

Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society

VOL XIV.

JULY 1943

PART I.

THE SORAS

G. V. SITAPATI, B. A., L. T.

(Continued from Vol XIII, p. 186.)

The Soras firmly believe that the ancestral spirits often visit their houses and take the essence of the things in the sacred pots mentioned above. Periodically and particularly when the harvest festivals are celebrated, they throw away the contents from which the essence has been taken away and refill the pots with fresh things. Cases of neglect are taken notice of by the spirits and when they are invoked at seances, they give expression to their grievance through the mouth of the medium. I once listened to a complaint of this nature:—"you invoke me and want my help but you are not pleased to throw away the old contents of the sacred pots in your house and replenish them with fresh things. I consumed all the essence in them during my first two visits and when I visited for the third time, I found the same old stuff again. When you do not care for me, how can you expect me to help you? I am now very thirsty, give me at least some liquor." This was the complaint made by an ancestral spirit in a Sora house in Manneba, a Sora village, when I visited it one morning. The inmates of the house hurriedly brought a small pot with the best liquor they had and gave the pot to the medium. He held it to his lips but did not drink it; he inhaled the odour for a few seconds and set the pot down and my Sora friend whom I asked to taste it just smacked it and said it was very insipid. A few minutes later, my Sora friend was offered a cup of liquor from the same stock from which what was offered to the spirit had been taken. "This is very nice" he exclaimed.

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There are certain indications by which the inmates of the house can know the advent of the spirits, also whether they are male or female. If weapons like the sword or spear clink and clank on their own accord, it is *Jōjōnji* (the male ancestral spirits) that have entered the house and if, on the other hand, the water pots or utensils rattle, it is *Yōyōnji* (the female ancestral spirits) that have entered the house. These indications are noticed only at night and never during the day time. The belief of the Soras is that the ancestral spirits do not like to be disturbed during the day time; but when invocations are made they do not fail to come whether it is day or night.

The nature of life and avocations of their deities and spirits are sometimes revealed to the Soras at the seances. When Torongo, a Sora teacher was ill and his own mother-in-law sat for a seance and acted as the medium, an ancestral spirit that was invoked said "This youth (referring to Torongo) seriously offended the deities and spirits by disturbing the water of a hill stream at about 11 o'clock during day ignoring that it is the usual time for them to bathe in it and, therefore, incurred their displeasure and became ill". At another seance, an ancestral spirit finally said "Well, I have said what all I have to say; it is time for me to go back to my abode; my children, there, are looking for me." No Sora could tell me definitely who the ancestral spirits' children were in the abode of the ancestral spirits.

The life of the *Sonums* is, according to the belief of the Soras, similar to that of the human beings on earth. They have, as indicated above, family cares and anxieties. They bathe regularly at about 11 a.m. in hill streams. They wear the leaves of the wild turmeric plant (*Sang-sang-nēb*) or *Sulti-nēb* for their dress. Some of the *Sonums* were also, like kittings, cannibals in olden days. *Eldāboj-an* is believed to be a cannibal even now. The *Sonums* have also religious ceremonies and the porcupine (*Kanjingan*) is regarded as the priest of the deities and is supposed to live in a labyrinth.

The advent of the spirits of Soras who died in distant places is indicated by a rumbling noise in the hills which the Soras interpret to be the sounding of the drums by the *Sonums*. The belief that every part of the world is possessed by a deity or spirit is so strong among the Soras that they think that even in the plains outside the Sora country, there must be *Sonums* belonging to the people, residing there. Once, when I returned to Parlakimedi from the Sora country, I was brought in a *dōli* (a litter like vehicle) borne by eight Soras on their shoulders. It was ten o'clock in the night by the time we reached my house. We were all very hungry and food for all of us was almost ready; but they would not take food from my house because we had already commenced to eat the new things of the year and they had not done so; they had yet to celebrate the harvest festival.

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I gave them rice, tamarind, vegetables, salt, chillies etc.—all of the previous year and told them to prepare their food in the back portion of my house close to the well and suggested that they could make use of the hearth, where I usually have water boiled for my bath. But they refused to cook their food there, because they were afraid that my *kuda-sum* (lit. the hearth deity) would not like them to prepare their food there. I, then, asked them to make a fresh hearth any where near the well but they would not cook their food anywhere in the compound of my house because they had a firm belief, that either deities and spirits or ghosts, interested in my house, would lurk on the trees and in the compound and would not like strangers to cook their food there. So, they came out and prepared their food on the road-side, in front of my house.

The Sora thinks that the *Sonums* are very fond of liquor and they, therefore, come close to the liquor pots. Consequently, he keeps the liquor pots always closed and spreading some green leaves near the pots, sprinkles on the leaves some drops of the liquor in the pots, so that the *sonums* may take the essence from those drops of liquor and go away satisfied. The Sora is also invariably in the habit of offering (*sig gōd*) for the spirits a few rice-grains from the food served to him before he begins to eat. These rice-grains are scattered on a fresh green leaf. The belief is that either food or liquor consumed without such an offering (*siggōd-an*) upsets the stomach and will not be digested.

No anthropomorphic form is given to any of the *Sonums* because except a few mentioned below they are not conceived as having any form or shape. The case of *kittungs* is, however, different; they are deified horses; their figures are drawn on the walls near the place of worship but though they are held sacred, they are never the objects of worship. *Eldā-boj-an* is conceived to be an old hag with shaggy hair, glittering eyes, grinning teeth and long and sharp nails like those of a bear. The sun, the moon and the planet Venus (*sunkra*) are visible objects and pictures illustrating them are also drawn on the walls near the place of worship but they are not objects of worship though they are held sacred. The picture of the sun must necessarily be on the wall when *Uyungan* (or any other of the four, mentioned above, as referring to the sun) is worshipped. Even then, no offering is made to the picture. Even when incantations containing references to the Sun are made, the priest does not look at the picture. The illustration on the wall is not treated as an object of worship. Hence, it may be said, that there is nothing like idol worship among the Soras.

SORA CONCEPTION OF THE HUMAN SOUL

According to the conception of the Soras, every person has, besides the corporal body, two substances one of which is known as (*A*) *Balēng-purādā-n*¹ or *Sannā:purādā-n*² and the other *Sudā-purādā-n*. The word *purādā-n* when used independently means heart and *Sannā-purādā-n* is identified, with the heart. The qualifying word *Sannā* (lit. small, probably from the Telugu word *Sanna*, meaning thin, small, fine) is used in contrast to *Sudā* (lit. big) in *Sudā purādā-n*. Because *Sannā-purādā-n* is identified with the heart, it is also known as *rup-rup-purādā-n*³ the qualifying expression *rup-rup* is onomatopoeic indicating the sound of the heart beat. This *Sannā* or *rup-rup-purādā-n* is born with the body and it remains in the body as long as the body lives and it dies with the body. Though it is generally identified with the heart, the Sora priests tell me that it is not the same as the physical heart which is part of the physical body. It is a life-giving and life-maintaining substance. It is seated in the heart. It has nothing to do with the mental or moral or any other activities of the person. It simply maintains the life of the person. It can never go out of the body; its birth and death are identical with the birth and death of the body.

The case of *Sudā-purādā-n* is different. It is no doubt, born with the body of a person but is, unlike *Sannā-purādā-n*, independent of the body; it can leave and re-enter the body, as it frequently does, during the time the body sleeps and it does not die with the body; it is immortal. The Sora conception of *Sudā-purādā-n* is similar to but not exactly the same as the Hindu conception of *Jiva-ātma* or the Christian conception of the Soul. The Soras attribute the mental, moral and other activities of the person to the *Sudā-purādā-n* that remains in the body. While the body of the person sleeps, the *Sudā-purādā-n* leaves the body and wanders about and re-enters the body when the person awakes. Dreams are explained by the Soras with reference to the wanderings of this *Sudā-purādā-n*. If, for example, a person had a dream that he and his friend in another village met and talked together, the Sora would account for the dream by saying that the *Sudā-purādāns* of the two persons met and talked together during their wanderings. When such an explanation was given by Sora priest, I remarked that both the persons must have had the same

1. *Balēng-an* means the roof of a house and in this compound it is figuratively used to mean the essential substance that maintains the life of the body *A*. *a* is a prefix grammatically required to make the compound; it may optionally be dropped.
2. a dialectal variant is *puḍara-n*.
3. a dialectal variant is *rub-rub-purādan*

dream at one and the same time and the Sora priest endorsed my remark. Two days later, I confronted the priest by saying "Had you any dream, last night?" He said that he had none. Then I said I had one that I met him and that we talked together. To speak the truth, I had no such dream but I wanted to see what explanation he would give. The Sora priest was clever enough. He first got confused but in a few minutes, became steady and said "sometimes, we don't remember all our dreams. Probably I had a similar dream though I may not remember it now." That kind of explanation would put an end to any further discussion on the subject.

Because the *Sudā-purādān* is associated with the mental, moral and other intellectual activities of the person, all these activities are suspended, according to the Sora belief, during the time the body sleeps. Breathing, snoring and the movement of the limbs etc., are explained with reference to the influence of the *Sandā-purādān* which never leaves the body.

Sudā-purādān, being immortal, leaves the body after it is dead and becomes a *kulbān* (corresponding to *prēta*, according to the Hindus). It remains as such until all the funeral rites including the last rite, the *guār* are performed. On the last day of the *guār*, the ancestral spirits interested in this soul come in response to the invocation of the priest and take it to the permanent abode of the ancestral spirits. After going to its permanent abode it remains there for ever.

TRANSMIGRATION OF THE HUMAN SOUL

I enquired if the Soras believed in the transmigration of the human soul. In response to my enquiry, one Sora priest said "The *Sudā-purādā* can never have rebirth so long as it remains in the stage of a *kulbān*. It may, if it so desires, have a rebirth only after it becomes an ancestral spirit. It all depends upon its will and pleasure."

Further enquiry on the subject shows that what this Sora priest told me is the general belief among all the Soras who have thought about this question.

There are instances of persons who are troubled by *kulbāns*. The medicine man is capable of knowing all the details about the *kulban* that possesses a person and of driving away the *kulban* from the person that is possessed and afflicted by the *kulbān*.

The Sora conception of *karma* does not go beyond the performance of the stipulated or customary ceremonies, rites and festivals. Failure to do any of these would bring upon the delinquent, the wrath of the offended deities and spirits, during his life time only and failure to perform the funeral rites of a dead person would keep

the *Sudā-purādān* of the dead person in the stage of a *kulbān* and bring upon the delinquent the wrath of the *kulban* as well as of the ancestral spirits interested in that dead person. The Soras are therefore, very particular about the performance of the funeral rites and there is hardly a case of neglect in this matter.

The Sora religion is still in the stage of polytheism and has not yet progressed to the stage of pantheism. The Soras are not worried with thoughts of hell or heaven, karma or redemption, eternal sin or eternal bliss.

RELIGION

PART II—MAGICO-RELIGIOUS INTERPRETATION OF PATHOLOGY

Like all other primitive peoples of the world, the Soras ascribe every disease, every unhappiness or adversity in life and every case of death to one or the other of the various evil spirits that may work either of their own accord or under the influence and direction of Sorcerers controlling them.

When a person is laid up with fever or any other disease—ordinary or extra-ordinary—the first thought that readily suggests itself to the members of his family is that the disease has been caused by an evil spirit and if it continues, the first thing to be done is to consult a diviner in order to ascertain which particular spirit has caused the disease, whether the spirit has done it of its own accord or has been directed to do so by a Sorcerer; the nature of offence caused by the afflicted person to the spirit or the Sorcerer; the name of the Sorcerer who induced the spirit to cause the disease and all other details relating to the causation of the disease as well as to the magico-religious rites and treatment to be resorted to so that the person may be completely free from the disease.

The rites for diagnosis are of a magico-religious character while the treatment varies with the results of the Seance; it is fundamentally religious; in some cases it is magico-religious; in some other cases it is magico-medicinal also. Medicinal treatment unaccompanied by religious rites or magical practices is rare and is generally considered to be not efficacious. Sometimes, as in the case of headache it is revealed to have been caused by *Sardā-Sum*, and fowl or goat (but never a pig which is in this case tabooed) is offered to the deity in front of the house at the earliest convenience, during that very night or the next forenoon and a sacrificial pot (*pūr-pūr dencan*), full of rice and containing a piece of ginger and a Copper

Coin is hung to the roof in the house, as a further offering to the same deity and in the hope that the deity will, thereafter, be satisfied with the rice in the pot and will not trouble any one in the house. The treatment in this case is entirely religious. When the body of a child, subject to a chronic disease, is reduced to a skeleton and presents an appearance of a blood sucker, the disease is supposed to have been the work of Tuttum—Sum (the blood sucker-spirit); a fowl or a pig is sacrificed and three cups of flesh and rice are offered, to the spirit on the roadside at the foot of a jack tree; and a live blood-sucker is held by the *Kudān* and passed over the body of the patient and thrown away. The treatment followed in this case is partly religious and partly magical. Sometimes, as in the case of Epilepsy, it is believed to be caused by *Kanni-boj*, a very malevolent and terrible spirit,¹ living on the branches of huge forest trees. There is, besides religious sacrifices and magical practices and charms and amulets, medicinal treatment. Fawcett has given the following story of a young man subject to epileptic fits:—

“I frequently saw a Saora youth of about 20, supposed to be possessed by this deity. He was an idiot and either would not or could not speak. A miserable famished creature he was. No one was unkind to him. Money he would not touch, and seemed to live on what morsels of food he could pick up from the refuse of villages. About every half hour, or sometimes every five minutes, he had a fit which lasted about a minute or less. The fits came and went very suddenly. I have seen him very intently searching in the refuse of a Pano village and suddenly start up and walk round in a circle as if in great agony, his arms stretched out before him, while he uttered the most hideous cries; as suddenly as it came, the fit was gone and he went on with his search as if nothing had happened. Numerous buffaloes had been sacrificed to Kanni to induce that deity to leave the youth but to no purpose. It was therefore, supposed that Kanni had taken such a tight hold of him that nothing would induce him (or her)*² to leave him.”

As this is a very malevolent and terrible spirit, buffaloes are sacrificed and offered to her. A preliminary portion of the worship is made in the house in the evening but the major part of the worship is done at night in the forest. Besides the religious rites and sacrifices, the following magico-medicinal treatment is also resorted to. The *Kudan* brings a string of the seeds of *canavalia ensiformis* and

(1) “Epilepsy or seizure (Greek epilēpsis) was thought to be really the act of a demon seizing and convulsing the patient”—Tylor’s *Anthropology*, Chap. I, p. 11, *Thinker’s Library Ed.*

(2) This is a female deity. *Kanni-boj an* is her name,

puts it round the neck of the patient after performing the necessary magic spell over it. I saw a young boy of about 14 in a village on the outskirts of the Agency border, along with Mr. Yeatts. ¹ He had a string of these seeds round his neck and on enquiry we learnt that he had been subject to epilepsy for about five years. Neither religious rites nor sacrifices could be of any avail. He had been getting sudden fits and in consequence he either fell down senseless or danced in a semi-conscious state of mind. He was never again attacked by the disease after the Kudan tied this necklace round his neck. He would have it for some years more till he reached an advanced age in life because this spirit is fond of possessing young boys and young men and has no fancy for men of advanced age. A medicine consisting of five drugs and mustard is also prepared and given to the patient,

1. the seed and root of *Canavalia ensiformis*.
 2. the root *Tinospora Cordifolia*.
 3. the bark of *Dalbergia latifolia*.
 4. " " *Cipadessa fruticosa* Bl.
 5. the root of plant. Samapuri
- and 6. mustard.

They are reduced to powder and mixed in equal proportions for internal use. The patient has to swallow two doses a day before meal time, each dose consisting of as much as is held by the small sized shell of a nail. This medicine is to be taken for a fortnight and during this period the use of the meat of the pea-fowl, wild-hog and hare should be avoided. At the commencement and end of this period, there are religious rites and sacrifices, as described above. The necklace of the charmed seeds of *canavalia ensiformis* is also tied to the neck of the patient. Thus, the treatment resorted to in the case of epilepsy attributed to the evil spirit of Kanni-bōj-an, is partly religious, partly magical and partly medicinal.

Whatever be the nature of the treatment, it is, as the Sōrā believes, directed against the evil spirit that is supposed to be the cause of the disease. Even in cases of sorcery, the Sōrā believes that it is the evil spirit controlled by the sorcerer that possesses the body of the victim and causes disease. There are several ways in which the evil spirit is believed to manifest itself in the person attacked; and there is nothing which the spirit cannot do. It can suddenly turn a healthy person mad; it can produce sudden swellings over the body or an enormous bloating of the stomach; it can make a person so thirsty that he will drink potfuls of liquor or water; it can reduce the body of a healthy person to a skeleton. None of these pathological conditions can be accounted for by any known or

(1) Mr. M. W. M, Yeatts visited Parlakimidi in 1930 in connection with the Census Operations of 1931.

THE SORAS



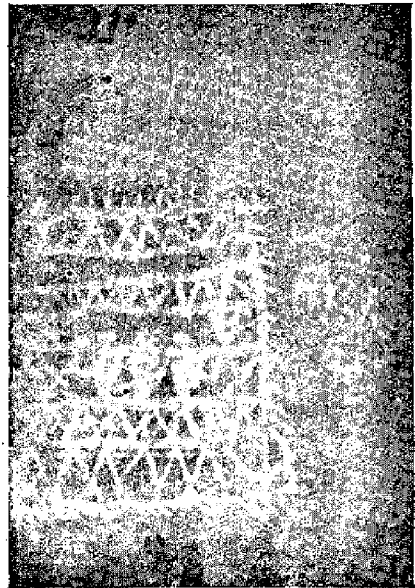
Savara Trumpeteers



A Savara Male
with Neck Laces and Beads



Playing on "Veena"



A Savara Drawing

THE SORAS



Inhaling from a Pipe



Bird hunting



Skinning a Snake

reliable causes. The only explanation that appeals to the Sōrā mind is that the evil spirit possessing the body can produce any kind of disease.

Even burns and cuts, which are clearly the effects of natural causes, are attributed to the wrath of the evil spirits; if they are accidental, the accident is believed to have been caused by the spirits directly; if they are intentionally caused by a foe, the belief is that the spirits induced the foe to cause them.

Though, by experience, the Sōrās have learnt the use of medicine and do apply some medicine for these burns and cuts they have recourse to magical spells also in the belief that because the spirits can be controlled by the magicians, the evil produced by the spirits can be removed by the spells of the magicians.

Disease is conceived as something physical that can be forced into or removed from the body. The expressions used with reference to disease and the gestures made when spells are chanted to expel the disease, clearly indicate the conception that the Sōrās have of disease. Disease is spoken of as 'entering' the body, 'remaining' there, 'tormenting' a person, 'leaving' the body and 'appearing' or 'disappearing.' When the magician chants a spell to drive off a disease, he waves his hand and points to the part of the body of the patient through which it is made to escape. Disease can be transferred from the body of the patient to an external object like a tree.

Even where disease is conceived to be an unsound condition of the whole body or of any part of the body, it is believed to have been caused by the projection of a morbid material object into the body. There is, however, difference of opinion among the Sōrās regarding the nature of the work of the material object that enters the body. Some think that they carry the disease and some others that they cause the disease. The former view is based on the conception that disease is physical.

The Āryans of the Vēdic period also regarded disease as physical. The following references illustrate the remark:—

1. "Of abscess, of decline, of inflammation of the eyes. O Plant,
Of penetrating pain, thou Herb, let not a particle remain,
2. These nerves of thine—Consumption! which stand closely
hidden in thy groin
I know the balm for that disease: the magic cure is Sipudru
3. We draw from thee piercing pain that penetrates and racks
thy limbs
That pierces ears, that pierces eyes, the abscess and the
heart's disease.
Downward and far away from thee we banish that unknown
decline."

(Hymn CXXVII Book VI—Atharva Veda—Griffith's translation)

1. "With fortune of the Sisu tree—with Indra as my friend to aid—
I give myself a happy fate. Fly and begone Malignities!
2. That splendour and felicity wherewith thou hast excelled the trees—
Give me therewith a happy fate. Fly and begone Malignities!
3. Blind fortune, with reverted leaves that is deposited in trees—

Give me therewith a happy fate. Fly and begone Malignities"

(Hymn CXXIX—Book VI—Atharva Veda—Griffith's translation)

The projection or insertion of the morbidic material is believed to be the action of some agent, not human but a spirit, employed by a sorcerer. The nature of the action is, also, miraculous or supernatural. The victim is not conscious of the insertion; he does not know how the material has entered the body. No external indication—neither a cut nor a mark—is left on any part of the body to show that it has entered through that way. The victim suffers from the disease but does not feel that some foreign material has entered the body. It is not till the medicine man (or leech) shows the foreign matter and says that he has extracted it from his body that he knows anything about it. On seeing it, the patient cries "Yes, it was there; I was feeling its weight there; I now feel relieved."

In Part I of this Chapter, a reference is made to Torongo, a Sōrā teacher who offended the spirits by disturbing the waters of a hill stream at about 11 a. m., the time when usually the spirits and deities bathe in the stream. As a result of the offence caused by him a spirit, called *Kansē(d) sum* got a piece of bone thrust into his body and made him ill. Torongo's mother-in-law was a medicine-woman who was regarded as proficient in magico-religious divination and practices. She revealed the cause and nature of Torongo's disease by divination and undertook to effect a cure by magico-religious practices. She had at first the *Kansē(d) sum*—*pur-pur-an* (the worship of the spirit) performed according to the usual custom (vide Part III for details of the worship). After the worship was over, she sat before the patient, chanted some magical spells and like a magician, showed her empty naked hands to the patient and the persons sitting round him and pulled out of the patient's abdomen a piece of bone. This had, psychologically, a marvellous effect on the patient. He got well in a few days.

