestige. The very existence of the unconquered fort of Bharatpur was a challenge to the British military might. The frustration so caused to them was bound to be followed by another attempt with greater force sooner or later. On the other hand, Maharaja Ranjit Singh, the ruler of Bharatpur, was conscious of the British military superiority and the meagreness of his resources to meet the British menace successfully. He, therefore, decided to avert another confrontation with them and courted friendship by entering into a treaty alliance with them in 1805. This treaty was a highly welcome event for the British after their unsuccessful bid to capture the fort, and equally it was reassuring to Maharaja Ranjit Singh that he would not be attacked and disturbed again. The amity, peace and friendship so established by him with the British was maintained by him during his lifetime as well as by his son and successor Maharaja Randhir Singh till his death. The East India Company valued this friendship and reciprocated with warmth so long as its interests were not likely to be adversely affected.

1. Atchinson, C.U.: *Treaties, Engagements and Sanads on Rajputana*, Vol. VIII, p.259

Maharaja Randhir Singh had no son. He, therefore, brought up his nephew Durjan Sal, son of his youngest brother Lakshman Singh, as his own son and wished to make him his successor. He celebrated his marriage with pomp and splendour, and took him to every public interview with the rank of a chieftain. In all public *darbars*, Durjan Sal was found seated by his side.² On February 19, 1815, the Maharaja introduced him to Lord Hastings at Fatehpur Sikri in the presence of Adam Swinton and Metcalfe as his adopted son.³ Subsequently, he introduced him as such to David Ochterlony, the Resident at Delhi when the latter was on his way to Neemuch.⁴ In all known circles in Rajputana, Durjan Sal was regarded as the adopted son of the Maharaja and treated as heir-presumptive of the *Raj*. It was alleged that in 1820 the Maharaja executed a deed of bequest in his favour under his seal countersigned by nineteen of his relations and chiefs of the State including the *Raj Mata*, the

Maharani and his two younger brothers.⁵ He had a free and unfettered right of adoption and legally he could adopt a nephew, son of his youngest brother, to the exclusion of the claims of his younger brother and his son. In fact in 1827, a similar right of the Maharaj of Kota was recognised by the Company's Government.⁶ There was every reason and evidence to believe that for all practical purposes Maharaja Randhir Singh and Maharani Lakshmi Bai treated Durjan Sal as their adopted son and the Maharaja declared his intention several times of making him his successor. The formal ceremony of adoption could, however, not be performed because of unwarranted interference of Ochterlony and the Maharaja's inability to defy the British.

In 1821, when Durjan Sal was rapidly gaining popularity and rumours of his adoption were gaining confirmation in Delhi, cordial relations between the Maharaja and the British

2. *Political Consultation*, National Archives of India, Nos. 12, 13 and 15, December 1825 and December, 1826.
 3. *Private Journal of Lord Hastings*, p. 188; P.C. February 20, 1824 Nos. 13 & 15, P.C. Dec. 12, 1826, No. 12: *op cit*.
 4. *Ibid*: February 20, 1824, No. 16.
 5. *Ibid*: December 9, 1825, No. 19.
 6. A letter from E.M. Gordon, Acting Political Agent at Harowtee, to Metcalfe, January 5, 1827.

Government suddenly became strained for unknown reasons.⁷ A secret meeting was hurriedly arranged between Maharaja Randhir Singh and David Ochterlony. At its conclusion an expensive *khelat* was conferred upon the Maharaja as a token of British favour to him for unspecified reasons.⁸ No recorded account is available of this mystery. Ochterlony did not reveal it to any one on the plea that its knowledge would be fatal to the Maharaja and his spouse and harmful to British interests.⁹ He simply informed the Political Department that the rumour of the Maharaja's intention to adopt Durjan Sal had been refuted and an asylum to his wife in the British territory after his death had been promised to the Maharaja. From this secret communication and the circumstantial evidence, it can be inferred that under the threat of British displeasure, Ochterlony prevailed upon the Maharaja not to perform the proposed adoption ceremony, allayed his anxiety about the fate of the Maharani after his death by assuring protection and safe asylum to her and advised him to assign some

treasure or *jagir* to her for her proper maintenance. The Maharaja's assent to these imposed suggestions was reluctant, largely the result of his bad health, fear of British arms and uncertainty of success in an armed encounter with them. Thus Ochterlony sabotaged the oft-repeated decision of Maharaj Randhir Singh to make formal adoption of Durjan Sal, with a resolve to prevent his succession and have a weaker and a pliable person on the throne of the formidable State, who might not resent and resist British wishes and be fully dependant on the mercy of the paramount power. He believed that only a weak regime in Bharatput would be the surest guarantee to the safety of British imperial interests in Rajputana and Malwa.

Durjan Sal had been brought up and given experience in administration in the expectation that he would be adopted as heir to the *gaddi* and succeed the Maharaja. Despite the Maharaja's ardent desire and persistent efforts to get his desire fulfilled during his lifetime, the British Resident, who

was averse to the selection of an able, talented and popular person as the Maharaja's successor, evaded the issue whenever it was raised by the Maharaja till the Maharaja expired. Had Durjan Sal been formally adopted his claims to the *gaddi* would have become legally and by custom stronger and superior to those of his intriguing and ambitious uncle Baldeo Singh whose claims Ochterlony wished to uphold, because he was weak and timid and depended on the British for his installation and continued support. He was expected to be a loyal fiddle in British hands, ready to subserve their interests in his State, which had once successfully defied British arms and humiliated them.

On the demise of Maharaja Randhir Singh on October 7, 1823, David Ochterlony seated Baldeo Singh on the throne in accordance with the alleged secret understanding with him, knowing full well that this would be his most unpopular act with portent of dangerous consequences. As there was every possibility of Durjan Sal becoming exasperated, anti-British and a rallying centre of disaffection against the British in the land of traditional valour, he, his brother

Madho Singh, and numerous supporters were arrested on Baldeo Singh's order and imprisoned as political prisoners. The dowager Maharani, who was the most ardent supporter of Durjan Sal, was not allowed to meet anyone. As previously arranged, she was escorted towards Brindaban for grant of an asylum in British territory. But she died on the way under highly suspicious circumstances.¹⁰ Raja Ram Ratan Singh, the *mukhtar* of the Raj, escaped to Ballabgarh to avoid arrest. From there he addressed a letter to the Resident at Delhi setting forth the claims of Durjan Sal to the *gaddi*.¹¹ The elevation of Baldeo Singh to the throne caused considerable resentment and he went underground for the time being due to having little hope of success.

This interference of Ochterlony in the succession affair, which was purely an internal matter of the State, was most high-handed and aggressive, unwarranted by any treaty stipulation, and legally most highly questionable. Since then British interference in succession affairs of the states of Malwa and Rajputana, where rulers had no sons of their own, became a matter

7. P.C. January 17, 1824, No.3

8. *Ibid*: P.C. February 20, 1824 No. 14.

9. *Ibid*: January 17, 1824 No.3

10. *Ibid*: June 25, 1824, Nos. 16 & 17

11. *Ibid*: February 20, 1824, No. 15

of settled policy with the East India Company and a meaningful exercise in its paramountcy.

Baldeo Singh was incapable and unfit to govern. He had neither any experience of administration nor did he evince any interest in it. Being old, sickly and unlikely to survive long and apprehending troubled succession after his death, he sought British recognition for his minor illegitimate son Balwant Singh and speedy grant of a *khelat* to him.¹² David Ochterlony favourably responded to his request, as he wanted to keep Durjan Sal out of the picture for ever. Subservience of Baldeo Singh, his offer of help against Burma, and the hope of getting large benefits from the State with a weak and dependent prince on its throne, induced him to gratify an ally and enunciate a principle of succession to be followed in the protected states of Malwa and Rajputana.¹³ He proceeded to Bharatpur on January 25, 1825, performed the investiture ceremony of Balwant Singh on February 6 and publicly announced it on February 25, when

Baldeo Singh was actually on his deathbed.¹⁴

On the succession of Balwant Singh with British support and the adoption of a repressive policy by the unpopular Regency Government towards Durjan Sal and his adherents inside the prison, and also towards all those outside it who were suspected to be inclined towards him, provoked popular insurrection in the state, leading to the forcible release of Durjan Sal from prison, subversion of the Regency Government and assumption of the reigns of Government by him as a *de facto* ruler, apparently in the name of his cousin who was kept in the palace inside the fort under his custody. He restored peace and order and established better government.¹⁵

To the utter surprise of Ochterlony, what he had tried to avoid twice came to happen ultimately, placing him in a very awkward situation. He felt greatly alarmed, became vindictive and decided to crush Durjan Sal, treating his conduct as an insolent defiance of the paramount State and an outra-

geous affront to it.¹⁶ In the name of the safety of the protected prince, maintenance of peace and tranquility in the neighbouring British territory and vindication of British honour and prestige, he decided upon the policy of reduction of Bharatpur and destruction of the power of Durjan Sal.¹⁷ All possible military and diplomatic preparations were made for an offensive operation against him. Armed forces were assembled at Agra and Mathura for an armed intervention, Durjan Sal was denounced as a rebel, murderer, usurper, criminal and public enemy.¹⁸ Internal as well as external support was mobilised against him and an attempt was made to alienate the people of Bharatpur from their allegiance to him by persuasions, inducements and threats. The storming of the fort was planned, avoiding the mistakes of Lord Lake. All this was done by Ochterlony without the formal sanction of the Calcutta Government. It appears that his prejudices against Durjan Sal were so pronounced that in zeal, desperation and anger, he did not mind overstepping his power and transgressing his authority.

The Governor General was greatly alarmed by these political developments and military preparations on the western frontier of British India leading to an impending war at a time when the Company's Government and its forces were preoccupied on the eastern frontier in a war against Burma and the horrifying news coming from there, had an upsetting influence on British minds. He was placed in a most distressing dilemma either of disavowing the act of Ochterlony and exposing British weakness or of plunging into hostilities at a most inopportune time against a State which had the reputation of having once successfully resisted the British arms and foiled their efforts to capture its fort. Fully convinced that opening a second front for the British army and jeopardizing their position on the eastern frontier would be a risky adventure pregnant with dreadful consequences and knowing full well that his government was under no obligations to maintain the succession of

12. *Ibid.*: April 15, 1825, No. 4

13. *Ibid.*: October 1, 1824, No. 4

14. *Ibid.*: April 15, 1825 Nos. 5 & 37, July 15, 1825, No 51, June 2, 1826, Nos. 3 and 4.

15. *Ibid.*: April 5, 1826, No. 45; April 15, 1825, No. 8.

16. *Ibid.*: July 15, 1825, No. 13.

17. *Ibid.*: Nos. 31 and 32.

Balwant Singh at all hazards, he was dis-inclined to take the risk of another failure at Bharatpur. He feared that British interference in compelling the ruler *de facto* to vacate the throne or give up his pretensions to regency during the minority of the *de jure* prince might amount to the support of a deposed prince in direct opposition to the wishes of the chiefs and people of the state.¹⁹ Under these pressing circumstances he charged Ochterlony with transgression of authority, regarded the military preparations made by him as unauthorised, disapproved his proceedings and ordered him to countermand the advance of troops, recant his proclamation against Durjan Sal and settle the complicated affair without an appeal to arms.²⁰ The Commander-in-chief endorsed the inexpediency of engaging the British army in this adventure.²¹ Hence offensive operations against Bharatpur were discontinued unless attacked by the *Jats* and authorised by the Calcutta Government.²² This policy of caution and avoidance of war against Bharatpur represented

British realism and apprehensions of a wide-spread conflagration at a time when the British were engaged in a dreadful struggle against the Burmese in an inhospitable country and intemperate climate.

David Ochterlony felt disappointed by the policy pronounced by the Governor General-in-Council, criticised it as a policy marked by 'imbecility and vacillation', relinquished his office in disgust and died of a broken heart.²³ He was succeeded by Sir Charles Metcalfe at Delhi.

After about six months, under changed circumstances, when the British arms had scored success on the eastern frontier and were winning victories in Burma, Sir Charles Metcalfe advocated the need to implement the policy of his predecessor. The Calcutta Government reviewed the situation and took a decision on September 2, 1825, to dislodge Durjan Sal, reinstate Balwant Singh on the throne of Bharatpur by the employment of force, if

19. *Ibid*: No. 46

20. *Ibid*:

21. *Ibid*: (June 9, 1826) No.1.

22. *Ibid*: (April 15, 1825) No. 17.

23. *Ibid*: (July 15, 1825) Nos. 12 and 23.

necessary, and avenge the humiliation of 1804.²⁴ Preparations were started for the reduction of the fort. Madhav Singh, the younger brother of Durjan Sal, who being very ambitious, did not see eye to eye with his brother on political matters, was won over. Armed with full powers Metcalfe demanded from Durjan Sal his unqualified submission and surrender of his person, fort and town,

Realising the gravity of the situation, Durjan Sal showed conciliatory attitude and expressed his desire to be contented with the regency. But Metcalfe adopted an uncompromising attitude and demanded nothing short of a complete surrender which Durjan Sal was disinclined to make. Several letters and representations from him did not change the attitude of Metcalfe. Military preparations were made with greater vigour and the fort was attacked with greater vehemence than in 1805. But to the dismay of the Resident and the Commander-in-chief the British force, their artillery, batteries and mines failed to effect any breach in the thick and solid walls of the redoubtable fort. This made them

despondent and nervous. Therefore, as a last resort, quislings were recruited in the State by alluring promises and information about the weakest point of the fort walls was obtained from them. By the employment of mines on that part a breach in the wall was at last effected with difficulty. Through that breach the British force entered the fort, fought against its defenders and captured Durjan Sal, his wife and numerous soldiers who were kept as State prisoners. The fort was taken possession of by right of conquest. Durjan Sal's personal *jagir* was annexed to the British territories. The military power of the State was annihilated and its fortifications were dismantled and demolished. Metcalfe heaved a sigh of relief and admitted that the success was merely a narrow escape from what could have been a disastrous failure.²⁵

Minor Balwant Singh was rescued and reinstated on the *gaddi* under the regency of his step-mother. Madhav Singh, who had hoped to get the regency as a reward for his help and loyalty to the British, was duped and removed from the state on a paltry annual pension of Rs. 3,000/-

24. *Ibid*: (September 16, 1825) Nos 21-25; (December 2, 1825) No. 16.

25. Kaye, *Life of Metcalfe*, p.151, a letter from Hislop, January 23, 1826.

The British success at Bharatpur demoralized the *Jat* chiefs. They surrendered their fortresses without any opposition. The Rajput princes and chiefs also felt that the Company's forces were irresistible and they could not be challenged with impunity. These feelings in the land of bravery made the British suzerainty over Rajputana and Malwa unquestioned and exercise of British paramountcy smooth till 1856.

The effects of British interference were not salubrious for the State. Its aftermath was painful to the people and destructive to the internal sovereignty of the State. In place of a strong and popular government of Durjan Sal, an unpopular, inefficient and tottering authority was established and maintained by force of arms. Everything, State as well as private property, on which the army could lay its hands, became prize money. The royal exchequer became empty. The State was impoverished. It had to pay 26 lakhs of rupees as war indemnity which was paid in six years in half yearly instalment, as it was not possible for it to give the whole amount in a lumpsum. Its government had to take loan from a British indigo

planter at an exorbitant rate of interest for carrying on day-to-day administration. Maladministration became the hallmark of the new puppet regime. Corruption and intrigues became rampant. Disorder prevailed. Security to life and property was lost. In short, the British military operation against the State became a 'thieves' scramble and even the Maharaja whom the British had intervened to protect was plundered to his 'last lotah' since he fell into 'our' hands.²⁶ Misrule in the state and refractory disposition among the dispossessed occasioned day-to-day British interference in a vain effort to set things right. At one stage, the anarchical condition became so disturbing that Lockett, the British Agent, and Metcalfe, the Resident, seriously thought of assuming direct administration of the State into their hands for the duration of the minority of the Maharaja.²⁷

Thus, the results and repercussions of British interference in the succession affairs of Bharatpur State were unfortunate for its people as well as its administration. Its internal sovereignty was damaged. Its government became dependent on the paramount power for its existence and proper

functioning. The episode as a whole provided an open avowal of the British right of direct interference in the disputed successions in the Indian states - a right which had been sparingly used till then

and was thereafter in the process of becoming an instrument of imperial policy and a cornerstone of the growing concept of British paramountcy in Indian States.

26. E. Thompson: *Life of Metcalfe*, p.251.

27. *Ibid*: July 7, 1826, Nos. 23 and 24.

THE KAVAL OR POLICE SYSTEM IN RAYALASEEMA BETWEEN THE SIXTEENTH AND THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURIES

D. SUBRAMANYAM REDDY *

ABSTRACT: This article depicts the police system, as it obtained between the sixteenth and the nineteenth centuries in the

Rayalaseema region. The varied duties allocated to the 'official' and 'non-official' policing agents are portrayed with documented details.

When we think of police, we generally conceive of a large body of officers organised into a Department to preserve law and order and detect, and if possibly prevent, crimes

within the territory of a State. It may seem strange-but, there was no State Department of Police from the time of the Vijayanagar rulers till the establishment of British power

* *About the author:* Dr. D. Subramanyam Reddy in working as Lecturer in History, Jawahar Bharati, Kavali - 524 201, Nellore (Dist), (A.P. State).

in the early 19th century. This, however, does not mean there was no *policing* of the territories. We find the *talari* or *talaiyari* (or kotwal)¹, one of the twelve *ayagars* or village servants (functionaries) as the guardian of the villages, both during the Vijayanagar period and also during the rule of the *poligars*, who established independent estates called *palayams* or *pollams* throughout South India including Rayalaseema after the fall of the Vijayanagar at the battle of Tallikota in 1565.

Though the *talari* had the power to prevent quarrels and settle disputes - one could call them magisterial powers - during the Kakatiyas he became a mere police official during and after the Vijayanagar rulers.² As a police official, he had to protect the life and property of villagers, restore stolen property by thieves, watch movements of vagabonds and the

like. He had also to protect village peace, provide labour to the *Sirkar* as needed, and carry the baggage of civil and military servants when they arrived in their villages.³ As a result of all these functions, he was almost dreaded by the villagers.⁴ Atthavana Tantram, a late 18th century source, mentions that during the Vijayanagar period "the ryots offer the *talari* food, *curry*, and ears of corn; the *Kurubas* give him blankets and other things, because as a village *kotwal*, he might single them out for forced labour, when the government stand in need of men to carry the baggage of their servants." But this severity decreased in course of time. He received no salary but a portion of land called *mirasi*, on which he paid a nominal tax called *jodi*. He also received a share of the produce called *mera* from each ryot and several occupationists and religious institutions and on certain social functions. A fee in money called *talavarike* or *talavarike-hana* was also one of his sources of revenue, especially during the

1. Cf. *Mackenzie Manuscripts* (M.Mss.), 15-6-8, Kavali Venkata Borraiah, *Atthavana Vjavahara Tantram* (in Telugu), Transcribed from the Meckenzie Records, Vol.154 (foll. 22 - 28), preserved in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, Rc. No. 201/B/77.
2. *Madras Epigraphical Reports* (M.E.R.), 200, 208 of 1927.
3. Cf. M.Mss, 15-9-6, Kavali Venkata Borraiah, *op.cit*, MER 9 of 1912 - 13.
4. Cf. M.Mss, 15-6-8, Kavali Venkata Borraiah, *op.cit*.

Vijayanagar rules.⁵

The *talaries* of villages were generally under the control of the *kavalgars* or superintendents of police, whose jurisdiction extended over a group of villages called "districts." The word district in this restricted sense was used even during the British rule in the early nineteenth century in places like North Arcot or *Chittoor Pollams* now forming part of Chittoor district of Andhra Pradesh. During the Vijayanagar period, the group of villages under the *kavalgars* were called *sthalas*, *samutus* and *nadus* according to the extent or number of villages under the control of a *kavalgar*. That is why we find the titles of *kavalgar*, *samutu kavalgar*, *nadu-kavalgar* and *mahanayakacarya* — all meaning *kavalgars*. There were also *Desakavalgars* during the Vijayanagar period.

The *kavalgars*, like the *talari*, received no salary from the *Sirkar*. But, they were given a *kavali-mirasi-manyam* or *inam* villages on payment of a low quit-rent or tax. They also received dues or a share of

the produce called *mera* and *vartane* from each ryot. This was called *neeta* or *kavali* fee (collected by *kavalgars* in their districts) and *Ooba* or additional *kavali* fees (collected in the *Sirkar* villages by the *Kavalgars*) in Chittoor *pollams* till the early nineteenth century. The *kavalgars* also collected tithes from merchants etc. The *kavalgars*, as in Chittoor *Pollams*, had to supervise the work of the *talaries*. As police superintendents, they had also to see that there was no loss of life and property in their jurisdiction. In the event of any such 'happening,' they had to make good any loss sustained by people in their "districts."

The protection which the Vijayanagar state offered to its subjects and merchants was, however, not adequate. Journeys along the public roads were risky and insecure. The forest regions were specially the haunts of bandits, who not only plundered the travellers but neighbouring villages also, causing considerable alarm in the countryside. Assassination by the robbers was so common that people generally expected to die as much in that as in any other manner.⁶

Considering these, a slightly different arrangement was later adopted during the Vijayanagar rule for policing the areas in the outskirts of jungles, villages and in the villages bilt within forest clearings. This also extended to the Telugu 'colonies' established in the Tamil regions, especially those Reddy families, who migrated from the North-eastern region, owing to pressure from the Gajapaties of Orissa.

To keep the criminal tribes or bandits or rebel chiefs in check, adventurers of daring and courage were appointed as *kavalgars* - though of a different category - at several places, with a considerable body of retainers later called *peons*.⁷ Amuktamalyada of Krishnadevaraya says: "to keep these *Kiratas* (criminal tribes of hills) in check, foreign military adventurers should be given villages temporarily as jagirs in their neighbourhood. Until these criminal tribes are subdued, the distress of the people does not decrease."⁸ They were also given *kaval mirasi manyams* or *inams* as stated earlier. It was these people who declared themselves *poligars* after

1565, when the central authority was weak and established their "independent" *pollams* (or *palems*) 'districts' - so to say. As there was demand for their service in a large number, the Vijayanagar rulers appointed even dacoits and thieves as *kavalgars* of "districts." For example, Yakarla Yarrama Nayadu who committed thefts in and near Rollamadugu was appointed as *kavalgar* with a *jagir* by Krishnadevaraya and th former built a fort on the banks of Cheyyeru to the north of Rallamadugu. Achyutaraya also appointed Virneyani Siddappa as *kavalgar* of Jyoti pass in Nallamalas.

This policy of appeasing bandits was mainly responsible for the chaotic conditions that prevailed later, when banditry more or less appeared to be an act sanctioned by custom. Of course, officials of the state like kaulari Budda Reddi and his son Vengal Reddi were also appointed *kavalgars* at Racherla to protect the passes between Gutti and Munimadugu. These people were not bandits. Their service to the people of their area was so appreciated that a temple was built in honour of the Reddies: Worship in

5. *Epigraphia Carnatica* (E.C.), V Hn.2, EC.vi.Kd. 158, LR.13, p.288, LR.18, pp.407 - 409, LR. 24, P. 124, MER. 164 of 1913.

6. Krishnadevaraya, *Amuktamalyada*, ed. V. Vavilla Ramaswamy Sastri, Madras. 1907.

7. N. Venkata Ramanayya, *Studies in the History of the Third Dynasty of Vijayanagara* (Madras, 1935) General Editor, N.A. Nilakanta Sastri, Madras University Historial Series-II, p. 259.

8. Krishnadevaraya, *op.cit*

the temple is still continued.

The towns or *petahs* also had their own policing system. Here also the *kavalgars* of *palems* (meaning here wards) looked after the peace and security of the towns 'every minute'⁹ during the Vijayanagar rulers. The same continued even under the *poligars* with some modifications in the titles and duties of the persons in charge.