The relation between the magical and religious element of the magico-religious beliefs and practices regarding disease among the Sōrās is very difficult to determine. Since every kind of disease is attributed to the direct action of spirits who work either of their own

accord or under the direction of the sorcerer, one is led to believe that the religious element is the stronger; but since some evil spirits can be controlled by the sorcerers one is forced to admit the superiority of the magical element. The contrast in the remedial measures adopted is very interesting. The wrath of the evil spirit is to be appeased and the evil spirit is to be propitiated by some sacrifice and by some religious rites; while the spell of the sorcerer is to be counteracted by a more powerful spell and the sorcerer is to be destroyed or driven out of the country. This shows that the Sōrā dreads the sorcerer more than the spirit. But since religious rites constitute the inevitable factor of the remedial measures in every case, I am led to conclude that the religious element is the stronger. My conviction is strengthened by two more facts.

There are two classes of persons who are believed to possess the knowledge and power relating to sorcery — a secret class of sorcerers whose main business is to injure their enemies or the enemies of their employers and who are, therefore, much dreaded and looked down upon with suspicion and contempt¹ and another class of persons who profess that they do not practise sorcery though they know it and whose main business is to counteract the evil effects of sorcery. The latter class of persons are not known as sorcerers: they are classed along with medicine-men or leeches; and they hold an honourable position in the Sōrā society. These medicine-men chant spells to cure a disease or remedy an evil but whatever is done by them is accompanied by religious rites. The second fact that strengthens my conviction about the importance of the religious element relates to the religious rites that invariably accompany medicinal treatment also. There are, no doubt, a few cases, where magical treatment also accompanies medicinal treatment but according to the Sōrā belief neither magical treatment nor medicinal treatment could effect radical or complete cure until and unless the evil spirit is propitiated by the prescribed sacrifices and religious rites. The importance of the religious element will be further explained in the last section of the chapter relating to Medicine.

The development of the magico-religious beliefs and practices among the Sōrās is analagous to the development of the same among the Āryans of the Vedic period. It is very difficult to account for the similarities. Dr. Rivers says in his book on Medicine, Magic and Religion (vide pp. 56-58). "If I had been writing a few years ago,

¹ In para 13 of the article on the pots in Castes and Tribes of the Central Provinces, Mr. H. C. Streatfield is reported to have stated in J. A. S. B. No. 1 of 1903, p. 31 that "among the Mundeers witches used to be hung head downwards from a pipal tree over a slow fire, the whole village dancing as they were gradually roasted but whether this ceremony was purely vindictive or had any other significance there is nothing to show!"

I should have explained the similarities between the beliefs and practices of medicine and those of magic and religion with reference to Independent Origin. Now I write that such an explanation is far from being the whole truth. It errs by giving a far too simple account of a process which has in reality been exceedingly complex."

The tradition that the Sōrās are adepts in magical practices has come down to the present generation. In the article on the Savars para 6 in the Castes and Tribes of the Central Provinces, the following remarks are made :—

"The Savars are considered to be great sorcerers. 'Savara-ke-pānge, Rāwat-ke-bāndhi' or 'The man bewitched by a Savar and the bullock tied up by a Rawat (grazier) cannot escape' and again 'verily the Saonr is a cup of poison.' Their charms, called Sābari mantras, are especially intended to appease the spirits of persons who have died a violent death."

MEDICINE

The origin of Medicinal treatment among the Sōrās is obscure. There are references, in the classic literature of India to the 'Sābara mantrams' (Sōrā magical spells) but there is hardly any reference to Sōrā medicine. The origin and growth of the medical knowledge among the Sōrās is probably the result of a blending of different cultures in India.

The beliefs and practices of medicine, though very old, are distinctly of later origin, because medicinal treatment not solely relied upon; it is always accompanied by religious rites and in some cases, by magical practices also. Dr. Rinus says in his 'Medicine, Magic and Religion' (Vide page 92) "A medical practice in a new home may lose its therapeutic character and become part of an indigenous magical or religious cult. On the other hand, an introduced magical or religious practice may receive therapeutic application which it did not possess in its original home." The medicinal treatment of the Sōrās is, no doubt, of a magico-religious character. But it is not necessary to suppose that the medical practice was of foreign origin and came into the Sōrā country from its original home. In its original home itself, it may acquire a magico-religious character if it develops after the magico-religious beliefs have taken a deep root in the minds of the people. The development of the medical practice among the Sōrās is closely analogous to the development of the same among the Āryans in the Vēdic period. As Dr. Rinus says "Medicine does not appear to be distinct or separable from magic and religion in the case of the primitive people at a particular stage." It is so with the Sōrās as well as with the Āryans of the Vēdic period. Even now, the medical science of the Hindus has not been, completely, bereft of its magico-religious character.

The process of differentiation is a very long one and the course of development of the medical science is not rigidly the same all over the world. The SŌrās have a considerable knowledge of the use of the drugs and have been practising medical treatment for a very long time; but their medicinal beliefs and practices are still combined with the religious rites and the magical practices.

The SŌrās have not yet been able to understand that disease is a pathological condition of the body and that it is the result of natural causes. They are still in the same frame of mind in which the Āryans were in the Vedic age.

One is apt to suppose that such people are incapable of developing the medical science which attempts at a rational cure recognising that disease is a pathological condition of the body and that it is the result of natural causes. But the development of a medical science was possible in the case of the Āryans. If the SŌrās had learnt to read and write they could have published their pharmacopœia.

With all the magico-religious beliefs and practices the Āryans of the vedic period and the SŌrās, must have learnt by their own experience that some plants have the efficacy to cure certain diseases. But medicines could never take the place of religious rites and magical spells. Even where cure is not effected by the latter, the interpretation is that the evil spirits are not satisfied with what has been offered to them and that the magical spells of the medicine-man are not strong enough to counteract the evil of the magical spells of the sorcerer. Since the human system itself can set right the irregularities in the body, there are chances of recovery without medicine and these are attributed to the efficacy of the religious rites and magical spells. Where medical practice is in its infant stage, it is very likely that medicine fails to effect a cure in some cases. In these circumstances, people of magico-religious frame of mind can never resort to medicines unless medicine is so interpreted that it can become a part of the magico-religious cult. Hymn VII, of Book VIII of the Atharva Veda shows the attitude of the Āryans to the plants.

“The tawny-coloured and the pale, the variegated and the red

The dusky-tinted and the black,—all plants we summon hitherward

2. This man let them deliver from consumption which the Gods have sent

The father of these Herbs was Heaven, their mother Earth, the Sea their root.”

When plants are thus extolled, consecrated and interpreted as divine agents to expel disease, it is possible to have medicinal treatment along with magico-religious treatment.

The Sōrā medicine-man approaches the medicinal plants with a small basket full of rice, sets it down at the foot of the plant the roots of which he desires to dig up, scatters on the ground some grains of rice from the basket and chants the following hymn:—

“ Ambēn uān-ji
Pūrbān-a kitungan
A-rāudān a - gaggāi-re
A-guggū-re ambēn a-jñānglēn
Ambēn lēmle jñēn gaigaitāi
Ambēn a-tijjanāb lāng āte
Jñēn-nam jñānglāi dō ”

[Oh you fathers! You learnt the medicinal use of the plants which the gods and demi-gods of the past planted and dug up. I bow to you and dig up these plants. As a gift from you, I have learnt the medicinal use of these plants.]

When the medicine-man sits before the patient to administer medicine, the patients' relatives place before the medicine-man, a small basket full of rice and the medicine-man takes out a few grains of the rice and scatters them on the floor and chants the following hymn:—

“ Ambēn uān-ji!
Pūrbān a-rāudā-ji!
Pūrbān a-kudāng-ji!
Kani asū mar-an
Kani rēgam an
Turā le sandā le tittāi-dō;
Bangsāste, sukkā-ēte
Kikijñēn, kukkur-īm
Sogād-īm tittai
Purpurtai a-lūtāi.”

[Oh ye fathers! ye Deities of old! ye medicine-mēn of old! Here is the patient and here is the medicine. I now mix the ingredients and give it. May he be well! may he be happy! Then—when he is cured, I shall sacrifice the animals and birds. I shall worship and serve you.]

During the first stage of the medical practice, among the Sōrās as well as the Āryans of the Vedic period, medicine was consecrated and combined with a magical spell. The Sōrās still believe that medicine so administered is very efficacious. During the second stage medicine prepared by the medicine-man came to be administered by a lay man with the satisfaction and belief that the medicine-man

endowed it with the magical and healing power. During the third stage, well known medicines are prepared and administered by any lay man with the satisfaction and belief that these plants were once for all endowed with the magical and healing powers by gods.

I do not mean to say that these stages are clearly and distinctly marked out but they can be inferred from the opinions expressed by the Sōrās themselves at the time of my investigation.

In two Sōrā villages (Arsid Sōrā village near Rayagada and Munising near Gumma) I came across young boys with small pieces of the roots of *Aristolochia indica* (Telugu *Nagasaram*) folded and tied to the lobes of the ears as pendants. I desired to know whether the root was used by them as a charm or amulet or as medicine. At Munising I was informed that the root was brought and tied by the medicine-man or leech and that he chanted a spell when it was tied. At the Arsid village, I was informed that it was done by a lay man who learnt to identify drugs. On further enquiry, I learnt at several places that as the drugs possessed the healing power by the gift of gods, they could be given to the patient by any one who knew them. The general opinion among the Sōrās, however, goes to say that the efficacy of the drugs increases if they are administered by the medicine-man along with some spell. Such apparently conflicting cases as are described here can be reconciled as marking the different stages in the development of the medicinal beliefs and practices.

Some medicines are considered to be so efficacious that they can ward off the evil effects of sorcery. There is a mixture of fourteen or fifteen drugs (Vide Appendix List of Sora Drugs) which is known as 'Solān-a-rēgam' meaning sorcery-medicine.

A small quantity of this mixture is put in a small case made of five metals,—copper, brass, silver, iron or brass metal and gold and the case is tied as an amulet called *dongrā* to the wrist or waist of the victim to sorcery. This is followed by a sacrifice to the evil spirit revealed to the diviner at the preliminary seance as having been set to do this evil by a sorcerer. The animal to be sacrificed is a fowl or a goat or a pig. At the time of the sacrifice, the following words are addressed to the evil spirit.

Aman a-ber dung-ten
 Aman a-san dung-ten-
 āsan a-tungnōten
 Nangānam kandē titill-am
 Kandē duddull-am
 Kukkur-īm gāmle sogād-īm gāmle
 Addā rung gāmle sullā rung gāmle tittill-am
 Kanlā-rung gāmle pippikal gāmle tittillam

Nangānam jñīdārungnāi
 Nangānam sullā rungnāi
 Seddāsī le seddā jēngle
 Undram sīle undram jēngle
 Sādānā nangānam.

As I stated before, religious rites invariably including the sacrifice of an animal are the inevitable accompaniments to every kind of treatment in the case of every disease of which some serious notice is taken. Of the evil spirits that are supposed to cause disease, each has its own requirements. They are generally known to the kudān or priest and to elderly persons in the village. For the sake of satisfaction, the diviner is asked to say what the evil spirit requires. Though it is the diviner that speaks, the words are regarded as the words of the spirit itself.

The Hindus of the plains have faith in the efficacy of the Sōrā magical spells and Sōrā medicinal drugs. I know of several persons of my own place consulting the Sōrā medicine-men. They have little regard for the Sōrā religious rites and sacrifices but since the Sōrā medicine-man does not undertake the treatment unless the religious rites and sacrifices are also permitted, they consent to have them done by the Sōrā medicine-man himself.

I also know of successful medical practitioners using some of the Sōrā drugs and remarking that they have met with satisfactory results.¹

It is very difficult to say precisely what is really original and what is borrowed of the medical lore possessed by the Sōrās. From the Sōrā drugs and their uses given in the Appendix, it will be seen that there is something that is common to their medical lore and the Ayurveda of the Hindus of the plains. But we cannot say that they have borrowed that knowledge from the latter.

What I have gathered is only a fragment and I am sure that there is much more to be learnt from the Sōrās of the far interior. The Sōrās are, unfortunately, illiterate. If they had learnt the art of reading and writing they could have published an exhaustive treatise on the medicinal drugs used by them.

In my opinion, the subject of Sōrā medicine deserves a thorough and critical investigation by Medical experts.

1. Vide Appendix Sora Drugs,

REVENUE ADMINISTRATION OF THE NORTHERN CIRCARS

DR. LANKA SUNDARAM, M. A., PH. D.

(Continued from p. 172 of the previous Volume)



II. RUMBOLD'S SETTLEMENT AT MADRAS

The suspension of the circuit Committee was immediately followed up with a new settlement of the *jamabandi* at Madras. In fact, the orders conveying the suspension of the Circuit Committee were dovetailed into detailed instructions to the subordinate settlements to direct the zamindars, renters, the Company's *dubashes* and other lesser revenue officials such as the *majumdar*s to repair to Madras fully equipped with documents relating to their dealings with the Company in order to enter into a new agreement for the future *jamabandi*. The President was authorised to write separate letters to individual zamindars "the more effectually to ensure compliance to this order",¹ copies of which were transmitted to the Chiefs and Councils concerned for their information

A new precedent was set up by ordering the zamindars to proceed to Madras for the settlement of the *jamabandi* which it was resolved to hold at the Presidency in the future. Zamindars ordered to Madras The Court of Directors being suspicious of the measures only tentatively acquiesced in its operation,² though they finally condemned it upon a review of the transactions that took place subsequently.³ The matter was then taken up with particular vigour by the Committee of Secrecy in their Second report.⁴

The ostensible reason for ordering the zamindars to repair to Madras was to obtain a complete control over their dealings with the Company. The Committee of Circuit recorded that their appointment "being a measure of an extraordinary nature.....may naturally be supposed to have created very great alarms among the Zamindars in general in the Circars."⁵ As has already been shown, the zamindari

1. *Rev. Cons.*, 24 March, 1778 Vol. 20 pp. 80-104; also Appendix 15 to *Sec. Rep.*

2. *Madras Dispatches* (Revenue) 16 June, 1779. para. 22 Vol. VIII. pp. 458-59. They wrote "In the meantime we trust your prudence will prevent or obviate any inconveniences or objections to which the measure may be liable and particularly that you will be upon your guard against any misrepresentations of the Zamindars".

3. *Rev. Cons.*, 10 January 1781 in general, and paras 68-64 in particular Vol. IX pp. 394-96.

4. *Second Report*, p. 10.

5. *Circuit Committee to Madras*, 16 August 1777, para 11. *Rev. Cons.* 27 August Vol. 19. pp. 529-530. The reference is to Chhacoble Sarkar.

Reasons for the same balances due to the Company had swelled to an enormous magnitude. Abuses of the subordinate Chiefs and Councils were neither infrequent nor inconsiderable,¹ and the precipitate measures adopted against the Vijayanagaram family, as we shall presently see, is an instance in point. As Rumbold points out, "the subordinates had been found to want either ability or inclination to enforce payment of the arrears from whence arose the necessity of adopting a new mode".² Most of the servants of the Company were so deeply concerned in the pecuniary affairs of the zamindars that any effective grasp of the affairs of the latter from the view-point of the Company was difficult to obtain from them. Several acts of rapacity on the part of the former chiefs of Masulipatam with specific amounts of probable bribes were brought to the notice of Sir Thomas Rumbold.³ Describing the disputes between the former governors and chiefs, Anthony Sadleir, chief of Masulipatam, stated:⁴ "It was usual before Whitehill's time for the governor to share one-third: Whitehill succeeding after Wynch, whose acts has left no tie but honour, with which some (*sic*) has no force, for compliance with custom,—Whitehill save such tax—Craufurd, I believe, enjoyed all. Floyer, chief, Mr. Stratton, governor, brothers in iniquity, fit to deal with each other, induced Floyer to keep all. This conduct in the chiefs brought on opposition to their measures in Council at Madras, which in effect weakened government here by reversing its acts, and has introduced distrust in the Zemindars". These allegations though not capable of definite proof are strongly supported by the common weakness of official virtue during the period under review and by the subsequent action of the Court of Directors in suspending most of the servants of the Company concerned and instituting proceedings against them as the dismissal of Charles Floyer clearly illustrates.⁵

Apprehensions of the approaching war with the French⁶ were clearly demonstrated in the attitude of the cultivators. James Hodges, the Company's renter of the Nizampatam *haveli* lands, writing that

1. Seen in another Chapter.

2. *Briefs*. 1. f. 97.

3. *Sadleir to Rumbold*, 21 May 1778. This letter was not officially entered on the Madras Records, Sadleir sent a copy direct to the Court of Directors. Cf. *Madras Dispatches* (Revenue) 25 January 1782, paras 55-167, Vol. X, pp. 99-105. The bribes described as "the sweets of office" amounted to £27,000 to Whitehill, £272,000 to Floyer, and £15,000 to Craufurd. Bearcroft's speech for the prosecution of Sir Thomas Rumbold in the House of Commons. *Speeches for the Prosecution*, *Brit. Mus. Addl. Mss.*, No. 28, 161 f. 14-b.

4. *Sadleir to Rumbold*, 21 May 1778. *Rumbold: Answer to Charges*, p. 57.

5. *Madras Dispatches* (Revenue) 8 April, 1789. Vol. XV, pp. 645-6.

6. Rumbold lays particular emphasis on the effects of a French war on the tranquility of the Sarkars. See *Briefs*, I, f. 15.

Insufficiency of the
authority of the subordi-
nate Councils

“the present military preparations added to the desertion of the people, will doubtless retard the collections”.¹ Most of the zamindars were turbulent and were deeply involved in intestine quarrels. The affairs of Vijayanagaram displayed a complete lack of revenue order.² Meka Apparao, zamindar of Nuzividu, was the worst type of a misguided autocrat and his zamindari ran the risk of a permanent sequestration. The protracted struggle between the zamindars of Peddapuram and Pithapuram came to a definite crisis when the former was ordered to restore the latter to his zamindari which had been under the former's management for more than a decade. Rao Mahipati Rao, uncle to the minor Kumara Mahipati, the lawful zamindar of Pithapuram, so thoroughly complicated affairs during his term of management that the Chief and Council at Masulipatam was powerless to settle the differences. Curiously enough, the factious spirit among the Velama Doras ran so high that Chittada Tummayya, one of the partisans of the young Mahipati, forcibly carried him off from the control of the Company and the immediate presence of the Chief of Masulipatam who was attempting to effect a reconciliation and adjustment of the different parties and their claims respectively.³ Such a state of affairs clearly demonstrated the insufficiency of the authority of the subordinate chiefships adequately to deal with the exigencies of the zamindari situation. “The best and speediest method of fixing with the Northern Zamindars, of knowing the causes of such considerable balances and to adjust the disputes amongst themselves was by calling them to the Presidency government who would then be acquainted with the true state of their affairs, be able to fix their revenues on some certain footing and know what they had to depend on in case of trouble”.⁴ Rumbold maintains convincingly that the presence of the zamindars at Madras prior to 18 October 1778, which saw the fall of Pondichery, was intended as a purely political measure in as much as they were detained as virtual hostages for the tranquility of the Sarkars,⁵ and that past usage and even the precedent set up by Governor Wynch in demanding the presence of Vijayarama Razu at Madras, warranted

1. *Masulipatam to Madras*, 24 September, 1773. *Rev. Cons.* 2 October, Vol. 20, p. 692.

2. Fully related in a later section of the present chapter.

3. *Masulipatam to Madras* 6 February 1780. *Rev. Cons.* 23 February, with an extract from the Masulipatam consultations of 14 January. Vol. 21, pp. 125-33 and 133-38 respectively.

4. *Briefs*: I, f. 15.

5. *Idem.* f. 101.

such a striking measure to keep up the dignity of the Company in the eyes of the people in general and the zamindars in particular.¹

The decision of the Madras Council in ordering the zamindars and other renters to proceed to Madras for a new settlement evoked great opposition and unrest among the subordinate chiefs and councils in the Sarkars. As Rumbold himself said:² "It struck directly at their consequences, not to say their

craft. It was to reduce them from a state, little inferior to that of a sovereign power, to their proper condition of collectors for the Presidency". The case of Ganjam is an instance in point. Morgan Williams, chief, was constrained to confess³ that "literally speaking my Cash Account might be considered erroneous as the sums credited were not actually deposited" and was dismissed his station by Sir Thomas Rumbold.⁴ This is only one of the glaring instances wherein the subordinate settlements were found guilty of maladministration and misappropriation as the case of John Turing will clearly show.⁵

Fictitious objections were raised by them. The Masulipatam Council complained⁶ that the departure of the zamindars "leaves us little room to hope that they will be able to negotiate bills with their sowcars" and further spoke of the "little hope we have of collecting... (the) heavy balances" due from them, even though payments were actually made by them later on.⁷ Even Lord Macartney was compelled to observe the unsatisfactory conduct of the Masulipatam Council. His Lordship wrote to the Court of Directors: "We are much concerned to observe this want of consistency of system in the Chief and Council, indeed, we had for some time past been greatly disappointed in the very unsatisfactory accounts they had forwarded to us of the state of the revenues under their management. Their letters had contained no more than circumstantial recitals of

1. *Briefs*, I ff. 78-80.

2. Rumbold; *Answer to Charges*, p. 7.

3. *Ganjam to Madras*, 26 January 1780 in *Rev Cons*, 23 February Vol. 24, pp. 122-24.

4. See the interesting minute of Rumbold leading to the detection of these frauds, *idem*, 31 December 1779, Vol. 23, pp. 450-57 and 7 January 1781, Vol. 24, pp. 10-17.