By the late eighteenth century the *poligar* besides being a chieftain, was thus the head of numerous clan. The members of his clan as well as his dependents and servants were spread over the villages under his

charge to aid him in the discharge of his duties. These persons, supported by his power, claimed the right of *kaval* (watch) of villages and displaced in many instances, the original *sirkar kavalkarans* (watchman). When this was not possible, they extorted a fee from them and in default plundered them. The right of *kaval* of villages claimed by the *poligar* or his relations, dependents, or servants was known as *Sthalam* (local) *kaval*. Besides this local watch, the *poligar* claimed also the *kaval* of a tract of country, which could not be guarded by the village watchmen. This *kaval* was known as *desai, desu, desha, achu* or *pollam kaval*.¹⁰

9. N. Venkata Ramanayya *op.cit.*, pp. 259-64.

10. *The fifth Report* (edited by Walter Kelly Firminger of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the affairs of East India Company, dated 28th July 1812 (Calcutta, 1918), vol. II pp. 90, 95, 96, 98 F.A. Nicholson, *Coimbatore District Manual* (Madras, 1898) p.93, A.C. Boswell, *Nellore District Manual* (Madras, 1873), p. 490, Arthur F.Cox, *North Arcot District Manual*, New Edition revised by Harold A. Stuart (Madras, 1885) Vol. I, p.99, A.J. Stuart, *Tinnevely District Manual* (Madras, 1879), p.18. The power exercised by the *poligars* of Carnatic in regard to police and the manner in which it was exercised either to raise revenue or to augment their influence are particularly explained in one of the reports (date 20-8-1799) of Lushington, Collector of *Poligar Peshcush* in the Southern district, the information furnished by him on these points though it relates to those districts only may be considered in a great degree as applicable to the Western Pollams and Chittoor Pollams will be found also to exhibit the same state shown to have existed in the Mysore country on the establishment of the British authority therein (Fifth Report, *op.cit.* Vol.II, p.95, S.R. Lushington *Reports regarding the Tinnevely poligars and sequestered pollams, 1800* (Tinnevely, 1916).

Koval or watch represented a basic duty of the *poligars* who established their independence after 1565. The servants, who actually performed this work were called *kavalkarans* or the *talaris*.

Until the Mughal invasion of the Carnatic (including Chittoor Pollams) the *poligari* and the *kaval* systems existed as two separate but parallel organisations.¹¹ The *poligars* rendered military services to the sovereign and gave security to

the country against *external* invasions. The *kavalgars*, on the other-hand, discharged police duties and preserved *internal* order. The *poligars* were for the *poligar* territories, whilst the *kavalgars* were largely for the *Sirkar*-lands, performing complementary duties. However, the turmoil which attended the Mughal invasions and the subsequent rebellions created circumstances favourable for the integration of the two systems adding to the prestige of the *poligars*.¹²

* * * * *

11. K. Rajayyan, *Administration and society in the Carnatic, (1701 - 1801)* (Tirupati, 1966), p. 66, K. Rajayyan, *Rise and Fall of the Poligars of Tamil Nadu* (Madras, 1974) p. 30. For more details about the Kaval or Police system see: *The History of the Andhra Pradesh Police* available in Andhra Pradesh State Archives, Hyderabad.

12. K. Rajayyan, *Rise and Fall, op.cit.*, pp. 30 - 31.

TURKISH ARCHIVES*

N. AKMAL AYYUB*

ABSTRACT: In this informative article on Turkish Archives, a relatively lesser known subject to Indian archivists, Akmal Ayyub describes the documents and records preserved in four principal Archives in Turkey — the Prime Minister's Office, the Top Kapi

Palace, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and provincial archives. They contain rich source materials on Indian history; and as the author rightly concludes, it is for our scholars to delve deep into them and make the best out of them in their researches.

Archives, to state the definition briefly, is a place where documents or records relating to the activities, rights, claims, treaties, constitutions, etc. of a family, corporation, community, nation or historical figure are kept. Nearly all countries of the world have established their archives. Though the archives of Turkey are very rich

mines of information, their valuable material is not well known to scholars as it should be. Only a few Western scholars have taken the opportunity to visit Turkey for this purpose and some works based entirely on the materials of these archives have been published. One of them is Bernard Lewis who wrote a book

* **About the author:** Dr. N. Akmal Ayyub is working as Reader in the Dept. of the Turkish Studies and Islamic Studies, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh-202 001, (U.P. State).

* Based on a paper presented in the 40th Session of the Indian History Congress held at Waltair.

on "Notes and Documents from the Turkish Archives; A contribution to the History of the Jews in the Ottoman Empire"¹ and two articles entitled "The Ottoman Archives as a Source for the History of the Arab Lands"² and "The Ottoman Archives, a Source for European History"³ S.J. Shaw has published two articles entitled "Archival sources for Ottoman History; The Archives of Turkey"⁴ and "The Ottoman Archives as a Source for Egyptian History."⁵ And Uriel Heyd wrote a book on "Ottoman Documents on Palestine 1552-1615! A study of the fireman according to the Muhimme Defteri."⁶

Generally speaking, the archival materials in Turkey are found principally in four places, namely Bas, fakanlir Arshivi (Archives of the Prime Minister's

Office), Top Kapi Saravi Arshivi (Archives of Top Kapi Palace), Haricive Arshivi (Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs) and Sheriye Sicilleri, which were provincial archives and which were under the administration of the local Qadis i.e., muslim judges.

The Basbhakanilik Arsivi i.e., archives of the Prime Minister's office contains the most important collections, from the point of view of both the significance of its materials as well as their variety and abundance. Its materials are important not only for Turkey but for other countries as well. The oldest materials in these collections are almost as old as the Ottoman Empire; but the documents survive in bulk only after the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople (*Istanbul*) in 1453. The contents of this collections may be divided broadly, according

1. Published by Israil Oriental Society, Jerusalem, 1952.
2. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1951, pp. 139-155.
3. Report on Current Research, Spring 1956, Middle East Institute, Washington, 1956 pp. 17-25. Reproduced with minor modifications in *Archives*, 1959.
4. *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol.80, 1960, pp. 1-12.
5. *Journal of the American Oriental Society*; Vol.83, 1963, pp.447-452.
6. Printed in London, 1960.

to the form in which they are preserved, into two groups — *evrak* i.e. papers, and *defter* i.e., bound registers. The former, ranging from Imperial decrees drawn up in due form, to odd notes and minutes by minor clerks, are estimated to number many millions, of which only a very small proportion has been catalogued. The latter are estimated to number about 60,000 in all Turkish collections, the great majority being in this *Bashbakanlik Arshivi*. They are of two basic types; statistical containing figures and other factual information required and collected for various administrative purposes; and diplomatic, containing register copies of the texts of outgoing orders, letters and other communications.⁷ I am told by Turkish archivists, Hasan Adali and Sinasi Altundag that this archive contains more than fifty million items and the orders and decrees passed by the Ottoman Imperial Council on all matters of interest to it are preserved in 263 registers covering the years from 1553 to 1906. Some of the materials of this archives have been catalogued but only by reign of Sultan or general subject and considerable time is

required to read through the hundreds of catalogues in order to find all relevant materials.

The *Top Kapi Saray Arshivi* i.e., Top Kapi Palace Archives possess numerous documents and registers which are classified according to the alphabetical order of the subjects. At present, there are two indexes prepared in accordance with this rule of classification and published under the title of *Top Kapi Saray Muzesi Arshive Kilavuzu*. The first of these, printed in 1938, covers subjects beginning with the letters A, B, and C with photographic reproductions of fourteen documents. The second covers the letters C, D, E, G and H, which was published in 1940 in two volumes by Tahsin Oz who was director of the Top Kapi Saray Museum at that time. The rest of the catalogue is available only in manuscript form. A new committee has been constituted to prepare a fresh and more detailed catalogue with reclassification of the materials; however, until the fruits of its work are ready, the old catalogues remain available and usable.

The *Harcıyevkelet Arshivi*

i.e., Archives of Ministry of Foreign Affairs is also rich. It is a well known fact that the Ottoman Ministry of Foreign Affairs was organised out of the office of the *Re'is ul-Kuttab* as a separate department only in 1836. Therefore, most of the materials concern the years after that time. During the nineteenth century, the official language of this Department was French. Therefore, all the handwritten catalogues and most of the documents are written in that language. However, some of the important ones among them were translated in Turkish language and all the materials of this archives can easily be located in subject indexes available there.

The *Sherive Sicilleri* are the registers of *Quadis*, who were both the executive officers and supervisors of all the regulations related to administrative, financial, political and cultural institutions. He was entrusted with the enactment and registry of all orders issuing from the Capital of the Ottoman Empire. The *Qadi* was, therefore, charged with the setting up and upkeep of the Ottoman provincial archives. In addition to daily local incidents and court cases, all orders sent from the Capital, including pacts, laws and new regulations, were recorded in the *Qadi's* registers.

The majority of these registers were written in Turkish, but documents concerning religious matters were in the Arabic language. These registers are tantamount to provincial archives of the Ottoman Empire.

The archives of Turkey preserve very important documents concerning Indian history but they are veiled in the clouds of darkness and extensive investigations and deep researches are required to dispel the glooms. The *Top Kapi Saray Arshivi* preserves an original letter of Muhammad Humayun Shah (d.1556) who was the son of the founder of the *Timurid* (so-called *Barla Turks*, "Chaghatai Gurgani" or Mughal dynasty in India, Zahir-ud-Din Muhammad Babur Shah (d.1530). It is his personal letter which was written in 1548 from Kabul when Humayun was chased from India by a rival chief for obtaining military aid from the Ottoman Sultan Suleyman I (d.1574) against his enemies. This letter is in *Chaghatai* Turkish language, and describes that after his flight from India he had the idea to perform *Haj* and to meet personally the Ottoman Sultan for getting assistance against his opponents. He mentions the maltreatment of the *Safavid* ruler, Shah Tahmasp and cautions the Sultan not to have confidence in

7. Bernard Lewis: *Bashvekalet Arshiv*. New Encyclopaedia of Islam, Vol.1, p.1090.

Algas Mirza, the brother of Shah Tahmasp, who had sought refuge in Constantinople (Istanbul) under the Ottomans. Humayun Shah offered his services and requested the Sultan to give areas up to Meshed and not to try to invade Iran, for the Shah of Iran had requested him to come to his aid against the enemies of Iran.⁸ Another letter of Shah Jahan (d.1666) is also preserved in the Archives which was handed over by his envoy in 1639 to Ottoman Sultan Murad IV (d.1640). Shah Jahan, in this letter had requested the Ottoman Sultan to give military assistance against Iran for retaking of Qandhar and to send an architect to build the *Rauza-i-Mamtaz Mahal*.

The *Bashbakanlik Arshivi* possess a letter of the Ottoman Sultan Suleyman II (d.1691), addressed to Aurangzeb (d.1707)

which was handed over by an Ottoman envoy named Ahmad Aga. This letter is recorded on pages 54 to 61 of the *Be-sh Numarali Name Defteri* under the following head lines:

One of the later Timurids Emperor of India, Muhammad Shah (d. 1748) also had correspondence with the Ottoman Sultans. One of his letters was carried by Seyed Ataullah Khan which was received by Sultan Mahmud I (d. 1754) who wrote a reply which was handed over to the same envoy. Ottoman Sultan Mahmud I had written one more letter to this Indian counterpart which was carried by Ottoman envoy Salim Mehmed Effendi. All these correspondence are preserved in the *Sekiz Numarali Nume Defteri of Basbakanlik Arshiv*.

8. Ghulam Muhammad Nizamuddin Maghrebi of Hyderabad has also traced a copy of one more letter of Humayun Shah addressed to Sultan Suleyman which is recorded in a MS. copy of the collection of letters named *Dastur-ul-Insa* of Abdullah Effendi which is preserved in the Esad Effendi Section of the Suleymaniya Library of Istanbul and not in the Archives. He has also found copies of the letters of Ottoman Sultan Suleyman I and Sultan Salim I addressed to Sultan Ahmed II of Gujarat and Muzzaffar II of Gujarat and Malik Ayaz (Governor of Diu) and *vice versa* in the MS. copy of *Munsat-i-Farsi* of Abdullah Effendi, which is also preserved in the Esad Effendi Section of Suleymaniya Library of Istanbul. For further information, see his article *The Ottoman — Gujarat Relations*, published in the Foreign Relations of India — Prof. H.K. Sherwani Felicitation Volume, Hyderabad, pp.186-193.

The *Basbakanlik Arshiv* also preserves a letter of Mir Qamar-ud-Din Khan Bahadur Nizamul-Mulk Asaf Jah I (d. 1748) of Hyderabad which was handed over by the Ottoman envoy Mehmed Yusuf Aga to Sultan Mehmed I. The original letter is in Persian which is as pages 291 and 292 of the *Sekiz Numarali Name Defteri* in the *Evrak* section of the archives. Its official Turkish translation is also recorded in the same register on pages 293 and 294. This register consists a letter of his son Nizam-ud-Daula Nasirud-Din Jung (d.1750) of Hyderabad also which is addressed to Ottoman Sultan Mahmud I. Tipu Sultan of Mysore had also requested the Ottoman Sultan for assistance and corresponded with Sultan Abdul Hamid I (d.1789), Sultan Salim III (d.1808) and Ottoman Sadr-i-Azam. His original letters in Persian along with its official Turkish translations and its replies of the Ottoman Sultans are also preserved in the *Dokuz Numarali Name Defteri* of the *Bashbakanlik Arshiv*. This collection also contains a very

interesting letter of an English Ambassador who was posted in Istanbul at that time, regarding Tipu Sultan. All these letters were thoroughly studied by a famous Turkish Scholar, Hikmet Bayur who has written a very comprehensive article in Turkish entitled *Maysor Sultan Tipu ile Osmanli Padihsahlarindan I Abdul Hamid ve III Selim Arasindaki mektuplasma*, which was published in the *Belleten* of the Turk Tarih Kurumu of Ankara along with 12 facsimile of the letters in its Vol.12, No.47 on pp. 617-654. This archives also possess letters of Nawabs of Arcot (Madras) i.e., Anwar-ud-Din Khan and his successors which are addressed to the Ottoman Sultans.

The above mentioned documents which require critical study are just illustrative. The archives of Turkey are rich in materials on Indian history. It is for scholars of Indian history to delve deep into these and make the best use of the source materials.

* * * * *

NOTE ON THE INSCRIPTION ON THE TOMB OF NAWWĀB NEKNĀM KHĀN AT GOLKONDA

Z.A. DESAI *

ABSTRACT: One cannot 'abstract' an article of this nature. The

title describes itself. Readers, please fall to.

The celebrated Qutb Shāhi general and prime minister Nawwāb Rida Quilt entitled Nekkām Khān lies buried in the royal necropolis of Golkonda, in the south-east corner of the terrace on which stand the tombs of Ibrahim Qutb Shah on the north and Prince Muhammad Amin on the west. His grave proper is inscribed with religious text only, but at its headside is fixed an arch-shaped

tablet measuring 105 cms from apex to bottom and 60 cms in width, which bears an inscription containing a royal farman by which the revenue of the village (*mauda*) of Mangalāwaram (now spelt Mangalāram) in the division (*amal-i-samt*) of janwar(d)a was to be spent, in perpetuity, exclusively on the expenses of the Free-Kitchen (*langar*) Lighting and Reciters of the Quran by heart

* *About the author:* Dr. Z.A. Desai is the Director (Epigraphy) (Retired), Archaeological Survey of India, Ahmadabad - 380 055, (Gujarath State).

(*Huffāz*) and Stipends of the Attendants of the Tomb of Nawwāb Nekkām Khān with effect from the beginning of the year Shuhūr 1074 (A.H. 1084/1673 A.D.).

This important inscription has been published at least thrice: It was first published with English translation in the epigraphical journal of the Archaeological Survey of India almost three quarters of century back, without any comments or notes, by Major (later Sir) Theodore Woolsely Haig, along with other inscriptions from Golkonda Tomb.¹ It was then published only a few years later by Mr. (later Dr.) Gulam Yazdani Director, Department of Archaeology, H.E.H. The Nizam's Dominions, Hyderabad.² Yazdani seems to have relied mostly on Sir Woolsely's text and translation, the only improvement made by him being confined, apart from the *تاکید* for *تاکیدات* in line 8 to that of line 8 to that of the Quranic verse in lines 9-10 which Haig had found undecipherable. Yazdani also drew attention to the fact that as no detailed account of the Qutb Shāhi

dynasty subsequent to the reign of Sultān Muhammad Qutb Shāh is available, and the Mughal Chroniclers make only casual reference to the history of Deccan, the absence of Nekkām Khān's name in the principal historical works of the period is not a strange coincidence³. He, however, was able to trace references to him in a European source, Viz. Mr. Talbot Wheeler's *Madras in the Golden Times* and the later Bijapur historian Mirza Ibrahim Zubairi and declared almost as certain that the General buried at Golkonda and the Nekkām Khān referred to in Mr. Wheeler's work in connection with his delating with the English Settlement at Madras are one and the same person⁴. Less than a decade later, Mr. S.A.A. Bilgrami, who officiated as Director of Archeology at Hyderabad during 1922-1924, republished the text of this epigraph correcting Yazdani's reading in a number of places. Out of six improved readings suggested by Bilgrami, three were of some consequence, but his reading was also not entirely free from

1. *Epigraphia Indica, Supplement*, 1907-08, pp.24-25. Its next issue appeared under the name *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica (EIM)*.
2. *EIM*, 1915-16, p.37, pl.XII b.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*, p.37.
5. S.A.A. Bilgrami, *Landmarks of the Deccan* (Hyderabad, 1927), p.176 pl.facing the same page.

mistakes as shall be seen presently. Bilgrami while drawing freely under acknowledgement from the English translation of Yazadani,⁶ also differed from the latter in one or two places.

The inscription in question has been executed in beautiful clear *Nastalic* characters and therefore its decipherment should not have presented any difficulty. But perhaps due to exigencies of space or so, the writing is a little crowded, some letters of particular words having been inscribed not in the usual horizontal order but above and somewhat out of place, too. This as well as the weathering of the tablet due to constant exposure to elements of nature which has damaged the writing in the last line, was probably responsible for the few errors that have crept in the reading. Apart from this, some points like what Yazdani considered the mistake in inscribing the date figure (A.H.) 1074 for (A.H.) 1084, the misleading identification of Mangalwaram by Bilgrami and others and silence of all on that of Janwara, etc., require rectification or elucidation. More-over, the find of a new inscription, which is almost a copy of the Golkonda

record under notice and coming to light of some more details in the career of Neknām Khān both in English Factory records as well as in a Persian work, have prompted me to re-edit the Golkonda inscription and publish for the first time the epigraph that has been recently brought to light as also to place before the readers a brief account of the life and achievements of Neknām Khān, the ablest general of Sultan 'Abdullah Qutb Shāh.

The inscription may be translated⁷ as under:—

(1) He is Everlasting!

(2) The royal order, obeyed by the world and having the heading of kindness, and the commandment with rays of sun and having the foundation of compassion, from the auspicious court having the dignity of (lit. replete with) caliphate (3—4 received the honour of issue to this effect that the Muqaddims (Headmen), the Kulkarnis (Accountants) and the ryots of village Mangalawāram, situated in the division of Janwāra (Janwāda) popularly called Hasanābād, being hopeful of the royal favours should know that we, by way of kingly

munificence which covers the conditions of all the, (5) devoted servants, have, from the beginning of the Shuhūr year four and seventy and one thousand (Shuhūr 1074=A.H. 1084/1673 A.D.) endowed the revenue of the aforesaid village for the Free-Kitchen or Alms House (*Langar*), Lighting, Reciters by heart of the Quran (*Huffāz*) and Attendants at the Tomb of the receiver (lit. asylum) of (Allāh's) Forgiveness and resident of Paradise, Neknām Khān, so that till the time of the emergence of His Holiness the Lord of the Age (Imām Mahdī), (6-9) may the blessings of Allāh, the obliging Lord,⁸ be upon him, this (revenue), should be assigned (for this purpose) and be in force. Therefore, the office-holders the Agents, the Desais, the Thalkarnīs (Divisional Accountants), the Muqaddims (Headmen) and Kulkarnīs (Village Accountants) of the said division, should regard the aforesaid village as assigned and apportioned for (meeting) the expenses of the Free-Kitchen, Lighting, Attendants and Reciters of Quran by heart at the Tomb of

the aforementioned receiver (lit. asylum) of Forgiveness, and should keep it in force without making any pretext and should, in this regard, lay utmost emphasis and presumption (i.e. carry out the order strictly). And if anybody acts against the contents of this royal order having the inevitability (lit. issuing capacity) of Fate, he will be doomed to the curse of God and imprecation of the Prophet of Allah. "Whoever then alters it after he heard it, the sin of it then is only upon, (10) those who alter it, surely Allah is Hearing, Knowing".⁹ Written (on) the twelfth Jamīdī the Second (of the) year A.H. 1084 (12 Jumada II 1084 = 14 September 1673). The death of the receiver of Forgiveness Neknām Khān (took place on) the tenth Dhi'l Hijja year A.H. 1082 (10 Dhu'l-Hijja 1082=29th March 1672). Written by Kalb-i-'Alī Son of Muhammad Ṣādiq, may their sins be forgiven.

According to this order, the grant of revenue for the Tomb of the late Neknām Khān was to take effect from the beginning of the

6. *Ibid.*, p.177, f.n.1.

7. The translation by both Yazdani and Bilgrami is not exact in regard to the rhymed artificial prose portions of the text, but as far as its historical content is concerned, it is correct.

8. Bilgrami, *op.cit.*, p.177, f.n.2, has taken exception to the translation of the word as King, 'although it refers to God the Almighty'. The fact that Yazdani wrote 'Bounteous King' (both with Capital letters) shows that he also intended the Almighty God only.

9. *Quran*, Chapter II, verse 181.

Shuhūr year 1074 and according to the epigraph itself Nekkām Khān died on A.H. 1083. While Mr. Bilgrami does not seem to have noticed what would at first sight appear to be a serious discrepancy. Yazdani did find the grant of revenues from A.H. 1074, nine years before his death, as 'somewhat unusual'. But he came over this discrepancy by taking the figure '1074 to be a likely mistake for 1084, the date of the promulgation of the order. as, there were, according to him, several mistakes in the inscription.¹⁰

The fact is that there is no such discrepancy nor is there any mistake in the engraving of the date figure. The year quoted in the text Shuhūr Sana 1074 which is not intended to represent, as supposed by Yazdani, A.H. or Hijra 1074 i.e. year 1074 of the Lunar Hijra Calendar, but the year 1074 of the Shuhūr era,

which was vogue in the various principalities of the Deccan and continued to be the official calendar of the Marathas under the name Sūr San, a corruption of Shuhūr San and which had started on the 25th May 1673 or 18th Safar A.H. 1084. Thus the grant was not ordered before, leave alone as much as nine years before, the death of Nekkām Khān, but it was made after his death, which took place, according to the epigraph as seen above, on the 10th Dhu'l-Hijra 1082 (29th March 1672).

According to Yazdani's reading, Nekkām Khān died in A.H. 1083; Haig also, it may be stated, had read the figure as 1083.¹¹ But, as seen above, A.H. 1082 seems to be the correct reading. Bilgrami also reads A.H. 1082.¹² The earlier year is not only given by a contemporary Persian historian, 'Ali bin Taifur al-Bustami, who has devoted a long notice to Nekkām Khān furnishing details of his early career¹³ - the

year A.H. 1082 is given in words and not in figure eliminating any slip of pen on the part of the scribe—, but the author has also quoted a chronogram yielding the same year, composed by his own brother Ibrāhīm with poetical name Khādīm who was in the service of Nekkām Khān.¹⁴

Another point that calls for comment in the reading of Yazdani is that the name of the division in which Mangalawāram was situated is given there as 'Janwal.' He obviously followed Haig in this respect too.¹⁵ The correct reading of the place name, as pointed out by Bilgrami, is Janwāra. Surprisingly neither did Yazdani nor Bilgrami, makes any effort to identify this place. Janwāra of the text can also be read as Janwāra a name answering in sound to Janwādā, a village situated at a distance of about thirty Kilometres from Hyderabad and about eight Kilometres north-west of Gandipet village, near the Osman Sagar Tank.¹⁶ The village Mangalwaram

mentioned in the inscription also exists under the name Mangalaram and is situated very near Janwada as we shall presently see.