5. Dealt with in the last section of the present chapter.

6. *Masulipatam to Madras*, 3 May 1778, *Rev Cons*, 15 May Vol. 20, pp. 189-90. The minutes of the Masulipatam Council are to be found on pp. 186-256. Vizagapatam stated the same objection. See *Vizagapatam to Madras* 3 July, *idem*, 20 July, *idem*, p. 391.

7. It is interesting to note that nearly a lakh and a half of Madras Pagodas were paid in on account of the Vijayanagaram family alone after Sitarama Razu and Vijayarama Razu arrived at Madras. See *Vizagapatam to Madras*, 15 October; *idem*, 6 November, Vol. 21, pp. 802-03.

the difficulties they encountered in settling with the Zamindars and Sowcars and of the disputes which subsisted between them".¹ Besides making these frivolous objections Masulipatam rather "started difficulties than held forth encouragement for their coming" by trying "to apprise the Zamindars of what will be expected of them".² Such a state of affairs at the subordinate settlements rendered it necessary on the part of Rumbold and his Council to issue strongly-worded instructions and reiterate them to secure immediate compliance.³ Summing up his view of the whole position, Sir Thomas wrote in a personal letter to the Court of Directors:⁴ "The uncontrolled power of the Chiefs of the southern settlements... I am persuaded, was very oppressive to the Zamindars and detrimental to your revenue and commerce. The alteration that has taken place by fixing their Jamabundy here will be productive of the best consequences to the Company though it will require time for the Zamindars to recover from the load of debt with which they were burthened, and the utmost attention and indulgence must be given to promote the cultivation of their lands. The determination of calling the Zamindars to the Presidency has struck at the root of those evils which they complained of and it is the subordinate chiefs alone that will probably wish the measures we have taken had been dispensed with".

Most of the zamindars, renters and interpreters of the Company besides the lesser revenue officials arrived at Madras by about July 1778.⁵ Sitarama Razu, brother and *diwan* of Vijayarama Razu having arrived even before Rumbold took charge of the government. The Committee of Secrecy and the Court of Directors took strong objection to calling the zamindars to Madras which, in their opinion, must have occasioned them great trouble and expences. But the

Ganjam zamindars exempted	the Ganjam zamindars was dispensed with in order to obviate these hardships, and the <i>majum-dars</i> and <i>patros</i> were ordered to represent them
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1. *Madras Letters Received*, 26 January 1782, para. 6 Vol. X. (Not paged).

2. Rumbold's minute in *idem.* of 15 May, Vol. 20, pp. 250-54.

3. *Madras to Vizagapatam* 3 April, Vol. 20, pp. 125-130. See also Rumbold's circular letter to the individual *zamindars* and a specially worded one to Vijayarama Razu dated 4 April. *Idem.* pp. 113-15. See further, *Madras to Ganjam*, 26 August compelling the attendance of Balakrishna, the Company's *dubash* and renter of the *haveli* and of the assigned villages in the Chicacole Sarkar who was evasive in his attitude, and in whose dilatoriness the Ganjam Council acquiesced. Vol. 21, pp. 562-65.

4. *Rumbold to the Court of Directors* (personal) 31 October *Madras Letters Received*, Vol. IX, pp. 277-78.

5. *Rev. Cons.* 20 July, Vol. 20, p. 420.

6. *Sec. Rep. and Madras Dispatches* 11 July, 1781, in Appendix 153 to it.

and thus enable the Madras Council to make "a just valuation of these lands".¹ On the other hand, Vijayarama Razu, by far the richest zamindar in the Sarkars and the only one that travelled a long distance, "had not shown any reluctance to act conformably to the orders received from the government",² while the Masulipatam Council expressly admitted that their zamindars readily obeyed the instructions of the Company "with every mark of submission and obedience becoming our station".³ In accordance with the general prerogative of the presiding servants of the Company's Councils in India⁴ and with the explicit delegation of powers by his Council,⁵ Sir Thomas dealt with the zamindars personally and reported the results to the latter for their ratification, which they generally accorded. This procedure was wrongly condemned by the Committee of Secrecy as being irregular in itself, as incriminating Rumbold's conduct in the negotiations, and as lowering the importance of his Council.⁶ But the zamindars were under no restraint during their stay at Madras and had a free and open communication with the President and the members of the Council.⁷ Moreover, after the agreements had been made, the zamindars were asked to hasten to their respective territories in order that they might pay off their old balances to the Company.⁸ But heavy rains prevented their departure for nearly a couple of months. Rumbold declares⁹ that "one of the principle motives, for ordering the Zamindars to the Presidency was to attend to their complaints and as far as in our power to redress their grievances. We have not neglected any of the petitions that have been laid before us and have endeavoured to give the complaints every relief in our power". In this he was borne out by the zamindars themselves who jointly expressed their sincere thanks for

1. *Rev. Cons.* 20 July, Vol. 20 pp. 45-67. and *Madras to Ganjam* 21 July, *idem.* pp. 470-73.

2. *Vizagapatam to Madras*, 22 April. *idem.* 15 May, *Idem.* pp. 180-83. See also Appendix 21 to *Sec. Rep.*

3. *Masulipatam Consultations* 24 April in *Masulipatam to Madras*. 3 May. See *Rev. Cons.* 15 May, *Idem.* pp. 230-31.

4. It was the usual custom of the chiefs of the subordinate settlements to personally negotiate with the zamindars and renters and lay the results of the conferences before their respective councils for discussion and ratification.

5. See *Rev. Cons.* 28 September, Vol. 21. pp. 567-78.

6. *Sec. Rep.*

7. *Briefs.* I, f 83.

8. Rumbold's minute of 1 October 1778. Vol. 21 pp. 662-67. also Appendix No. 49 to *Sec. Rep.*

9. Rumbold's minute in *Rev. Cons.* 20 November, *idem.* pp. 844-45.

having adjusted our disputes according to justice which had offered us great satisfaction and joy".¹

Rumbold's settlement at Madras clearly resolved itself into three distinct parts. First there were the zamindars to settle with. Then there were the Company's *haveli* land to be let on lease.

Finally, there was the case of the zamindari family of Vijayanagaram which required special treatment owing to the extreme intricacy of its affairs and its supreme importance to the peace and tranquility of the Sarkars. The Madras Council took up these affairs one by one and arrived at specific settlements.

The affairs of the zamindars involved complicated discussions before any agreements could be reached. The Ganjam zamindars and others under Masulipatam and Vizagapatam whose revenues did not justify their proceeding to Madras were excused the trouble and expense of a long journey, and so they could be dealt with only on the basis of information available either in the Company's records in the personal statements of some of the Members of the Council who had served to the northward, or in the accounts of the subordinate chiefships and the evidence of the

Complications in the zamindari affairs Company's interpreters and the subordinate revenue officials who were ordered to Madras, however interested and one-sided the latter might be. Before the agreements were finally concluded, Sir Thomas minuted that "the zamindars were so loaded with debt as well to the Company as to individuals that I observe with great concern the little prospect there is of any great increase of revenue from their lands".²

To illustrate this point clearly we may conveniently take up the case of the Vuyyur Zamindari, one of the most important in the Masulipatam *sarkar*, as it affords a ready commentary on the doleful history of the zamindaries in general. In a representation to the Madras Council, Meka Appa Rao, the zamindar, set forth his affairs in the following manner:³

"For the term of years of my sail rent on account of their being no rains, nor good crop, I sustained great loss, and as for the

1. Letter dated 5 December 1778 sealed and signed jointly by Vijayarama Razu, Sitarama Razu, Appa Rao, Jagannadha Razu, Tirupati Razu and Achyutarama Razu, the principal zamindars in the Sarkars who were present at Madras for the settlement conducted by Rumbold. See Rumbold *Answer to Charges*. Appendix No. 16.

2. Rumbold's minute of 1 October 1778 in *Rev. Cons.* 2 October. Vol. 21 pp. 649-61.

3. Appa Rao's representation in *idem*, 10 October. *idem*. pp. 766-69.

payment of the Company's rent, I was obliged to borrow from the Sowcars and pay.....(the money) to the Company, and by the reason that I was not able to recover the Sowcar debt by means of the said Haveli lands I borrowed the money how I could, and supplied the Sowcars in part to go on with the business; by these means, it cost me great expenses, on account of interest and otherwise, and so I ran into a great debt to the Sowcars and others". Exhibiting his accounts he further stated:

The former tribute of the zamindari was M. Ps.	49,000
Payment to the Company to date on account of the improper addition to tribute by Hussain Ali Khan of 51,707 which was promised to be wiped off the <i>taksim jama</i> when the former takes possession of the lands :	33,024
Extra addition of 31½% according to the first agreement with the Company over and above the agreements of the other zamindars for nine years :	1,37,813
Sibbandi charges not deducted according to the usual custom at 6,000 a year for nine years :	54,000
Loss on account of the Ellore <i>haveli</i> rented by him for seven years :	61,299
Loss on certain villages usurped by Hussain Ali Khan at 4,575 a year for five years :	22,875
Improper deductions of 10,000 a year out of the agreed rent of 70,000 for the three years <i>paraganas</i> let to Raja Tirupati Razu for three years :	30,000
Similar deductions for the <i>paraganas</i> of Nidadavolu and Pentapadu let to same.	7,750
Total loss, Madras Pagodas.	<u>2,98,161</u>

" which sum I count lost and have been obliged to borrow money from Sowcars etc, to supply the want in part until my affairs came to ruin, and my credit no longer stands".

A review of the zamindari position will be equally interesting. Speaking of the zamindars under Masulipatam, Rumbold offered a graphic account of their revenue affairs. Jagapati Razu of Peddapuram agreed to an enhancement of his *jamabandi* and he was followed by several other zamindars. Pithapuram was recovering under the able management of Rao Venkata Rao, but he " absolutely objects " to any further addition to the tribute. Kaldindi Tirupati Razu of Mugalaturru was an adept in revenue business and

well spoken of by successive chiefs. He had very little expense for *sibbandi*. But he was in arrears both to the Company and to the *sahukars* and would make good if sufficient time were allowed him. Nuzividu, the zamindari of Meka Appa Rao, was to a great extent under the management of Tirupati Razu while the remaining portion was mortgaged to several other individuals including some of the servants of the Company attached to the Masulipatam chiefship. He was utterly incompetent and extravagant and maintained a large *sibbandi*. The Masulipatam Council was recommended to take his case into their serious consideration and "fall on such a plan (sic) either by sequestration or the appointment of a proper manager to see the Company's tribute secured and the principal creditors satisfied by an equal division of the surplus revenue after making provision for Apparow's expenses". Ramachandra Razu of Ramachandrapuram complained of an enhancement of the tribute but was willing to pay off his old balances. Yarlagadda Kodanda Ramayya of Devara Kota and Vasireddi Ramanna of the Char Mahal were usually punctual in their payments and acquiesced in the proposals of the President. There were other smaller zamindars who all accepted a further enhancement of their *jamabandi*. The *sahukars* to whom the zamindars were indebted without exception were unwilling to grant further *tips* and Mr. Cotsford, Chief of Masulipatam, was directed that as far as possible their mediation in the payment of the zamindari balances be done away with, as their strongly entrenched position and the exorbitant rate of interest charged by them constituted a heavy claim upon the resources of the country. If, on the other hand, all the crops were retained on government account, the Company's revenues could be easily secured at the time of their sale without unnecessarily burdening the zamindars.¹ Obviously, such an innovation was sure to encounter great difficulties but could be carried into effect by a chief of outstanding abilities.² If this method could not be adopted the *sahukars* should receive definite support from the Company "whichhad not hitherto been the case". "The Zamindars should be obliged to fulfil their engagements to them or a total stop to their payments and loss of revenue must ensue".

The case of the Ganjam zamindars was next examined. Rumbold drew pointed attention to the enormous balances due from

1. This proposal finds its origin in the Mugal practice of crop division *Challa-bakhsh*). See the present writer's brochure on *Mughal Land Revenue System* pp. 38-39.

2. Rumbold has such a great admiration for Cotsford that he considered him just the man for successfully carrying this innovation into effect.

The Ganjam settlement them since 1770.¹ The complexity of their original and enormous growth was unravelled by Charles Smith, a former Chief of Ganjam (1774-77) and a member of Rumbold's Council.² He stated that the tribute exacted from several zamindaries, especially from the six zamindaries commonly known as the Mahendra Malai, was far more than the country could bear. Edward Cotsford unnecessarily debited the rajas for a whole year's tribute when he took charge of the Chiefship in 1768. The tribute of most of the zamindars who struggled for their independence during the troublous years 1768-1770 still stood debited in the Company's accounts, as in times of tranquility. Ganjam balances rose from M. Ps. 3,01,43 in 1774 to M. Ps. 3,78,467 in 1779 on account of the two years of scarcity between 1775-1777 and the subsequent rising in the Ghumsur zamindari. The Mahendra Malai were annually debited at Rs. 55,000 when for the nine years preceding Cotsford's settlement the medium collections never exceeded Rs. 19,082 a year. All these causes readily accounted for the astounding balance of Rs. 12,81,359 accumulated during the years 1767 to 1777.³

Subsequently to the above review of the zamindari position, Rumbold recorded: "In our present situation of an actual war and an exhausted treasury, I am clearly of opinion that a certain established revenue is preferable to any speculative schemes even if they should in the end be productive of a large tribute".⁴ Having been already urged by his council "to consider as speedily as possible" a revenue settlement with the zamindars,⁵ he carried through a quinquennial *jamabandi* at a twelve and a half per cent increase on the *mamul jama*. The settlement is very interesting from the administrative points of view. There were cases of zamindaries such as that of Nuzividu which were not capable of any increase and hence left untouched. There were cases, again, of zamindars who totally refused to agree to any further enhancement of their tribute on account of special difficulties, as in the case of Rao Venkata Rao of Pithapuram⁶, in which the government acquiesced, upon a further review of their position. The following is an interesting abstract of the *jama* as framed and settled:

1. Rumbold's minute in *Rev. Cons.* 6 August 1779. Vol. 23. pp. 4-20
2. Minute of Charles Smith, *Idem.* pp. 21-34.
3. *Ganjam to Madras*, 17 June, 1779. *Rev. Cons.* 13 July, Vol. 22. pp. 588-93.
4. Rumbold's minute of 10 October, *idem.* 2 October. Vol. 21. p. 664.
5. *Idem.* 28 August 1778. *idem.* p. 568.
6. See *Madras to Masulipatam* (Rev) 18 November 1778. Vol. 21. pp. 83-433.

RUMBOLD'S SETTLEMENT AT MADRAS.

(In Madras Pagodas).

ZAMINDARI.	Mamul <i>jama</i> of the Muhammadan government.	French & Hyder Jung's <i>jama</i> bandi.	Hussain Ali Khan's <i>jama</i> bandi.	Last year's <i>jama</i> bandi.	Raised 12½% on <i>mamul</i> <i>jama</i> bandi.	Present <i>jama</i> bandi.
RAJAHMUNDRY SARKAR.						
Jagapati Razu of Peddapuram. *	93,493.	1,67,098.	1,39,740.	1,27,969.	11,686.	1,39,656.
Rao Venkata Rao of Pithapuram. †	51,832.	77,186.	76,249.	62,720.	—	62,720.
Kakarlamudi Achyutaram Razu of Kota. *	9,616.	20,316.	15,626.	14,443.	1,202.	14,645.
Kakarlamudi Ramachandra Razu of Ramachandrapuram. *	7,657.	15,954.	13,525.	11,743.	957.	12,700.

ZAMINDARI.

	Mamul <i>jama</i> of the Muhammadan government.	French & Hyder Jung's <i>jama bandi</i> .	Hussain Ali Khan's <i>jama bandi</i> .	Last year's <i>jama bandi</i> .	Raised 12½% on <i>mamul</i> <i>jama bandi</i> .	Present <i>jama bandi</i> .
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ELLORE AND MUSTAFA.
NAGARAM SARKARS,

Meka Narasimha Apparao
of Nuzivid. ††

91,000.	—	1,09,650.	92,564.	—	92,564.
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Kaldindi Tirupati
of Mugalaturru. *

57,300.	—	96,400.	90,800.	7,162.	97,962.
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Kamadana Subbaya
of the Charnahal ††

—	—	29,500.	24,724.	2,090.	27,815.
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Yarlagadda Kodanda Ramayya
of Devarakota *

12,000.	—	17,500.	16,130.	1,500.	17,630.
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* Agreed to the enhancement of Sir Thomas Rumbold,

†† Objected to an increase of the *jama bandi* and hence kept at the old rate.

†† Did not come to the Presidency.

N. B.—The total revenues derived by the French for the Rajahmundry Sarkar was M. Ps. 2,98,685 as compared with Rumbold's settlement for 2,83,958 and for the Ellore and Mustafanagar was M. Ps. 3,03,167 compared with M. Ps. 5,64,249.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ADJOURNED GENERAL BODY MEETING
HELD ON 12-4-42 AT 5 P. M.

Present.

Messrs. N. Kameswararao, President.
R. Subba Rao, Vice President.
C. Atmaram, Secretary.
G. Narayanaswami, Librarian.
B. V. Krishna Rao, Editor.
Raja K. S. Jagannadharao Bahadur.
N. R. Kedari Rao.

(1) Resolved that the reports of the Hon. Secretary, Hon. Librarian and Hon. Treasurer be passed.

(2) Resolved that the following office-bearers be elected for the year 1942-43.

Messrs. N. Kameswara Rao, President.
R. Subba Rao, Vice President.
C. Atmaram, Secretary.
G. Narayanaswami, Librarian.
M. Sambasiva Rao, Treasurer.

Members of Council:

N. R. Kedari Rao.
M. Anna Reddi.
Raja K. S. Jagannadha Rao Bahadur.
B. V. Krishna Rao.
Vaddadi Appa Rao, Ex-Officio member.

(3) Resolved to place on record the Society's grateful thanks to Sri K. G. Gopala Rao garu B. A., B.L., for the valuable services rendered to the Society as Treasurer.

N. B.—The Auditor's report for 1941-42 which is under preparation shall be considered by the Managing Council.

THE 20TH ANNUAL REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1941-42.

The Managing Council of the Society begs to submit the following report of the work done during 1941-42:—

The office-bearers for the year 1941-42 elected on 15-4-42 are as follows:—

President :

Sri N. Kameswara Rao garu, B. A., B. L.

Vice President :

Sri R. Subbarao garu, M. A., L. T.

Secretary :

Sri C. Atmaram garu, B. A., B. L.

Treasurer :

Sri K. J. Gopalarao garu, B. A., B. L.

Librarian :

Sri G. Narayanaswami Avl., M. A., L. T.

Ordinary Members of the Council :

Sri Rajah K. S. Jagannadharao Bahadur,

Sri B. V. Krishnarao, M. A., B. L.

Sri M. Annareddi, M. A., LL. B.

Sri N. R. Kedari Rao, M. A., L. T.

MEMBERS:

The number of members on the rolls this year is 109. It is really a matter for congratulation that the society has been able to retain so many on the rolls in view of the economic condition national & international. It is, however, regretted that some of the members are slack in remitting their subscriptions. It is also necessary that good effort should be made to increase the membership, to make the Society self-supporting in the coming years. To do this, a regular issue of the journal periodically is necessary. The managing council hopes that next year the Journal will be issued regularly.

SUBSCRIBERS TO THE JOURNAL.

There has been no increase in the number of subscribers.

EXCHANGES.

There are now 56 Exchanges on our list. When the list was last published, the number was 68. Nine foreign journals from France & Germany and Netherlands East Indies have not been received on account of the war. Considering the international situation the falling off of the number of exchanges is not considerable and the position should be considered satisfactory.

FINANCES.

The financial position of the society is not encouraging. The society depends on the subscriptions to the Journal, membership fees, sale of publications and donations. Some members are slack in the payment of fees, and as the Society is behindhand in the

publication of the journal, the management have not been able to improve the finances. One important publication of the Society, Viz., the Reddi sanchika which is expected to be sold widely is not yet finished, though it is nearing completion. The Secretary & the Treasurer have barely been able to keep the head out of water for this year. The members should bestir themselves to enrol new members and approach more & more donors to keep the society which has done and has been doing important research work, alive. We are thankful to the Rajahmundry municipality for the regular annual contribution of Rs. 100. We earnestly appeal to all public spirited donors and public institutions to contribute liberally for the maintenance of this institution, the only one of its kind in Andhra Desa.

Reddi Sanchika. This book is awaiting publication very soon. The difficulties in the printing press have largely contributed to the delay in the publication. The immediate and urgent publication of the book is essential not only in the financial interests of the society, but in the maintenance of its good name and prestige and the managing council hopes that conditions will show a favourable change to facilitate its early publication.

THE JOURNAL.

It is regrettable that during the year we have not been able even to complete Vol. XIII of the journal which was begun last year. Owing to the delay in the press, only two parts of the journal have been issued. So far Parts 3 & 4 in one volume are in print and the Managing council hopes to complete the parts very soon.

During the year, delegates from the society were deputed to the Indian History Congress and the Oriental Conference held at Hyderabad and some of the members read papers. Society's Exhibition material was sent to the Indian History congress through Mr. B. V. Krishnarao, M. A., B. L.

MEETINGS.

The Managing council met nine times during the year to transact business. There was one public meeting held in the Society's Hall at which Sri P. Subrahmanya Sastry addressed the members on "the Origin of the Andhras".

CONCLUSION.

The Society's stock of Journals & Telugu publications continue to be housed in the President's house and our best thanks are due to him.

**THE 20TH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE HON. LIBRARIAN
FOR THE YEAR 1941-42.**

I have the honour to present the following report regarding the working of the Library, Reading Room and the Museum for the year 1941-42.