Yazdani also tried to identify the scribe of the inscription. Following Haig he read his name as Muhammad Sadiq son of Ali Katib (calligrapher) and tried to identify him with Muhammad Sadiq whose signature dated A.H. 1102 (1690-91 A.D.) appears in a writing in a collection of miniatures and calligraphical specimens in the British Museum, London. Yazdani also thought that, apart from a difference of only eighteen years between the two documents, his surmise was supported by the fact that the said collection had the work of another Deccan artist (portrat of Abu'l-Hasan Qutb Shāh's grandson).¹⁷ This surmise is based on the wrong reading of the name of the calligrapher which is clearly Kalbi-ʿAli, Muhammad Sadiq being his father. The father could have been

10. *EIM.*, 1915-16, p.39, f.n.1.

11. *Ibid.*, 1907-08, p.25.

12. Bilgrami, *op.cit.*, p.176.

13. Ali Bustami, *Hadaiqu's-Sulātin in Fi-Kalami'l-khawaqin*, M.S.Salar Jang Museum Library, Hyderabad, *Fann-i-Tarikh*, No. 213, ff.201 b-205. The author also seems to have associated with Nekkām Khān as will be mentioned later. The *Hadaiq* has since been published from Hyderabad.

14. *Ibid.*, f 202 b.

15. *EIM.*, 1907-08, p.24.

16. For a brief notice of Janwada and its old mosque, see *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, H.E.H., The Nizam's Dominions (ARADN)*, 1343 F/ 1933-34 A.C. (Calcutta, 1936), pp.6-7.

17. *EIM.*, 1915-16, p.39, f.n.2.

identical with his namesake of British Museum writing, though nothing definite can be said in this regard. In any case, Kalb-i-'Alī seems to have been a skilled calligrapher at least of *Nastālīq*. Very probably, he also designed the recently found other inscription referred to above.

Yazdani and Haig read the official designation *Desāiyān* (plural of Desai) as *Despāndiyān* and *Deshpāndiyān* (plural of *Despānde* and *Deshpānde*) respectively. The use of the term Desai in this part of the country at this period is not without interest.

Yazdani did not likewise make any effort to identify Mangalwāram. But Bilgrami in a foot-note appended to the place-name, states that 'this name corroborates the version of *Māāthir-i-Ālamgīrī* that 'the name of Golkonda Fort was originally fort of Mankal'.¹⁸ In another words, according to Bilgrami, Mangalwāram stands for Mankal. It was probably this which led

Professor Abdul-Majid Siddiqui to identify Mangalwāram with Golkonda.¹⁹

This identification was recently challenged by Professor H.K. Sherwani who correctly pointed out that Golkonda had nothing to do with Mangalwāram and that two villages bearing this name Peddā-Mangalāram and Chenna-Mangalāram still exist about fifteen and twenty Kilometers respectively from Golkonda.²⁰ But, Sherwani, too, did not categorically say which of these two villages represented Mangalwāram of the inscription under notice. Earlier, the Assistant Director, Department of Archaeology, Hyderabad, who had visited Janwādā on 3rd October 1934 was told of the existence of an inscription at Chhotā (i.e. Chenna) Mangalāram hardly four-five kilometres away from that place,²¹ but probably having no idea or recollection of the epigraph under notice, he let go the opportunity to correctly identify

Mangalwaram in question. Had he cared to inspect the inscription under reference, he would have found that it was almost a duplicate of the Golkonda epigraph.²²

The Chennā-Mangalāram inscription was copied a few years back by Dr. Sayyid Abdush-Shukur Kadiri, then of the office of the Superintending Epigraphist for Arabic and Persian Incriptions, Nagpur, and it has been found to be almost a *verbatim* copy²³ of the inscription on Neknām Khān's grave, *sans* the portion giving the date of the latter's death²⁴ and the scribe's name(plate). This epigraph is also remarkable for its fine calligraphy, but unfortunately, the artist has not signed his name therein. This omission is inexplicable. The similarity in the calligraphy of both the records

makes it very probable that this was also the work of the same Kalb-i-'Alī.

There should thus be little doubt that the village Mangalwāram, the revenues of which were to be utilised for meeting the expenditure on various items in connection with the Tomb of Neknām Khān of Golkonda is this Chenna-Mangalāram, near Janwada.

In recent Years, more light has been thrown on the career and achievements of Neknām Khān who was the celebrated and the most accomplished general in the service of 'Abdullāh Qutb Shāh after the defection of Mir Muhammad Said Mir Jumla. He had, vis-a-vis the foreign merchants in general and the English Factors in particular,

18. Bilgrami, op.cit., p.176, f.n. 2.

19. A.M. Siddiqui, *History of Golkonda* (Hyderabad, 1954), p.23 and f.n. 1.

20. Professor H.K. Sherwani, *History of the Qutb Shahi Dynasty* (New Delhi, 1974), p.57, f.n. 33. It seems the reference to the existence of the grave-inscription at Chennā Mangalāram contained in the *ARADN op.cit.*, p. 7, f.n. 1, had escaped the learned Professor's notice; other-wise he would have identified Mangalāram.

21. *ARADN*, loc. cit.

22. According to the departmental report (ibid), 'arrangements were being made to copy the inscription and publish it in *EIM*', but no action seems to have been taken in the matter.

23. In fact, only one phrase and two words of its text are replaced by synonymous or near-synonymous terms, to wit, in line 1, instead of *هو باقی* there is *الملک لله* (kingdom belongs to Allah only); in line 8, the word *مزار* is replaced by *قبر* (grave); and, in line 9 the word, *مخلف* is replaced by *انحلف* (derivation); the phrase *من الملك المنان* in line 6 has been omitted and the spellings *حمیدی* and *حمیرا* in line 10 have also been corrected to.

24. The specific reference to Neknām Khān's date of demise on the Golkonda inscription is a proof of the fact that the inscribed headstone belongs to his grave only, as is also indicated by the Arabic phrase 'And He is Eternal' on the top.

carrying on trade on the eastern coast through Madras and other ports, miraculously turned the scales in favour of the Qutb Shāhī ruler whom he served and represented. Neknām Khān was a great administrator who governed with strong hand, not permitting any lassitude in administration nor allowing any liberty to the European traders. Within a couple of years of his appointment to the prestigious post of the Commandership of Karnatak²⁵ in early 1665, he had, in the true tradition of Mir Jumla whom he had earlier served for some time before temporary retirement subsequent to the latter's defection, earned the reputation of being the 'General of all forces and the greatest in power' as he was called by the English.²⁶ Neknām Khān has also been described as the chief of the grandees who was distinguished among his contemporaries in bravery, intrepidity and courage, ability

and foresight.²⁷

Fortunately 'Alī Bustāmī, a contemporary historian of Hyderabad, has devoted a fairly long notice to Neknām Khān and supplied details of his early life.²⁸ According to him, Neknām Khān was the title given by 'Abdullāh Qutb Shāh to Ridā Qulī, an Iranian emigrant. He was born in an aristocrat family in Iran. His father Malik Bahman son of Kayumarth son of Kadust was the chief (*Wālī*) of Larijan at the fort of Dushmankur and claimed descent from Kayūmarth son of Bihistūn son of Gustaham, who held the province of Rustamdār and custodianship of the fort of Nur. Ridā Qulī seems to have inherited his abilities from his father who was, on one hand, renowned for great intellect and capability, and on the other, for scheming, deceit and trickery. He was put to death under order of Shāh 'Abbās

of Iran in A.H. 1004. Malik Bahman's entire family was ruined and his two sons, Ridā Qulī and his brother were castrated. After some time both the brothers secretly fled from Iran and made their way to India, but misfortune struck and Ridā Qulī's brother was killed by the vagabonds. Ridā Qulī himself took up service under the Mughal general Nawwab Mahabat Khān and was present when the latter took possession of Daulatabad fort from Ahmadnagar forces through stratagem. After the death of the latter, he worked for some time under Mullā Uwais, the Secretary (*Dabīr*). Later on, he entered the service of Mir Muhammed Saīd Ardastānī, the Mīr Jumla, the Sipahsālār of Karnatak and served under him till the Mīr Jumla fell out of royal favour and defected to the Mughal court in A.H. 1066 (1656 A.D.). Ridā Qulī, however, preferred to stay on and retired from active service, but the retirement proved to be temporary. In the meantime, after the disappearance of the Mīr Jumla from the political scene, the affairs of Karnatak went out of control and the territory was virtually in the hands of his men. Thereupon, Sultān 'Abdullāh Qutb Shāh made to realise that Ridā Qulī who was closely connected with Karnatak affairs and was

well conversant with the problems there, recalled him from retirement and having raised him above all other ministers, appointed him Sipahsālār (Commander-in-Chief) of that territory, giving him freedom of action and power of appointment or dismissal. This was in A.H. 1068 (1657-58 A.D.), a date afforded by the chronogram composed by Ibrāhīm with the non-de-plume Khādīm, the author's brother.

Neknām Khān set about the task of restoring Qutb Shāhī authority with sincerity of purpose and devotion. Having fully justified the confidence the Qutb Shāhī ruler had placed in him, Neknām Khān, in the course of the next three four years, subjugated the refractory chiefs and zamindars and brought the entire territory under his control, with the might of sword as well as strategy and deliberation. After successful conclusion of the assignment, he sent the chiefs and zamindars of the region to the king who bestowed favours on the more prominent among them; some of them were retained in the court and others allowed to return to their estates. In reward for this meritorious service, the king favoured Ridā Qulī with robe-of-honour of the *Vizārat-i-Dīwānī*²⁹ and the title of Neknām Khān.

25. For the connotation of the term Karnatak and the region represented by it, see Sherwani, *op.cit.*, p. 565, f.n. 59.

26. For details of Neknām Khān's dealings with the English factors and others, see Rao. Bahadur Srinivasachari, *The Relations of Madras with Golkonda, Proceedings of the Deccan History Conference, First Session, Hyderabad, (1945)* pp.165-68; Siddiqi, *op.cit.*, pp.181-87; Sherwani, *op.cit.*, pp.460-61, 483-84.

27. Mīrzā Ibrāhīm Zubairī, *Basātīnu's Salātin* (Hyderabad, no date), p.413.

28. 'Alī Bustāmī, *op.cit.*, ff.201 b-205 a. See also Siddiqi, *op.cit.*, p.181, f.n. 1; Sherwani, *op.cit.*, p. 569, f.n. 86.

29. This in the original. This evidently means Prime Ministership. As a matter of fact, he is described as the Chief Minister of Golkonda by the English (Srinivasachari, *op.cit.*, p. 166).

For the next decade and a half, Neknām Khān discharged the onerous duties of ministership, displaying, during this period, miraculous powers in the management of the kingdom and restoring the splendour of the royal court and in the welfare of the subjects as well as the army. He was a man of great accomplishments and perfections, free from vile actions and base attributes like fraud, deceit, conceit and ego and the like, and had endeared himself to the men in the government and to the needy by his manliness, unbounded generosity, large-heartedness and abundant gifts. He was always in the company of the learned, the scholars, and the poet whom he patronised. He was particular about personal habits and was meticulously clean and tidy. In short, the historian says, he completely fulfilled the requisites of nobility and ministership and left his name to posterity.

Neknām Khān was not only a successful military and civil officer,

but was also a man of literary bent of mind. He was gifted with poetical talent and used to compose verses in Persian, some of which have been quoted by 'Alī Bustāmī in his work.³⁰ The latter had also composed a *mathnavī* poem in praise of the Khān extolling his virtues and achievements. He had also compiled at Neknām Khān's instance, a Glossary of the celebrated Persian epic *Shāh Nāma*, of which the Salar Jung Museum Library, Hyderabad, has a copy.³¹

A year before his death, Neknām Khān fell seriously ill. Suffering from physical ailment, weakness and infirmity, he distributed in compulsory and voluntary alms, 40,000 hons among the needy and the poor. He seems to have recovered. But after a year, he fell sick and lay on the bed of illness till he died on the 10th Dhu'l-Hijja 1082 (29th March 1672). Ibrāhīm Khādim composed a poem containing the date of his death, afforded by the phrase 'The Jesus of the Time went to heaven.'³²

30. 'Alī Bustāmī, *op.cit.*, 205 a.

31. *Fann-i-Nazm*, No. 840.

32. 'Alī Bustāmī, *op.cit.*, ff. 204b-205 a.

Neknām Khān must have been pretty old at the time of his death. As seen above, he was born before A.H. 1004 (1595-96 A.D.). His portraits in the British Museum, London, and Rijksprentenkabinet of Amsterdam show him to wear an emaciated look, a broad turban and a stick in one hand and a scroll or a small weapon in the other.³³

The great esteem in which Neknām Khān was held by the Qutb Shāhi king can be judged from the fact that when he died, he was laid to rest in the royal necropolis at Golkonda, where his open-enclosed square Tomb lies on the South-eastern corner of the terrace containing the Tombs of Ibrahim Qutb Shāh and Prince Muhammad Amin.³⁴ As stated above, the grave does not bear any epitaph, and the arch-shaped tablet bearing the copy of the Royal Farman is fixed at its headside. This may lead one to raise a doubt if the tablet actually belongs here or was set up elsewhere like the one at Chennā Mangalāram referred to above.

But such doubt, if at all, is baseless. For the Farman here starts with the phrase *هوالباقی* (He i.e. Allah is Eternal, which would fittingly mark the place of the tablet on a mortal's remains). Moreover, and this should be a decisive proof, at the end of the Farman, the date of the death of Neknām Khān is mentioned, which is not the case in the other copy of the Farman. This shows that this copy of the Farman was intended for the Tomb of Neknām Khān only.

Neknām Khān seems to have lent his name to a number of villages founded either by him or his subordinates and named after him like Neknamabad, Nekunamabad, Nekunamapeta, Nekumapura, Nekanapuram, Nekanamalli, etc., to be found in various parts of Andhra Pradesh. A bilingual inscription of the time of his commandership - in Persian and Telugu - referring to the construction of mosque, a fort and a step-well (ba in) has been found at Kaveripakkam in the North Arcot

33. The British Museum portrait is reproduced in Bilgrami, *op.cit.*, facing page 177; it has a scroll in the other hand. The Amsterdam portrait is reproduced in *Indian Arts and Letters*, vol. x (1936).

34. For a brief description of the Tomb, see *EIM*, 1915-16, p.38; Bilgrami, *op.cit.*, pp.175-76.

district of modern Tamil Nadu state.³⁵

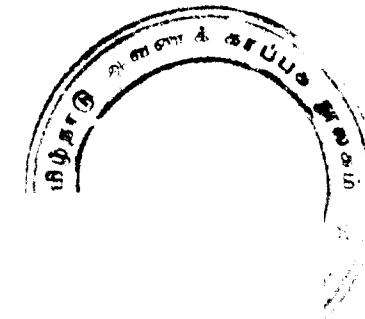
It will have been noticed that Nekkām Khān's father came of pure Iranian stock. His name as well as that of his father and grand father even tend to suggest their being the followers of a non-Islamic and very probably Zoroastrian creed. If so, Nekkām Khān might have got converted Islam, when still a child or a boy after the death of his father, not unlikely, to escape the wrath of the Iranian monarch. This might have been when he was perhaps compelled to live in obscurity without attracting attention from governmental agencies. This and of course his alleged descent from the Iranian hero Gustaham of legendary fame should partly explain his interest in the *Shāh Nāma*, for which he commissioned Ali Bustāmī to compile a glossary as seen above.

One Ridā Qulī, Silahdar (Armour-bearer) had presented a beau-

tiful copy of *Nal-Daman* (Persian version of *Nala - Damayanti*) of Akbar's poet - laureate Faidi to Muhammad Qutb Shah of Golkonda on the 10th Jumada II 1023 (8th July, 1614) according to the latter's autograph-note on the said manuscript.³⁶ It is difficult to say if this Ridā Qulī is identical with the Qutb Shāhi general of Karnatak and Chief Minister. The exact date and place of the latter's arrival in India is not recorded either by Ali Bustāmī or elsewhere. The first stage in his career in India is his taking up service of Mahābat Khān the Mughal Commander. But when and where this took place is also not known. The only thing we know definitely is the present state or our knowledge is that he was in Mahābat Khān's service till the latter's death in A.H. 1045 (1635-36 A.D.). But these two facts are not irreconcilable. Ridā Qulī might have first come to Hyderabad from Iran and enrolled himself in the Qutb Shāh's service before A.H. 1023 (1614 A.D.) the year in which

the copy of the *Nal Daman* was presented to the latter, and after some time, perhaps on the death of the latter in A.H. 1035 (1626 A.D.), he might have gone over to Mahābat Khān, then engaged in his Deccan campaign on behalf of the Mughal emperor. The time of his arrival in India before A.H. 1023 perfectly fits in with the known events in his career starting with the death of his father in A.H.

1004, ruin of his family and his wending his way to India. The commonly taken route to India in those days, as is well known, was through the Deccan or Gujarat ports and more often than not, Iranian visitors and immigrants who were well received at the Mughal court right from the time of Akbar had made their way there, via Ahmadnagar, Bijapur and Golkonda-Hyderabad.



35. The Telugu record, which was first listed in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy*, 1903, No. B-403, was published in *South Indian Inscriptions*, Volume x, p.400, No. 762. The Persian version, till now unpublished has been described in the present writer's article entitled 'A Note on the Telugu Inscription of 'Abdullāh Qutb Shāh from Kaveripakkam', *K.R. Srinivasan Felicitation Volume*, Madras.

36. A.H. Harley, 'Note on a Royal Autograph', *Muslim Review*, Calcutta, vol.3 (1928), pp.71-72.

THE STRUCTURE AND THE FUNCTION OF DAFTER-I-DARUL INSHA ASAFJAH NAWAB MIR NIZAM ALI KHAN

ZAIBUNNISA BEGUM *

ABSTRACT : Government officials — both in the districts and in the Secretariate, are familiar — too much to the comfort and patience of hapless petitioners —

what is known as the Tottenham System of maintenance of files and records. The celebrated Sir Charles Tottenham could have picked up a hint or two from the system described in this article.

Darul Insha is an Arabic phrase which means 'House of the Scribe'. It has been translated as chancellery by some modern

scholars.¹ In its literal sense, the phrase, *Darul-Insha* can appropriately be translated as the 'Office of the scribing', and in its

* **About the author:** Dr. Zaibunnisa Begum is working as Lecturer in Persian dept., Osmania University, Hyderabad - 500 007, (A.P. State).

1. Dr. Momin Mohiuddin, (Momin) *The Chancellery and Persian Epistolography under the Mughal's* Calcutta, (1971).

administrative sonse it can be defined as the office of the 'Private Secretary'. The Secretary (*Mir Munshi*) of the *Darul Insha* was a scribe or draftsman of a remarkable skill and distinction. However, the word epistolography has been employed by many modern scholars in the sense of *Insha*, so it has to be used as an equivalent in this study too.² Although the word chancellery means an office attached to embassy or consulate, according to the Oxford English Dictionary.³ *Darul Insha* was an office attached to any administrative Chief.

The *Darul Insha* is a classical institution, whose origin can be traced during the time of *Sasanies*. In *Sasanian* administration, the office of *Dabir bed*, or the chancellery was attached to the Emperor. That office dealt with the

diplomatic, political and administrative correspondence.⁴ The same office under *Abbasids* was called *Diwan-i-Tuqi*.⁵ During the *samanid* period, this institution was called *Diwani-i-Amid-ul-Mulk* according to Barthold, which was identical with the *Diwani-i-Rasial* or *Dewan-i-Insha*,⁶ The institution of *Darul Insha* was set up in India by *Mumluks* and was continued by the successors or the dynasty of *Mahmood Gawan*, who has dealt with this subject in his book *Riyaz-ul-Insha*.⁷

Asafjah-II, while reconstructing the Mughal administration in the Deccan during the second quarter of the eighteenth century set up a *Darul-Insha* also (in a manner of speaking an office of a Private Secretary). During this time this

2. *Persian Language and Literature during the Qutub Shahi Reign*, by Najma Siddiqua, an unpublished doctoral thesis Hyderabad (1973), p.17.
3. *Rafeeq Fatima Life and work of Musavi Khan Juraat* an unpublished Thesis of Dr. Rafeeq Fatima. Hyderabad (1975), p.15.
4. *The Chronology of Modern Hyderabad*, published by the State Archives, Hyderabad (1945), p. 141,154,55.
5. For details see *Momin III*.
6. *The social Structure of Islam*, by Reuban Levey, Cambridge (1957), p. 299. *Momin 6*.
7. *Riyaz-ul-Insha* by Khaja Mahmood Gawan, Hyderabad (1948), p.No. 58.

office had two wings, the upper wing dealt with the important matters relating to the formulation and enforcement of policies and correspondence with the emperor which was under the charge of Mosavi Khan Jurat and the lower wing⁸ was under Ram singh Munshi, dealing with a less important work.

Before dealing with the structure and function of the *Darul-Insha* under Mir Nizam Ali Khan, it would be appropriate to introduce the *Mir Munshi, I' tisam ul Mulk* who was incharge of the office, as well as the Chief Secretary of Mir Nizam Ali Khan in his *Darul Insha*. He was the descendent of Mir Mohammad Durwish who was in the retinue of Asafjah-I. Later, he was rewarded with the title of Mumtaz Jung Itisam-ud Daulah-Intisam-ul Mulk and was conferred with the *Sirpeech-i-Murassa*, Alam, Naqqarah, Palki-i-Jhalordar, Kanthi-i-Marwarid and Dast Band-i-Murassa.⁹

His contemporary critics like,

Shah Tajalli Ali, Makhan Lal and Mir Alam admired his skills in writing¹⁰ ornate prose. Raja Raghunath Rao was very much impressed with style of his writing and his good reputation. He received many favours and gifts from Raja Raghunath Rao,¹¹ as he was not only a good prose writer but also a good poet.¹²

CONTENTS

The records of the *Darul Insha* of Mir Nizam Ali Khan have been well preserved by the State Archives of Andhra Pradesh. The *Darul Insha* had been maintained by the family of *Itisam-ul-Mulk* and was transferred to the *Daftar-i-Dewani* (State Archives) in the year 1339 F./1930. A transfer list is still preserved by the family of *Itisam-ul Mulk*. It appears that the copy of the transfer list received by the *Daftar-i-Diwani* was split up and its parts are kept with each bundle of the record. This transfer has taken place according to a *Fureman* No. 339 dated 16th *Insafandayar* 1339/19 issued from the Political Department of the

Nizam. Obviously, the transfer list was not prepared according to the order of the *Daftar-i-Darul Insha* with its different branches and sections. The list is rather organised according to the nature of documents. The document of each category has been listed in chronological order. Apart from the records which have been separated by the State Archives from the *Darul Insha* and kept separately with the series of records artificially named as 'Asafjahi Historical Records', which were previously in a different order, now these are arranged category-wise and in chronological order. Various categories of documents with their call numbers and quantum are tabulated in three broad sections as

- Incoming mail.
- Inter-related papers
- Outgoing mail.

There are thirtytwo categories of documents. Each document under one category was assigned a decimal number. The categories of documents are as follows:

Firman, Akhbar, (news letters) Waqai, Haquiqat, Tahnamah, Iqrar namah, Ishtihar namah, Kharait, Khat, Suwal, Arzi, Qubiuliyat namah, Tahud namah, Muafinamah, Muchalkha, Iqrarnamah, Wajib-ul-Araz, Yaddasht, Jantri, Jamawasil Baqui, Goshwarah, Fihrist, Tajwiz-i-Alqab Alqabnamah, Arazdashat-i-Delhi, Inayatnamah, Sanad, Parvana, Takid, Ahkham, Qaulnamah Parwani, Dastur-ul-Amal, Nirkhnamah, Dastak, Dastak-i-arahdari, Chittih, Mathlubah, Qabzul-vasul, etc.

STRUCTURE

The *Darul Insha* of Mir Nizam Ali Khan was a continuity of the *Darul Insha* originally set up by his father Asafjahi-I in 1724.¹³ The Chief of office or *Mir Munshi* had to attend to all papers dealing with the policies, while the papers pertaining to the detailed administration were attended by assistants or *Madadgar*.¹⁴ *Madadgar Munshis* were, *Munshi Azizullah*,¹⁵ *Munshi Girdhari Lal*.¹⁶ *Munshi Aurang Lal*.¹⁷ The *Mir*

8. For details see Farsi, *Adab Ba Ahd-i-Aurangab* by Nooral Hasan Ansari. Delhi (1968) p.399.

9. *Yadgar-i-Mutasami*, Hyderabad by Motisam Jang and 'Tuzak-i-Asafiah' by Shah, Tajalli Ali, Hyderabad 1310 H.P.283. *Haquqat-ul-Alam* Vol. No.I, by Mir Alam, Hyderabad 1309 H. P.358, 376. *Yadgar* p.166.

10. *Ibid* - 167.

11. *Ibid* 172

12. *Ibid* - 175.

13. *Life and work of Musavi Khan Jurat* by Dr. Rafeeq Fatima, p.15. *Risalai-i-Darbar-i-Asaf*, Hyderabad 1308 H, by Mans a Ram p.15.

14. 11.1045.

15. 2.338

16. *Ibid*.

17. 11.1045

Munshi and his assistants were further helped by Muharrir and Muttasadis. This staff was helped by Calligraphers with skill in Nastaliq Naskh and Shikista. In addition to this staff, there were Muhar Bardars, Qalamdan Bardar and a good number of Harkaras under the control of Daroghai Harkaras.

It was a peculiar feature of the administration under the Asafjah that 'Mamas' or maid servants would carry oral orders or messages from the Nizams to administrators who took formal orders in black and white based on such oral messages. These mamas were performing important administrative duties day and night. They were addressed with respect and the ceremonial forms of their addresses were maintained in the Darul Insha.¹⁸ In addition to mamas, there were other female servants of a lower category who were called *Asil*.¹⁹ The mamas were living in the style of nobles and had their own political residences, called *Devdies*.²⁰

The *Darul Insha* also had a large number of watchmen, called *pahradar*.

PROCEDURE.

The incoming mail was received at different levels of administration. The mail of the highest significance was received by the Nizam himself. The mail of a routine nature was received by the *Mir Munshi* of his staff. The mail of high significance, such as, the mail coming from the court of Delhi, British Governor, Marathas or the nobles of high ranks was opened by the Nizam. The ordinary mail was opened by the *Madarul Maham* or Prime Minister. Normally, the covers and tapes were not destroyed, as these were attached to the documents and entry was made by the Darul Insha.

The administrative action on the incoming mail was taken in two ways. Ordinarily, the Nizam and his first Minister would write

his decision on the mail itself. The decision would be either the final settlement of the case or an interim order. Secondly, the Nizam did not pass any orders right on the incoming mail till it was properly processed by *Darul Insha*. This processing mainly entailed the preparation of an office note called *Wajib-ul-Arz*.

FAIR COPYING

After a decision had been taken on an incoming mail or an office note, the next stage was to put up the final document to be issued to the parties concerned. The office procedure was mechanical and traditional. After the final action on a case it was not necessary to prepare a draft of an out-going paper. Of course, for quite a few documents such as *Tahnama*, *Inayathnama*, *Dastak*, *Ahkam*, *Sanad*, *Parwana*, *Rasid*, etc., drafts were prepared.

The outgoing copies were prepared in different styles of writing. Important letters were written in beautiful *Nastaliq* or *shafia* on gold sprinkled papers. The documents of grants like *Sanad*, *Parwanah*, *Waulnamah*, *Tahud*, were also written in *Nastaliq*. When a fair copy of an outgoing document was prepared, it was sent to Muhar Bardar, who would affix a proper seal on the

document on its cover.

When a final copy of an outgoing document was prepared, it could be despatched by handing over it to the concerned party after receiving an acknowledgement.

We can find the effect of Marathi, Hindi, Telugu and Kannada languages on the Persian documents of *Daftar-i-Darul-Insha*. Many administrative terms were used in Marathi, Hindi and Telugu like, *Chauth*, *Sardesh Mukhi*, *Deshmukh*, *Deshpande Chitthi*, *Pakhawan*, *Naib Karora*, *Jama Bandi*, *Pandit*, *Pardhan*, *Muchalka*, *Sahukar*, *Sarkar*, *Naik*, *Pargana*, *Huns*, *Handivi*, *Naikwari*, *Kanthi*, *Palki*, *Zamindar*, etc., The *Darul Insha* of Mir Nizam Ali Khan dealt with all open and secret matters. These may be classified under the following categories:

- Political and diplomatic
- Private and personal
- Administrative
- Matters pertaining to Accounts

The bulk of documents consisted of the incoming mail, inter-official papers and out going mail. Each of these categories of documents involved all the disciplines indicated above. The

18. For details see *Alquabnama of Darul Insha*.

19. In the city of Hyderabad still there are palaces called 'Devdi' such as the Devdi of Mama Jamali, Mama Ramzani at Rainbazar and Chanchalguda.

20. Wilson 34. In the city of Hyderabad (see the above note)

administrative routine and office procedures were simpler and effective. These documents indicated considerable degree of procedural perfection. The records of the *Darul Insha* reflect on a variety of aspects of the history of the later half of the eighteenth century through these documents. These may be tabulated as below:

- Letters from the court of Delhi²¹
- Political and diplomatic relations of the Nizam with the British East India Company and British Government.²²
- Relation of the Nizam with Marathas.²³
- Relation of the Nizam with Asaf-ud-Daulah (Mir Amani)

- Nawaban-i-Lucknow and Awadh.²⁴
- Relation of Nizam with Arcot and Mysore²⁵

ADMINISTRATIVE

- Assignments of Jagir and their administration.²⁶
- Certain grants like Mansab Jagir and Inam²⁷
- Settlement²⁸
- Maintenance of animals, horses, elephants etc.²⁹
- Maintenance of certain *Harkaras*³⁰
- Police arrangement for certain places by appointing *Chowkis*.³¹
- Postings³²

- 21. 1 to 1.24
- 22. 5.61, 5.62, 5.157, 5.150, 5.203.
- 23. 5.196, 5.619, 5.382.
- 24. 5.169, 5.619.
- 25. 5.382.
- 26. 5.375, 5.357, 5.399.
- 27. 5.374, 5.438, 5.440.
- 28. 2.74, 2.101, 2.184.
- 29. 11.605, 11.30, 11.1287, 11.31, 11.203.
- 30. 11.262, 11.642.
- 31. 20.50, 20.248.
- 32. 11.609, 11.1606, 11.1505

- Grant of leave of certain persons.³³
- Reinstatement of certain person.³⁴
- Retrenchment of certain persons and troops³⁵
- Administration of Troops.³⁶
- Repair of ship.³⁷
- Permission for killing horses.³⁸

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL

- Grant of advances for social functions, such as marriages, Bismillah, *Zunnar Bandi* (Thread ceremony), Birth day, etc.³⁹
- Congratulations.⁴⁰
- Conferring Robes of Honours to the Nobles.⁴¹

- 33. 11.1549, 11.570.
- 34. 11.1683, 11.699.
- 35. 11.336, 20.5, 20.278, 20.238.
- 36. 11.336, 28.73.
- 37. 20.116, 20.317, 20.318, 20.315.
- 38. 20.256, 20.99.
- 39. 20.153, 20.54, 20.46, 11.264.
- 40. 20.311.
- 41. 20.153, 20.312, 20.83.
- 42. 20.256, 20.283.

- Exchange of Gifts.⁴²
- Sending money to *Darghas* and receiving *Tabbaruk* from them *Ud-wa-gul*.⁴³
- Grants to the temples and *Jatra*.⁴⁴
- Courtesy visits for condolence.⁴⁵
- The affairs of the Harem of the Nizam.⁴⁶
- Social Functions and Festivals.⁴⁷

ACCOUNTS

- Issue of *Tamassuk*⁴⁸ and *Chitti*.⁴⁹
- Settlement of *Jamabandi* and collection of *Mahsul*.⁵⁰
- Collection of *Rusume*, *Sardesh Mukhi* and *Chowth*.⁵¹

- 43. 11.1656, 11.1187, 11.1296.
- 44. Ibid.
- 45. 20.104, 20.105,
- 46. 20.105.
- 47. 20.153, 20.83
- 48. 11.1405, 11.281.
- 49. 11.614, 11.616, 11.615, 11.296, 11.349.
- 50. 11.1751, 11.278.
- 51. Ibid.

- Issue of receipt for Peshkash.⁵²
- Issue of Salaries.⁵³
- Purchase of animals and grains.⁵⁴
- Grant of money for the expenditure of *sihbandi* and the arrangement of staff.⁵⁵
- Returning and taking of hand loan (Dast garden)⁵⁶
- Arrangement of the *Jama-*

wa-Kharch of the *Muhalat*.⁵⁷

- Monetary help to different persons.⁵⁸

So far as the volume of the records of *Darul Insha* is concerned, they afford first rate evidence for many aspects of the history of the eighteenth century Deccan. These records are inter-related and are the primary sources of Deccan history in the Persian Language.

* * * *

52. 11.1744, 11.645.

53. 11.652.

54. 11.1287, 11.863.

55. 11.1616, 11.290, 11.1407.

56. 11.66, 11.70, 11.1711, 11.373.

57. 4.690, 11.694.

58. 20.28, 20.33, 20.46.

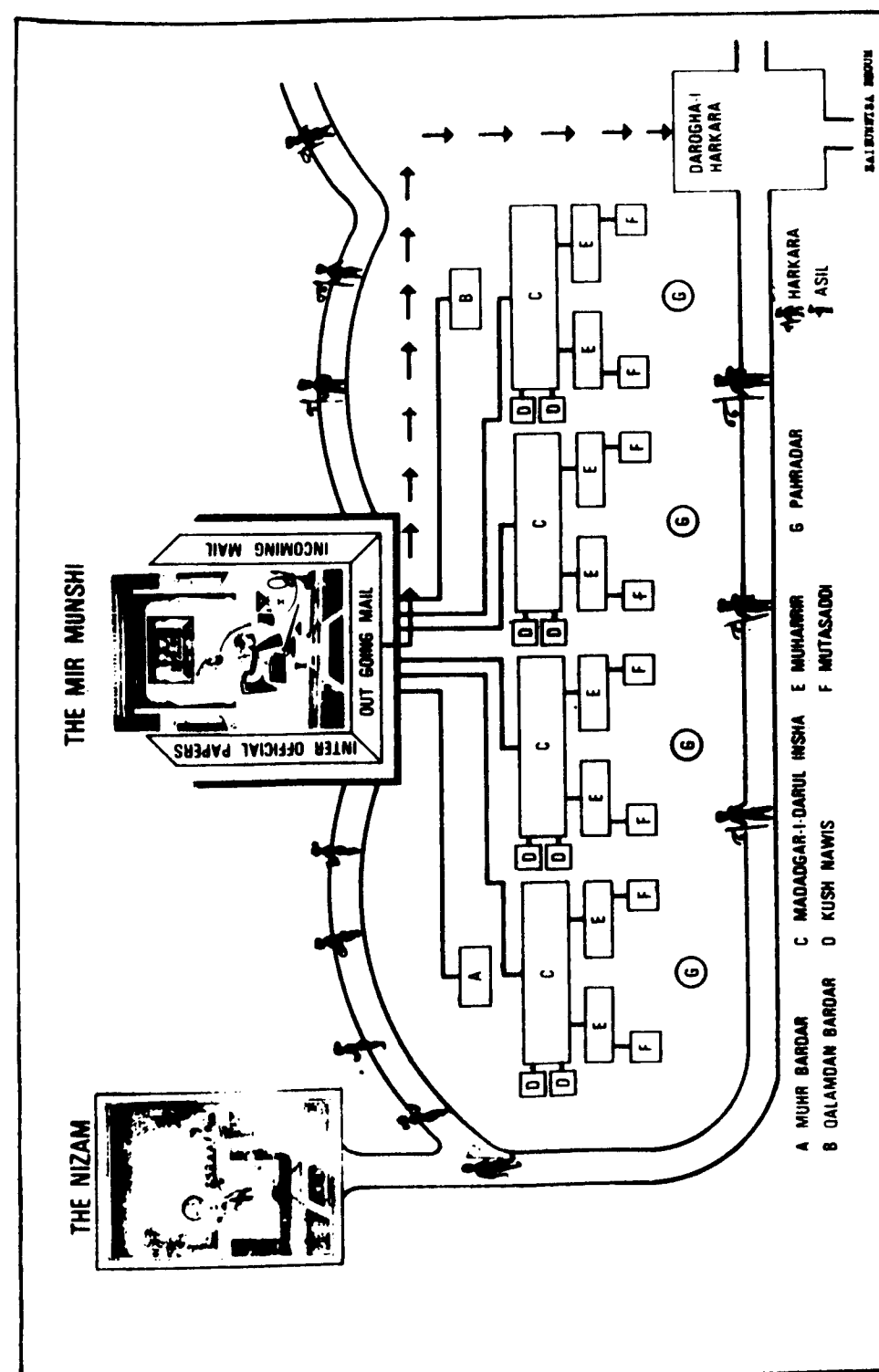
All the documents of the *Darul Insha* are given decimal numbers. The above decimal numbers refer to the documents.



NAWAB MIR NIZAM ALI KHAN (1762 - 1803 AD)
Mama presenting Kharita before Nawab Nizam Ali Khan



MIR MUNSHI, I'TISHTISAMU-UL-MULK.
NAWAB MIR NIZAM ALI KHAN (1762 - 1803 AD)



THE STRUCTURE OF DARUL INSHA

grants were reverted to the state on the death of the grantee. The Muslim rulers also continued this custom of granting beneficial tenures for various purposes and these were called "*Jagirs*."³

As the temple has always been considered a spiritually active centre to these having faith resort generally at initial periods of their lives. Their visits and offerings were more for relief from troubles or for the achievements of their aims in life. Such offerings held the support of religious institutions and for services connected therewith.⁴ Temples of India are serviced by a variety of peoples. *Acharyapurushas* or priests, drummers, pipers, gardeners, dancers and the like. They offered their services and were assigned

some part of temple land and also limited share in the daily *prasadams*. *Devadasi* service was one amongst them.

According to *Agamas*, at a certain stage of the puja, music and dancing should accompany the *Kumbhaharati*. During the street processions at important place and at street corners there should be music and dancing. Before the deity is taken back into the temple from the *Vahanam*, *Kumbhaharati* should be offered by the whole party including the temple damsels.⁵ According to the Hindu texts, there were seven types of *devadasis*. The *devadasis* in our temples came under the category of *Rudraganika* or *Gopika* who were employed to sing and dance.⁶

Dancing girls dedicated to the

3. Krishna Swamy, *Rural Problems in the Madras*, Monograph, (Madras, 1947), pp. 58-59

4. T.K.T. Viraraghava charya, *History of Tirupati, 1950-1830*, (Tirupati, 1954), Vol.II, p.677

5. *Ibid*: pp. 677-678

6. According to Sanskrit works, there were seven classes of *dasis* namely *Datta* or one who gives herself as a gift to a temple; *Vikrita* or one who offers herself as a temple servant for the prosperity of her family; *Bhakta* or one who joins a temple out of devotion; *Hrita* or one who is enticed away and presented to a temple; *Alankara* or one who is well trained in her profession and is profusely decked land as such presented to a temple by kings and noblemen, and *Rudraganoka* or *Gopika* who receive regular wages from a temple and are employed to sing and dance. Ananta Krishna Iyer, L.K. *Devadasis in South India: Their Traditional Origin and Development*, Sarat Chandra Ray (Ed.) *Man in India Ranchi*, (1927), Vol.VI., pp. 47-52.

usual profession of the caste, are formally married in a temple to a sword or a God, the *tali* being tied round their necks by some men of their caste. *Devadasis* being consecrated to God were to maintain lifelong celibacy.⁷ This system prevailed among the sections of South Indian society. They were called by various names in different regions. In the Andhra region they were called *Bogama*, *Sanis* and *Kalavanthulu*.⁸

Devadasis gained prominence in temples on account of their skill in *Bharatanatya*. They derived a profitable trade under sanction of religion and some courtesans had made great fortunes. In Tirumala,

during the reign of Achyutaraya, there were some notable women of the *devadasi* class, who made series of endowments for food offerings, worship and other works of charity. In some places, bridges, tanks and other works of public utility owe their existence to the liberality of this class.⁹

In the South Indian inscriptions, it was found that the great Chola temple of Tanjore had four hundred women of this type who lived in free quarters in the four streets around it, and were allowed tax-free land out of the endowments during the reign of Raja Raja.¹⁰ In the Vijayanagara period it was during the reigns of

7. Closely allied to the *devadasis* are the *Basavis*. The *Basavi* is often a female child dedicated to a predominantly local deity by the child's parents. This dedication was due to the vow of her parents when they desired to have a male child or to obtain a cure for themselves and their children or a relief from an impending calamity. The *Basavi* was considered as the wife of the particular deity, to whom she had been dedicated. C.P. Brown considered her to be "a female dedicated in infancy to Siva as a prostitute". The *Basavi* system was practiced mostly by the *Madiga* - a scheduled caste of Andhra. This system is found in Chittoor, Anantapur and Kurnool districts and sporadically in Nellore and Circar districts. See Rajyalakshmi P. *The Basavis in Chittoor District of Andhra Pradesh*. *Man in India*, Vol.No.56, pp. 341-348. In several places of Andhra Pradesh, *Basavis* are known as *Matangi*, and this system still prevails in several parts of Andhra such as Bapatla, Tenali, Chebrolu, Sattenapalle, Narasaraopet etc. See Murty, D.B.S.R.Ch. *Acharam Kosam Jeevithanni Pettina Matangi, Andhra Jyothi* (Telugu Daily) (dated May 8, 1983).

8. Sadasivan, *Growth of Public Opinion in the Madras Presidency, 1858-1909*, (University of Madras) (1947) p.120

9. Veeraraghavachari, *Op.cit.*, p.679.

10. *Man in India*, Vol.VII. p.48.

Sadasivaraya and Achyutaraya large number of damsels acquired prominence and lived in the service of God at Tirumala¹¹. In the beginning of the nineteenth century, there were a hundred dancing girls attached to the temple at Kancheepuram, who were kept for the honour of the deities and the amusements of the votaries¹². Thus, in former times the profession was contemned both by the temple and the State.

Even though their skills in dancing and singing had done something to keep these arts alive, the notion that the devadasis were known to be prostitutes, percolated to the arts they practiced, and made them distasteful to respectable women. Sometimes, these girls were taken as concubines and some people regarded the possession of large number of concubines as a status

symbol.¹³ Lack of patronage and other economic reasons made them to lead what could be called a loose life and the art they practised itself came to be considered immoral and vulgar.¹⁴

The British rule in India brought noticeable changes in the cultural and social fabric of life. This period witnessed several upheavals and reform movements. It was in such an atmosphere the movement against nautch was begun by missionaries and nourished by Brahma Samajists and other social reformers. This later on paved the way for the antinautch movement. Several European persons like Josephine Butler and Miss Tenant started a crusade against this practice of viciousness and launched an attack on *devadasi* system and its art Bharatanya.¹⁵ A vigorous campaign was launched to put an end to this practice.

11. Veeraraghavachari, op.cit., p. 680.

12. *Man in India*. (Vol. VII), p.48

13. O'Malley, L.S.S. (Ed.) *Modern India and the West* (1941), pp.150 — 153

14. Kailasanath, *Bharatanatya — Its Trials and Triumph* Ekanath Ranade (Ed.), *The Indian Renaissance* Vivekananda Kendra Patrika, (Madras, 1978) Vol. 7, No. 1, Feb.1, (1978) p.62.

15. Putali Krishnamurthy, *The Changing Condition of Women In India*, Hyderabad, (1980), p.225.

Due to the efforts of persons like K. Viresalingam Pantulu (1848-1919) and R. Venkataratnam Naidu (1861-1939), there was new awakening among the *devadasi* community, people like Yamini Purnatilakam, Ramatilakam, Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddy, Chakradhara Rao and the like started their own association to discuss their problems. Mahatma Gandhi extended the support for the emancipation of the *devadasi* system.¹⁶ Serious discussions were held in the Madras Legislative Assembly for the upliftment of that caste and for the abolition of the *devadasi* system.

In such an atmosphere due to the efforts of Smt. Muthulakshmi Reddy, the Hindu Religious Endowments Act, 1926, was passed to control and direct the management of the temples for the good of the public. Accordingly the *devadasi* community was freed from temple service by giving a portion of *inam* lands of the temple on quit rent to their families. They were not allowed any exchange,

gift, sale or mortgage of the same or any portion thereof for a term exceeding five years.¹⁷ In course of time, necessary amendments were made to the act.¹⁸

The Act however, did not apply in its true perspective as the Zamindari areas and the city of Madras were excluded from its purview.¹⁹ The temple at Tirumala was under the administration of the Mahant, and the Government allowed him to have his own way in this matter. In the following paragraphs an account of *devadasi* inams in Chittoor District is presented.

In Chandragiri *taluk*, there were two temples which came under the purview of the Act. At Mangalampet in the Prasanna Venkateswara Swamy temple, Amaravathamma was the *devadasi* and was assigned 13 acres of dry land and 5½ acres of wet land. In Lakshminarasimhaswamy temple at Kallur Village, Rajamma was

16. Vaikuntam, Y. *Education and Social Change in South India, Andhra, 1980 — 1920*, (Madras, 1982), p. 143

17. *The Madras Code*, (Madras, 1941), Vol. IV. pp. 151-154

18. G.O.No.2597, Revenue Department, 13 December, 1929

19. G.O.No. 1301, Revenue Department, 16 June, 1981

the *devadasi* and she was given 4 acres of wet and 11 acres of dry land.

In Madanapalle taluk, five temples came under the purview of the act. In Sangameswaraswamy temple at Sodem Bogam Eswari was the inam holder and one acre of wet and $5\frac{1}{2}$ acres of dry land was assigned to her. In Chennakesava-swamy temple at Katragallu, even though no *devadasi* service was rendered by the ladies, the *inam* was assigned to men, the successors of the former *devadasi*. Bogam Narayana, Bogam Munigadu and Bogam Subbarayudu were the inam holders and four acres of wet and 14 acres of dry land was under their possession. In Lakshmi Narasimhaswamy temple at papepalli, Bogam Papa and Venkataramani were the inam holders and $20\frac{1}{2}$ acres of dry and one acre wet land were assigned to them. Bogam Narayana was the *devadasi* in the temple at Kurabalakota village.

In punganur taluk, six villages came under the purview of the Act. In Sri Prasanna Venkateswara Swamy Temple at Avulapalle, Vandavasi Thangamma was the *devadasi* and seven acres of wet and 18 acres of dry land was assigned to her. In Chambakur village there were two

temples, i.e., Ghatti Venkatramana swamy temple and Lokanatha swamy temple in which Gangoji and Bogam Ganga were the *devadasis* and Bogam Rangappa was the male assistant as well as the *inamdar* along with other two *devadasis*. In Chowdepalli village Venkata Muniamma, Muni Venkati and Nimmanapu Parvathy were the *devadasis* in Avaloketeswara swamy temple and they were assigned 6 acres of dry land together. In Venugopalaswamy temple in the same village Sundari and Venkati were the female *inamdars*, and Narayudu was the male *inamdar* and $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres of wet land was assigned to them. In Amuteswaraswamy temple at Kandoor Pasupuleti Lakshmakka and Pasupuleti Seetha were the female *inamdars* and Pasupuleti Venkataramudu was the male *inamdar* and they were assigned 9 acres of dry and 3 acres of wet land. In Konetirayaswamy temple at Kulapatta, Subbaratnamma and Venkataratnamma were the *inamdars* and $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres of wet and 20 acres of dry land was assigned to them. In Kasivisweswaraswamy temple at Nekkondi, Chengi and Parvathy were the *inamdars* and six acres of dry and one acre of wet land was assigned to them.

In Vayalpad taluk five temples came under the purview of the Act. In Eswaraswamy temple

at Enugondapolieum Bogam Adilakshmi was the *inamdar* and $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres of dry and a quarter of an acre of wet land was assigned to her. She also rendered service in some other nearby temples such as Lakshminarasimhaswamy temple and Agastiswara temple at Parapatla and Chennakesava-swamy temple at Gyarampalle. She was assigned three acres of wet and 16 acres of dry land. In Kasivisweswaraswamy temple at piler, Bogam Lakshmi was the *inamdar* and was given two acres of dry and one acre of wet land. In the Chennakesavaswamy temple of Bommayyagaripalli village all the *inamdars* were male members and probably were brothers. P. Venkatramaiah, P. Siddatah and P. Chinnappa enjoyed 8 acres of dry and 2 acres of wet land.