2. *Library*:—Nearly 260 periodicals and books were added during the year as against 329 in 1940-41. The slight fall in the number of additions to the library was largely the result of the present grave war conditions. The periodicals on the exchange list fell down to 56. Journals like *Djawa*, *Asia Major*, *Le Monde Oriental* etc., are not being received now. Among the important publications received either for review or for exchange or for both are the following:—Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India like the Historical Sculptures of the Vaikunta Personal Temple, Kanchi; List of Inscriptions Copied by the office of the Superintendent of Epigraphy upto 31--3--38; Inscriptions in the Telingana Districts of the Nizams Dominions, Hyderabad Archaeological Series No. 13; *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. XXV Parts VII and VIII; *The Archæology of Guzrat* by H. J. Sarkalia; *A Guide to Hampi and Vijayanagar in Telugu* by H. K. Narasimhaswami, Epigraphic Assistant; *Rudra Siva* by Dr. N. Venkatramanayya etc. I shall be failing in my duty, if I do not place on record on behalf of the society my thanks to the various Governments, of India, Cochin, Gwalior, Mysore, Hyderabad, Travancore, for so kindly sending us as before their valuable publications. Number of books and journals taken out for reference and for home study by the general public and by the members is over a thousand.

The work of reclassifying the books and journals now in the library was undertaken during the year and it is almost complete. I hope to place in the hands of my successor before I actually hand over charge of my office a card index of all the books and journals. I would very much like that the question of printing the new catalogue is taken on hand immediately.

There are a number of volumes which require binding and I hope the Council will empower the librarian to undertake the work as early as possible.

It is my firm conviction that if the library is to become more useful to the members, a separate part time librarian clerk must be appointed. Otherwise the facilities to the members are bound to be less; it is not fair to leave the issuing of the books in the hands of the attender, nor is it reasonable to expect the Hon. Librarian to be attending the library every day. It is also necessary to keep the library open in the mornings also, every Sunday and every public holiday between 7-30 and 10-30 a. m.

3. The reading room continued to attract as usual large numbers. The number of visitors from 1—4—41 to 31—3—42 was 4462 as against 3449 for the corresponding period last year, i. e., there was thus an increase of nearly 30% in the number of visitors which may be taken as an indication of the increasing popularity of the reading room. I am indebted to Sri B. V. Krishna Rao for so kindly placing at the disposal of the Reading Room between 4 and 7 p.m. every day his personal copy of the "Hindu". I appeal to the local agents of the various News papers in Rajahmundry like "The Mail", "The Indian Express", "the Free Press" and "The Andhra Patrika" to present a copy of their news papers for daily use between 4 and 7 p.m. every day by the members of the general public for I may point out that the Reading Room serves a general need. In its present financial condition, the Society is unable to provide this facility out of its own funds.

4. The Museum of the A. H. R. Society is a valuable treasure. The inscriptions in the position of the society have been classified and a descriptive list of all the inscriptions will find a place in the catalogue to be newly printed. The Society is grateful to Sri T. Achyuta Rao M.A., L.T., Retired Head master for presenting us through Sri T. Kameswara Rao and Sri R. Subba Rao 45 old coins which includes one silver coin. The coins will have to be classified and a descriptive list will have to be prepared soon, and this list also will have to find a place in the new catalogue to be printed. In this connection I would like to inform the members that during the year the Pamulavaka copper-plates were taken on loan by Dr. Venkatramanayya, Reader, Madras University through Sri B. V. Krishna Rao. The energetic Editor of the journal of the Society who was the only one to attend the All India Oriental Conference and the Indian History Congress took a few inscriptions and coins for exhibiting them at the time of the Congress at Hyderabad. Our thanks are due to the authorities of the Congress for inviting us to exhibit the inscriptions and coins and to Sri B. V. Krishna Rao for so kindly discharging the function entrusted to him by the society.

In conclusion, I would like to place on record my appreciation of the co-operation extended to me by the Hon. Secretary, the Editor and Sri R. Subba Rao but for whose co-operation I could not have done even the little that I was able to do during the year.

G. Narayanaswami,

4—4—42.

PROCEEDING OF THE ADJOURNED GENERAL BODY MEETING HELD
ON 6—6—1943.

Present.

Sri N. Kameswara Rao (in the chair.)
,, Rallabandi Subba Rao.
,, M. Sambasiva Rao.
,, C. Nagaraju.
,, M. A. Reddi.

(1) Resolved to adopt the Reports of the Secretary and the Librarian for the year 1942-43.

(2) Resolved to adopt the Treasurer's statement of account for the year 1942-43 subject to audit.

(3) Resolved to request Mr. V. B. V. Sarma (Registered accountant) of Aryapuram to audit the accounts.

(4) Resolved to place on record the thanks of the Society for the work done by the office-bearers for '42-'43.

(5) The General Body resolves that in view of the unsatisfactory position of the Society, owing to the delays caused in the publication of the Journal and Reddi sanchika and also owing to the poor state of the finances of the Society and further also owing to the frequent adjournments of the managing council and General Body meetings for want of quorum, the General Body hereby confers full powers on the Ex. President Sri N. Kameswara Rao to carry on the work of the Society and to remedy the state of affairs by improving its activities. In view of the above resolution the General Body resolves not to elect any office-bearers for the year.

(Sd.) N. KAMESWARA RAO,
President.

THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY
RAJAHMUNDRY

N O T I C E

At an adjourned Annual General Body Meeting of the Society held on 6—6—43, after adopting the Annual Reports of the Secretary and the Librarian and the Statement of Accounts of the Treasurer, the following resolution was passed unanimously.

"The General Body resolves that, in view of the unsatisfactory position of the Society, owing to the delays caused in the publication of the Journal and the Reddi Sanchika and also owing to the poor state of the finances of the Society and further also owing to the

frequent adjournments of the Managing Council and General Body Meetings for want of quorum, the General Body hereby confers full powers on the Ex. President, M. R. Ry. N. Kameswara Rao Pantulu Garu, to carry on the work of the Society and to remedy the state of affairs by improving its activities. In view of the above resolution the General Body resolves not to elect any office-bearers for the year."

As some doubts have been expressed as to the competence of the General Body to pass such a resolution, it is considered desirable in the interests of the Society to place the matter beyond all doubt by summoning another General Body meeting to review the whole position and to take necessary action.

A General Body meeting will, therefore, be held on 11-7-43 (Sunday) at 9 a.m. (I.S.T.) in the Society Hall to transact the following business.

1. To elect office-bearers or take necessary steps to carry on the work of the Society.
2. To amend rules, of which 7 clear days' notice should be given to the President.
3. To frame new rules, if any.
4. To transact any other business of which previous notice of 2 clear days is given to the President.

Rajahmundry,
24-6-43

N. KAMESWARA RAO,
President.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ANNUAL GENERAL BODY MEETING
HELD ON 11-7-43.

Members present.

Sri N. Kameswara Rao (in the chair.)
 „ R. Venkatasivudu.
 „ Rajah K. S. Jagannadha Rao Bahadur.
 „ Rallabandi Subba Rao.
 „ M. Sriramachari.
 „ M. Anna Reddi.
 „ C. Nagaraju.
 „ Rao sahib M. Suryanarayana.

(1) As there is sufficient quorum for the meeting it is resolved to rescind the resolution No. 5 passed at the last General Body meeting held on 6-6-43 and further to elect office-bearers for the year 1943-44.

Proposed by Sri Raja K. S. Jagannatha Rao Bahadur,
Seconded by Sri R. Venkatasivudu.

(2) It is resolved to elect the following office-bearers.

President :	Sri N. Kameswara Rao, B.A., B.L.
Vice President :	„ Raja K. S. Jagannadharao Bahadur.
Secretary :	„ M. A. Reddi, M.A. LL. B.
Librarian :	„ Vaddadi Appa Rao, B.A., B.L.
Treasurer :	„ M. Sambasiva Rao, B.A.
Members of council :	„ Rao Sahib M Surayanarayana, M.A.
	„ R. Venkata Sivudu, M.A.
	„ B. V. Krishna Rao, M.A., B.L.
	„ R. Subba Rao, B.A., B.L.

N. KAMESWARA RAO,
President.

11-7-43

21ST ANNUAL REPORT OF THE MANAGING COUNCIL OF THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY FOR 1942-43.

This year,—the third year after the War commenced—is again uneventful. We regret we have not been able to make much progress.

We have maintained the strength of members and subscribers on our rolls. During the year Volume XIII of the Journal was completed and issued. It is a pity that the Reddi Sanchika is still incomplete. We hope that in the coming year, with the active co-operation of all concerned,—the Editor, the press and members of the committee—we will see the early issue of the work which is eagerly awaited by the public for long.

By the prompt action of the Editor of the journal and the Treasurer, we were able to get this year a donation of Rs. 100 from the Maharaja of Jeypore who has been uniformly generous to our Society. The Rajahmundry municipality has paid us Rs. 100 this year also and we are thankful to them for it and we request them to show us the same generosity in the coming years also. Time has come when all who are interested in the continuation of our Society and the splendid work it has been doing should extend their active co-operation by appealing for and collecting funds and placing the society on a firm footing. For this purpose, we suggest that influential members should be deputed for touring the country to explain the work of the Society, to admit more members and advertise and sell the Society's publications. We are sure we can improve our finances substantially by wider publicity and earnest appeal for public support.

There have been 5 meetings of the managing council. Two of the members resigned from the council as they were transferred from Rajahmundry and two members were elected in their places.

C. ATMARAM,
Honorary Secretary.

THE 21ST ANNUAL REPORT OF THE HON. LIBRARIAN
FOR THE YEAR 1942-43.

I took charge of the library on 19-7-42 as the previous Hon. Librarian Mr. G. Narayanaswami Iyer was transferred from this place. As no separate report is being submitted by Mr. Narayanaswamy, I propose to deal with the working of the Library for the whole year.

To begin with, for our library, as for the country in general, the year 1942-43 was a very bad one. As the library is situated in a busy and central locality and as it had already received wide publicity, it was expected that it would attract a greater number of visitors and readers than in the previous years. Unfortunately, due to the threat of Japanese invasion in April last, many people had evacuated from this city and it was only at a later stage of the year that normal conditions were restored and people once again settled themselves in the city. Apart from that, the advance of time by one hour is also greatly inconvenient to the student population in making use of the library.

The number of visitors and readers during 1942-43 is 3800. The average of daily visitors is about 10.

During the current year there are only 239 additions including journals, periodicals and books for review, the number of books being only 12. Notable among the books received, mention may be made of the following :—

Early Aryans in Gujrat by K. M. Munshi; Silver Jubilee Volume of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.

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condition in the shelves. It is absolutely necessary to check the library. I have already begun to arrange the books in order with a view to prepare a new catalogue. I hope to finish it at an early date.

Rajahmundry, }
28-3-1943. }

M. A. Reddi.
Hon. Librarian.

ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY,
RAJAHMUNDRY.

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR 1942-43.

Receipts.		Charges.	
1. Opening balance	157-14-9	1. Printing	50- 0-0
2. Subscription from members	} 145- 8-0	2. Rent and lighting	153- 9-0
3. Do. from Institutions		6-13-0	3. Establishment
4. Donations	205- 0-0	4. Stationery	9- 0-5
5. Sale of waste paper	1- 9-6	5. P. stage	33- 4-9
6. Interest on S. B. Account	} 4-11-1	6. Purchase of books	10-12-0
7. Advance by the Hon. Treasurer		} 3- 2-2	7. Miscellaneous
			8. Closing Balance in Govt. post office and Aryapuram and Co-op. urban bank
	<u>621- 4-9</u>		<u>621-9-4</u>

M. SAMBASIVARAO,
Honorary Treasurer.
31-3-1943

A U D I T R E P O R T . *

I have examined the enclosed Receipts and Payments Account of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry for the period 1-4-1942 to 31-7-1943 with the accounts, vouchers and records relating thereto and I certify that the same is correct subject to the following remarks:

1. The following are the outstanding liabilities payable as on 31-7-1943.

Loans borrowed during 1941-42 from the Hon. Treasurer, Mr. K. J. Gopalarao.	Rs. 28- 0-0
Printing charges payable to Printer, S. R. P. Works, Rajahmundry less Rs. 50 advance paid.	<u>140-10-0</u>
Total	Rs. <u>168-10-0</u>

2. The advance payment of Rs. 4 shown in the certified Receipts and Payments Account for 1941-42 remained unadjusted during the period under audit.

3. The Bank balances as on 31-7-1943 amounted to Rs. 155-7-1 and these have been verified by me with the Pass Books.

RAJAHMUNDRY, }
17-8-1943 }

V. B. R. SARMA,
Registered Accountant.

THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY, RAJAHMUNDRY.

Receipts and Payments Account for the period 1-4-1942 to 31-7-1943.

Dr.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Cr.
To Opening Cash Balance				134 8 0
" Subscriptions		2 2 0		196 5 0
" Contributions:		166 0 0		41 1 6
Maharaja of Jeypore	100 0 0			6 10 0
Rajahmundry Municipality	100 0 0			17 0 5
" Collections from Institutions		200 0 0		4 0 0
" Sale of Publications		10 13 0		2 0 0
" Sale of Waste Paper		106 10 0		3 3 6
" Interest on Savings Account		3 4 6		11 0 0
" in the Innispet Post Office		4 11 1		10 12 0
" Withdrawals from:				
Post Office Savings Bank A/c	155 0 0			8 2 0
Savings Account in the				8 0 0
Aryapuram Co-operative				50 0 0
Urban Bank Ltd	30 0 0			38 11 8
" Advances Received:		185 0 0		
Treasurer	13 2 2			
Secretary	25 9 6			
" Advances to Peon recovered		38 11 8		184 11 1
		8 0 0		9 3 1
		<u>725 4 3</u>		Total Rs. <u>725 4 3</u>

Rajahmundry, } * Audit Report on Page x.

D. 17-8-1943

Audit report is herewith annexed.
V. B. R. SARMA,
Registered Accountant.

RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS ACCOUNT FOR 1940-41

Receipts.	Rs.A.P.	Payments.	Rs.AsP.
Collections from } members. }	96- 4-0	Stationery for the } Journal. }	125-15-0
Subscriptions from } Institutions. }	109- 8-0	Expenditure for } Printing Journal. }	307- 3-0
Miscellaneous Income.	0- 9-0	Payment of rent to the } Society Library hall. }	162- 0-0
Income by sale of } Society's publications. }	49- 8-0	Establishment costs.	88- 8-0
General Contributions.	400- 0-0	Postage spent for } despatch of Journal. }	36- 8-0
Opening Balance.	136-14-6	Miscellaneous expenses.	11-11-0
		Purchase of Books.	10- 6-0
		Travelling charges.	2-0 -0
		Printing charges for } "Reddi Sanchika". }	28- 0-0
		Closing Balance.	16- 8-6
	<u>788-11-6</u>		<u>788-11-6</u>

Dear Sirs,

I have examined and audited the Accounts of the Andhra Historical Research Society for the year 1940-41 and found them correctly maintained for which the above is the statement of the Receipts and Payments. There is an outstanding balance of Rs. 155-12-0 in the Bank which has been verified and found correct.

RAJAHMUNDRY, }
D/ 3-4-42. }

Yours faithfully,
D. KAMESWARA RAO,
Registered Accountant.

RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS ACCOUNT FOR 1941-42.

To Opening Balance.	16- 8-6	By Library Rent.	162- 0-0
„ Collections from } Members. }	111-12-0	„ Establishment.	90- 0-0
„ Collections from } Institutions. }	17- 0-0	„ Postage.	36- 4-6
„ Sale of Society's } Publications. }	42- 6-0	„ Reddi Sanchika } Printing. }	101-12-0
„ General Contributions.	202- 4-0	„ Printing.	1- 0-0
„ Loans.	138- 0-0	„ Stationery.	6- 4-0
		„ Purchase of books.	10- 8-0
		„ Advances.	4- 0-0
		„ Loans repaid.	110- 0-0
		„ Miscellaneous.	4- 0-0
		„ Closing Balance.	2- 2-0
	<u>527-14-6</u>		<u>527-14-0</u>

There have been 5 meetings of the managing council. Two of the members resigned from the council as they were transferred from Rajahmundry and two members were elected in their places.

C. ATMARAM,
Honorary Secretary.

THE 21ST ANNUAL REPORT OF THE HON. LIBRARIAN FOR THE YEAR 1942-43.

I took charge of the library on 19—7—42 as the previous Hon. Librarian Mr. G. Narayanaswami Iyer was transferred from this place. As no separate report is being submitted by Mr. Narayanaswami, I propose to deal with the working of the Library for the whole year.

To begin with, for our library, as for the country in general, the year 1942-43 was a very bad one. As the library is situated in a busy and central locality and as it had already received wide publicity, it was expected that it would attract a greater number of visitors and readers than in the previous years. Unfortunately, due to the threat of Japanese invasion in April last, many people had evacuated from this city and it was only at a later stage of the year that normal conditions were restored and people once again settled themselves in the city. Apart from that, the advance of time by one hour is also greatly inconvenient to the student population in making use of the library.

The number of visitors and readers during 1942-43 is 3800. The average of daily visitors is about 10.

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RAJAHMUNDURY, }
17-8-1943 }

V. B. R. SARMA,
Registered Accountant.

- 41 Prabudha Karnataka.
- 42 Nagari Pracharini Patrika, Benares.
- 43 Triveni, Madras.
- 44 Director of Archæological Survey of Ceylon, Colombo.
- 45 Shrine of Wisdom Aahlu 6, Arman Hill, London. E. 11.
- 46 Brahma Vidya, Bulletin of Adayar Library, Adayar Madras.
- 47 Bulletin of the School of the Oriental studies—London University.
- 48 The New Indian Antiquary, Karnatak Publishing House
Bombay.
- 49 Sri Venkateswara Oriental Institute, Tirupati.
- 50 Viswa Bharati Quarterly.
- 51 Bulletin of the Deccan College, Post Graduate
& Research Institute, Poona I.
- 52 "University of Ceylon Review", Ceylon.
- 53 Journal of Andhra History and Culture, Guntur.

ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY

OBJECTS OF THE SOCIETY

The Objects of the Society shall be :

1. To promote Historical Research in Andhradesa, and record the results of such research.
2. To organise meetings for imparting historical knowledge to the people.
3. To celebrate historical occasions and hold exhibitions.
4. To publish a journal of historical research and special books if any.
5. To co-operate with other learned Societies engaged in similar work as well as with individual scholars.

All those who are in sympathy with the above Objects may become members of the Society.

All MEMBERS are entitled :

1. To get a copy of the Journal of the Society published quarterly free of cost, and
2. To make use of the Library at Rajahmundry.

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REDDI SANCHIKA: Edited by V. Appa Rao, B.A., B.L. (*in the Press*)

All correspondence should be addressed to:—

HON. SECRETARY,

THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY,
RAJAHMUNDRY. (Madras Presy.)

TO CONTRIBUTORS

All correspondence and articles for the *Journal* may kindly be addressed to Sri N. Kameswara Rao, B. A., B. L., *Editor*, Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry.

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3. Proceedings of the General Body Meetings Etc.,	i—xvi



Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society

VOL XIV October 1943 & January & April 1944 PARTS 2, 3 & 4

REVENUE ADMINISTRATION OF THE NORTHERN CIRCARS

DR. LANKA SUNDARAM, M.A., PH.D.

(Continued from p. 28 of the previous Number)

The financial advantages of this settlement were considerable. At a time when the pecuniary needs of the presidency were heavy and pressing on account of the war with the French. Madras was relieved of the pressure of bills which the subordinate settlement were permitted to draw upon the Presidency Treasury.¹ Pointing out these advantages, the Madras government wrote to Masulipatam:² "You will be able to raise sufficient money without drawing on us to provide for your expenses and to forward the Company's investment by every possible effort, which we particularly recommend to you, and we flatter ourselves that during the course of the ensuing season you will be in a situation to assist in supplying our treasury from the northern revenues in the districts under your management especially as we have taken upon ourselves to provide the sums to be paid to the Subah".³

1. See ante.....

2. 18 November, 1778. Vol. 21 pp. 838-43.

3. The reference is to the tribute paid by the Company to the Nizam for the grant of the Northern Sarkars. So far the Masulipatam treasury was responsible for the payment.

The Court of Directors were not satisfied with the settlement and accused Rumbold and his Council of having wasted an admirable opportunity for exacting a greater tribute from the zamindars assembled at Madras especially when they were destitute of any means of resisting the Company's demands.¹ But Sir Thomas himself declared that he "had rather pinched the Zamindars too much in his agreements with them."² "He further stated:³ "This increase of twelve and half per cent upon the old rental is the only increase which has taken place since the government of the Moguls.....The sum total of the additions made to the revenue, at different times, since the accession of the Company to the Circars amount to 50 per cent upon the old establishment. An enormous exaction! And far more oppressive to the Zemindars than an equal augmentation would have proved under their Mahomedan masters; in as much as the perquisites of the Mogul officers are comprised in the estimate which is improperly called the Moorish rental; whereas under the later agreements as existing when I came to the government, these perquisites were not taken into account, nor were the extortions of the Company's servants subject to any better control than their own discretion". Further, giving evidence before the Committee of Secrecy which drew the *Fourth Report* Edward Cotsford stated:⁴ "The increase of the Jaminabundy or tribute of the principal Zemindars occasions much discontent amongst them. Considering the state of the Zemindars in general and the state of India at the time, I think the insisting upon an increase of their tribute of Jemmabundy was injudicious"⁵ As a matter of fact, on the recommendation of Bala Krishna,² the Company's interpreter at Ganjam and the renter of the Vijayanagaram assigned lands and the vast *haveli* of the Ichchapuram district, the *jamabandi* of the Ganjam zamindars was reduced from Rs. 3,86,200 to Rs. 3,08,700 on account of the "distress

1. *Madras Dispatches* (Revenue) 10 January 1781 in Appendix No. 163, to the *Sec. Rep.*

2. *Briefs*, I. f. 103.

3. Rumbold; *Answer to Charges*, p. 32.

4. Appendix No. 21, to the *Fourth Report*, answer to question No. 23.

5. It cannot be doubted that this recommendation was audacious and created a precedent. Corrupt motives could be seen operating in the acquiescence of the Madras Council as shown by the protracted inquiry into Bala Krishna's charges against Rumbold and Turing, resident at Ganjam. But it cannot be doubted that of the twenty *zamindars* under the Ganjam the principal seven paid the old *jamabandi* even after this abatement. Practically all the remaining seven are of small means and certainly required remissions. These latter, with the exception of two, paid a tribute ranging from Rs. 3,000 to Rs. 16,000.

and inability of these petty Zamindars to pay their high Jemma-bundy".¹

The settlement with the Masulipatam zamindars was not productive of the best results as the latter turned out to be extremely reluctant in their payments. Masulipatam pointed out that even Jagapati Razu and Tirupati Razu whose conduct at Madras was laudable, had to be constantly pressed for the payment of arrears, and requested that the Company's *sibbandi* at Ellore be enhanced "for the purpose of bringing the Zemindars here to a compliance" if necessary. They took Appa Rao of Nuzividu into custody at Masulipatam and garrisoned his fort. They wrote further: "We cannot help being exceedingly alarmed when we reflect on the little prospect there is of obtaining payment of the large arrears due from these Zamindars amounting to no less a sum than about eight lacks of pagodas, we must not only repeat our request that you will be pleased to strengthen our authority by a latitude of acting herein, but the difficulties that surround us incline us to wish we might at the same time be aided by your counsels".²

It is clear that Masulipatam unnecessarily precipitated measures against the zamindars, when a certain amount of patience and tact could have achieved their ends peacefully. The Madras government were conciliatory in their attitude towards the zamindars. They expressed surprise at the ignorance of the Masulipatam Council in not having been able properly to assess the value of the *sahukar tips* given by most of the zamindars. If the *tips* were not accepted and negotiated "a precedent too dangerous would be established". They disapproved the measures of the Masulipatam Council in placing a guard upon Appa Rao and did not see the necessity of another upon Jagapati Razu. "The Board are of opinion that violent and precipitate measures and the exercise of force have been more detrimental to the Company's revenues in every part of their government than a well timed lenity and proper distinction bestowed upon the deserving".³ Rumbold was particularly consistent in his lenient attitude towards the zamindars. Referring to the unsettled nature of the Ghumsur zamindari and successfully urging upon his council the necessity of restoring the exiled zamindar Vikrama Bhanj, he clearly enunciated his policy towards the zamindars in general: 'The practice that has too frequently prevailed under the Company's government in India of displacing persons on the most frivolous

1. *Rev. Cons.* 13 August 1779, Vol. 23, pp. 67-78. See Appendix 61, *Sec. Rep.*
 2. *Masulipatam to Madras*, 5 April *Rev. Cons.* 20 April, Vol. 22, pp. 262-76.
 3. *Madras to Masulipatam*, (Rev) 20 April 1779, Vol. 22, pp. 285-296.

pretences from their hereditary possessions or from such as they have been confirmed in by their ancestors agreeable to the acknowledged customs that have prevailed in their families, has thrown more odium on the gentlemen employed in India than any other transactions that have been brought before the public and has been reprobated by all degrees of people at home... ..I am no friend to these military expeditions set on foot against the almost defenceless zamindars, the consequences of which are seldom favourable to the Company".¹

As a result of Rumbold's settlement during the period under review three to four years' time was allowed for the systematic payment of the Company's balances by the zamindars.² The Madras government were "desirous of showing every proper indulgence to the zamindars as well as relieve them from the difficulties they labour under". The "lesser tributaries" were to be induced to consent to the present arrangements and Masulipatam was given full discretion as to the methods to be adopted in bringing about a peaceful settlement.³

Rumbold had an easier task in disposing of the Company's *haveli* lands. It was in the nature of this royal demesne, so to speak, that, except where a particular renter was allowed to keep individual farms for a number of years, its disposal was not subject to a consideration of conflicting interests as in the case of the zamindari lands. Everything depended upon a reasonably high bid from an individual who could give good security for the payment of the agreed rent.

Proposals for renting these lands were called for when the zamindars were ordered to Madras. The subordinate chiefs and councils, who considered the innovations to Sir Thomas Rumbold as at once derogatory to their prestige and detrimental to their personal interests, urged that their departure along with that of the other revenue officials would not only bring in fewer offers for the leases of the *haveli* lands but also disturb their smooth management.⁴ The Committee of secrecy and the Court of Directors also held a similar view.⁵ They argued that

1. *Rev. Cons.* 24 November, Vol. 23. pp. 311-15.

2. *Idem.* 15 September, *idem.* pp. 143-172.

3. *Madras to Masulipatam. idem.* pp. 195-99.

4. See particularly *Masulipatam to Madras*, 3 May 1778. *Rev. Cons.* 15 May, Vol. 20, pp. 186-256, wherein the Masulipatam consultations were fully copied.

5. *Sec. Rep.* p. 11 and *Madras Dispatches* 10 January 1781, Vol. IX pp. 399-400. See also Appendix N, 159 to *Sec. Rep.*

three days after the receipt of the news of the Masulipatam zamindars' having set out to Madras, the government ordered (15 July 1776) advertisements to be put up both at the presidency and at the various centres in the Sarkars, in English and Telugu calling for offers to rent the *haveli* for periods of five, eight and ten years respectively, and this, they supposed, was calculated to injure the Company's revenues. But it should be noted here that these views were not grounded on a sound knowledge of the situation. For one thing, the zamindars as a rule never stood forth as potential renters of the Company's *haveli* since they considered it beneath their dignity, even though exceptions were to be found occasionally as in the case of the Vuyyur zamindar who enjoyed the rent of the Ellore *haveli*. Actually, the *haveli* lands were not let till 10 August 1779 clearly more than seven months after the zamindars and other persons who proceeded to Madras had returned to their respective homes¹ Hence, the condemnation of the Court of Directors on this account was demonstrably unnecessary and unjust.

To clearly ascertain the actual value of the Masulipatam farms a statement of the revenues for the past two years was called for by the Madras Council.² The following interesting statement shows the position of the revenue from the Masulipatam farms:³ It will be seen that all the four

The Masulipatam
haveli lands

1. The Zamindars and renters returned to their stations by about December 1778, See Appendix No. 55 to the *Sec. Rep.*

2. *Madras to Masulipatam*, (Rev) 12 September 1778. Vol. 21. pp. 620-21.

3. *Same to same*, 24 September, *Rev. Cons.* 2 October, *idem* pp. 630-40. See also: Appendix No. 49. to the *Sec. Rep.*

MASULIPATAM HAVELI (In Madras Pagodas.)

Farm.	Manager.	Old <i>jama- bandi</i> .	Present <i>jama- bandi</i> or sums due.	Advances to cultivators.	Balances due.
Nizampatam.	James Hodges.	19,600.	1775. 28,109. 1777. 21,038.	5,900. 5,900.	— —
Gudur & Akulamanna ju.	J. P. Boileau.	11,200.	1775. 17,213. 1776. 11,955. 1777. 9,269.	1,000. 3,500. 3,500.	— 4,014. 10,455.
Inuguduru.	A. Pringle.	2,500.	1775. 4,356. 1776. 2,781. 1777. 2,260.	500. 1,500. —	— 1,500. 2,041.
Bandarammalanka.	T. Barnard.	6,000.	1775. 6,164. 1776. 4,913. 1777. 3,561.	700. 600. —	— — 2,726.

farms which constituted the Masulipatam *haveli* lands were rented by members of the Masulipatam Council and managed on their private account. The undesirable features of annual leases are patent on the surface. The Company were not sure what they would exactly receive from these lands. The decline in the current *jama* was as rapid as the increase in the balances due from the renters. Advances to the cultivators were not inconsiderable, but still an explanation of the growing balances was not forthcoming from these accounts. To

put it in a nutshell, the Masulipatam farms showed Rumbold's reforms: Europeans barred that the European renters were not the ideal persons from renting farms for the management of the Company's demesne.

Sir Thomas was not slow to recognise the evil effects of European management and one of his first revenue measures was to revoke the permission given to the company's servants to enter into private revenue business.¹

In response to the advertisements, a considerable number of offers poured in for the rent of the Masulipatam farms. Rumbold submitted to his Council with remarkable clearness that "there is scarcely one of the farms that have now been advertised, that is not in debt to the Company for balances from the old renters, who are most of them become bankrupts and the number of responsible people so few, that it encourages every needy adventurer to stand forth as a bidder trusting to accidents whether he shall be a gainer or loser by the farms he bids for: if the latter, he is not in a much worse situation to inflict punishment that afford no recompense for the loss of revenue which can never be recovered; nor is it sufficient that in several proposals mention is made of Soucar security without particularising the Soucars; for such is the state of public credit at present in the Carnatic and the Circars, that there are very few who are proper to be depended upon or whose security is worth accepting".² On these grounds a higher bidder was ignored in favour of Lakshmi Narasimhulu who was granted the lease of the four Masulipatam farms for a period of five years at the rate of a lakh of Madras pagodas a year, and the Madras government wrote home that they had adopted this course as he was a person more to be depended upon than others, for his character, for the circumstances of his being resident in the Sarkar and for the unquestionable security he has produced.³ The Court of Directors and

1. See *Madras to Vizagapatam*, 3 April 1778, Vol. 28, pp. 125-30. See also *Masulipatam to Madras*, 3 May, forwarding their minutes of consultation where they gave effect to this wise act of Rumbold. *idem*, pp. 204-05.

2. See Rumbold's minute of 10 August 1779. Appendix No. 55 to the *Sec. Rep.*

3. *Madras Letters Received* (Rev) 14 October 1779, para 6 Vol. IX, pp. 470-1, See also Appendix No. 55, *Sec. Rep.*

the Committee of Secrecy unnecessarily condemned this procedure by which "the company are, in all probability, deprived of 2,25,000 rupees".¹ But it should be noted that Edward Cotsford, the Chief of Masulipatam warmly approved this measure. It appears, then, that the opinion of the authorities at home was not necessarily correct.²

Rumbold's analysis of the revenue of the Ichchapuram and Chicacole *haveli* lands is interesting in several ways. They were formerly valued at M. Ps. 1,47,548 a year. The Ichchapuram and Chicacole *haveli* lands collections amounted to only M. Ps. 97,907, in 1777-78 and M. Ps. 1,43,438 in 1778-79, while the civil and military charges, exclusive of the expenses of the Bengal detachments used to preserve order and secure the revenues which were borne by the Bengal government, were exorbitant.³ The collections for 1777-78 comprised of:

Balances due from 1770-75	...	M. Ps. 20,856.
do 1776-77	...	32,935.
<i>Jamabandi</i> collections for 1777-78	...	44,116.
	Total	M. Ps. 97,907.

The collections for 1778-79 were:

Balances due from 1770-76	...	M. Ps. 31,469.
do 1777-78	...	19,257.
<i>Jamabandi</i> collections for 1778-79	...	92,712.
	Total	M. Ps. 1,43,438.

These figures are significant enough. The millstone of the balances due from retired renters hung heavily round the neck of every subsequent renter whose lease of the lands was conspicuously short-lived. Indeed, it was a scandalous state of affairs when balances for the preceding decade were allowed to tell heavily upon the solvency and capability of a series of shortlived renters. This incubus discouraged any well-planned system of economy and improvement of the Company's *haveli* lands, while the lack of continuity of tenure resulted in meagre bids. On the other hand, successive renters exploited the lands to their own advantage and recklessly passed on the onus of their mismanagement to their successors, thus thoroughly ruining the country and depriving the Company of their legitimate revenues. Only a system of continuity

1. *Madras Dispatches*, 10 January 1781, paras 76-85. Vol. 1X. pp. 413-20 and Appendix No. 153. to *Sec. Rep.*

2. *Cotsford to Rumbold*, 19 August 1779 in Rumbold: *Answer to Charges*. p. 37.

3. Rumbold's minute in *Rev. Cons.* 29 July, 1779. Vol. 22. pp. 652-59.

4. *Idem*. 6 August. Vol. 23. pp. 4-20.

of management and unified control could have effectually checked these fluctuating and ephemeral rental conditions. Rumbold attempted this, but being ahead of the times, his measures were revoked by the Court of Directors.

The Ganjam Council endeavoured to preclude the inquiries at Madras by Rumbold and his Council as to the actual state of revenues in Ichchapuram and Chicacole districts under their jurisdiction. As has already been shown, the "defalcations" of the former rank among the worst of their kind ever detected in the administration of the Sarkars.¹ Further, they vainly attempted to defeat the orders of the Madras government which rendered it obligatory on the Company's *dubashes* or interpreters to repair to Madras with a view to facilitate the revenue inquiry and settlement designed to take place there. They were deliberately lukewarm in not urging upon Bala Krishna the *dubash* attached to the chiefship of Ganjam, to obey the order of the presidency. Madras was compelled to write to Ganjam that they "cannot but disapprove of the countenance that he appears to have received from your Board during the whole course of this business, not only as it defeats the purposes which our instructions to you concerning it were calculated to promote, but tends to nourish a spirit of opposition to the authority of government, in those very persons who should, of all others, be most implicitly subservient to it. We trust they will be of sufficient weight to secure our orders from any further marks of inattention and that we shall hereafter experience in you such an alteration of conduct as may justify in some degree our present forbearance".² In reply to this, Ganjam solemnly declared that they had not either "directly or indirectly encouraged Ball Kistnah to disregard your orders".³

This explanation seemed to have satisfied the Madras government at that time, but during the course of the later investigation into the conduct of Sir Thomas Rumbold, facts appeared which clearly revealed the manner in which members of the Ganjam Council, who were manifestly interested in the lease of the *haveli* lands under their care, attempted to render the presidency's orders nugatory. In a letter from Madras, Mr. Oakes, one of the members of the Ganjam Council, wrote to Bala Krishna: "The distance from Ganjam district is so great that I should not be surprised if the Rajahs would say [that] their country would go

1. See *Ante*.

2. *Madras to Ganjam*, (Rev) 26 August 1778. Vol. 21, pp. 562-61.

3. *Ganjam to Madras*, 26 September, *Rev. Cons* 2 October, *idem*. pp. 626-29.

to ruin in their absence (as would in some measure be the case) and that they had not money to undertake so expensive a journey, which I believe is also very true; and should this be the case I imagine there would be no occasion for you to come to Madras, because your presence could only be of use in case the Rajahs were to come down; and if they will not, or cannot come there will be but small collections if you leave Jamjam [sic]: therefore, Kistnah, I would recommend it to you, if the Rajahs do not leave the district, to stay where you are for the present until further orders. At all events, I recommend it to you to show your attention to Mr. Smith's business and pay to Mr. Maunsell immediately on the account the 5,000 [pagodas] you were to receive from Hautmaram as also the copper money; likewise, as much of the balances due to him as possible. Mr. Smith expects you will do all this; he wishes to be your friend but he must see you attend to his affairs; he is in much interest and will be able to assist your business"² It will be interesting to observe here that Maunsell was chief of Ganjam a little previous to this letter, while Smith, himself a former chief, was on the Council at Madras. Further, all the three gentlemen concerned in this letter enjoyed at one time or other the rent of the *haveli* lands under Ganjam, and the members of the Ganjam Council actually offered higher bids for the rent of the same after the receipt of information that Bala Krishna, who subsequently arrived at Madras, was one of the bidders for the lease of the same.¹

On the recommendation of the Ganjam Council, the Madras government invited offers for the rent of the Ichchapuram *haveli* for periods of five, eight and ten years respectively.² From the time of his arrival at Madras, Bala Krishna was evidently Bala Krishna's rent of the Ichchapuram *haveli* destined to become the renter of the *haveli*. Charles Smith argued that his appointment as the Company's renter would be productive of trouble and certainly would not be in the Company's interests.³ He demonstrated that the offer of Rs. 4,15,000 a year was clearly short of the average collections for the preceding four years 1774-77 which amounted to Rs. 4,69,328. On the other hand, his proposal for a decennial lease, instead of being ultimately advantageous, was clearly detrimental to

1. The name of a *sahukar*.

2. Dated 15 May 1778 in the possession of Sir Thomas Rumbold. See Appendix No. X to his *Answer to Charges*.

1. See *Rev. Cons.* 29 July, 1779, Vol. 23, pp. 644-53.

2. *Ganjam to Madras*, undated, *idem*. 8 December 1778, and resolution to the government thereon, Vol. 21, pp. 887-905, and *Madras to Ganjam*, 11 December *idem*, pp. 939-37.

3. Smith's minute in *idem*, 6 August, 1779, Vol. 23, pp. 21-34.

the Company's interest. Notwithstanding his willingness to set apart an additional sum of Rs. 40,000 a year as a sort of sinking fund for the discharge of the balances due from the previous renters, there would still be a final balance of Rs. 1,40,000 at the end of his lease.

Nevertheless, government granted him a *kaul* to run from 25 September 1779 to 25 September 1789. An additional amount of Rs. 20,000 was also demanded from him to square up the accounts of Jagga Bandhu Chaudhari, his predecessor in the lease, who was himself allowed a remission of Rs. 60,000 for losses sustained.¹ As has already been shown, Bala Krishna's influence over the majority of the Council² resulted in the lowering of the *jamabandi* of the Ganjam zamindars who were exempted from the trouble and expense of going to Madras, and directed to pay their tribute through him. The government adopted this policy in spite of the protests of the Ganjam Council.³

Bala Krishna was not immediately put in charge of the farms he was to rent.⁴ Ganjam delayed in executing the governments' orders on the plea that the small crop, which could only be realised in October or November, rightfully belonged to the previous renters, in one case to Mr. Oakes⁵. But the government ordered that the farms be forthwith delivered to the agents of Bala Krishna, and that any sums realised by the previous renters since 25 September should be made up to him.⁶ Partly as a mark of their disapprobation of the conduct of the Ganjam Council, and partly as a measure of retrenchment, the chiefship was reduced to a residency⁷.

III THE VIJAYANAGARAM SETTLEMENT

In 1759 Sitarama Razu relinquished his claims to the zamindari of Vijayanagaram in favour of his younger brother Vijayarama

Razu to occupy the position of *diwan* for a period of Introductory eighteen years.⁸ Jagannadha Razu, a servant of the Puspatis and an opportunist, fomented dissensions

1. *Madras to Ganjam*, (Rev) 19 August, Vol. 23. 43-46. See also *Madras Letters Received*, 14 October, (Rumbold), para 6. Vol. IX.

2. The majority in Council consisted of Rumbold, Whitehill, Sir Hector Munro and Ferring against Smith and Johnson.

3. *Ganjam to Madras*, 31 August 1779. *Rev. Cons.* 11 September, Vol. 23, pp. 183-88

4. *Bala Krishna to the President*, enclosing the letter of his attorney and brother-in-law, Arunachalam, from Ganjam, dated 21 September, *idem.* 26 October, *idem.* pp. 221-28.

5. *Ganjam to Madras*, 3 October, *idem.* pp. 228-33.

6. *Rev. Cons.* 12 November, Vol. 23 pp. 250-52, and *Madras to Ganjam*. 16 November, *idem.* pp. 279-30.

7. *Same to same.* 13 November (a second letter). *idem.* pp. 318-23.

8. *Cotsford to the Directors*, New Bond Street, 13 January, 1777. See Rumbold; *Answer to Charges*, Appendix No. 4.

among the brothers. Vijayarama Razu, being timid and indolent, generally acquiesced in the efficient management of Sitarama Razu.¹ But family intrigues in the house of Vijayanagaram so thoroughly honeycombed revenue affairs, that the government were clearly misled into false estimates of the characters of the principal figures, concerned in their management.

After the surrender of the fort of Vijayanagaram in 1777 Jagannadha Razu, superseded Sitarama Razu in the office of *diwan*, generally mismanaged revenue affairs, and appropriated to his personal benefit lands belonging to the zamindari without the knowledge of Vijayarama Razu, or the prior sanction of the Chief of Vizagapatam². Ever since, on the death of Payaka Rao, raja of Anakapalli, he had kept a steady eye on its acquisition and had temporarily managed its affairs to his own advantage.³ He was particularly fortunate in having the confidence of Vizagapatam Council. The accumulation of his arrears to Vijayarama Razu resulted in his imprisonment by the latter, but the government procured his release on the ground that he was a renter of the Company's *haveli* and the manager of the Anakapalli zamindari. His subsequent ascendancy over the vacillating Vijayarama procured for him the remission of his debts, and the disgrace of Sitarama Razu, who thereupon proceeded to Mādras prior to the arrival of Rumbold to plead his case before the government.

In August 1777, Sitarama Razu and Vijayarama Razu started for Madras whither they were ordered by the Whitehill government for the settlement of their affairs.⁴ But the latter dropped out at Rajahmundry and sent two letters through Sitarama Razu to be delivered to the governor in explanation of his revenue affairs.⁵ On 8 February 1778, Rumbold arrived at Madras, and on 24 March ordered Vijayarama Razu to repair to Madras along with the other zamindars for the settlement of the *jamabandi*.

1. Accounts of Brithwaite and Fawke of the reconciliation of the brothers after the capture of Vijayanagaram. *Ibid.*, Appendix No. 5.