In Chittoor taluk seven temples came under the purview of the Act, but the particulars of the land assigned to them is not available. In Aragonda village, there were two temples i.e. Kodandaramaswamy temple and Venugopalaswamy temple. In Kodandaramaswamy temple, Seshamma and Parvathamma were the *inamdars*, as the both were dead their successor Bhagirathamma got the *inam* lands. She was also the *inamdar* of Sri Venugopalaswamy temple along with male *inamdars* Gurumurthy for Mrudangam,

Venkataswami for thalam and Ramalingam for music. In Kasiviswanatha Swamy temple at Paradonami village Bogam Kamalam and Bogam Sundari were the *inamdars*. In Varadarajaswamy temple at Kalepalli, Subbalakshmi Ammal and Ammaniamma were the *inamdars*. In Sri Lakshmi Narayanaswamy temple of Pullur, Chinni was the *inamdar*. In Polakala village Bogam Manichengalrayudu, Bogam chinnalakshmi, Bogam Muni and Bogam Ramachandra were the *Inamdars* in the Lakshmi-narayanaswamy temple. The *inamdars* probably were brothers and sisters. In the temple at Chintapenta village, Bogam Rajamma was the *inamdar*.

In conclusion, the following facts are noticed regarding the *devadasi inams* in Chittoor district.

The *inamdars* occasionally were males, enjoying the *inams* of land eventhough the *devadasi* service was not rendered in the preceeding years of resumption of *inams* by the Government. There are instances where one *devadasi* used to render service in more than one temple as the temples were located in and around her native village. Government collected the opinions of village elders, trustees of the temples and

Karnams (village accountants: hereditary at one stage) in the matter of assignments and in majority cases, they did not support the claims of *devadasis* and favoured the resumption of the land in the name of God and requested to place it under the charge of the trustees of the temple. Mahajars (petitions) were also sent by the trustees of the temple at Gundloor, the ryots of Gundloor and the ryots of Mahalrajupalle objecting to the enfranchisement of the *inam* in the

name of Bogam Ademmma on the ground that the land was granted for the support of the temple at Gundloor, and hence the land was registered in the name of deity. There is a great variation in the land assigned to the *devadasis* who used to depend upon the income derived on the *manyams* of the temple. It may also be noticed that in several cases two or more *devadasis* shared the *inam* due to the fact that they were either sisters or mother and daughter.

IMAGES OF NATARAJA SIVA ON ORISSAN TEMPLE WALLS: AN OVERVIEW

RAM CHANDRO MISRO*

ABSTRACT : Dance and religion have always had a close inter — relationship in the Hindu cult. The cosmic nature attributed to the celebrated dance of Siva is well known. In this well-documented

article, the author analyses the various dance sculptures in the temples in Orissa and their philosophical import. The origin and growth of Saivism in Orissa has also been touched upon.

Dance has always served as an important motif for ornamental sculpture in Indian temples. There are temples in every part of India, and the extent to which the dance theme dominates them is

indicative of the close relationship that has all along subsisted between dancing and religion in this country.¹ And, Orissa is exceptionally rich both in temples and in dance sculptures.

** About the author: Mr. Rama Chandro Misro is a lecturer in history at Berhampur University, Orissa. His fields of interest include cultural history of ancient and medieval India. He is a member interalia of the Indian History Congress, Indian Academy of Social Sciences, Institute of Historical Studies, Calcutta and American Studies Research Centre.*

1. *Marg*, Vol. XIII, (March 1960 No.2), p.8

The first glimpse of the dance is given by Lord Siva. The Hindu philosophers have conjured up the course of the universe as an expression of the Cosmic-Dance.² Siva himself is the eternal Cosmic-Dancer,³ and among the greatest of his names is Nataraja, the Lord of dancers and Actors. According to Maheswara Mohapatra's *Abhinaya Chandrika*, (12th century A.D.), the art of dance was created by Lord Siva.⁴ He is the Supreme Yogi whose Dance visualises the unity of Being. He is the creator, preserver, and the Final Hope of man, whose dance radiates all movement within the Cosmos and lifts humanity from the temporal to the eternal realities.⁵ It is against such a deeply philosophical and religious background that the dance traditions originated and developed in India.

The largest number of temples at Bhubaneswar is

dedicated to Siva. Apart from enshrining a *Linga* as the object of worship, these temples display an array of images on the exterior. Most of them are Saivaite in character.⁶ These images represent Siva in his various forms. Some times episodes from Saivite mythology are also depicted. Thus, Bhubaneswar being a city of Saivite temples, it is understandable that the Nataraja theme has found extensive representation in the sculptures here.

It is not known how and when Saivism came to Orissa. Scholars have diverse opinions regarding the origin of Saivism in Orissa. From the study of numismatical and archaeological evidences, some hold the view that Saivism flourished in Orissa shortly after the beginning of the Christian era.⁷ This is again corroborated from the fact of an important

discovery of a Nataraja image from Asanpat in Keonjhar district. From the above discovery it is believed to be an oldest image which has been brought to light so far and is assigned to the third or the fourth century⁸ A.D. Thus it has been safely believed that Saivism flourished in Orissa shortly after the beginning of the Christian era.

To others, the rise and growth of Saivism in Orissa can be historically gleaned from the Mauryan period on the basis of epigraphic and literary evidences.⁹ It is learnt from the *Rajatarangini* that Jalauka, son of Asoka, was a Saivite. Possibly, Asoka himself was a Saivite before he embraced Buddhism.¹⁰ Under Asoka both the Buddhist and the Brahmanical schools are well known to have received due patronage. Thus, in pursuance of the policy of his religious toleration, Asoka might have extended patronage to

Saivism in Orissa.¹¹

After Asoka, as is known from the Hatigumpha Inscription, Kharavela patronised the religious faith of the orthodox Jaina school as well as the heterodox Brahmanical school. The Hatigumpha Inscription further says that he constructed temples of Brahmanical gods and goddesses. Bhubaneswar being a Saiva Kshetra, it is believed that Saivism must have received due patronage from Kharavela.¹² Subsequently, Siva worship became popular and in the hundreds of temples scattered all over Orissa, Siva was worshipped in the phallic form under various names. The various forms of Siva noticed in the sculptures of Orissa Temple walls are nothing but fine representations of Orissa art.

The tempo of temple-building that had been initiated by the Buddhist Bhaumas, was accelerated by the equally zealous Brahminic Kesaris. It is they who

2. Shanti Swarup, *5000 years of Arts and Crafts in India and Pakistan*, Bombay (1968), p.170

3. *Ibid*

4. *The Illustrated Weekly of India*, Vol.90, (July 20, 1969), p. 49; Also see *Marg*, Vol.XIII, (March 1960 No.2), p.16

5. Shanti Swarup, *Op.cit.*, p.170

6. *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, Vol.XII, (1978-79), p.83

7. *Proceedings of the Orissa History Congress*, Berhampur, (1977), p.47

8. *Orissa Historical Research Journal*, Vol.XIII, No.2, (July 1965), p.1.

9. *Orissa Review*, (Jan. 1987), p.14

10. *Ibid*

11. *Ibid*

12. *Ibid*

turned Bhubaneswar into the glorious Cathedralcity that it has ever remained down to this day. And on all the temple walls of Bhubaneswar, the discerning onlooker may find innumerable sculptures of dances of both the male and female varieties. Orissa's own variety of Nataraja Siva, distinct from the well-known south Indian one, may be found on almost every temple of Bhubaneswar. Being Siva worshippers, the Kesaris had absolutely no religious scruple in taking up the threads of dance and music as rites, which had previously been accepted by the Buddhists in their *Viharas*.¹³ For, unlike the Buddha, his Hindu 'counterpart', Siva, the new national deity of Orissa, was a master-dancer himself, frequently depicted as regaling men and gods with dances, either solo or in the company of his consort, Parvati.¹⁴ To many he is Nataraja, the Lord of

dancers.

In the temple city of Bhubaneswar, we find a number of nataraja sculptures occupying the front facades of the temples. These Nataraja images are strikingly different from the other South Indian types¹⁵ and have been represented in various poses. These figures date back from the 4th to the 12th century A.D. and remind us of a special school of dancing.¹⁶

The Orissa image of Nataraja has been carved in various poses by various hands. Most of the Natarajas occupying the front facades of temples are ten-armed.¹⁷ The Nataraja depicted on the walls are two-armed, four-armed, and six-armed.¹⁸ The Nataraja as of the Lingaraj Temple and the Jagannath Temple of Bhubaneswar and Puri

respectively, are six-armed. In all cases, the foot rests in *Suchi Pada*.¹⁹ (right foot resting on the point of the toe). Thus the images of nataraja, of Siva as the Lord of dancers is a frequently occurring motif in the temple art of Bhubaneswar. By their prolific appearance, artistic excellence and several significant varieties, the Nataraja images constitute a remarkable series in the art of Bhubaneswar. In Orissa too, like other parts of India, Siva is represented in diverse forms, which indicate the nature of Saivite worship.²⁰

The *Tandava* form of dance has been described in certain manuscripts in Oriya, such as the *Abhinaya Chandrika*, *Shaiba Karanagam*, *Anshubhedagama* and *Saudhikagam*. Apart from the seven principal and generally recognised modes of Siva's dance, namely, the *Ananda*, *Kalika*, *Gauri*, *Parvati*, *Sandhya*, *Tripura*, and *Samhara Tandavas*, certain other forms of Tandavas dance,

such as Saumya, Brahma, Nandi, Ahi and Bignesha are also listed and described in these texts.²¹ Almost all these 'Tandavas' are represented in Orissan temple sculpture, the temples of Parasurameswara and Mukteswara being especially rich in this regard.²²

Siva is represented as Bhairava in the 64 Yogini temple at Hirapur²³ (near Bhubaneswar). He looks awesome in appearance with his emaciated body, sunken belly, matted hair and fighting post, he wears a garland of skulls and holds a skull cup. The *Kapalikas* considered Bhairava as the creator, preserver and destroyer of the Universe and believed that all other gods were subsequent and subservient to him.²⁴

Siva is depicted as performing the *Tandava* dance in the middle of the enclosure in 64 Yogini temple at Ranipur-Jharial (near Titilagarh).²⁵ He has three heads

13. Dr. M. Mansimha, *The Saga of the Land of Jagannatha*, Cuttack, p.127.

14. *Ibid*

15. *The March of India*, Vol.XIII, No.2 (Feb. 1961), p.14

16. *Ibid*

17. *Side lights on History and Culture of Orissa*, Ed.M.N.Das, p.784.

18. *Ibid*

19. *Ibid*

20. A.P. Shah, *Life in Medieval Orissa*, (1976), p.177

21. *Marg*, Vol.XIII, (March 1960 No.2), p.15

22. *Ibid*

23. *The Journal of Orissan History*, Vol.II, (Jan. 1981 No.1), p.7

24. T.A.G. Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, II, 1, 27, 177.

25. *The Journal of Orissan History*, Vol.II, (Jan.1981, No.1), p.7

signifying his three aspects as stated above. He is shown with *penis erectus* indicating his erotic aspect. The open arena within the two Yogini temples, surrounded by a circular wall on all sides, was possibly used by the *Kapalikas* for sexo-yogic practices.²⁶

Of the various *Tandava* sculptures found at Bhubaneswar, some are of unusual merit and, therefore, deserve special attention. The three cognate temples of Vaital, Markandeswara and Sisireswara carry identical carvings of nataraja on their front facades. In each case, the figure is enclosed in a circular *Chaitya* window which has a beaded border.²⁷ The frontal *ratha* of the Parasurameswara temple carries a powerful representation of the *Ananda Tandava*; but in this, curiously, the left hand is used to signify 'protection', and not the right hand as generally is the case.²⁸ Again, the temples of Brahmeswara and Sobhaneswara, both at Bhubaneswar, also carry carvings of Nataraja, which are

noteworthy. Further, it is important to note that a damaged figure of probably twelve-handed Nataraja is still preserved in a *Kanika* niche on the northern wall of the Bharateswara temple.²⁹ Two images of four-handed dancing Nataraja appear on the Brahmeswara temple. One of them holds a long *vina* with two hands, and the other, a snake over the head. *Nandi* is to be seen in both of them.

Several images of Nataraja are found in the Parasurameswara temple also, but, unfortunately, they have all been badly damaged. Moreover the poses and attributes shown by the hands vary in the different representations in the same temple. But certain characteristics to be found in the image in the Mukteswara compound, are also to be found in the Parasurameswara specimens.³⁰ Like the former, the god holds a snake over the head with the uppermost two hands, and also shows similar poses with the hands and legs.³¹ But in the

Parasurameswara group, the god is nowhere shown with the *vina* nor in association with *Ganesa* or an attendant with musical instruments.³² Thus, the outer walls of the temples like Gupteshwar, Brahmeshwar and Parasurameswara were carved with artistic dancing figures of Siva in form of Nataraja in *Lalita Tandava* style.³³

The figure of Nataraja on the western facade of the Parasurameswara temple can be called a masterpiece unexcelled by any of later temples. Unfortunately, the image is badly damaged except the face, which is expressive of calm and meditative attitude of mind. The figure has ten hands, in the upper two of which was held a snake, as in case of the Nataraja figure of the Badami cave.³⁴ One of the right hands is shown in *simhakarna* pose, another in *danda-hasta*

mudra whilst the third holds a snake. However, it is interesting to note that there is no bull, or figure of Parvati or *apasmara purusha* below the feet.³⁵

Again in one sunken panel on the southern wall of the porch of this temple, there is a fine figure of Nataraja *ardhanariswara*.³⁶ Very seldom do we find *Ardhanariswara* Siva in dancing form. The figure is six-handed, with 'Jata mukuta' on the head.³⁷ The body is decorated with usual ornaments. The lower part is unfortunately damaged. Siva is clothed with a tiger-skin. The 'apasmara-purusha' is lying prostrate below the feet with his face turned up.

Another eight-armed Nataraja image of Siva is also found in the Parasurameswara temple.³⁸ This relief figure of the Dancing Siva is carved in a niche

26. *Ibid*

27. *Marg*, Vol. XIII, (March 1960, No.2), p.15

28. *Ibid*

29. *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, Vol. XII, (1978-79), Calcutta, p.85

30. K.C. Panigrahi, *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar*, p.139

31. *Ibid*

32. *Ibid*

33. *The Calcutta Review*, Vol. 161, No. 1-3, (Oct-Dec. 1961), p.67

34. *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 18th session, Calcutta, (1955), p.111

35. *Ibid*, p.112

36. *Ibid*

37. *Ibid*

38. *Orissan Sculptures and Architecture*, Ed. A. Goswami, Calcutta, (1956), p.17

on the facade of the temple. One important archaic feature of this form of Siva is the absence of the differentiation of the upper arms and shoulders - the lower arms being depicted in the manner of the spokes of a wheel.³⁹

The Vaital Duel carries a framed figure of Nataraja on the uppermost part of its facade. The Sisireswar temple also has a Nataraja, and close of this is the figure of a *dwarapalaka*, who is shown standing in a very graceful pose, almost as if he were dancing. In the temples of Sisireswar and Vaital, Nataraja is represented as a decorative motif in a circular medallion, the postures of the image having undergone several changes.⁴⁰ In the temples of Mukteswar, Rajarani and Brahmeswar also, Nataraja appears as a significant decorative motif; he no more appears as *Parsvadevata* in the Saiva shrines of Orissa.⁴¹

It is observed that the designer of the Mukteswar wanted to produce something new and wonderful. To achieve this end, he freely picked up the best out of everything. The surmounting Lion, the only fierce element in the Orissan art,⁴² was replaced by the figure of Nataraja, which was executed in the characteristic Soma style and bore no resemblance to the Bhauma Nataraja figures.⁴³ The Mukteswar temple has several exquisite dance carvings, including figures of Nataraja, Nayikas and the like.

The Markendeyeshwar temple is located on the west bank of Bindu Sagar, near the south-west corner. The Nataraj images within the *Chaitya* medallions on its facade are identical with those of the other two temples, the Vaital and the Sisireswar.⁴⁴ The same may be said of the iconography and the general decorative details.

39. *Ibid*

40. *Orissa Review*, (Jan.1987), p.16

41. *Ibid*

42. M. Ganguli, *Orissa and Her Remains*, p.202

43. *The Orissa Historical Research Journal*, Vol.XI, (1962 No.1), p.46

44. Kanwar Lal, *Temples and Sculptures of Bhubaneswar*, Delhi, (1970), p.52

Another temple, a very small structure known as the Sureshwar, stands near the Kotitirtheshwar temple, in close proximity of the Swarnajaleswar. This too is a close contemporary of the Mukteswar.⁴⁵ The Sureshwar has, on the front facade, a Nataraja which is an exact prototype of that found in the Mukteswar.⁴⁶

The complete picture of the image of dancing Siva can be fully imagined from another image of 'dancing Siva from Orissa' now preserved in the British Museum. The comparison of these images of the dancing Siva with the brass images of the dancing Siva of other parts of South India, many of which are preserved in the Madras Museum and elsewhere, clearly shows the difference of technique of the North Indian or Indo-Aryan and the South Indian or Dravidian art.⁴⁷ Apart from the position of feet, the South Indian image looks

on with wide open eyes. The roundness of the body of the north Indian image is wanting in that of the south Indian which is comparatively slender in proportion of the body.⁴⁸

At Bhubaneswar, an image of dancing Siva is installed in a niche at the base of the spire of a temple of Siva, above the entrance door.⁴⁹ Siva is eight-armed. To a careful observer, this image of the dancing god to gods will convey an exhilarating sense of rhythmic motion impregnated by a sense of peace and permanency.⁵⁰ The last element is contributed by the expression of complacent meditation that illumines the face of Siva. This last point suggests the symbolic meaning of the dance of Siva which is thus explained in the 'Kurma Purana' wherein Siva himself says, "I am that god who sets, every thing in motion and who, absorbed in 'Yoga' and

45. *Ibid*, p.56

46. *Ibid*.

47. P. Acharya, *Studies in Orissan History, Archaeology and Archives*, Cuttak (1969), p.291

48. *Ibid*.

49. R.P. Chanda, *Medieval Indian Sculpture*, Varanasi, (1972), p.73

50. *Ibid*, pp. 73-74

enjoying highest bliss, is always dancing. He who knows that knows yoga.⁵¹ "The dance of Siva means, on the one hand, dance accompanying the enjoyment of the bliss of Yoga, and, on the other, his creative cosmic conditions.⁵²

In Dravidian images of dancing Siva where he is looking outward with wide open eyes, the cosmic aspect of the dance is emphasized. But, in the Indo-Aryan images an attempt is made to give form to the other aspect, the dance of the god as Yogi or the liberated soul, as well.⁵³

Another specimen is an image of Nataraja now housed in one of the small temples standing in a row in the compound of the Mukteswar. Belonging evidently to an earlier temple, this detached piece is in the form of a rectangular, perforated grills.⁵⁴

This image of Nataraja is a developed and stylised form of the Asanapat image and was worshipped as the main deity probably by the sixth century⁵⁵ A.D. But in the early part of 7th century A.D., it is believed that Nataraja was no more worshipped in Orissa as the main deity.⁵⁶ Moreover, by the eighth century A.D. he finds a place as *Parsvadevata* as in the case of the representation of Nataraja Siva in the niches of the Jagamohana of the temple of *Parasurameswara*.⁵⁷ The importance of the image under consideration lies in the fact that its features and attributes bear a very close resemblance with those of a Nataraja in the cave No.1 at Badami in the Bijapur District of Bombay.⁵⁸ Both the images hold in their uppermost two hands a snake with the raised hood shown towards the head, which in the Badami image has been wrongly identified as an elephant skin by R.D. Banerji⁵⁹ and as a snake-like

object by Mr. T.A. Gopinath Rao.⁶⁰ Numerous Natarajas that appear on the temples of Bhubaneswar have a snake as one of their attributes and in the majority of them, it is held in the uppermost two hands in a manner it is to be found in these images.⁶¹ Besides the snake, the trident and the *vina* to be found in both the images are almost identical in shape. The image under consideration is the only one of the numerous images of Nataraja at Bhubaneswar in which nudity had not been shown, a peculiarity which is also shared by the Badami image.⁶² However, it is being argued that the identities of details cannot be taken to be the results of an accident in the images situated so far apart from each other. They must be taken to be the results of close cultural contacts between Bhubaneswar

and Badami.⁶³

Thus, there is little doubt that one of these sculptures has been copied from, or inspired by the other, and the consensus of opinion among experts is that the Orissan piece is earlier.⁶⁴ The date of Badami Nataraja is approximately fixed by the date of the cave No. III at Badami, which, according to an inscription dated Saka 500 (578 A.D.) was excavated by the Chalukya King Mangalesa.⁶⁵ The cave which contains the Nataraja is considered to be the earliest of the group.⁶⁶ The Badami Nataraja cannot, thus be later than the first or second part of the sixth century.⁶⁷ The Bhubaneswar Nataraja should, therefore, be taken still earlier, because available evidence proves that the movement of art and architecture was from the east to the west and

51. Vide *Kurma Purana*, Part ii, 4,33

52. R.P. Chandra, *op.cit.* p.74

53. *Ibid*

54. *Marg*, Vol.XIII, (March 1960, No.2), p.15

55. *Orissa Review*, (Jan. 1987), p.15

56. *Ibid*

57. *Ibid*

58. *Memories of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No.25, p.3

59. *Ibid*, No.25, p.3

60. T.A. Gopinath Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, pp. 267 ff

61. *Orissa Review*, *Orissa Monuments Special*, (1949), p.38

62. *Ibid*

63. *Ibid*

64. *Marg*, Vol.XIII, (March 1960, No.2), p.15

65. *Memories of Archaeological Survey of India*, No.25, p.2

66. *Ibid*

67. *Orissa Review*, *Orissa Monuments Special*, (1949), p.38

not 'vice-versa'.⁶⁸

Though in a dilapidated state, the *Satrughnesvara* temple at Bhubaneswar is ornamented with various designs of *Chaitya-window* motif running vertically across the body. The effect is heightened by two large central *Chaitya-window* motifs containing one of the finest figure of Nataraja,⁶⁹ and below it, the figure of Ravana uprooting mount Kailash. Nataraja Siva is twelve-armed. The face of Siva is, as it were, illumined with a sublime glory. The sublime and calm face of Siva indicates that the dance is of *santa* or pacific type, not of *Ugra* (fierce) type.⁷⁰ In the niche of the southern side, there is a figure of six-armed Nataraja which is damaged. The bull, *Nandi*, is near the right foot with its face upturned. In the nich of the northern side there is another figure of ten-armed Nataraja. On the right corner Kartikeya on his peacock is found in dancing attitude. Moreover, on the western facade of this temple, in the right nich there is the figure of Siva with

four arms. He holds *trisula* (trident) in the upper right arm and *chakra* in the upper left arm. The lower arms are broken. Siva with *Chakra* is rarely to be found.⁷¹ Siva in his *tripuradahana* or *tripurantaka* aspects holds *Chakra* as one of his weapons.⁷² In Harihara form also he holds the *Chakra*.⁷³ In this case, the form of Siva is neither of the above three types. Thus it is iconographically interesting to note that Siva has *Chakra* as his weapon in his ordinary form.⁷⁴

It is important to note that a stone image of Nataraja has been discovered at Asanpat in the District of Keonjhar in Orissa. The image portrays the eight-armed and three eyed Siva in *tandava* dance; he is *urdhvalinga* and carried a *vina* in the main pair; of his remaining hands, the uppermost ones hold a *sarpa* which serves as his canopy; the right hands exhibit an *aksamala* and a *damaru* and the left ones *varada-mudra* and a *trisula*; the God is flanked by a devotee and

Nandi, the bull-mount, the latter enthusiastically looking at him.⁷⁵ Of appreciative workmanship, the Asanpat Nataraja is the oldest of all such specimens found in Orissa so far and has a rightful claim to be classed with the well-known contemporary Nataraja figures of Badami and Ellora.⁷⁶ Iconographically, it illustrates the combination of the *Vinadhara* and *Natesa* concepts of Siva.⁷⁷ However, whilst tracing the evolution of Nataraja in Orissan art, it is believed that at the inception, Nataraja was worshipped as the main deity in the fourth century⁷⁸ A.D. This is indicated by the Nataraja Siva image of Asanpat which is not a 'Parsvadevata' in a religious shrine and moreover, he was worshipped not in the so called phallic form but in the anthropomorphic form with all personal attributes.⁷⁹

In the Durga Temple of Rameswar in the Cuttack District of Orissa, an interesting Nataraja image has been noticed by scholars.⁸⁰ The shorter sides of this temple have an ornate *Chaitya-window* with Nataraja on the north and Ganesa on the south. Nataraja, with the head missing, is partly damaged. Decorated, in anklets, an *upavita*, armlets and *valayas*, the ithyphallic figure appears to have eight arms.⁸¹ One of the left hands of the deity touches the chin of the musician, whilst another fondly touches the snout of the bull, who looks up towards the diety. The third (natural) left hand is in a dancing pose, the fourth being broken. The attributes (if any) in the three extent right hands are indistinct.⁸²

68. *Ibid*

69. *The Orissa Historical Research Journal*, Vol.I, (June and Sept. 1955, No.1 & 2), p.38

70. *Ibid*, p.40

71. *Ibid*

72. T.A. Gopinath Rao, *op.cit.*, Vol.II, Pt.I, p.115 and p.189

73. *Ibid*, p.334

74. *The O.H.R.J.* Vol.IV, (June & Sept. 1955, No. 1& 2), p.40

75. *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, Vol. XII, Calcutta, (1978-79), p.115

76. *Ibid*

77. *Ibid*

78. *Orissa Review*, (Jan.1987), p.15

79. *Ibid*

80. vide *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol.II, No.1, (1960), p.20

81. *Ibid*

82. *Ibid*

Bhubaneswar and other old sites of Orissa abound in Nataraja images, most of which belong to the usual type found in different parts of northern India and Deccan. But, the interesting iconic type which has been encountered portrays the god dancing on his bull-mount. An example of this type may be seen on the northern wall of the portal of the papanasini temple erected during the reign of Kapilendradeva.⁸³ Another such figure may be noticed on the Siva temple of the Amangal sand-hill, near the village Kandarpur in the Bolangir district; chronologically it is not far removed from the Papanasini relief.⁸⁴ Since a number of similar images of earlier dates have been found in what is now known at Bangladesh, it is believed that the 'Nataraja-on-bull type' might have developed and

evolved in this place and later it must have gone to Assam, Tripura and Orissa.⁸⁵

Siva is presented in other exalted stances as well. Some temples carry panels showing Siva's marriage procession, and these often include dancing-girls in graceful poses. The Bharateswara, Parasurameswara and Rajarani are some of the temples where such carvings are found. Siva's counterpart, Parvati, is also occasionally portrayed as a dancer, and an outstanding carving in this category, though very much damaged now, belongs to the 10th century temple of Rajarani. Such images bear the usual and characteristic attributes. Extremely rare in occurrence, they offer no basis for chronological and stylistic grouping.