See also, *Second Report*, Appendices Nos. 23, 45 and 51.

2. See *Second Report*. Appendices 22 and 54.

See also *Ibid.*, Appendix 45 wherein the evidence of the two brothers and of Jagannadha Razu on these points before the Madras Council is recorded.

3. Jagannadha Razu was appointed manager by the Vizagapatam Council on 20 August 1777. See Appendix "B" to this thesis.

4. *Madras to Vizagapatam*, 27 November 1777 and *Vizagapatam to Madras*. 22 April 1778, in Appendix No. 21, to *Second Report*.

5. For these letters, see *Second Report*, Appendices Nos. 23 and 45. One of these letters was in Rumbold's possession. See *Briefs*, II. f. 32, *Brit. Mus. Addl. MSS.* No. 28, 160.

Immediately on arriving at Madras, Rumbold had received Sitarama Razu who, at his request, delivered a lengthy representation relative to the revenue affairs of the Vijayanagaram zamindari.¹ On 11 March 1779, the Vizagapatam Council informed Madras that grain worth Rs. 3,00,000 had been shipped to the presidency on behalf of Sitarama Razu.² At a later time, the Court of Directors and the Committee of Secrecy attributing generally corrupt motives to Sitarama Razu attached undue importance to this fact and averred that it had been instrumental in procuring to Sitarama Razu the decennial lease of the Vizagapatam *haveli* and the settlement of the Vijayanagaram affairs in his favour.

With regard to the lease of the *haveli* in question, they were completely wrong. Actually, the Whitehill government granted its lease to Sitarama Razu as early as 19 December 1777 three months before the arrival of Rumbold at Madras.³ The *kaul* had been delivered to him direct, instead of through the usual channel of the Vizagapatam Council, in view of the fact that he was present at Madras. The *haveli* was put in charge of his *diwan* on 17 January 1778. Thus, the shipment of grain could not possibly have been made in consequence of his interview with Rumbold, a statement of which was placed before the Council on 24 April.⁴ Sitarama Razu made good part of his rents before 15 October⁵. Thus, it will be seen that there are strong reasons to believe that the shipment was made in no uncommon way and was presumably intended to defray his personal expenses at Madras and his *kist* to the government.

Vijayarama Razu proceeded to Madras in compliance with the orders of Rumbold⁶. Jagannadha Razu had already arrived there. At about the same time, Samuel Johnson, Chief of Vizagapatam and patron of Jagannadha Razu, took his seat on the Madras Council. The presence of all these persons at Madras prior to Rumbold's settlement gave occasion for further intrigues and complications.

1. See *Second Report*, App. No. 24. Sitarama Razu's representation was dated 8 March 1778. See *Briefs*, II. f. 32.

2. *Vizagapatam to Madras*, 21 March 1778. *Rev. Cons.* 10 April, in *Second Report*. App. No. 42.

3. *Idem*. 19 December 1777. See *Second Report*. App. No. 39.

4. *Rev. Cons.* 24 April 1778. Rumbold informed his Council that Sitarama Razu assured him about the speedy payment of his first, *kist*. See *Second Report*. App. No. 43.

5. *Vizagapatam to Madras*. 15 October, *idem*. 6 November. The total payments of the brothers and Jagannadha Razu amounted to Rs. 1,49,151. *Second Report*. App. No. 54.

6. *Rumbold to Vijayarama Razu*, 4 April, in *Second Report* App. No. 23. See also *Ibid.*, App. No. 38.

At the instance of Rumbold, the Madras government thought it best to bring about a reconciliation between the brothers as a preliminary to the settlement of their revenue affairs.¹ This Reconciliation was effected in the course of meetings between them, of the brothers both in private and under the eyes of Rumbold and his Council.² There was a touch of the ridiculous in this attempt to impose a 'hearty' reconciliation upon two individuals who had long-standing quarrels fostered by the intrigues of the palace. But the Committee of Secrecy and the Court of Directors were not justified in allowing this to figure prominently in their criticism of Rumbold's administration. Such a reconciliation had been recommended by the Stratton government as early as 21 April 1777 as a purely political measure to ensure the tranquility of the Chicacole Sarkar. The possibility of a French war demanded such a policy. How far coercion was used in bringing this about I cannot say, since the evidence is at once voluminous and extremely conflicting. But this much can be asserted with reason, that Rumbold entirely dominated the situation and was able to give effect to his intentions.

When once this reconciliation had been effected the way was clear for the settlement of the *jamabandi* of the zamindari. This was one of the most difficult problems which the government was called upon to solve. The Vijayanagaram affairs lacked Settlement of order and arrears of tribute had accumulated to the the *jamabandi* extent of Rs. 5,57,999. There was a great demand for an increased *jama*, but the investigations of the first Committee of Circuit on the revenue position of the zamindari did not point to any clear solution since, as Rumbold rightly points out, they "spoke at random".³ Colonel Matthew's evidence before the Committee of Secrecy in regard to its revenue capacity was entirely misleading since at best it was only an approximation to the probable gross produce of the country estimated on the basis of the

1. See *Madras Letters Received*, 17 October 1778. (Rumbold) para. 10. Vol. IX.

2. *Rev. Cons.* 29 July, when the brothers and Jagannadha Razu were examined by the Madras Council with a view to affect the reconciliation of the former. *Second Report*, App. No. 45.

Rumbold intimated his Council with the fact of the reconciliation on 16th August, *ibid.* App. No. 47.

See also, Vijayarama Razu's allegations against Jagannadha Razu who had fomented dissensions between him and his brother. *Ibid.* App. 51.

That the reconciliation was genuine and necessary is proved by *Casamajor to Rumbold*, 20 December 1780, in *Answer to Charges*. App. No. 6. Rumbold resigned his office and was on his way home when this letter from the Chief of Vizagapatam was written.

3. *Briefs*, I, f. 151.

information supplied to him by private individuals.¹ Further, though he was a military officer stationed in the district, he had neither time nor qualification to understand revenue affairs, and he only gave evidence against Rumbold in order to satisfy personal animosities subsisting between them.

On the contrary, the evidence of Jagga Rao, the Company's *dubash* attached to the Vizagapatam Chiefship, is much to the point.² He showed clearly that owing to his youth, Vijayarama Razu had thoroughly mismanaged the affairs of the zamindari, squandered its revenues, and thus brought it almost to ruin. He owed a debt of near eleven lakhs of rupees to *sahukars* and other individuals, besides his arrears of tribute to the Company. Under these circumstances, Rumbold thought it advisable to settle a fixed and reasonable tribute, and consequently raised it from Rs. 3,05,000 to Rs. 4,05,000 a year, for a period of five years.³ A lakh of rupees is a sufficient and perhaps, heavy addition to the *jamabandi*. But the Court of Directors observed that Rumbold's government easily let go "a person entirely within your power and over whose property you had recently assumed and exercised the most absolute and unlimited control".⁴ This attitude of the home authorities is demonstrably unjust.

Further, a *nazar* of a lakh of rupees was demanded from the brothers and received later on.⁵ This was again condemned by the Court of Directors. But the custom of the times warranted such a procedure as merely indicating the acknowledgment by a tributary of the homage he owed to the government. Even lesser renters and sub-tenants bestowed such presents upon local chiefs and councils. Even when the Chief of Vizagapatam paid a formal visit to Sitarama Razu, the former made considerable presents to the latter. Such visits were frequent. It should be remembered here that the *nazar* actually went into the Company's treasury and not to the benefit of any individual member of the government. The expenses of Colonel Braithwaite's expedition which had procured

1. He gave evidence before the Committee of Secrecy on 24 May 1781. He was employed in the Chicacole Sarkar between 1774-1777. He estimated the revenues of the Vijayanagaram zamindari at Rs. 32,43,000 — certainly a highly exaggerated amount.

See *Second Report*, App. No. 17.

2. See *idem*, App. No. 45.

3. *Rev. Cons.* 8 October 1778. See, *Second Report*, App. No. 52.

See also *Madras Letters Received*, 17 October (Rumbold) para 11. Vol. IX.

4. *Madras Dispatches*, 1 January 1781, para 55, Vol. IX, p. 383.

5. *Rev. Cons.* 2 December 1779, Vol. 23, p. 414.

With respect to the *nazar*, Rumbold admitted that "if the presidency erred, it was with good intentions, and here is one instance where a Nazir has been agreed for on account of the Company." See *Briefs* 1, f. 160

the surrender of the fort of Vijayanagaram estimated at M. Ps. 20,700, were, in addition, recovered as part of this settlement.¹

The settlement of the jamabandi at once brought up the question of a provision for the better management of the zamindari. The appointment of an efficient *diwan*, even though such an appointment lay entirely within the rights of the zamindar concerned, seemed to be the only solution to the problem. There was an apt precedent in Bengal in the orders of the Court of Directors with respect to the reappointment of Mahmud Raza Khan.²

The choice obviously lay between Sitarama Razu and Jagannadha Razu. Sitarama Razu's abilities and character had only been too well known from the large part he had played in the history of the Chicacole Sarkar during the first twenty years of the Company's territorial connection with it. His ambition to consolidate the power of Vijayanagaram had made him somewhat notorious, but the general regularity of the payment of his *kists* to the Company and his steadfastness in the cause of their interests had evoked the approbation of the Madras government.³ His influence over neighbouring zamindars had been real and the enmity he had given occasion to in several quarters conspicuous. He was unjustly accused of the murder of Payaka Rao. Throughout the period of his office he had been styled *raja* even though he was only supposed to be the *diwan* of his younger brother.

As to Jagannadha Razu, he had proved himself thoroughly incapable of revenue management. Besides dissipating the Vijayanagaram revenues during the period of his office as *diwan*, he was indebted to the Company to the extent of Rs. 1,91,000 as renter of their *haveli*, and had numerous other creditors. From being a servant of Sitarama Razu he had become his rival. He had fomented dissensions between the brothers, and if ever Vijayarama Razu complained of his brother, it was due to the "complete ascendancy" of Jagannadha Razu over him.

The superior claims of Sitarama Razu for the office of *diwan* were clearly established, and Rumbold and his Council granted him

1. *Vizagapatam to Madras*, 27 January 1780. *Rev. Cons.* 23 February, Vol. 24, pp. 166-20. and *Madras, to Vizagapatam*, 26 February, *idem* pp. 180-82.

2. The Secret Committee took a serious exception to this. see, *Second Report* p. 16.

3. *Casamajor to Rumbold*, 20 December 1780, *Answer to Charges*, App. No. G.

Sitarama Razu was aloof from the mutiny of the grenadier sepoys at Vizagapatam, see, *Vizagapatam to Madras*, 5 October 1780. *Select Cons.* 13 October, *Second Report*. App. No. 5B.

a *kaul* to that office.¹ For this measure again, the home authorities censured the Madras government. This was occasioned by the fact that the information at their disposal was imperfect, and the atmosphere in Leadenhall Street suspicious. They even thought that Sitarama Razu was the younger and not the elder brother of Vijayarama Razu. They denied the political advantages of appointing Sitarama Razu to the office of *diwan* in 1759, in exchange for his relinquishing his rights to the zamindari in favour of his weak and childish younger brother. This happy compromise which had worked well for eighteen years had been suddenly broken down by the *coup de etat* of 1777. From that time till the Rumbold settlement, the Vijayanagaram affairs had been completely chaotic and what was done in 1779 was the restoration of Sitarama Razu to an office to which he had a right. The Court of Directors again alleged that in consequence of this appointment, the Vijayanagaram balances swelled enormously. But actually, no less than Rs. 7,71,580 were paid by Sitarama Razu in five *kists* between 29 April 1779 and 5 March 1780.² Judging by the later conduct of Sitarama Razu, who distinguished himself for his loyalty to the Company at the time when the French made further efforts to land troops in the Chicacole Sarkar, the appointment seems to have been justified.

One of the important terms of the Vijayanagaram settlement was the adoption of Narasimha Gajapati, Sitarama Razu's son, by Vijayarama Razu, and the use of Narasimha Gajapati's name in all documents connected with the Vijayanagaram affairs. For this measure Rumbold's government were severely censured.

Adoption of
Narasimha
Gajapati

But what had actually happened was that adoption was sanctioned by the government of Madras in April 1777 even before Rumbold had sailed from England.³

Rumbold and his council not only confirmed this adoption but also made the brothers responsible for the management of affairs till Narasimha Gajapati came of age.⁴ To my mind, this measure

1. *Rev. Cons.* 29 July 1778. After a thorough examination of the brothers, the government appointed Sitarama Razu as *diwan* to Vijayarama Razu. This was only after Vijayarama Razu had given his undertaking in writing that such an appointment was agreeable to him.

See, *Second Report*, App. No. 45.

See, also *Official Proceedings*, pp. 268-69.

2. See the evidence of J. H. Ca. emajor, formerly Chief of Vizagapatam, at the bar of the House of Commons, where he declared that out of a debt of Rs. 8,50,000, Sitarama Razu had discharged Rs. 8,00,000 before he relinquished his office in 1782.

Official Proceedings, pp. 287-88.

3. See the evidence of Jagannadha Razu and Jagga Rao in *Second Report*, App. No. 45.

4. *Vizagapatam to Madras*, 1 December 1779. *Rev. Cons.* 17 December, Vol. 23, pp. 389-96, and resolution thereon. *idem.* pp. 411-12

See also *Second Report*, App. No. 51.

seems to have been justified since it made provision for the heirs of Sitarama Razu to succeed to the *gadi* which he had been compelled to relinquish.

Since 1777, Vijayarama Razu had felt much aggrieved at the occupation of his fort and persistently petitioned for its restitution. Rumbold and his Council recognised that so long as the ancient family seat of the Pusapatis was in the possession of the Company, the tranquility of the Chicacole the fort Sarkar would be jeopardised, if not imperilled. They forthwith restored the fort to him on condition that its walls and bastions should be preserved in the same condition they were in before its surrender.¹ The Committee of Secrecy took exception to this as being calculated to foment unrest in the Sarkar. But they were completely wrong in condemning this act of Rumbold's government.

As has been shown in the preceding chapter, the Vizagapatam Council and the Madras government of the time had unnecessarily precipitated matters, exaggerating the importance of the raja's ancient family seat, and peremptorily demanding its surrender. The first Circuit Committee themselves had reported that the fort was of no military or strategic value.² Lieutenant Eagle, of the Company's military establishment at Vizagapatam, had specially reported to Rumbold that a comprehensive survey of its redoubts and its general condition had led him to conclude that it was entirely untenable, and at best could only serve as a place of safety for the person of the Raja.³ The Chief and Council of Vizagapatam had written to the government that Vijayarama Razu's credit with the *sahukars* had been shattered⁴ by the fact that the latter had construed this surrender as the preliminary step to the sequestration of the zamindari. The Razu himself had constantly implored the government for its restoration.⁵ The action of Rumbold and his Council in restoring it to the family of the Pusapatis can therefore only be termed harmless indulgence intended to repair the serious injustice done by the Stratton government.

(To be continued)

1. *Idem*, 16 October 1778, and *Madras to Vizagapatam*, 13 November. *Second Report*. App. No. 51.

2. *Circuit Committee to Madras*, 16 August 1777. See *Second Report*. App. No. 18.

3. *Archibald Eagle to Rumbold*, 30 March 1780. This letter was proved at the bar of the House of Commons. See *Official Proceedings*, pp. 292-93.

4. *Vizagapatam to Madras*, 6 November 1777. *Rev. Cons.* 18 November. See *Second Report*. App. No. 20

This was before Rumbold took charge of his office.

5. See *Second Report*, App. No. 51.

THE CHŌLA CHIEFS AND SOME OF THEIR TELUGU PROSE INSCRIPTIONS

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As the eastern Chalukyas helped the Telugu literature, the Chola chiefs also helped the Telugu literature by getting their inscriptions written in prose and in poetry. These chiefs succeeded the eastern Chalukyas in their patronage of their Telugu literature. There are a number of branches in Chōlas. Velnāti Chōlas, Rēnāti Chōlas, Kammanāti Cholas etc. The Velnāti Chōlas formed a link between the eastern Chalukyas and the Kākatiyas. Their regnal period extended from the last part of the 11th century to the last part of 12th century. They were the governors of the land of Velnādu in Guntur District. These chiefs left a good record of their rule when the country was in a transitional stage so far as the ruling clans were concerned. The Velnāti chiefs were the subordinates of Vēngi Kings. According to Dr. Hulgtch,¹ the Velnādu chiefs also claim their descent from Gods like Brhma, Vishnu, Chandra and Budha.² The geneology of these chiefs was discussed by the learned Doctor and all the later accounts were based to some extent on his discussions. Thus, the rule of the Velnādu chiefs was brought to light by Dr. Hulgtch and the scholars who followed him.

The achievements of these chiefs were many and great. As ministers and generals of the later Chālukyas of Vēngi beginning from the Kulōthungachōladēva the first, and his successors, these chōlas of Velnādu rose to power. After a time the representatives of the chōla chālukya kings gave up coming to Vēngi and ruling over the Vēngi kingdom. So these chiefs became independent rulers of the country and they managed the affairs of the country, peacefully and ably for more than a century. The Velnāti chiefs were specially fortunate in securing the services of ministers like Kommana.³ The extent of Velnādu is that part of Guntur District particularly Rēpalle Taluq which comprises Chandōlu which was the capital of the Chiefs then. The chiefs were known to be sūdras.

The Rēnāti Chōlas:—The Rēnāti Chōlas were described as the descendants of Karikālachōla, the great. They claim to be members of Sōlar race and of kāsyapa gōtra. These chōlas ruled over seven thousand villages located in Cuddapah District. This Rēnādu is identified with "The black soil country which roughly included large portions of the modern districts of Cuddapah and Kurnool along with the valley of Kundēru river".⁴ According to YUanchwang, the Rēnāti chōla administration and its influence spread over the Telugu country from 7th century A. D. Nothing definite is known about the exact date. Scholars like H. Kristna sastri and Dr. N. Venkataramanaiah discussed about the dates. There is difference of opinion among the historians about the definite date of Karikālachōla. It was tentatively decided that the early part of the 6th century may

1. E. I. Vol. IV.

2. No. 736 of S. I. 1.

3. Elliot Inscriptions Vol. I

4. E. I. Vol XI Page 349.

be assigned to him as his regnal period. The century which followed his period was the utmost extent to which time his successors the Rēnāti Chōla's time can be extended.

The Mālepādu plates give some details about the rise of this family to power, their geneology and a rough idea about their Chronology. Few facts about these rulers and their fall were brought to light from contemporary history.

It is very difficult to state definitely how this line of the Chōlas came to power but the clue namely that the great king Karikāla occupied the three kingdoms was supplied by the Mālepādu plates and scholars expressed their views about the three kingdoms and other contents of the inscriptions already. Research¹ workers in the field also described the rule of these chiefs and opined that these were the contemporaries of Pallavās.

We learn that the power of the Rēnāti chiefs was destroyed in the 8th century. The termination of Satyāditya's reign is known to history and after him nothing is known about these chiefs from the available material. Evidently, the fall of this line must have taken place then. The Vydambas who were stated as subordinates to Chōlas became independent and waged war against Rēnādu chiefs on one side and the Nōlambas on the other. These Nōlambas who were the descendants of Thrinayanapallava and who held sway over the present Bellary District and some portion of Mysore state, were the masters of the same Vydambas. The Nōlambas after a serious rebellion occupied some part of Andhra and Karnataka countries, engaging themselves in fighting with the Vydambas. The Rēnāti rulers probably used to take the side of the Nōlambas. Taking all these facts into consideration it follows that the Vydambas wreaked vengeance upon Rēnāti Chōlas by driving them away and the successors of the Rēnāti chiefs left this country by the close of 8th century. This is what we gather from a number of records from Anantapur District and other places in its vicinity. These Chōla records not only serve as useful material for building up of the political history of this period but are also of immense help for a student of linguistics as they are written in Archaic Telugu which was frequently used in those times. The Telugu language employed is somewhat obscure. It is quite different from the Telugu that is being used to-day. The Śekatarēpha is frequently used. The *Za* of Chola is changed into *da* of the present day Telugu language. Further investigation into these prose inscriptions and their language content will throw much light upon the history of Telugu prose. The Cholas not only played an important part in the political history of the Andhra Desa in the middle ages but also encouraged the Telugu literature, especially the prose literature, by getting written many Telugu prose inscriptions. The Kammanāti chiefs made Konedena their capital which is in present Narasaraopet Taluq. The Konedena inscriptions tell us the history of these chiefs and the Poṭṭapi cholas were kings of Poṭṭapi village in Pullempet Taluq Cuddapah District. These chiefs were said² to be the rulers for some time of Kandukūru in Pākanādu and helped the writers in Telugu then.

1. "The Chōlas of Rēnādu, J. A. H. R. S Vol. 8"

2. Āndhrula Charitra Vol. II.

A STUDY OF TELUGU PLACE-NAMES

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

Section 1. General Introduction : Place-name work in other languages; What could be done for Telugu Place-names; Study of Javanese and Balinese languages for comparison with Old Telugu; careful philological enquiry; Copper-plate and stone inscriptions; writings of ancient geographers; attempt at a classification.

Section 2. The Telugu Country. Its geographical extent, population etc.

Section 3. The Telugu Race.

Abbreviations used

- CDL A comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages, Caldwell.
- TWP Words and Places, Isaac Taylor.
- IA Indian Antiquary.
- RMI Man in India, Ranchi.
- GLS Grierson, Linguistic Survey.
- EI Epigraphica Indica.
- OT Old Testament of the Bible.
- WSL Lectures on the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages, William Wright LL. D., 1890.
- DM District Manuals.
- SS Sabdaratnakaramu, B. Sitaramacharyulu.
- JSN Andhra pada parijatamū and Suddhandrapada nighantu, Ogirala Jaganadharao and Gurujada Sreeramamurty. Sarada Nilaya Mudrakharasala, 1888.
- JHD Ancient History of the Deccan, M. Jouveau-Dubreuil.
- CHT Political and General History of the Tinnevely District, R. Caldwell.
- BNI List of Nellore Inscriptions, Butterworth and Venugopal Chetty.
- RHJ Andhra Historical Research Society Journal, Rajahmundry.
- RIM A Topographical List of the Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency, Rungachary.
- LV Lists of Villages, Government Press.

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER

CHAPTER I

Section 1

General Introduction

The study of Place-names is one of the most intriguing and absorbing of antiquarian researches. Each new discovery of the meaning of a hitherto inexplicable place-name is like the discovery of a gold-reef by an anxious prospector. The searcher is sometimes rewarded very soon; sometimes it means days and days of patient research. A place-name will seem so utterly unaccountable, it will seem to baffle all possible explanations and then suddenly the meaning of the word dawns on us, not so much by the collating of facts, as by a sudden and miraculous inspiration. Sometimes all kinds of fantastic explanations suggest themselves and a very careful watch has to be kept to see that our deductions are in accordance with the rules of early grammar and philology.

English place-names have been studied, edited and classified. But it is a pity that nobody has done anything of the kind for the South Indian place-names. The task of explaining the meaning and origin of place-names in England becomes infinitely easy on account of the easily accessible Anglo-Saxon "word-books", primers, grammars and dictionaries. The mother tongue of English has been studied and mastered; its grammatical laws are familiar to the students of English language. Anglo-Saxon, though a dead language, continues to live in the class rooms of the English language student. But the mother tongue of the south Indian vernaculars is still unknown. Nobody has tried to formulate an early Dravidian grammar or write a reader of Dravidian. Taking Telugu in particular, we find little of ancient Telugu accessible to the student. Our dictionaries are so meagre. The *Sabdharatnākaram* is the only standard lexicon, but even that book apart from giving the meaning of a word, does not enlighten us any further, as regards the derivation of the word. There is a classification of all the words under 'pure Telugu', 'Sanskrit' and 'Sanskrit derivatives'. But, there is an attempt to trace almost all words to Sanskrit, for the book was produced at a time, when it was thought that Telugu was a Prakrit derivative. Now with the advancement of study in Dravidian philology, it becomes the business of the student of Dravidian philology, to correlate all the known Dravidian languages, and from a hypothetical 'mother tongue', much like the 'Primitive Germanic' of Germanic philologists. The need for knowing the correct derivation, for each word in the language, becomes more and more urgent. There are no 'old Telugu' readers and grammars, like Old English Grammars and Anglo-Saxon Readers. We do not know the older forms of even the commonest of everyday vocabulary.

The only available sources for a study of Old Telugu is, of course, those inscriptions on stone and copper plate, that have been found; and those manuscripts on the palmyra leaf that have been preserved. But even these do not take us very far back into the past. The *earliest* Telugu inscriptions date only from the 6th or 7th century A. D. With this material before us, we can form probably, what we may call 'Middle Telugu', for Old Telugu must be still more ancient. We have to trace the language back to the time when it began to exist as a separate dialect. What it was like is purely a matter of conjecture.

It is now known, that about the first century A. D. there was a flourishing trade between the north Telugu coast and the islands of Malay, Sumatra, Java etc. Today scholars are taking a great interest in the study of the history and architecture of 'Greater India' as these Indian colonies are called. If it can be established, that these colonists sailed from the north Coromandel coast, then it follows, that they must have taken with them, the language spoken at that time on the north Coromandel coast. These colonists, have preserved in the very heart of a foreign clime, surrounded by Burman and Mongol influences, a civilisation which is characteristically 'Hindu'. Their temples are a correct representation of south Indian temples. It follows that the dialect they speak today must have developed from the language of the north Coromandel coast of the first century A. D. Therefore, a comparative study of their dialect with modern Telugu will help, we are sure, in tracing the history of the Telugu language to at least the first century A. D.

The study of place-names is another way, which unhappily has been neglected for a long time in our country, of trying to know the history of a language. Every place-name is a fossilised philological fact. For in them are contained many old Telugu roots, many forms and declensions of the language, which are now no longer known. A living language is always changing. There is always the question of simplifying and shortening poly-syllabled words. Economy of speech and effortless enunciation of words, have always marked the growth of all languages. The disappearance of the old system of inflections and the substitution of simple and mono-syllabic pronouns and prepositions, clearly show the trend of all languages. A reconstructed Indo-European word is even more difficult to pronounce, than the declined form of a Sanskrit word. We see the same tendency in our every day life. Words lost unnecessary lengths on their part. A similar shortening is found in Telugu place-names also. In trying to reconstruct the original form of a place-name, one has to account for loss of vowels in quite unexpected places, the appearance

of intrusive consonants and glides and the disappearance of nasals and liquids. The name changes so rapidly within a few centuries that its early derivation is not only forgotten, but its meaning becomes so obscure, that but for a written record of its earlier form, it is difficult to reconstruct the word on a purely philological basis. Mācherla, a town in the Guntur district was originally Mahādēvicherla; and even the suffix *-cherla* goes back to *-cheruvu*. Muktinūtalapāḍu, in the Ongole taluq was originally Muriki-nūnti-pāḍu. Such are the vagaries of the changes the place-names undergo. No law of grammar would have surely given these earlier forms.

There is also another trouble which an investigator has to warily negotiate. And that is the common habit of Telugu Pandits to read into the meaning of place-names, and give very often fanciful derivations, usually deriving them from Sanskrit or from mythological factors. A certain Badaga gentleman explained the origin of Ootacamund as **Oru-kal-mand*; *mand* in the Badaga language means a small village and *orukal* is one stone, a very common onomotologic prefix in elementary place-names. The English, as is their way, have mutilated this expressive name to Ootacamund. But then, comes our pandit who explains it as *Udakala-mundalam*, as if Ootacamund was inhabited by the Aryan conquerors. Such "scholarly" derivations get fixed, and find their way into District Manuals and Gazeteers, not to speak of public opinion.

There is always a desire on the part of the people, to transform an unintelligible place-name into something which has a meaning. When Muriki-nūnti-pāḍu, became Mukti-nūti-pāḍu, the suffix was unconsciously changed to *Mukti*, to make it more intelligible. Prefixes like *Chilka-*, *Gollala-*, *Tāḍi-*, etc., are some of the formations on this principle.

The more one enters into the study of place-names, the more tantalising it becomes. We have to frame anew, the working of Dravidian grammar. For example a well-known rule of Telugu grammar states that compounds are never formed by a Sanskrit and Telugu combination. Yet such place-names are found in Telugu, e. g. Pedda-puram.

Thus the importance of the study of the meaning and derivation of place-names is evident. Apart from the historical and popular value, it throws a good deal of light on philological problems. But the only way, open to the seeker of the life-history of each place-name, is to glean it from copper-plate grants and stone inscriptions. These yield the best harvest, for a Grant always mentions not only the donor and the donee, but also their native village, the village

* See later, under "Legendary Derivations"

granted, and very often the additional information of the names of the boundary villages. Stone inscriptions usually mention a gift, like a field, a well, a temple, a lamp etc., and the name of the village, in which the gift is made is always mentioned. And as many grants and inscriptions are usually dated, it helps us to date our information. Even if the grants are undated, some idea of the date can be got, by a study of the alphabets and the grammatical construction of the language.

A copper-plate grant, usually becomes an heir-loom, and is preserved from generation to generation, with sacred veneration though sometimes it is, unfortunately for us, converted into copper bracelets. But generally it is preserved in the family of the man to whom the grant has been made, and thus remains in the very village, on the very spot we may say, in which it was originally presented.¹ Journeys were few and far between in those days, and certainly a copper-plate did not travel far. Most often men died in the villages of their birth, and their earthly possessions remained intact. Therefore the finding of a copper-plate in a certain village, is more or less a clue to the identification of the village mentioned in the inscription. It becomes almost a certainty, that the village mentioned in the grant, if different in form, must be either the name of a village in the vicinity, or else an older form of the present village. For example, a grant found in Timmāpuram, near Cocanada, mentions a village Numiyavāḍa; this is supposed to be the older name of Timmāpuram itself. Or again, in a copper-plate grant found at Santa-Bomvali, near Tekkali, mention is made of a village Chikhallika. This we suggest, may have been the older form of Tekkali itself, though it has not been identified as such. It is only the study of place-names, that helps us to see in Chikalli-ka, the probable older shape of Tek-ali.

Though first hand information on the subject we are studying can be gathered only from these inscriptions on stone and copper-plate, yet that is not the only means of enriching our knowledge of the history of place-names. One of these means is due to the happy thought that occurred to ancient Ptolemy to write a geography of India. It is remarkable to see the way in which Ptolemy tries to approximate as near as possible to the pronunciation of proper names. Caldwell makes this very clear, in his study of the name Perigkarei. He says "If the latter word (Perigkarei), had been written Perugkurai it would have been perfectly accurate Tamil, letter for letter".² And Ptolemy, sometimes follows the method,

1. The Jiggika copper plate grant.

2. CDL, p. 100, Earliest traces of the Dravidian Languages,

adopted by ancient Sanskrit scribes. He translates the meaning of a place-name into the corresponding Greek words as Phrourion meaning a fort, and Pseudostomos meaning false mouth. This tendency is seen in the translation of Telugu or Tamil place-names into Sanskrit, e. g. Sanskrit, Tamrapuri, Dhandapura, Ikshupuri, Bahunadi, Ghanagiri, Uchchangipura, Kuvalalapura, Kadirapura, Udakasayagrama, Madhavipattana, Kshira, for Telugu, Chebrolu, Chandavolu, Cherukuru, Chayyaru, Penukonda, Uttangi, Kolar, Karumbedu, Chernuru, Gurizala, Paleru, respectively, and Sanskrit Varahagiri for Tamil Palni hills. In many cases the Telugu prefixes have lost their meanings, but by a comparison with a Sanskrit, or as the case may be with a Greek or Arabic form, we are able to trace the original meaning of these place-names.

Not only in Ptolemy's Ancient Geography, but in some other ancient geographical and historical writings, like the Periplus, the Peutinger Tables, Ferishta and the travels of Hwen Tshang, we can gather material for our study of the history of Telugu place-names.

Most place-names, are, as we said, no longer intelligible to us. But there are in Telugu, a very large number of place-names which are beautiful little word-pictures, because they are so expressive. This is especially the case in the Palnad area, where names like Gundla-palli, Gutti-konda, Pidugu-ralla, Ettipotala, Gani-konda, Vami-konda etc., describe accurately, the physical features of the country. The Telugu language itself is a wonderfully descriptive tongue, and the Telugu of the Ceded and inland districts, is the most effective for expression.

The utmost that we can do in the study of Telugu place-names is to distinguish between Dravidian and Sanskrit forms. But it will be difficult to trace pre-Dravidian place-names, for the material available for the study of the pre-Dravidian people is very meagre. Telugu place-names can be roughly classified into (1) names which came into existence in the Dravidian period, i. e., before the dialects separated. These can be identified by the sameness of the terminations or place-name endings, which seem to be the common stock of all Dravidian languages, e. g. -kōḍu -palli -ūr, -ēr, etc., ; (2) names which are peculiar to Telugu alone, i. e. names which seem to have come into existence, after Telugu became a separate dialect ; (3) and names which are due to the influence of a foreign people. Under this class we must include names which are Sanskrit derivatives, and names which owe their origin to the Muhammadan and Christian rules. In the border areas, we must naturally expect much overlapping of influences that go to form a name. For instance, there are many names which are of Oriya origin in the Vizagapatam and Ganjam districts. Similarly Tamil names will be found in the Nellore.

and Chittore districts and Kanarese names in the districts of Bellary, and Anantapur, and Hindustani names in the areas which border the Nizam's dominions.

In our study of place-names, we will have to distinguish between the two component parts which go to form a place-name. One of these component elements, which is usually the suffix in Telugu place-names, is some general term, meaning island, river, hill, dwelling, fort or city, as the case may be. This element in names is called the 'Grund-wort' by Forste-mann, and the "substantial element", by Isaac Taylor. The other component serves to distinguish the island, river or village, from other neighbouring islands, rivers or villages. This portion of the name, is called the 'Bestim-mungs-wort' by Forste-mann, and the 'adjectival element' by Isaac Taylor.¹

Indian place-names are being studied just now.² In the study of place-names, we must guard against the temptation, of explaining the meaning of a name, on its present day form. For instance, Nandalur, in the Cuddapah district, may be explained as meaning obviously, the place of the *nandi-s* or sacred bulls. But a study of its older forms, reveals the interesting fact, that the place is actually, Nirantarapura, the Eternal City. Similarly Hanuma-konda, was Amme-kunde and Muktintala-padu was Muriki-nunti-padu.

SECTION I

The Telugu Country and its Peoples

The Telugu country is very extensive, occupying the northern part of the Madras presidency and the eastern half of the Nizam's dominions.³

On the east it is bounded by the sea coast of the Bay of Bengal, and extends from Baruya in the north to Madras in the south, i. e., from about 20° N. Latitude to 12½° N. Latitude. The coast takes a very sharp bend east, into the sea at Masulipatam so that Vizagapatam is nearly 4° east of Nellore. The district of Vizagapatam appears to be to the east of the district of Godavary, and therefore the people of Vizagapatam are called the "East folk" and not the

1. TWP. Everyman's Library. p. 394-395.

1. Forstemann, Die Deutschen Ortsnamen, pp. 26-107; *Ib.* pp. 109-174; *Bender Deutschen Ortsnamen*, pp. 97, 98.

See Ch. iii Place-name Suffixes; Ch. iv Place-name Prefixes; Ch. ii Place-name Endings.

2. IA. Vol. No. "Place-names" by Hira Lal.

2. RMI. Vol. 8 1928. p. 203. "Some Place-names in Palamau" by Nirmal Kumar Bose.

3. See the sketch map to page 280.

“North folk”. On the north the Telugu country extends from Baruva¹ to the Eastern Ghats, then S. W., across the Sebari on the border of Sunkum and Bijji taluks (Bastar state) and along the Bela Dila range to the Indravati. It follows the river till it meets the Godavary and then through Chanda (including its Southern part) and further east including the southern border of the Wun district. Then it turns south to the Godavary where it joins the Manjira and further south towards Bidar. (where Telugu meets Kanarese). Here Telugu comes in contact with Oriya, Halabi, Gondi and Marathi. On the west it extends due “south from Bidar, then through the Nizam’s dominions, then near the edge of Bellary, the greater (eastern) part of Anantapur and the eastern corner of Mysore”² That is from Wadi, west of Guntakal to Bangalore, 12½° N. Latitude. Here it meets Marathi and Kanarese. In the south the country extends through North Arcot and Chingleput to the sea.³ Here it meets the Tamil country. The Telugu country, though larger in area than the Tamil country, has however, only part of it included in the Madras presidency or South India proper. This is significant, as many scholars are inclined to give a North Indian origin to the Telugu language.

The Telugu speaking people number about 26,373,514 according to the census of 1931. The census report of 1941 is still not available. Hence figures of 1931 report are adopted. Of these 17,782,898 people are within the Madras presidency. Apart from the Telugu country proper, which includes the districts of Vizagapatam, East Godavary, West Godavary, Kistna, Nellore, part of Ganjam and Chingleput, and the districts of Cuddapah, Kurnool and part of Bellary and Anantapur, Telugu is also spoken in almost all the Tamil districts in the south of the presidency. The following are the numbers of Telugu speaking people in these districts:—Madras 124,649; Chingleput 319,946; North Arcot 317,765; Salem 416,224; Coimbatore 529,640; South Arcot 184,334; Tanjore 68,429; Trichinopoly 215,460; Madura 383,689; Ramnad 383,689; Tinnevely 176,960; Nilgiris 9,482; Malabar 16,330; S. Kanara 1,025; Pudukottah 12,250; Banganapalli 30,352; Sandur state 2,485; Mysore state 1,030,926; Travancore 9,855; and Cochin 12,142.

The place-names, we are studying, have thus to be taken from a very extensive area. But for our purposes, we shall confine ourselves to a detailed study of the contiguous area only, studying in detail, the place-names of the Northern Circars, as they are called and the district of Cuddapah, as these seem to retain the original Telugu language, unaffected by outside influences. The sea on the

1, G.L.S. 2, Ib. 3, Ib.

east has been an effective barrier. The Cuddapah district appears to be the heart of the Telugu country, as it has preserved a dialect very much like old Tamil and old Kanarese. This may be due to the Eastern Ghats proving another good barrier to the Telugu language. We shall satisfy ourselves with the general principles of place-naming and with general inferences.

Section 2

DISTRIBUTION OF PLACE-NAME ENDINGS

Having considered the probable origin of the place-name ending, we shall next consider some other interesting facts connected with these endings. One of the first things that strikes us, on looking into a taluq map, or on perusing a list of villages, is the sameness of the endings in a particular area, but a change from locality to locality. We may mention as examples the numerous—*valasa* endings of the Vizagapatam district, the—*gūḍem* endings of the Bhadrachellam area, the—*pāliam* endings along the Nellore coast, or the—*ōlu* endings of the interior. These are only a few of the numerous examples that can be cited. But a close scrutiny discloses the fact, that place-name endings tend to cluster in particular forms in particular areas. This, therefore means, speaking broadly, that the same form of ending may not occur in any other part of the Telugu country. Such, for example, is the unique ending *valasa*.—But trade and interdependency of part on part, has carried the endings also, and distributed them all over the Telugu country to day. However it is quite probable, that a few centuries ago, particular place-name endings were restricted strictly to particular areas.

The problem that confronts us is, as to why it should be so. In trying to unravel this mystery, we must remember that where history is silent, place-names speak aloud. We have to trace these endings to the life, habits and genius of the people of those tracts; and we may have to assume that the different tracts were independent of one another. In other words we have to postulate an independent development and growth of these place-name endings, until a particular period at least.

We shall illustrate what we mean. The ending—*gūḍem* is glossed¹ as meaning a Boya village, especially a village by the side of a hill. Placing reliance on this definition, we may gather two facts, namely, first that places having this suffix must have been originally Boya villages, and second, that they must be villages situated adjacent to hills. The cluster of—*gūḍems* as we find them lends weight to both these suppositions. The Bhadrachellam area, is mainly an area inhabited by aboriginal tribes and is in the heart of the Eastern Ghats. Similarly—*valasa* is explained as banishment, exile or migration due to dissatisfaction with the king or the government in power.² It is astounding that all—*valasa* endings should occur only to the north of the Telugu country. Does it not, therefore reveal the fact,

1. SS. JSN p. 199.

2. SS JSN p. 718.

that these villages are all Telugu settlements in the 'Andhra' area.¹ Let us look again at the *paliyam* ending. The word originally meant an encampment, a military area. The Tamil word *palayakkāran*, which is derived from this, means one in charge of such an encampment. When the encampment became the Head quarters from which a military aristocracy controlled the surrounding area the *palayakkaran* came to mean a petty chieftain. Poligar is the English form of the word². A poligar's holding was known as *palaiyam* or *palem*. A study of this ending reveals the interesting fact that it is found in clusters mostly along the path of the Telugu conquerors in their conquest of the Tamil country. For example, we have in the Trichinopoly district Virichettypaliyam, Reddipalaiyam, in the Coimbatore district Adinayakanpalaiyam, Nayakanpalaiyam, Palninayakanpalaiyam, Gobichettipalaiyam. Pullappanayakanpalaiyam etc. Again turning to a map of the Nellore coast, we notice that almost all the new settlements along the sea-coast have names ending in—*palem*.

But another fact must be considered along with the above, namely, the sporadic occurrence, in widely separated areas of the same place-name ending. The explanation is not far to seek. It obviously marks the path of some migration or military campaign. The character of the ending will suggest the character of the migration. It is not impossible to imagine the Boya tribes, moving along from place to place, and calling their settlements some—*gudem* or other. This may explain the *gudem* endings scattered along the West Godavary district, the Kistna and the Warangal areas. In the same way, the occurrence of a—*pālaiyam* ending in the Tamil country is a pretty safe guide to mark the path of the suzerainty of the Telugu chiefs, though of course there is no reason for supposing, that a form derived from Tamil, cannot exist independent of Telugu influence. Indeed, as we have seen, *pālaiyam* is the Tamil cognate of the Telugu *pālem*.

1. We may here mention that the old *Telugu* country proper was between the two great rivers, the Penner and the Kishna, with a possible extension up to the Godavary, and stretching inland into the Ceded districts. The place-names to the north, especially in the Vizagapatam, and Ganjam districts, contain more Sanskrit and Oriya forms. As a matter of fact the area, stretching south up to the city of Ellore, formed the old Andhra empires of Kalinga and Vengi. That is why we feel that a distinction should be made between the terms 'Andhra' and 'Telugu'.

2. JHD. pp. 132. This system was founded by Viswanatha Nayak (Viswanadha nayana ayyalu garu), after he conquered Madura. Vide also CHT p. 58. "The title of Poligar is said by General Wilks to have been given by the Vijaya-nagara kings (though he does not say by which of them) to the chiefs of the Telugu colonies planted in the neighbouring provinces for the purpose of overawing the original inhabitants. The Tamil name is Palaiyakkara, the literal meaning of which is the holder of a camp, secondly the holder of a barony on military tenure. But the English seem to have taken their name Poligar, not from the Tamil, Palaiyakkara, but from the Telugu Palegaru, or the Canarese Palegara, the meaning of which is identical. (Gadu and gara are equivalent to kara. In like manner the English seem to have taken their word Pollam, a Poligar's holding, rather from the Telugu Palem-u, than from the Tamil Palaiyam."