* * * * *

83. *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, Vol. XII, Calcutta (1978-79), p.116

84. *Ibid*

85. *Ibid*

HANUMAN IN VIJAYANAGARA EPIGRAPHS AND SCULPTURES

K. SAROJINI DEVI *

ABSTRACT : Hanuman has been (forgetting for a moment the depiction in the idiot box!) 'popular' both amongst the Vaishnavite and non-Vaishnavite sects of the Hindus. The author describes in detail the sculptural and literary aspects of the Hanuman cult in the

era of the Vijayanagaram Empire. The commonly acknowledged traits of Hanuman are his faithfulness, loyalty and humility. A striking feature of the Vijayanagaram sculptures, the author notes, is the portrayal of Hanuman in a fierce, striking pose.

A perceptive study of the Vijayanagara epigraphs and sculptures shows that the cult of worship of Hanuman attained considerable prominence in the

Vijayanagara Empire. Hanuman, the aide and devotee of Rama, with his characteristic tail, was popular not only with the votaries of Vaishnavism but also with the

* *About the author:* Dr. K. Sarojini Devi is Reader in the Osmania University, Hyderabad.

non-Vaishnava sects. As a true symbol of devotion, humility, loyalty and self-surrender, he captivated the minds of the people, the elite and the masses alike.

In the pre-Vijayanagara period, he was an attendant diety associated with Rama, Lakshmana and Sita.¹ With the advent of Vaishnavism in the Twelfth Century, Hanuman attained greater prominence as the incarnations of Vishnu, namely, Rama and Krishna, were adored.² But it was with the establishment of Madhvaism in the Thirteenth Century that Hanuman worship attained an independent status and a separate cult came into being. The Madhvas considered Hanuman to be an incarnation of Vayu or Maruti.³ As Vayu was ranked third in the Madhva pantheon of Gods, Hanuman became a popular God of the followers of Madhva religion.

The popularity of the cult is

attested by innumerable shrines dedicated to Hanuman and epigraphs registering land grants and cash endowments for worship and offerings. According to a record of Hiriya Devaraya, a gift of a village was made to the temple of Hanuman for worship and rituals.⁴ Similarly, King Devaraya granted a village to Ramayya, manager of the temple of God Hanumantadeva, probably for rendering service to the temple of Hanuman.⁵ In A.D. 1539, Salakaraju, the uncle of Mahamandaleswara Sambeta Lakayadeva Maharaja granted lands to God Hanumanta installed by one, Raghavaya of Konavakonda.⁶ Some communities like the Vipravinodins, who appear to be followers of Vaishnavism, judging by their extensive grants to Vaishnava shrines provided for the conduct of the Kartika puja of the God in the agrahara village of Raganahalu.⁷ Venkatadri made a gift of the village Hanumantapura to the temple of Hanumanta at

1. R. Champakalakshmi: *Vaishnava Iconography in the Tamil Country*, p.123
2. R.G. Bhandarkar: *Vaishnavism, Saivism and Minor Religious Systems*, p.62
3. P. Nagaraja Rao: *Introduction to Vedanta*, p.195
4. S.I.I., IX. Pt.11, 434
5. S.I.I.IX. Pt.11, 435
6. M.E.R. 1950-51, 204
7. M.E.R. 1920, 402, S.I.I. XVI, 215, 241

Budigama.⁸ Gifts of land were not wanting even after the fall of the Vijayanagara Empire, till as late as A.D. 1640.⁹

The devotion of the people to Hanuman is expressed not only by their land grants and cash endowments but also by the offerings made on special days associated with the God. For instance, a votary of Hanuman provided for offerings to the God on fifty two Saturdays occurring in each year.¹⁰ Similarly, Hanuman was propitiated on Sri Ramanavami or the birthday of Lord Rama, commemorating his association with the Lord.¹¹

Hanuman enjoyed a prominent place in the contemporary literature. The Tallapakam saints, who gave a new dimension to Vaishnavism by emphasising the concept of devotion to Lord Venkateswara of

Tirumala, described the glory of Hanuman. Annamacharya extolled Hanuman, the son of Anjana, famous not only for his strength and valour but also for his learning. He had such tremendous strength that, when he could not locate the Sanjivi plant, he carried the entire Sanjivi mountain containing the plant to revive Lakshmana from his unconscious state. He was described as radiant with a golden complexion and as the presiding deity of Kalasapuram.¹² In another place, Annamacharya referred to God Hanuman as having taken his abode at Vijayanagara and granted boons to devotees.¹³

Sculptural representations of Hanuman throw light not only on the popularity of the God but also on the popular forms of worship. According to traditions, Hampi, the seat of the Vijayanagara authority was identified with Kishkindha,

8. S.I.I. XVI, 114
9. S.I.I. XVI, 327
10. T.T.D. i. V, 52
11. T.T.D. Report, p.62, T.T.D.i. V.P. 53
12. Annamacharyulu Samkirtanalu, T.T.D. Publication, (1982) p.8, Tallapaka Annamacharyulu, Adhyatma Samkirtanalu, T.T.D. Publication pp.139-149, 167, 235. This Kalasapuram may be identified with the Anjaneya temple at Kalasapura situated on the Kamalapur-Kampili Road, Ref. S.I.I. Vol. XVI, No. 216
13. Ibid., p. 150

the Kingdom of Sugriva. M.S. Nagaraja rao observes: "This may be the reason for the association of several Hanuman sculptures with the areas."¹⁴ Vyasaraaya installed 732 Hanuman idols all over the kingdom, beginning with Yantroddharaka Hanuman at Hampi. They were obviously installed to consolidate the empire of which king Narasa Nayaka was the head and himself the guardian saint.

The sculptures of Hanuman may briefly be divided into three categories, namely, Hanuman depicted in a state of humility with hands folded in Anjali posture; Hanuman in a striking attitude or in Vira posture with Aksha Kumara under his feet and Panchamukha Anjaneya, a ferocious form of Hanuman with five faces. For instance, a bronze image of Hanuman from the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum represents Hanuman in Bhavya aspect or a posture suggestive of his submissive and reverential attitude in the presence of Rama. He wears

Kaupina or a folded loincloth and a long Yajnopavita of a single cord. The tail is arranged in a loop ending on the crown of the head.¹⁵ God Hanuman of the *vira* or heroic type is depicted in a striking posture stamping on *Aksha Kumara*. According to the Ramayana, Aksha, one of the sons of Ravana, was a young warrior. He was deputed by his father to battle against the formidable Hanuman. Aksha possessed great strength and was almost invincible on the battlefield. As Aksha proved himself to be an immensely heroic foe, Hanuman decided to destroy him. When Aksha's chariot was broken to pieces, he rose into the air with bow and sword and attacked Hanuman. After a fierce battle, Hanuman caught him by his feet and dashed him against the ground. Aksha fell dead with his limbs completely battered and reduced to pulp. Hanuman proclaimed his victory over Aksha by stamping on his lifeless body.¹⁶ This victory of Hanuman found wide sculptural representation. On the garuda pillar in front of the Venkataramana temple at

Doddabasti is carved the image of Hanuman stamping on Aksha.¹⁷ One of the Hanuman temples at Betamangala contains a colossal relieve figure of Anjaneya about 12 feet in height in a striking posture crushing Aksha under his feet.¹⁸

Amongst sculptures of this category is an interesting boldly carved relieve figure of Hanuman with a long sikha tied up into a loose flying knot and as usual with the figure of *Akshakumara* lying flat.¹⁹ Thus Vira Hanuman or Hanuman in a striking attitude constitutes a new trend in Vijayanagara sculptural art. This is in a striking contrast to the earlier concept of Hanuman as an obedient and submissive God. According to T.A. Gopinatha Rao, the figure of Hanuman should be sculptured as having only two hands the right of which is placed upon the mouth in token of loyalty and the left is made to hang down so as to reach the knees; for this is the attitude which has to be assumed by servants in the presence of their masters. The look

and posture of the image of Hanuman should be such as to evoke compassion and to bring into prominence the ever ready willingness of this faithful messenger to carry out the orders of his master.²⁰

Hanuman in his ferocious form with five faces known as Panchamukha Anjaneya found expression in sculptures. This shows that the terrible looking form, of Hanuman was also worshipped during the Vijayanagara period. He is represented in *Sritatvanidhi* as having five faces, namely, that of Narasimha, Garuda, Sukara or boar, Hayagriva or horse and Vanara and fifteen eyes. He possessed the following attributes: sword, trident, Khatvanga, Pasa, Ankusa, Sanjivi mountain, Sanjivi plant and a skull. The sum-total of the representation is that of an awe-inspiring and fear instilling deity capable of destroying goblins poisons.

But in the Vijayanagara

14. *Vijayanagar, Progress of Research 1979-83*, p.83 (Published by Directorate of Archeology and Museums, A.P.). M.E.R. (1918-19) p.7. A sketch of the Yantra is given in this report.

15. Dr. D.N. Varma: *Monograph on Bronzes in A.P. Government Museum*, S.No.152

16. C. Rajagopalachari, *Ramayana (Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan Series)* pp.241-242

17. *Mys. Arch. Report* (1941), p.37

18. *Ibid*, p.48

19. *Mys. Arch. Report*, (1939), p.92

20. *E.H.I. Vol.I, Part I*, pp.190-191

sculptures, the iconographic features were slightly altered probably to lessen the ferocity and make the God look milder and agreeable. He is depicted with four faces, the fifth face concealed at the back and with only four arms. The face concealed was that of a Sukara, dark and burning with rage and emitting flames.²¹ Panchamukha Anjaneya was a favourite deity of the Marathas also.²²

Describing the postures in which Hanuman is represented, R.N. Saletore portrays the Vira aspect in the following lines:

"He also stands erect with his long tail raised and curled above his head, with a large dagger at his waist and a tassel hanging down the waist. He has a Vaisnavite caste-mark on his brow, two large upaghrivas and the frontal jewel arnmala. He has a belt for his chest also, his girdle two-folded, if fully jewelled, with a leaf-shaped tassel trailing on his left thigh. He is standing on the earth with the

left foot forward and his right one upraised as though ready to strike, the tip of his tongue peeping out."²³ This image is symbolic of the War God, with a large dagger at his waist and a belt across his chest, in a striking attitude.

Hanuman was also conceived as a guardian deity. Icons of Hanuman are generally installed at the entrance of towns and at strategic points in the city of Hampi as well as other places. For example, Bhayanna, installed God Hanumanta in front of the town Mangapura in A.D. 1342.²⁴ Similarly, Hanuman was installed atop a hillock to the west of the Zenana enclosure or the Women's quarters at Hampi. This place is known as Hanuman Kottala or the bastion of Hanuman.²⁵ According to M.S. Nagaraja Rao, this watching spot called Hanuman Kottala is of considerable importance because of the proximity to the elephant stables and the Zenana enclosure.²⁶ It was also customary to construct

shrines dedicated to Hanuman near the gateways of the forts, as a guardian deity. For instance, near the wide gateway of the fort at Somanahalli, the temple of Hanuman was constructed.²⁷ At Kunigal, near the gate of the fort wall, a shrine dedicated to Hanuman is positioned. On account of its proximity to the water gate of the fort, it became popular as Nira Bagilu Anjaneya. Bagilu literally means city gate.²⁸ The large Anjaneya temple situated at Mulbagal, which had great strategic importance, belongs to this category. It seems to have been erected to protect Mulbagal, which was the Eastern Gate of the plateau of Mysore, from the Southern enemies. Mulbagal was evidently a corrupt form of Mudala bagilu.²⁹ Another temple of Anjaneya stands at the North entrance to the outer line of fortifications at Mattala Kote or Harala Kote as it is popularly known. Because of its situation near the fort it was called

Kotabagilu Anjaneya.³⁰ Near the exist of the gateway, probably one of the major entrances to the city of Vijayanagar from the South-West direction, is another temple of Hanuman.³¹ Obviously Hanuman shrines were built for the purpose of guarding the gateways leading to the inner city.

The symbol of Hanuman was adopted on the coins of Vijayanagara rulers. The sangama rulers, though they were followers of Saivism, had the figure of Hanuman in different postures impressed on their coins. The Tuluva and the Aravidu Emperors adopted the device of Hanuman on their coins. According to T. Dayananda Patel, Hanuman appears in three types on the Vijayanagara coins. In one type his tail is arched over his head and curled up outwards in front of his face which looks forward. In the second type, the tail is lifted up but is shorter and the God has turned his back. In the third type, his face

21. R. Champakalakshmi, *Vaisnava Iconography*, p.234

22. T.N. Srinivasan, *A Handbook of South Indian Images*, p.61

23. R.N. Saletore, *Vijayanagara Art*, p.115

24. E.C. III, Ak. 159

25. *Vijayanagara, Progress of Research 1979-83*, p.39 (Directorate of Archeology and Museums, AP)

26. *Ibid*, (1983-84), p.99

27. *Mys.Arch. Report*, (1940), p.42

28. *Ibid*, (1938), p.14

29. *Mys. Arch. Report*, (1945), p.35

30. *Ibid*, (1937), p.41

31. *Vijayanagara Progress of Research, 1983-84*. p.97 (Directorate of Arch eology and Museums, AP)

looks forward and the tail forms an inverted arch crossing the knees with the end rising up in front. The God Hanuman, being one of the most popular deities in the Hindu pantheon, was probably chosen by Harihara with a view to inspire the people to consolidate the Vijayanagar Empire.³²

Hanuman was famous not only as a guardian deity but also as an embodiment of knowledge. In the Ramayana, Jambavan addressed Hanuman as a warrior, learned in all branches of knowledge. Lord Rama paid a tribute to the intellectual attainments and wisdom of Hanuman. He said to Lakshmana: "Brother, the speech of Hanuman has inspired me with confidence. I trust him absolutely. Did you notice the beauty of his language and how correct and rhythmic his enunciation is? He speaks like one who has mastered the Vedas and the science of grammar."³³ This idea is represented in sculptures also. Hanuman is depicted as

reading the Ramayana, sitting cross-legged with a book in hand.³⁴

Hanuman attained the status of a celebrated deity and his symbol, Hanumanta *mudra*, was used by the Vaishnava Mathas and temples also, on their official seals. For instance, according to an interesting record of the reign of Sadasivaraya, Narayanadeva-mahaarasu granted a nattu or nadu or land for maintaining Hanumanta *mudra*, to the Chelapilaraya temple at Melugote. The grant was executed in the name of Vedanti Ramanuja Jiya, the head of the Vaishnava Matha known as Etiraja Matha. The record states that Vedanti Ramanuja Jiya was authorised to affix his own seal along with the Royal seal and the Ramanuja seal and enjoy certain privileges and possessions connected with the temple.³⁵ It may be inferred that the Hanumanta *mudra* was meant exclusively for use in the temple transactions.

32. *Mys Arch. Report*, 1931, pp.71, 72, 76, 77, *Journal of Numismatic Society of India*, Vol.XIVI, p.114

33. C. Rajagopalachari, *Ramayana*, (Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan Series), op. cit: p.177

34. *Mys. Arch. Report*, (1937), p.22

35. E.C.VI.MI.130

The causes for the popularity of the cult of Hanuman may be analysed as follows: Hanuman, the Monkey God, with his elemental strength, radiant presence, heroism and valour and sublime devotion and loyalty to Rama, had a profound appeal to the religious feelings of the people to whom philosophical speculations and postulates were far beyond their intellectual reach and understanding. They found a Hanuman a living symbol of divinity and sublimity. Practically every Hindu is conversant with the story of Rama and Sita and the heroic exploits of Hanuman as described in the Ramayana.

With the spread of Madhva religion in the Vijayanagara Empire, the Hanuman cult received a new dimension and propulsion leading to the construction of special shrines for the worship of the powerful Monkey God. The followers of Madhva Charya recognised Hanuman as an avatar of Vayu, the Wind God, and elevated him to the status of an independent deity. If in the Sri Vaishnava pantheon, Garuda occupied an important place, Madhvaism found an agreeable and powerful counterpart to Garuda in Hanuman. Prof. K.A.N. Sastri pointed out that although Madhvaism failed to attract any

adherents, in spite of the efforts of the great teachers it produced, it made a significant contribution to popular religion by attaching great importance to the worship of Hanuman, the aide and devotee of Rama. Probably Hanuman with his semi-human form and with many spectacularly heroic achievements to his credit had a greater appeal to the human mind than Garuda, the celestial mount of Lord Vishnu.

Further, it must be noted that the cult was very much in tune with the medieval spirit of implicit loyalty to the King. Prabhu Bhakti or unquestioning obedience and loyalty to the Ruler was the dire need of the day in a period marked by internal dissensions and external threats. God Hanuman represented the perfect blending of loyalty, faithfulness and humility. Indirectly, his worship promoted stronger bonds of loyalty between the rulers and the ruled.

At most of the medieval Hindu States like their non-Hindu counterparts were military states, the prevailing spirit of militarism and war-like psychology paved the way for the emergence of heroic Gods like Vira Hanuman and Panchamukha Anjaneya. The worship of these War gods would imbue the people with courage and valour and provide them with the necessary martial spirit to face any

external aggression with unflinching courage. Vijayanagara was founded with the object of protecting Hindu religion and Dharma against the onslaughts of Islam. Hinduism, being essentially a defensive religion, had to find a suitable device or mechanism in the socio-religious system to keep its eye wide open to the danger of an impending war from any quarter. It is from this practical angle that the remarkable popularity of the Hanuman cult, defying bravery and valour ought to be studied. As has been pointed out, there is also another side to the worship of Hanuman who

besides being a magnificent warrior was also an intellectual. His intellectual prowess was so proverbial that Nanjaraya Vodeya of ammattur was described as a Hanuman in artifice.³⁶ Probably, on account of this concept of Hanuman as an intellectual, sculptural representations of Hanuman reading a book intently, sitting cross-legged, came into being.

Ample epigraphical and sculptural evidence is available to proclaim the popularity of the cult of Hanuman during the Vijayanagara period.

SANIS (THE TEMPLE GIRLS) OF MEDIEVAL ANDHRA

DR. (MS) M. KRISHNAKUMARI *

ABSTRACT: 'Temple-girls', as courtesans of God are well-known in Hindu religious history. What is less-known, is the subject matter of this article. How many of us are aware that the temple-ladies' performed certain *economic* function in the temples? Or, for

that matter, they were organized into guilds - a sort of trade union? A perceptive study of the socio-economic and religious role of the 'temple-ladies' in the period 1100-1300 AD in Andhra - a hitherto neglected aspect of historical research.

* *About the author: Dr. (Ms) M. Krishnakumari, currently Reader in History and Archaeology in the Andhra University, Waltair is well proficient in Telugu, Tamil and Sanskrit. She is a life-member of the Epigraphical Society of India, Andhra Pradesh and is on other reputed professional bodies like the Indian History Congress and the Indian Archaeological Society. She has two books and more than twenty research papers to her academic credit*

During the medieval times, the five famous Śaivite centres of pilgrimage located at Drākshārāma and Samalkot of East Godavari district, Bhimavaram of West Godavari district and Amaravati of Guntur district were widely known as the *pañcharamas*. These Siva temples had expanded not only in size but also in terms of the proliferation and complexity in the nature of the rituals performed in them² and thereby emerged as the important socio-economic institutions during the medieval period. The temple girls who were in the service of the God were generally mentioned as *sānis* in the temple epigraphs. As the *pañchārāma* temples contain a large number of stone inscriptions, of which some of them refer to the donations made by the *sānis* and also, as the girls were mostly dedicated to the Śaivite temples during the medieval times, the study is based on the temple inscriptions of the *pañchārāma* shrines as well as on the literary work, *Bhīmēśvara purāna* written by Śrīnātha, which is a *sthala purana* of the Drākshārāma temple. It is the intent of this paper to study the socio-economic

and religious role of the *sānis* in Āndhradēśa between the period A.D. 1100 to A.D. 1300, a much neglected aspect of historical research.

To conduct the daily rituals as well as on festive occasions, the temples employed a good number of servants of both the sexes. Particularly, the conducting of *aṅga raṅga bhōga* and other services were assigned to the female servants commonly known as the *sānis*. In the Telugu work *Bhīmēśvara purānam*, the girls in the service of the temples were referred to as *vēśyas* and *sānikūturus*. It is relevant in this context to mention that it is not only for the temple ladies but also for the names of the family ladies or the household wives, the word *sāni* is suffixed in the medieval times. The ladies associated with the temples are idealised as the courtesans of God in the religious tradition of India. In some of the earlier literary works the practice of dedication of girls to the temples has been mentioned. It has been stated in the *Bhaviṣya Purāna* that the individual who dedicated girls to a Sun temple would gain a

place in *Suryaloka*.³ On the other hand, it is stated in the *Matsya Purāna* that the dedicated girls (*Vēśyas*) could themselves obtain a place in *Vishnulōka*, by serving in the temple.⁴ Besides these literary references, the accounts of the foreign travellers like Yuwan Chwang (7th Century A.D.), Alberuni (11th Century A.D.) and Marco Polo (13th Century A.D.) corroborate the existence of this practice.

The donation/dedication of ladies to the temples is not referred to in the inscriptions of medieval Āndhradēśa like that of the Karnataka region⁵ However, the epigraphs refer to the existence of the guild of *sānis* in the temples and also the donations made by the *sānis* of the temples. But in the literary work, *Bhīmēśvara Purāna*, there is a mention that a large number of ladies, i.e., 600 were donated by Indra to Lord *Bhīmēśvara* of Drākshārāma on *Chaturdasi* in *Margasirsha* month.⁶ Apart from this sole

evidence of the gifting of ladies to the temple, we do not come across such kind of information either from the epigraphs or the literary sources of the medieval times relating to Andhra. In the temple inscriptions, information on the temple girls, i.e., their names and description of their duties is only incidental. The inscriptions mentioning the names of the temple ladies may either record the donations of them or that the endowments made by the others were kept in-charge of them. Majority of the inscriptions of this kind were made in cattle for the upkeep of lamps in the temple. However, we do have few instances where the villages and some cash were also endowed for the temple services.

Like the other professional groups employed in the temples, the temple ladies performed certain economic functions in the temples. In the inscriptions of Draksharama the *sāni* guilds, *Peddammunnūru* and

1. R. Champakalakshmi, *The Dravidian Style of Architecture: A Historical Perspective*, Indian Horizons, Vol.31, No.12, 1982, p.7
2. R.N. Nandi, *Religious Institutions and Cults in the Deccan, 600-1000 A.D.* (Delhi, 1973), p.1

3. A.S. Altekar, *The Position of Women in Hindu Civilization* (2nd edn. Poona, 1969), p.183
4. *Matsya Purana*, 70, pp.209-13.
5. Aloka Parasher and Usha Naik, *Temple Girls of Medieval Karnataka*, in *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, Vol.XXIII, No.1, (Jan-March, 1986), pp.63-78.
6. *Bhimesvara Purana*, Canto V, V.84

Koṇḍikamunnūru are referred to. The term *munṇūru* suggests the strength of the organisation as 300. The local tradition recorded in the *Bhīmēśvara Purāna* of dedicating 600 ladies to Lord Bhīmanatha by Indra might have been the reason for the usage of the numerical suffix to the *sāni* guilds.⁷ It is interesting to note that only in the Śiva temple at Draksharama we hear of the existence of the two *sāni* guilds, each having 300 ladies attached to the temple. In the case of the other Śiva temples in medieval Andhra such as Juttiga, Vēlpūru, Kommūru and Chēbrōlu epigraphical evidence suggests the existence of only one *sāni*-300 guild (*sāni munṇūrvuru*).⁸ These *sāni* guilds were mentioned in the inscriptions after the name of the place where the temples are situated. For instance, the *sāni* guild at Juttiga is referred to in the inscriptions as *Duttiga Munṇūrvuru*, and that of Kommūru is styled *Kommūri Sāni munṇūrvuru*.⁹ Probably, it was the customary practice of the

medieval period to style the name of the guild after the place of their existence. Similarly the *Peddammunnūru Sāni* guild of the Bhīmēśvara temple is named after Drākshārāma. It is evident from the stone records that Drakshārāma is sometimes referred to as Pedda Dākīrēmi. But it is difficult to understand the origin and significance of the name *Kondika munṇūru*, another *sāni* guild of the same place.

In the socio-economic developments of the history of the Andhra region the temple ladies played a key role through the temples. From the 10th century onwards, the urban centres grew because of the resurgence of trade, commerce and money economy.¹⁰ In the fertile river tracts and in the confluence of the rivers, the temples were generally situated. Such temples received large number of endowments and could maintain large number of ladies in the temple services. Temples in the places like Juttiga, Kommuru, Chebrolu, Palakollu and

Draksharama had the *sāni*-300 guilds serving the gods. On the other hand, temples in less fertile areas received limited number of endowments and hence maintained a less number of ladies. This kind of situation has been explained by R.N. Nandi that "the temples situated in the fertile areas were patronised by a wide section of the elite in the society including kings, provincial, military, town officials, merchants and traders."¹¹ During the medieval period, a number of local kingdoms arose under the *māṇḍalika* chiefs with a large number of officials under them. To gain the support from their sovereign rulers as well from that of the local native people, the feudatory chieftains often used to visit and donate the endowments to the *pañchārāma* temples, which by then have emerged as the chief centres of the pilgrimage at regional level. As a result of this newly emerged attitude of the *māṇḍalika* chiefs in the medieval period the temple properties have been enormously increased and

simultaneously the number of the girls in the service of the Gods has also increased.

From the religious point of view, the *puranic* ideology became more popular through the temple-centred *brahmana* settlements, where the study of sacred and quasi-sacred literature was taken up as a religious duty by the large number of priests.¹² To popularise the several puranic sects of Hinduism-Saivism, Vaishnavism and saktism among the common people, the recitation of the temple myths and legends as well as their portrayal in the temple sculpture are the common means of communication.¹³ Besides these, visual performance of dance and music by the temple ladies could have been thought of as the most effective means of impressing the minds of the devotees during those times. Because of these reasons the temples employed and encouraged the ladies in the performing arts and thereby emerged as centres of learning and arts.¹⁴ In this process of

7. *Ibid.*,

8. South Indian Inscriptions (S.I.I.) Vol.X, Nos. 12,59,70,80.

9. *Ibid.*, 59 & 80

10. D.N. Jha, *Presidential Address*, Section I, Indian History Congress, 40th Session, Waltair, 1979.

11. R.N. Nandi, *Presidential Address*, Section I, Indian History Congress, 45th Session, Annamalai, 1984, p.65

12. M.G.S. Narayanan and Kesavan Veluthat, *Bhakti Movement in South India*, in S.C. Malik ed. *Indian Movements: Some Aspects of Dissent, Protest and Reform* (Simla, 1978) p.40.

13. *Ibid.*, pp.40-41.

14. Devangana Desai, *Erotic Sculpture in India* (New Delhi), 1975, p.155.

increasing the popularity of the sectarian cults through the *bhakti* movements, since eighth century and the proliferation of temple building activity, the number of ladies attached and dedicated to the temple services increased considerably during the medieval times.

Around the pancharama temples the religious ideology focussed was that of *bhakti*, which entailed a blind faith in and a complete surrender to God. The devotee had to develop an attitude of service to God in order to serve the lord in total submission.¹⁵ While describing the merits (*punya*) that would befall on the devotees the local legends and *sthalapurāṇas* attach great importance to the observance of the temple rituals. The dedication of a dance, song or a musical instruments was considered as far more meritorious than the dedication of flowers and food to the God. If such practice was followed, it fulfils all desires and equalled in virtue to that of the

performance of a sacrifice.¹⁶ When viewed in the social terms, the *bhakti* ideology followed during the medieval period was acceptable to a wise section of the people. Particularly, it was followed by the lower-caste groups of the society because it was felt by common people that it was comparatively simple to follow and could easily be understood.¹⁷

The *sānis* attached to the temples had not only to perform religious and ritual duties but also had to use dance and music to explain the religious ideology. From the temple epigraphs and literary references of the period it became evident that there were certain specific rituals that were to be performed by the *sānis* along with the temple priests and other religious functionaries.¹⁸ Some of these ritual duties are bathing the deity with sacred waters, fanning the deity with chauries, carrying silver lampsteads during the *rathayātras* and performance of other types of religious duties like singing and dancing during certain

times. Particularly, the *ramga bhōga* and *aṁga bhōga* of the deities forms the integral and necessary part of the temple rituals - in both the Siva and Vishnu temples.¹⁹ These rituals were essentially conducted by the temple ladies by performing music and dance in the presence of the gods. It has been observed that there is a striking similarity between the gods in the temples and the kings in the royal palace, as both of them were served by the ladies who were generally considered as the courtesans or *bhōgā strīs*.²⁰ Like the courtesans on whom various duties for the well-being of the king befall, the temple ladies performed various rituals like *aṁga ramga bhōgas* for the well-being of the deity. The whole routine of daily worship in temple is only a replica of the daily life of the Hindu king. Like the kings and queens, the gods and goddesses required entertainment in the evenings in which music and dance were included.²¹ The idea is to entertain the gods installed in

the earthly shrines with the same luxuries as were available to them in their Heavenly abode in the form of dance performances by *apsaras* like Rambha, Urvashi, Menaka and Tilottama.²² The beauty, the expressions and the dancing abilities of the *sānis* of Drākshārāma temple are extolled as equivalents to those of the *apsaras* who serve the Gods in the Heaven, in the work, *Bhīmēśvarapurāṇa*.²³

For knowing the duties of the dancing girls of the temple, the account of the Venetian traveller Marco Polo is an important document. This account of Marco Polo, who visited Andhra in the last years of the thirteenth century contains his observations of the life style, customs and traditions of the people of those times. Amongst the customs and other things, he mentions about the temple girls. He says: "Every day they piled food before images on the altars, as on a king's table, laying it out daintily and, whilst they waited for the

15. *Bhimesvara Purana*, Canto VI, V.78

16. *Vishnudharmottara Purana*, III, 34, 25-27; Suvira Jaiswal, *The Original and Development of Vaishnavism B.C. 200-500 A.D.* (2nd ed) (Delhi, 1981), p.162.

17. R.N. Nandi, *Origin and Nature of Saivite Monasticism - The Case of the Kalamukhas* in R.S. Sharma and V.N. Jha (ed) *Indian Society: Historical Probings* (2nd ed) (Delhi, 1977) p.192.

18. *Bhimesvara Purana*, Canto, VI v.79

19. S.I.I. v.o.IV, no.1245; *Ibid.*, Vol.V, No.157.

20. P.V. Kane, *History of the Dharma Sastras*, Vol.5, Pt. 1 (Poona, 1974) pp.34-36.

21. Nirad C. Chaudhuri, *Hinduism* (New Delhi, 1979), pp.90-91.

22. Ajay Mitra Shastri, *India as Seen in the Kuttani Mata of Damodaragupta* (Delhi, 1975), p.86.

23. *Bhimesvara Purana*, Canto, V

God to eat, sang, danced and played music. When enough time has passed for a great baron to have eaten at his ease, the food was removed and the temple girls ate it along with the priests. Occasions arose when the priests would declare that a God was out of temple with a goddess, a dangerous state of things, when no divine blessings were likely to be bestowed on humanity. The girls would be called upon to reconcile the celestial lovers and cause them again happily to embrace. Some did acrobatic feats leaping and tumbling in front of the deities to make them laugh and forget their quarrel. Others expostulated gently: O, Master, why are you vexed with the goddess and do not care her? Is she not beautiful? Is she not pleasing? Another, a contortionist, will lift her leg above her neck and spin around. As a result of their dancing and acrobatics the girls were very muscular." ²⁴ This account of Marco Polo clearly shows that the duties of the temple dancing girls were singing, dancing and playing

musical instruments in order to entertain the Gods and Goddesses.

To fulfil their duties as dancers and musicians, the temple girls had to undergo intensive training to master the arts of dance and music. This training often began at an early age as some of the inscriptions indicate. According to the Chebrolu inscription of Jayapa Nayaka, dated in A.D. 1213, some dancing girls were serving in the Nagesvara temple right from the age of eight years. ²⁵ Probably, this might have been the reason for the dancing girls being called as the *sāni kūturus*, i.e., the *sānis* (temple girls) as the daughters of the temple. ²⁶ As the temple records indicate, these girls lived in separate quarters called (*sānivāda*) and were provided with all the physical facilities by the temples. ²⁷ An inscription at Palakollu dated in A.D. 1169 has it that the *vritti* (service-tenure) of dancing (*nattava vrittis*) and beating the musical instrument (*Āvajava vritti*) were given to the

24. Maurice Collis, *Marco Polo* (London, 1959), p.164.

25. *Ep.Ind.*, Vol.V, pp.142ff.

26. *Bhimesvarapurana*, Canto, VI, v.79

27. *S.I.I.* Vol. IV, No.989

head of the *sāni*-300 guild of the Kshīrārāmeśvara temple. ²⁸ This shows that it was the duty of the *sāni*-300 guild to organise for the dance and music recitals that were necessary in the temple. As regards to the private life of the *gudisānis* or the temple ladies, interesting information is available from the temple inscriptions. The records under study show that some of the temple ladies were married and were leading family life. At Drākshārāma are few inscriptions registering the gifts of the *sānis* whose parentage is given to them. It is mentioned in the epigraphs that Sūrāsāni, was the daughter of Peddamunnūti Sanddarāpāni; ²⁹ and Sāni Sankarama was the daughter of Kondika Munnuti Sani Sankarama. ³⁰ These instances show that the temple ladies had their own families and the dedication of ladies to the temple is a hereditary practice being followed by generation after generation. Unlike some of the Tamil records

of Tamilnadu which refer to the practice of sale of women to be trained as dancing girls of the temples, ³¹ the inscriptions in Andhra do not refer to such practice. It has been mentioned by Ajaya Mitra Shastri that the regularly wedded wives dedicated themselves to the temples as dancing girls to fulfil some of their vows. ³² As regards to the dedication of ladies to the temple, it has been suggested by A.S. Altekar that the first born girls were vowed to be dedicated to the temples by childless parents. ³³

During the medieval period, the people appreciated the practice of making dancing girls in the temples and as a result, when they were making any grants, either lamps or villages to the temples they were kept in trust of the *sāni* guilds of the temple. An inscription at Palakollu dated in the year A.D.1137 records the donation of Velanati Gonka for setting up of a

28. *Ibid.*, Vol.V, No.162

29. *Ibid.*, Vol.IV, No.1261

30. *Ibid.*, No. 1372

31. Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy, 1913, No. 80, p.108; Also see K. Ismail, *Karnataka Temples: Their Role in Socio-Economic Life* (Delhi, 1984) p.124.

32. Ajay Mitra Shastri, *op.cit.*, p.87

33. A.S. Altekar, *op.cit.*, p.183

lamp in the temple, which was kept in trust of the *sānimunnūrvuru* guild of the temple.³⁴ In addition to the managing of the endowments kept in trust of them, the *sānis* of the temples also used to take an active role in the purchase of lands. For the setting up of a lamp in the temple of Palakollu, Lakki Setti donated some land portion which was brought through the *sānis* of the temple in the year A.D. 1308.³⁵ Along with the various temple attendants who were liberally patronised by the people of the times through their endowments to the temples, the *sānis* were also benefited by the shares of the donations stipulated in the donative records. An inscription from Amaravati dated A.D. 1626 mentions that out of the produce of the temple lands, one fourth share (*chiruka palu*) should be given to the *sānis* of the temple.³⁶ Besides these inscriptional evidence indicating the attitude of the people of the society towards the temple girls,

there are some epigraphs in the temples registering the donations by the *sānis* themselves. For the maintenance of the *aṃga raṃga bhogas* and *naivedyam* to Lord Bhīmēśvara, Vāsāsāni of Pedda munnūru *sāni* guild had donated a village in the year A.D.1263 to the temple at Drākshārāma.³⁷ Sani Sankarama of Kondika munnuru guild has donated 25 *nera gadyas* for setting up of the fan of gold (*kanaka daṇḍa vinjāmarā*) in A.D.1229 at the same place to Lord Bhīmēśvara.³⁸ From the inscriptions of Drākshārāma, we come to know that not only the *sānis* of the Bhīmēśvara temple had made their donations but also the *sānis* of the other temples of medieval Andhra including the Siva and Vishnu temples. One inscription dated in the year A.D.1157 mentions the donations of Bānamamma, the *gudisāni* of Pandiśvaradēva of Chandolu.³⁹ Likewise, another inscription dated in A.D. 1179 registers the donation of 50 sheep for the setting up of the lamp in the Bhīmēśvara

temple by *gudisāni* Ulla of a Vishnu temple.⁴⁰

The present study thus reveals that the temples of medieval times had under their service a large number of *sānis* to conduct the *aṃga raṃga bhōgas* and other types of services to the gods. The study brings to the forefront that these temples girls were organised into guilds like those of the guild organisations of trade and commerce and were styled as *sāni munnūru*, *sānulanūlu* and *Peddammunnūti*

sānulu. These guilds of the *sānis* used to administer the endowments kept in their trust by the donors and played a very important role in propagating the *Bhakti* ideology among the devotees through their dance performance. Further, a general survey of the temple inscriptions of medieval Andhra reveals that the number of ladies in the Siva temples were more in number than those attached to the Vishnu temples like that of the practice followed in the Karnataka region in the medieval period.

34. S.I.I. Vol.No.160

35. *Ibid.*, No.137

36. *Ibid.*, Vol.VI, No.227

37. *Ibid.*, Vol.IV, No.1245

38. *Ibid.*, No.1372

39. *Ibid.*, No.1130

40. *Ibid.*, No.1300

NARASIMHA REDDI OF NOSSUM - A FORGOTTEN HERO FROM ANDHRADESA

B. SOBHANAN *

ABSTRACT: Certain events in history, even momentous, pass into oblivion. Some heroes are seldom remembered. One such instance is the valiant, dedicated resistance to the imperial designs

and machinations of the British by the *poligars* of Nossam. The author brings this to light with authentic documentation. As the poet said, 'a passing tribute of a sigh.'

The *poligar* chieftains who played a vital role in the socio-political, economic and administrative transactions of South India during the seventeenth and the eighteenth

centuries, were totally annihilated, consequent on the establishment of British paramountcy in the South. Unlike the *zamindars* and *jagirdars*, the *poligars* exercised the power to collect revenues and

to maintain a military force. At times they became the virtual administrators of the territory, renters of the Sovereign, commanders of the forces, guardians of public welfare and ryots among the people. They enjoyed considerable influence and power and defied the authority of their sovereigns whenever it suited their interests.¹

which continued even at the zenith of the British paramountcy. The scholars who have dealt with the modern history of Andhradesa have, unfortunately, paid little attention to the role of the *poligars*, particularly to those of Nossam. This paper is largely based on hitherto unexplored sources collected from the archival repositories in the South.

The *poligars* who exercised vast powers and privileges under the Hindu and Muslim rulers came to be a major stumbling block in the consolidation of the British power. At the time of the British annexation of the Ceded Districts, the present Rayalaseema area alone consisted of eighty different *poligars*.² Further there were more than 33,000 armed *peons* led by eighty *poligars*.³ Whilst most of the *poligar* chieftains submitted to the imperial arbitrations of the English, only a few chieftains recorded their protest against them. Amongst these, the *poligar* of Nossam gave valiant resistance,

The ancestry of the *poligar* chieftains of Nossam was traced from the period of Vijayanagar rulers. They considered themselves the 'first of Hindus next to the Brahmins, and equal to the Rajputs'.⁴ They served as *potails* of Chinchamulla and *desmooks* of Cumbum and kept up a body of 2,000 *peons*. For their maintenance, the Government granted 26,000 country *pagodas* and an assignment of fifty four villages which valued a *kaval* rent of country *pagodas* 10,530. Following the disintegration of the Vijayanagar Empire they proclaimed the independence and

1. V.M. Reddy and P. Raghunatha Rao, *Andhra Under the British Rule*, Hyderabad (1975), p.4.
2. J.D.B. Gribble, *A Manual of the District of Cuddapah in the Presidency of Madras*, Madras, (1875), p.104.
3. T. Beagle Hole, *Thomas Munro and the Development of the Administrative Policy in Madras, 1792-1816*, London, (1966), p.58
4. Thomas Pennant, *The View of Hindoostan*, Vol.II, London, MDCCXC VIII, p.123

* *About the author:* Dr. B. Sobhanan is working as lecturer in History, University of Kerala, Kariavattam, Trivandrum - 695 581, (Kerala State).

took the complete control of the territories assigned to them.⁵

Abdul Qutb Shah, the Sultan of Golkonda who captured Nossum permitted the *poligar* to possess the territories at an increased rate of *peishcush*.⁶ Under the Mughals they continued in their semi-independent status.⁷ Haidar Ali and Tipu, Sultans of Mysore also exercised their sway over Nossum. After the fall of Seringapatam, the pollam of Nossum went under the supervision of the Nizam of Hyderabad, who appointed Jayaram Reddi as the *poligar* on condition to pay an annual *peishcush* of 80,000 rupees. He failed to make regular payment and wanted a reduction of 35,000 rupees. Narasimha Reddi who succeeded Jayaram Reddi in 1795 became more irregular and ultimately refused to make the payment at all.⁸

Following the total

annihilation of the *sultans* of Mysore, the English forces turned against the *poligar* chieftains with added vigour and determination to commence a systematic operation against the *poligars*. On 9 December 1799, Edward Lord Clive, the Governor-in-Council, Madras issued a definition of the future condition of the *poligars* and administrative systems of the *poligar* territories.⁹ The military service rendered by the *poligars* and the *sherogars* was done away with and the Company charged itself with the protection and defence of the *poligar* pollams. Thus, the possession of firearms and weapons by the *poligars* became unnecessary for the safety of the people. The Governor authorised the officers to pay the value of such weapons¹⁰ surrendered by the *poligar* chieftains. Further, the *poligars* were relieved from all military duties and *Kaval* (watch-and-ward) services.¹¹ Those *poligars* who

5. Selections from *The Records of the Bellary Districts, Political, Revenue and Agricultural Matters*, (1800-1856), pp.10-14.

6. *Bellary District Records*, (Vol.396), p.460.

7. W. Francis, *Madras District Gazetteers, Bellary*, Madras, 1916, p.46

8. *Official Report of a Revolt by Poligar Narasimha Reddi in Koilcuntla Taluk*, Vol.I, pp.25-26.

9. *Cuddapah District Records*, Vol. 629, p.68.

10. *Bellary District Records*, Vol.381, *Governor's Proclamation*, 9 December, (1801)

refused to obey the orders were alarmed at the very serious consequences that would follow. The subsidiary treaty with the Nizam on 20 October 1800 further increased the strength of the forces. Apart from the regular six battalions, the Nizam was given two more battalions of sepoys, one regiment of cavalry with due proportion of guns and artillery men, thus increasing the total strength of the British forces to eight battalions of sepoys and two regiments of cavalry with the requisite equipment of guns, European artillery men, and the like. To meet the cost of the subsidiary troops, the Nizam ceded all the territories, that he acquired by the Mysore treaties of 1792 and 1799 together with the taluk of Adoni and all other taluks situated to the south of the rivers Thungabadra and Krishna.¹² These came to be known by the name of the Ceded Districts and comprised of the provinces of

Bellary, Anantapur and Cuddapah.¹³ The condition of the Ceded Districts on the eve of the British annexation was a complete confusion. Mr. William Thackeray reported that the indolence and corruption of the Nizam's officers had made them abandon the management of the revenue to the *poligars*, *zamindars* and *potails*, who had by their exactions impoverished if not almost depopulated the country by their hostilities.¹⁴

The Madras government was asked to make a total demolition of all subordinate military establishment coming within the limits of their dominion. Further, they required the revision of the assessments more proportionate to the resources of the *palayams* and more adequate to the public demand for defraying the expenses.¹⁵ The British frequently surveyed the *palayams* and enhanced the tribute under the

11. *Board of Revenue Consultations*, Vol.240, p.9620.

12. G.R. Gleig, *The Life of Major General Sir Thomas Munro*, (Vo.I, London, 1830), p.302.

13. C.D. Maclean, *Manual of Standing Information for the Madras Presidency*, Madras, 1893, p.44.

14. *Extract from Mr. Willaim Thackeray's Report*, 8 September 1807, Bellary, 1895, p.11.

15. *Revenue Consultations*, Vol.118, p.2690.

plea that the *poligars* possessed more of the resources than what had been actually estimated. The *poligars* were exposed to total exploitation. Further, they lost their powers and privileges. The British claimed the right to collect the customary tribute from *poligars* and to enhance the demand of them, if on enquiry there appeared that they had to pay an amount larger than what they usually paid by virtue of any lawful engagement. The British control on the *poligars* reached an alarming proportion during the time of Sir Thomas Munro. When Sir Thomas Munro took charge as the first principal Collector of the Ceded Districts in 1800, he found the land so infested with armed men, composed partly of the followers of the Nizam's troops in a state of mutiny and partly of the followers of turbulent *poligars*.¹⁶ He compelled the *poligars* of the Ceded Districts to relinquish every claim to make the annual assessment of their districts and to

retain bodies of armed peons, patels and karnams. He made settlements of revenue with those *poligars* in the same manner as in the *circar* villages.¹⁷ As an effective step towards bringing the *poligars* under subjection, Munro proceeded to adopt measures to deprive their armed *peons* as in the southern *pollams*.¹⁸ Those *poligars* who entertained such armed forces and weapons were treated as rebels.¹⁹

In the same year Narasimha Reddy of Nossum was summoned before the *cutchery* (the Government Court) to settle the arrears; but he declined to meet the British officials in the beginning.²⁰ When the British persisted he assumed himself the title of a tributary prince and deputed a *vakil* to settle the accounts. Sir Thomas Munro finally conceded to the demand of Narasimha Reddi and thereby reduced the amount to 45,000 rupees which could be paid under

three *kists* (instalments). Even after the reduction, he continued to evade the payment. From the scrutiny of the documents the British officers found that he was in a position to pay an additional amount of 15,000 rupees within the available income. Further he continued to retain the armed forces and refused to disband the same.²¹

Munro sought the consent of the Madras government to mobilise the British forces against Narasimha Reddi, who defied the British authority.²² With the consent of the Madras government, on 8 July 1801 Major General Campbell was directed to annex the *pollam*²³ and also grant ten per cent of the revenue for his personal expenses. Confronted with the massive British battalions, Narasimha Reddi,

found no alternative but to quit the *pollam*. Afterwards, he was arrested and confined in the fort on the Gooty hill in the Bellary district where he died on 4 November 1804.²⁴ Thus, in July 1846, Narasimha Reddi of Koilcuntla, the nephew of Narasimha Reddi of Nossum staged an open revolt when the British imperialist thrusts were at their zenith. Thus the *poligars* of Nossum, who played a predominant role in the political vicissitudes of Andhradesa during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries continued their valiant resistance in the same heroic and even epic style. Their deep dedication to the cause of the homeland and also their uncompromising resistance to the imperial designs and machinations of the British would entitle them to a *niche* in the modern history of Andhra Pradesh.

* * * * *

16. G.R. Gleig, *op.cit.*, Vol.I, p.305.

17. Extract of a Report from Col. Munro, 20 March 1805.

18. *Cuddapah District Records*, Vol. 647, pp. 243-244.

19. *Poligars General*, Vol. 647, pp.53-54.

20. *Official Report of revolt by Poligar Narasimha Reddi in Koilcuntla taluk*, Vol.I, pp.22-23.

21. *Selections from the Records of the Bellary District Political, Revenue and Agricultural Matters, 1800-1856*, p.12.

22. *Bellary District Records*, Vol.396, p.464.

23. *Ibid.*, Vol.647, pp.558-560.

24. *Ibid.*, Vol.648, pp.95-97.

BOOK REVIEWS

AMIR KHUSRAU AS A HISTORIAN

BY PROF. S.H. ASKARI

Published by Khuda Bhaksh Oriental
Public Library, Patna, (1987). pp. 167:
Price Rs. 25

Amir Khusrau is the finest representative of the new socio-cultural forces active in north India in the thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries when the Muslims had emerged as the dominant political power. The patronage of the ruling elite was exclusively bestowed upon Muslim scholars writing mainly in the Persian language and producing works mainly on literature, history, Islamic theology, etc. Amir Khusrau (b.1253 A.D.) was among the earliest India-born Muslim scholars, who benefitting by royal patronage, devoted themselves with undivided attention to scholarly pursuits. Khusrau has left behind thousands of pages in verse as well as in prose, covering a wide range of subjects. In the

process, besides establishing himself as a great man of letters, he was instrumental in carving out a permanent niche for Persian works *produced in India* in the history of Persian literature. He also gave shape to the burgeoning Hindi language, and opened up the possibility of its emergence into a vehicle of literary expression. The path was paved for the rise of a new life-style, eventually to be shared by large sections of Hindus and Muslims, alike.

To the students of medieval Indian history, though Khusrau was well-known, yet, traditionally he is not classed with Minhaj sirja, Ziauddin Barani, Afif or other Persian chroniclers, whose works have provided the basic chronology of the ruling muslim dynasties along with an account of their rise and fall, their wars of expansion and their successes and failures on the political front. In the present collection of eight essays published from time to time, Prof. Askari has sought to establish Khusrau's reputation as a historian in the same class as that of Minhaj, Barani, Afif and the like. Secondly, the author has called our attention

to the mass of information, relevant for historians, which can be gleaned from Khusrau's works, especially in prose, *I'jaz-i-Khusrauvi*.

Before I proceed with my comments, a general point.

Prof. Askaris has devoted more than six decades to teaching and research in medieval Indian history and has been writing about Amir Khusrau for a long time. Some of the articles are no longer available to scholars and researchers since the journals in which they were published have ceased publication or if they are still around, their old copies are difficult to obtain. Hence, scholars are always grateful when these old articles are thematically reprinted and once again made easily available. The Khudabaksh Oriental Public Library, an internationally known repository of published and unpublished works on Islamic and medieval Indian History has begun republishing collection of those articles of Prof. Askari on specific themes in book form, which are no longer easily accessible. The volume under review is the second such collection - the first being articles on Sufism.

The first two essays in the collection examine Khusrau as a

'Social historian'. The next six pieces take a look at Khusrau's *I'jaz-i-Khusrauvi* and indicate matters of interest to students of medieval Indian society. Whilst discussing Khusrau's claim as a historian, Prof. Askari concedes, "But history with Amir Khusrau was contemporary history, and, he could not shake off his obsession with literary accomplishments" (p.4). The last four words in the above sentence give the real clue to Khusrau's principal accomplishments.

As a man of letters, Khusrau's main concern was the depiction of life as he felt it, as he saw it, and as others saw it. Since his was a highly sensitive mind, depiction was invariably combined with reflection. The artist in him goaded him to present a picture which would appeal to the aesthetes as well. Hence, he was deeply concerned with the choice of words, arrangement of words and the variety of meanings they would convey. As an artist of words, he hardly cared for chronology, an essential parameter for a historian; a systematic and a balanced treatment is by and large missing in Khusrau's works.

Describing himself as 'the king of poetry' and writing it to gain 'eternal fame' (*vide* Wahid Mirza, *The Life And Works Of*

Amir Khusrau, Delhi, (1974), p.144 and p.177, Khusrau took recourse to poetry even when dealing with historical themes.

His Historical mathnawis, *Qiran-us-Sa'dain*, *Miftah-ul-futuh* and the *Ashiq* basically treat inter-personal human issues. In *Qiran-us-Sa'dain* he takes up the quarrel between father and the son, i.e. between Bughra Khan, the father and his son Kaiqobad, who had been installed as the ruler of Delhi by his grandfather Sultan Balban. The second, *Miftah-ul-futuh* records and recounts the four victories of Sultan Jalaluddin Firuz Khelji in course of one year. The *Ashiq* narrates the love between Prince *Khidr Khan* and the beautiful princess *Devaldi* and the tragic fate which befell the Prince.

Of the remaining two historical mathnawis, the *Tughlaq Namah*, takes up the brief reign of four years' of Ghiyasuddin Tughluq and Khusrau hardly gets an opportunity to show his talents as a historian. It is in *Nuh Siphir* that he has a chance to give us an inkling into his skill as a historian, though here again he is circumscribed because of the absence of unity of theme. He begins by eulogizing Nizamuddin Auliya and goes on to recount the

campaigns and the building activities of Mubarak Shah in the first two *Siphirs*. The third praises India, establishes its superiority in the realm of knowledge and sciences, describes its languages, flora, fauna and other aspects. The fourth *Siphir* narrates the advice the poet has to give to the officers and nobles of the realm. The fifth *Siphir* deals with the beauty of the Indian winter and a royal hunting trip. In the sixth *Siphir* the poet writes about the birth of Prince Muhammad, the son of Mubarak Shah and his early training. The seventh *Siphir* describes the new year festivities. In the eighth *Siphir*, the poet gives an account of the game of chaugan played by the king. Finally, in the ninth and the last *Siphir*, the poet tries to establish the superiority of the Persian poetry of Delhi in comparison to that of the other lands. Thus the author moves from theme to theme, as it catches his fancy and has no desire to remain systematic or comprehensive. He is more interested in presenting pen portraits, in capturing moments of personal experience for his readers than in telling a sustained story.

Of his prose works, only *Tarikh-i-'Alai* or *Khazain-ul-Futuh*, can be said to be consistently historical in content. It begins with the march of Alauddin's army to Devgiri in A.H.

(Anno Hegire) 695 while he was the governor of Karra and ends with the conquest of Ma'bar by Malik Kafur in 710 A.H. and his return to Delhi in 711 A.H. But in an age when detailed histories were being written, Khusrau has to take a back seat in company of Minhaj, Barni, Afif etc. Non-observance of the parameters of space and time, repeatedly force the reader to think of him as a versatile writer than a chronicler or a historian. However, this hardly diminishes Khusrau's usefulness to the students of medieval Indian history.

His extensive reporting on the life and mood of the age comes in handy for the present day historians. Khusrau, in more than one way, mirrors the age. In his five articles on Khusrau's *I'jaz-i-Khusraui* Prof. Askari has successfully ferreted out useful information on different aspects of society recorded by the author.

I'jaz-i-Khusraui is the most voluminous prose work of Khusrau. It was 'meant to give specimens of elegant prose suitable for various purposes' and also 'to provide instruction for the young literary aspirants of his age'. Thus it is basically a non-historical work. It goes to the credit of Prof. Askari that he has drawn our attention to the wealth to

historical data contained in it. I cite below some facts brought forth by Prof. Askari which enhance our understanding as well as the knowledge of the life as it existed in that period.

An interesting piece of information is that Agra was well-known even before it was made a capital city by Sikandar Lodi (pp.78-79).

Khusrau hardly reproves the utter disdain with which the then ruling Muslim circles looked upon the Hindus. He notes: "... At the time of the demand of *Khiraj* and *Jizya* (tribute and poll-tax) they should show such submissiveness that if they demand the water of their eyes they are prepared to part with the grease of their pupils, and they are readily responsive to the system to such an extent that if their big men (leaders) be ordered to get into the rat's hole they would run towards it and creep into it" (p.85).

At the same time, Amir Khusrau did not hesitate to point his fingers at the tyrannical and corrupt high officers of the realm. Prof. Askari on pp.94-95 quotes him as follows. "Having misappropriated large amount of money and made it frozen he Wali or Governor says that the close fisted (stingy) person is worth

lakhs, but we say that the fist is not worth even a Dang (Damri) when it is clinched. He has apprinted his stone-hearted agents to serve as magnet for drawing the wealth of the people towards their sides and he draws to himself whatever and wherever particles of gold and silver are found, though he knows that the things belong to others, yet he manages to misappropriate them to himself. He finds so many people at his door to place their complaints and their grievances, but he never tries to redress them. He is not afraid of death. With strange narrow-mindedness he overlooks whatever comes before him.... He does not accept as correct the judgement of the Qazi on the subject and always runs after Malik-Dinar (king of gold). By amassing money, piece by piece, he has become so rich as to consider Jafar Dawaniqui (Abbasid Caliph) to be a pauper. He opens and rolls his shameless eye at the time of arguments and wordy disputations, and makes unexplainable matters the basis of his preamble."

Khusrau's observations show that despite Alauddin's strong rule and sincere desire to promote the well-being of the State, corruption was 'rife in all classes of society, particularly among the business people and the revenue officials, judges, scribes, tax-gatherers and

accountants etc' Despite the policy of market-control initiated by the Emperor, cereals became scarce. He says, "Today it is about the end of a month that mouths of the horses of the writer are sealed in respect of barley corn (jav)... A handful of barley, had come from village Barhara, but it was soon eaten up and now barley is not available in the bazar and one has to suffer kick for trying to get it ... They have imitated the ways of the Jews. Is there nobody to throw them (hoarders) in the pit in place of grains?" (pp.103-104).

The oil-men defrauded the Government and the customers. Khusrau exhorted Ziaul-Mulk Sirajuddaula, the *Shahna* or the Superintendent of oil pressers to 'bring about a change in the habits of nature of the band of those vicious oily people who are more numerous than the particles of sands, and by penetrating like water into sands he was to bring out oil therefrom (do the impossible)'. The author further advises him, "He (the *Shahna*) not allow them to persist (in their nefarious activities).

Although they would try to make an offer of small quantity of oil for his lamp and wish to use him as a wick of cotton and burn him (bribe and exploit him to serve

their selfish purposes), he should anticipate them and reduce their bones to cotton by striking them with his wooden stick just as the carder does in the case of the cotton with his comber" (p.107).

In the light of the above facts gleaned from the works of Khusrau, we are certainly in a better position to reassess the reign of Alauddin Khilji and to evaluate his economic policies. It seems it ensured neither plenitude nor cheapness. But before we come to the above conclusion we are faced with a dilemma as a student of history. Through Amir Khusrau has recorded his observations, he neither gives the date nor the place. In the absence of the two coordinates of time and space can we honestly hold that what Khusrau says was true for the *entire* reign and the *whole extent* of the empire of Alauddin Khilji? This is what deters us from placing Amir Khusrau alongside historians such as Minhaj, Barani or Afif etc. But as an observer of the contemporary society Khusrau excels all the traditional historians and succeeds in conveying to us a *feel* of the life-style which the others have failed to do. Hence, Khusrau's unending attraction for all the students of medieval Indian history.

Before I conclude, I may be

permitted to make another general observation. As I have said earlier, such publications are welcome. But their utility will be enhanced if certain simple norms are scrupulously observed, which are lacking in the volume under review.

- The Journal in which every essay included in the collection was published and when, should be specified.
- There should be some uniformity in the references.
- An index is a must
- There should be a bibliography at the end incorporating the works that have been referred to or consulted in the text.
- 'Printer's devils' should be kept at bay

Reviewed by
Prof. Surendra Gopal

THE RULE OF THE CHALUKYA — CHOLAS IN ANDHRA DESA

BY DR. M. KRISHNA KUMARI

* Published by B.R. Publishing
Corporation, Delhi.

pp. xxi + 276

Price Rs. 200/-

The theme of the Chalukya-Cholas is a fascinating one. Eastern Chalukyas were one of the main branches of the Chalukyas which held sway over the Vengi country by which it came to be designated as the Vengi Chalukya. This family of Andhra Desa and the Chola family of Tamil Nadu became closely bound up by ties of matrimony. The fusion of the two crowns of the Eastern Chalukyas and the Cholas by Kulottunga-I (1070-1118 A.D.), primarily an Eastern Chalukyan prince, who later became one of the greatest rulers that ruled over South India, initiated the rule of the amalgamated Chalukya-Cholas in Andhra Desa. Thus, he became the founder of a new dynasty called the Chalukya-Chola, which was a link between the Eastern chalukyas and the Kakatiyas ruling in the Andhra region for over a century.

The present work by the author is an outcome of scholarly research, not only by a discerning analysis of the epigraphical and literary sources, but also by a perceptive reference to the ignored hitherto Telugu inscriptions of the later Chalukya-Chola period in a clear and lucid manner.

The book begins with a foreword by Prof. E. Suryanarayan

Murthy followed by a preface. It comprises 10 chapters. The first chapter is an introduction highlighting the significance of the Chalukyan-Chola period and its importance in the history of medieval Andhra. It also deals with the various sources which help in the reconstruction of the history of this period. The second chapter contains a description of the political situation in the region prior to Chalukya-Chola rule, whilst in the third chapter, the author gives an account of the reign and political career of Kulottunga I and also of the foreign invasions and how these were repulsed. The rule of the successors of Kulottunga-I the chaotic political situation and factors and that led to the downfall of the suzerainty of the Chalukya-Cholas are examined in the fourth chapter. The fifth chapter is devoted to the last vestiges of the Chalukya-Cholas rule in the Andhra Desa. In the sixth to the ninth chapters, the author has made an assessment of the administration, economy, the social system and the religious conditions that prevailed in that period. The last chapter discusses the development in the systems of education and traces briefly the influences of various art and architectural styles and the temples that were constructed and renovated during the rule of the Chalukya Cholas.

The book also includes two maps of South India, showing the extent of the Chalukya-Chola kingdom.

A scholarly work, based on sound scholarship and firsthand research of source materials, this book would be of great use to research scholars.

An added merit: Eminently readable.

Reviewed by
Prof. Dharmendra Prasad.

TEMPLE CULTURE OF SOUTH INDIA

BY P.R. PARAMESWARAN
PILLAI

Published by Inter-India Publications,
D-17, Raja Garden, New Delhi,
Price Rs.210

Study of South Indian history is mainly based on inscriptions and structural monuments like temples. A large number of lithic records of the early and medieval periods are preserved in the temples. Study of temples is thus essential for historical research.

Temple Study encompasses, besides art and architecture, a variety of items constituting the culture of the respective periods, such as religion, social conditions customs, rituals, economic matters as taxes, coin and currency, food habits and matters related to trade and administration. Temples are the repositories of our ancient records like the modern archives. They are not only the places of religious worship but also serve as centres of religious discourses, drama performances and even folk dance. The Temple of the medieval period was the pivot round which village life used to move. It was also the venue when in the presence of God judicial proceedings were conducted by the village *Sabha*.

The scope of the present book covers some of those items in the chapters on temple architecture - Temple sculpture, mural paintings of the Kerala temples, temple festivals and temple inscriptions. The introductory chapters deal in passing with the topics on Hinduism, Jainism and Buddhism and the origin of temples in Kerala. The concluding chapters deal with temple as a centre of culture and literature. The last chapter is devoted to short notes on some temples of Kerala, arranged in alphabetical order.

This attempt of Sri

Parameswaran Pillai, although limited to the temples of Kerala, is undoubtedly a laudable work of this kind. The subject is so vast that each temple requires a full treatment, if one has to cover all the points suggested above. It is the practice of the students in research to choose for detailed study one or two items like art or architecture or inscriptions or iconography of the famous big temples like that of Suchindram. Instead of taking such detailed study the author made an attempt to present the whole gambit of temples in the cultural history of Kerala. He has traced out the origin of every feature and brought for its historical significance with regard to culture. His treatment of architecture though brief in description contains the salient features of the Dravidian temples, with particular reference to the main temples of Kerala. The functional aspect of each part of the temple is well delineated drawing distinction between the general Dravidian type with gigantic constructions and the Kerala type with modest structures, in wood and stone. The simplicity of the indigenous structures is generally compensated by exquisite sculptures in wood and stone and mural paintings of a high order.

The chapter on temple

festivals is important in that the author presents the actual traditions which are fast decaying under the influence of modernity. The chapter serves as documentation of the traditions for the students of culture and provides an interesting study to the general readers as well. The chapter on temple inscriptions of Kerala, although given in brief summaries of the important epigraphs, enables the reader to know the historical as well as the social conditions in different periods. The chapter containing the brief description of a good number of prominent temples of Kerala is a valuable contribution of the book. Though brief, the account furnished in these notes is much helpful for the students working on the same subject of other regions, few sketches of ground plans of the temples of Udayanapuram, Ethumanoor and Parthivasekharapuram besides the two plates depicting the elevation of the temples of Udayanapuram and Kumara nallur appropriately add to the value of the book. The book further contains sixteen plates representing the general views of the important temples of Kerala.

The book on the whole is useful in more than one aspect of research and serves as a guide for students who might take up

similar subjects for compartmental study.

Reviewed by
P.V. Parabrahma Sastry

NATIONAL MOVEMENT IN SOUTH INDIA

BY Dr. Ch. M. NAIDU

Published by Mittal Publications,
Delhi, (1988);
pp.216 : Price Rs. 175

The history of freedom movement in India occupies a unique place in the entire history of similar freedom movements the world over for the reason that Indian independence was won largely through non-violent means and measures. Whilst the history of Indian nationalism is a saga of great idealism and sacrifice on the part of the people, it is also a reflection of the acute consciousness in them to assert their inalienable rights and privileges. The economic impact of the British rule with its regional variations instilled the spirit of opposition to the exploitative policies of the government.

The present book under review, *Nationalism in South India* is an attempt to interpret

and focus the most compelling causes for the rise of economic nationalism in the erstwhile Madras Presidency. The period chosen, 1885-1918 is the most formative one as it was the phase of "preparation" for the actual struggle for *swaraj*. The book is divided into two parts. The first deals with the economic background, having its frame of reference aspects like agriculture, land revenue, irrigation, famines, forests, salt, industry, railways, and foreign trade. The second division dealing with social background contains chapters on education and journalism besides the role of separate religious groups like the Hindus, Muslims and Christians. The discussion on South India proper to which the very book appears to have an exclusive claim, as the title suggests, is reduced to a single chapter which virtually is the last one. It reads like a kind of epilogue.

Economic ideas of Indian leadership began with the indomitable Dadabhai Naoroji and followed by stalwarts like Ranade, Gokhale, Joshi, G.S. Iyer, R.C. Dutt, D.C. Wacha, and a host of others, who moulded the economic thinking in relation to the rise of the spirit of nationalism. They exposed how the British drained off Indian wealth to Britain. Through their speeches and

writings, they projected the colonial character of the Imperial rule and thus became the forerunners of the later critics of the British rule. The efforts of these economic nationalists and the impact of their crusade against alien rule has been the theme of many a work but the most significant has been the one brought out by Bipan Chandra in his magnum opus. *The Rise and Growth of Economic nationalism in India*, published in 1966. The book under review appears to have taken the work of Bipan Chandra as a meaningful model but limiting the study to the South.

Regional studies, particularly in the colonial context are quite welcome, for, they go a long way in trying to project a comprehensive history when similar studies are taken up of the areas which hitherto were overlooked. But this should be more to focus an area which was either socially, linguistically or administratively a demarcated unit by itself. A geographical delineation even for an academic exercise should stand justified through any one of the parameters that give rise to regional consciousness, as otherwise, we run the risk of imputing sub-national or sub-regional tendencies and perspectives which did not exist. The repeated use of the words like "South India", "South Indians",

"worthy sons of South Indian Soil", etc. in this study only suggests the anxiety to give a stamp of justification to the title that the book is made to bear.

The purpose of the study as claimed, is to project the economic and social imbalances created by the British as the positive factors for the rise and growth of economic nationalism which in turn became the main spring-board of anti colonial struggle. The attempt is also laudable in view of the economic aspects that the author has chosen to delineate the impact of British rule in whipping up such anti colonial sentiments. But unfortunately, the author simply dishes out a dry account of the numerous economic and social aspects during the period of the study and there is hardly any attempt made to weave these crucial aspects to a pattern. The entire section on economic background remains purely at a static level of giving a birdseye view of the British policies without attempting any analysis of the change and continuity of such oppressive policies of the government during the period under study (1885-1918). This could have been overcome by pooling the time-series and by trying to examine the effects of such policies of the government on the society.

The manner in which the most significant economic issues like agriculture, land revenue and famine relief are discussed in the study does not provide enough justification for the rising tide of nationalism, particularly in the South for the reason that the ideas are loosely organised and the narration lacks logical arguments. For example, the experiments that the Government of Madras conducted with regard to land revenue collections in Malabar, Tanjore and Madurai with no reference to the earlier experiments, provide no sufficient background for the frustration that became a powerful factor of resistance among the peasants. When the idea of the British was to tax the land and not the produce as the pre-colonial rulers did, the definition of land revenue as made out in the present study like "collection of some proportion from the produce of agricultural lands either in cash or kind by the Government", sounds rather out of tune. Speaking about the railways, to say that the "type of timber provided for railways by forests possessed strength and durability, suffered less wear and tear due to rolling stock and less breakage in the case of accidents" only shows how the "rolling stock" has been misconstrued in matters of the early Indian Rail Companies. Likewise, to say that Sir Thomas Munro was a scientist, is to do no

credit to the great Collector, Governor and above all a great friend of the Indian peasant, but only to show the casual manner in which men and matters are taken for granted.

There are quite a few instances of taking liberties with the chronological details in the study. The year in which the first railway line in South between Madras and Arkonam was laid, the year in which Col. Reid was sent as Collector to Baramahal, the year in which the construction of the Godavari barrage was taken up, are all mis-represented. Words has been wrongly used, too: for instance, when the author has in mind 'resources', he employs the term 'resourcefulness'!

However, the chapters on Education and Journalism under the second part, social background are comparatively well-balanced and fairly well-documented. The role of the press in Madras Presidency during the period of this study with the details of the editors and their views are sufficiently highlighted. But pigeonholing the leaders and the people who participated in the national movement on the basis of the religious denomination to which they belong, to say the least is most unjust. It is not established in the study that those people

reacted to the national movement through the streams of their own religions like Hindus, Muslims and Christians during the pre 1918 period.

The study has as its objective to focus the economic impact of the British colonial policies as solely responsible for the rise of nationalism. This itself is a commendable attempt though the work falls short of the general expectations. If only greater care had been taken to give an

integrated picture of the entire work with a string of author's perspective which must have been made to run through the entire work, the book certainly must have become a substantial addition to the existing literature on the subject. The author should be complimented for choosing an imaginative and thought provoking format while making this study.

Reviewed by K.S.S. Seshan