Apart from this historical data to be gleaned from the community of place-name endings, we gain some idea of the peoples that gave the name, for where the endings are the same we can suppose a community of interests. Therefore, geographical distribution of place-name endings also indicates to us ethnological and anthropological data. We may infer that the same type of people inhabited the areas having the same place-name ending.

From what has been said above, it does not of course follow, that all place-name endings came into existence independently in different parts of the area. There seems to have been a very gradual growth, both in the complexity and variety of place-name endings. Those endings have been growing and developing from the very earliest times and continue to do so even now. It is very difficult to arrive at a satisfactory chronological classification of this growth and development. A suggestion may however be made and an attempt at a classification is appended ¹.

The Telugu language as is now generally accepted is a branch of the mother tongue known as Dravidian. Its sister languages are the common south India vernaculars, Tamil, Malayalam and Kanarese. It therefore follows that the earliest of place-name endings must be common to all these languages. So we must discover if there are Telugu place-name endings that ante-date the separation of Telugu as a distinct dialect. By a comparison of the place-names of Tamil, Malayalam or Kanarese with Telugu, we find that there are examples to prove this supposition. Some of these place-name endings exist unchanged to this day. Such for example are the endings, *ur*, *paka*, *pali*, etc. In the Tamil country we have place-names ending in *ur* e.g., Tiruvallur, Korattur, Perambore, Ambattur and further south, Cananore, Akkur, Adoor, Ammanur, Kottaiyur etc., to mention only a few. Sometimes this old root undergoes its respective phonetic changes in the different dialects. Such, for example, are the forms *paka* and *pakam* which are cognates. Villivakam, Purusa-walkam, Nungambalkam, Chepauk etc., are place-names having endings which are cognate with Telugu place-names *Adapaka*, *Rudrapaka*, *Pandulapaka*, *Lepaka* etc., The existence of cognates point to their common origin. These were the names given in the earliest times when the Dravidic dialects were still in their infancy. We must separate such endings as the earliest and mark them as pre historic in our chronological classification.

Let us see if we have any other evidence to confirm our supposition that these endings are the earliest. We have seen that place-names and place-name endings were the same in the earliest times. The tendency to name a place by a compound descriptive term is relatively modern. It therefore follows that the earliest place-name endings should be monosyllabic or at the most disyllabic. Most of the place-name endings which we class as prehistoric are appended to monosyllabic roots e.g. *vall-ur*, *Gud-ure* *Chitt-ore* correctly *Chitur*, *Pal-ur* etc; *Penn-ar*, *Pal-ar*, *Tenn-eru*, *El-eru*; *Nallamala*, *Ana-malai* etc. It is the prevalence of these three ancient forms traceable not only in all south Indian names

1. See appendix.

but all over the Asiatic and Babylonian plains that led Herr Shoener to Christen the Mother tongue as "Ar-mal-ur-ic". This ancient place-name ending may have given rise to the Aryan form—pura, puram and if so the prevalence of this root as a place-name ending may be traced all over the world, for the Greek polis is related to Sanskrit purai.

The antiquity of a name can be known by its not being a complex compound i. e., by its being a short root word. This leads us to an interesting point, namely that particular endings are used for particular types of place names. There does not seem to have been any mix-up in the early days. The ending ūr, for instance, is always attached to mono-syllabic and elementary roots which denote nouns like bend, hill, milk, lake white, black etc. We never come across a ūr ending suffixed to a proper name such as the names of kings, heroes, mythological personages, for naming villages after people is a much later idea in the history of place names². This specialisation of particular endings for particular ideas seems to have been kept up for a long time. Indeed, in the nature of things, it ought to be so, for a place-name ending is a definite qualifying term. It cannot be applied indiscriminately to every prefix. Paliām meant a military encampment in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; it did not mean anything else. It had not yet acquired the full glory of a Telugu place-name. That is, it continued to be used independently. In course of time, occurring again and again to denote one military site or other, it fell into line with other place-name endings, first by being used to denote outside quarters of a town, such as extensions, suburbs and out-caste quarters. Indeed it is still in that stage in certain parts of the Telugu country.

Section 3

The Telugu Race

The Telugus pride themselves today in the name "Andhras". Dr. Caldwell says that Telugu is called Andhra by Sanskrit writers; and Andhra is the name of "one of the two nations into which the Telugu people seems from the earliest times to have been divided. The other nation was the Kalingas".¹

Of the most powerful nations that ruled the northern part of the present Madras presidency, the Andhras and the Kalingas are the best known. The Kalingas occupied the sea-board—indeed the name 'Kalinga', seems to indicate the sea-shore and may be connected with the name Coromandel. The Andhras occupied a more western portion, which brought them into contact with the Aryan races of Central India. The language spoken by the Andhras and the Kalingas, is known to be Telugu. Caldwell says 'They (the

1. See under Place-name ending puramu.

2. There are indeed names like Narasapur, Raipur etc., but these are late-shortenings of an older pura or puramu. We notice the same tendency in our own day, when Peddapuramu tends to become Peddapur and Ramachandrapuramu Ramachandrapur.

Andhras), are mentioned as early as in the 'Aitareya Brahmana' of the Rig Veda, though represented therein as an uncivilised race; and in the Puranic times a dynasty of Andhra kings is represented to have reigned in Northern India. The Andarae are represented by Pliny (after Megasthenes), as a powerful people, and the Andre Indi have a place in the 'Peutinger Tables' (north of the Ganges!) amongst the Indian nations of which the author of those tables had heard. The first reference to their language I find, made by any foreigner, is in the memoirs of Hwen Thsang, the Chinese pilgrim, about the middle of the Seventh Century A. D., who states that the language of the Andhras differed from that of Central India, whilst the forms of the written characters were for the most part the same".¹

Hwen Thsang's careful distinction between language and alphabet is interesting. The modern Telugu alphabet is supposed to be derived from the Asokan, through the Deva-nagari—the alphabet universally adopted for the writing of Aryan Indian dialects or Sanskrit Prakrits. But the Telugu language is of different stock—of Dravidian affinity. The quotation from the Chinese traveller supports Dr. Caldwell's theory that Telugu is a Dravidian dialect.

But there are today many scholars who incline to the ancient belief that Telugu is a Prakrit—a derivative of classical Sanskrit. It is true of course, that Telugu has a far larger quantity of Sanskrit admixture, than Tamil—yet as Dr. Caldwell has well proved the base of the language is distinctly Dravidian. How are we then to reconcile tradition with fact? Tradition says that the Andhra language is derived from the Prakrits and that it had its origin near the foot of the Vindhya. Tradition says that a dynasty of Andhra kings reigned in Northern India. Tradition says that the Andhras are an Aryan race who migrated south from Central India. And what are the facts before us? Most inscriptions belonging to this period and of these people are in Prakrit. The names of the Andhra kings are definitely Sanskrit. In addition to the almost Sanskritised vocabulary of Telugu, we find a very large number of Hindi affinities in Telugu, which research shows, ante-date Muhammedan suzerainty. In other words, these everyday Hindi terms, like *cheppu* meaning shoe or sandal, are not Hindustanee borrowings, but are Sanskrit terms.

But again, native grammarians have made a list of what they call 'national' or 'pure' words in Telugu, and these are not of Sanskrit origin. Indeed, they "specify" says Caldwell, "even the time when Sanskrit derivatives were first introduced into Telugu; by which we are doubtless to understand the time when the Brahmins established themselves in the Telugu country. They say, the adherents of king Andhra-raya, who then resided on the banks of the Godavary, spoke Sanskrit derivatives, many of which words in course of time, became corrupted. The other class of words consisting of nouns, verbals, and verbs, which were created by the god Brahma before the time of this king, are called 'pure (Telugu)' words. The date of the reign of this Andhra-raya, or king of the Andhras or Andhras,

1. Ib p. 26. 3rd Edition.

who is now worshipped at Srekakolam as a deity, is unknown..... An Andhra-bhritya dynasty of Kings commenced to reign in Magadha, according to Wilson (Vishnu Purana) in 18 B. C.”¹

We have next to consider the difference in the races of Telugu and Tamil peoples. Anthropologists are agreed that almost all the dark races of Southern India are of common Dravidic origin. Nevertheless, even a casual observer will note a striking difference between Telugu and Tamil people. The Tamil man of the lower classes is essentially very black, is of short stature and thick set. He has usually very white and protruding teeth. But the Telugu man of the lower classes is essentially tall and wiry, and of a much lighter colour. Beauty is rare among such Tamil women, but Telugu women of the same class are justly praised for their voluptuous beauty. Now why is this striking difference in a race which is at bottom of common extraction. Does it not prove clearly a foreign mixture in the northern people which has not penetrated so far south as to influence the Tamils? The Telugu people have come into closer contact with the tall, fair Aryan, and the Telugu man of today is the descendent of such a mixture of race.

Looking at the Telugu language, we see a similar mixture. The two races—Dravidian and Aryan—are more completely fused both in language and in race characteristics in the Telugu country than in the south. It is just likely that the whole of the sea-board, until the very confines of the Orissa empire was occupied by the Dravidian who spoke Tamil: Ancient Telugu is very much like Tamil. These people were living, pressed both on the west and on the north by Aryan races who in course of time dominated them, but who in turn, became merged with the people they had conquered. These races are the Andhra and Kalinga races. The Andhras must have been an Aryan race, speaking a dialect of Prakrit. By the time of Hwen Thsang the fusion with Dravidian Telugu was so complete, that the traveller distinguishes it as a separate language. This theory fits in quite with the tradition among native scholars of the rule of Andhra-*raya*. The “pure” words are of course the native, or natural Dravidic terms, which are essentially like Tamil. The fusion of the races must have taken a long time to become complete. The original natives were driven more and more to the coast. They were treated with contempt—they were the coastal people. But the newcomers—the Andhras, were the rulers. They gave their name to the language they spoke—the new mixture of dialects that had been evolved, so that “Telugu” as a separate dialect, began only after fusion with “Andhra”, the language of the Andhras. If there had not been this Aryan influence, Telugu would read much more like Tamil, as indeed Old Telugu does. By stages the whole of the northern Coromandel coast, up to the confines of the Vindhya and the Nizam’s dominions, was welded into a superior, martial race, which in comparative historical times, raided the South as Nayaks and Reddiars and established principalities.

Therefore, we may take it that Andhra is the name of a foreign dialect which was given to the language spoken by the Andhra

1. *Ib* p. 47, 2nd Edition.

conquerors and their dependents. It was a fusion between Old Telugu and Andhra Prakrit. When shortly after Hwen Thsang's visit, Kumarila-bhatta wished to designate the language of the Dravidian peoples, he called it 'Andhra-Dravidabhasha',¹ and not Telugu-Dravida or Kalinga-Dravida. He evidently takes the names of the two important dialects, the Andhra and the Dravida, but links them together as a compound name for what he supposed to be the one language spoken by the Dravidians.

About the time of the coming of the Europeans, the language was designated 'Telugu' by the natives or 'Gentoo' by the foreigners. But the present day renaissance, has brought back to popular favour, the more imposing term 'Andhra' which seems to be preferred on account of its classical recollections. Just as the people of Great Britain, are more often known as 'English' rather than 'British', the people of the Telugu country are known now-a-days as Andhra, rather than as Telugu.

Chapter II

PLACE-NAME ENDINGS

Section I

General Introduction

Bare roots used as place-names in the beginning. Beginnings of place-name endings. Example of *w.* Character of the old suffixes. Development into place-name endings of the original names of geographical and political divisions. Growth of new place-name endings which are mainly topographical in meaning. Chronological order of growth. Influence of successive dominations. Phenomenon of place-name endings occurring as place-names. Attempt at an explanation. The occurrence of a pluralised place-name.

In the study of place-names, the study of the place-name ending is of the utmost importance; for the ending is the basic word, while the prefix is merely a descriptive term, whose chief value is to distinguish one place from another. The real word that describes the place is the ending. It must be however that a place-name ending could not have been originally an ending. At a latter period in the development of place-names it has become more or less like an agglutinative root, in having no separate existence. But originally the definition of the place was contained in the part of the place-name, which later on developed into the place-name ending. Therefore we may conclude that placename endings are very old, and that in them are preserved many old Telugu roots, that have now gone out of use. To take only one example, *kallu*, the Dravidian word for 'stone', is used in Tamil today; but has gone out of common use in Telugu, though it is found as the second element of compound nouns in dialectical usage as in *sommi-kallu*, and *uppu-kallu*. It is however preserved in the name ending of many place-names, Gunta-kal, Idupu-gallu, Dorna-kal, Oru-gallu, Cha-gallu, Kanu-kallu etc.

1. Ib. p. 31. 2nd Edition.

In the study of the history of place-names, we discover the very interesting fact that originally places had no place-name endings. The Chendalur plates of Sarvalōkayaya of A. D. 673 mention the village Vangra¹ and the Ranastipundi grant of Vimaladitya, found in Amalapuram taluq with the date A. D. 1011 mentions the village Kauta². This fact takes back our minds to the dim past, when the settlements of the human race were not many. Therefore it was enough to name their settlements by some simple elementary word, which as we shall see soon were mostly verbal nouns. A bare root sufficed to indicate a town or settlement.

Let us take the most elementary of these place-name endings and see how long ago it was a place-name by itself. The ending *ūr* so common all over Asia was once a name in itself. The Bible tells us that Abraham the father of the Jews originally immigrated from "Ur of the Chaldees, to go into the land of Canaan."³ Though this word does not occur independently as a place-name in Telugu, yet it forms not only the place-name ending for the vast majority of place-names, but is also the common word for 'place' in Dravidian. The word is supposed⁴ to be related to the root *īru* to stay, so that a place where the people stayed or encamped was their *ūr*, *ūru*, *ura*. To those ancient tribes the place of camping was their *ūr*, all the rest was the wild unknown. It will be interesting to note here that the older form of 'ūr place-name endings' have the form *ura*, which seems to have been the form before the action of the sound change known as the harmonic sequence of vowels. e. g., Kud-*ura*,⁵ Pant-*ura*,⁶ Kat-*ura*,⁷ etc.

But as society advanced, as human life became more complex, as people found it necessary to give up their nomadic life and settle permanently on the land, it naturally followed that they had to distinguish their separate settlements by distinctive names. Each settlement was a *uru* or a village to them. Now came the task of adding a descriptive term as a distinguishing mark of one *uru* from another. As we study a large list of place-names having *ūr* as their ending, we are struck by some very significant facts namely, that most of such place-names are dissyllabic, that in most cases the prefix is a term describing the topography of the place and that a proper name is never prefixed to a *ūr* ending. We cannot help the conclusion, that as settlement increased the people found it easiest to distinguish one *uru* from another *uru* by some typical topographical feature of that area. Such is the case in names like

1. EI. Vol. VII. No. 24.

2. EI. Vol. VI. No. 36.

3. OT. Genesis, 11 : 31. W&L. Ch. 2. Sec. 3. p. 23. "These immigrants had originally started from Ur Kasdim i.e. the city called in the Assyrian inscription *Uru* (now al-Mugair) in Babylonia, and had gone northwards to Harran in Mesopotamia."

4. CDL p. 23. 1890 Edition.

5. 6. Kondamudi Plates of Jayavarman, Tenali taluq. EI. Vol. VI. No. 31.

7. Chendaluru Plates of Sarvalokesaaya, Ongole taluq, A. D. 673. EI. Vol. VII. No. 24.

Vang-ūr. the bent place, Koll-ūr. the water place, Konḍ-ūr, the hill place etc. And what happens in this case is that as new settlements are made the old "root place-name" becomes a place-name ending. It can, therefore, be said, with some amount of certainty that most place-name endings, especially those which are suffixed to prefixes having an elementary idea, were originally in themselves place-names. *Pāḍu* in which is contained the elementary idea ¹ of *Pādu*, to settle down; to fall, is another of those very old place names that have become place-name endings.

A second factor that contributed to the development of place-name endings is the original names of political or geographical divisions of a country. This first raises the problem of how these original names arose. In many cases a district gets its name from the name of the chief town, the name of the people settled there, the name of a prince or chieftain etc, but there are also some names which seem to have been exclusively used for territorial divisions of a country. It is to such names that we refer to in this paragraph. These names were originally used *only* for extensive divisions of a country. The date of this fossilisation of the name of the division of a country into that of a place-name ending must naturally be much later than the former. Nevertheless, when its old meaning is lost it is pressed down to serve the ever growing need of differentiating the thousands and thousands of villages that spring up. The same place-name ending cannot be used for all place-names on account of its evident monotony and the possibility of confusion. So new forms must take the place of place-name endings and the names of divisions are easily pressed into service. To this second category belong endings like *pāka*, which is related to Sanskrit *bhōga*, *bhāgam*, a division of *pakka*, *pakkam*, *prakka*, etc.;—*gadda* from *gamla*, or *khandu*, a division;—*nandu* etc. Since these names of political or geographical divisions belong to a comparatively progressive period in the history of the people, we find that these names are not elementary in meaning. They are complicated and are in most cases derivatives of Sanskrit terms.

As the nation progressed, and villages increased, there came a time when the old endings proved insufficient or not distinctive enough. It is perhaps at this period in the history of place-names that new place-name endings began to be used. These endings fall altogether into a separate category, for they had to describe the place effectively. That is why we find that they are once again topographical or geographical in meaning. Such for instance are endings like—*vāgu*,—*maḍugu*,—*cherla*,—*metṭa*,—*tāmpara* etc. People used the name of the most striking feature of the country-side where they had settled, not as a place-name, but as a place-name ending by prefixing to it some other qualifying term such as of size, colour or position. Thus were formed the numerous place-name endings which are the words for streams, mountains, lakes, marshes, seas, mounds, hills, hillocks, mountain-meres, mountain passes, valleys, tanks, heaths, deserts, fields, plains etc.

The development of different place-name endings having different meanings, thus helps us to arrange them in a crude but suggestive.

chronological order. The oldest endings are not adjectival; they do not describe a place. They are formed mostly from elementary verbs suggesting the idea of settlement, staying, encamping, dwelling. The next stage seems to be, when to these are added prefixes of an adjectival nature. The study becomes more complex as life and civilisation progress and the same complexity is seen in the pell-mell way in which names and endings are mixed up, descriptive words like *cherru* or *cheruvu* becoming place-name endings.

On top of this we can trace the influence of the successive dominations under which the Telugu country has passed.—ominations political or cultural. During the days of the Buddhistic influence, place-names borrowed many Sanskrit and Pali term like —*vāṭka*,—*kaṭaka*, etc. The cultural influence of the Aryan is seen in the poetic Sanskrit names like —*samudra*,—*pura giri*,—*āchala*, etc.— In a similar way Mahammadan influence is seen by the ending—*abada*. It requires very intimate and long connection for a foreign civilisation to impress itself so as to change or give its own form to a language. Though there are places having names which are evidently of Mahammadan origin, in the Telugu country, their numbers are very few and they are mostly bordering on the Nizam's dominions. Such place-names as had received Mahammadan names during Muslim supremacy have regained their old vernacular forms. For example, the famous twin forts of Koṇḍa-vidu and Koṇḍa-palli were renamed ¹ Murtāza-nagar and Mustāpha-nagar respectively during the reign of Amin-ul-mulk, (1597); but they are no longer even remembered to have ever possessed those names. The reign of the English in the same way may have given a place-name or two, from some hero or patron, as in Camel-petta, Cross-petta Stuart-puram etc., but the contact of the two nations has not been intimate enough to result in a borrowing of place-name endings.

Thus we see that what are today, to many of us meaningless and often ridiculous terms which live only in the company of some other word, are the base and foundation of the naming of places. They are the old words that are native to our language. We have often wondered at the abundance of names ending in—*cherla*. It looked so strange to pronounce it by itself, for it conveyed no meaning, but—*cherla* is the old Telugu form of the Kanarese *kere* : a tank. And similarly with many another form like—*kolli*—*parrus* —*dlu* and—*kōḍu*.

Occasionally, we come across a place-name ending serving even today as a place-name. Such are Pūdi, Pūlla, Pāka, Kōṭa, Cherla, Gūdem, Dīvi etc. It is interesting to speculate if these are survivals from the time when they existed as full place-names or whether they are instances where the prefixes have been dropped. For instance natives of Tādepalligūdem like to refer to their town as 'Gūdem'. If the conjecture, that these 'ending place-names' are survivals of the original forms, is right, then these places must be of very ancient origin, indeed must be the place of birth of the particular forms which became endings later on. With the meagre material before us it is difficult and hazardous to draw conclusions, but this much can be said in favour of the supposition, that with the possible exception of Cota, the rest occur very rarely as independent place-

1. DM, (Kistna).] names in the Telugu country. A study of the surrounding topography with the help of historical and other useful data, will help us to arrive at the right conclusion.

OUR EXCHANGES

- 1 *Āndhra Sāhitya Parishat Patrika*, Cocanada.
- 2 Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, U. S. A.
- 3 *Epigraphia Indica*.
- 4 *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*.
- 5 Journal of the Academy of Philosophy and Religion, Poona.
- 6 Indian Historical Quarterly, Calcutta.
- 7 *Jaina Gazette*.
- 8 Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.
- 9 Journal of the Anthropological Society, Bombay
- 10 Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society. Patna.
- 11 Journal of Indian History, Madras.
- 12 Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
- 13 Journal of the Historical Society, Exchange Buildings, Bombay.
- 14 Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University.
- 15 Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, Bombay.
- 16 Journal of the Geographical Association, Madras.
- 17 Journal of the United Provinces Research Society, Lucknow.
- 18 Journal of the Assam Research Society, Gauhati.
- 19 Journal of the Bombay University. Bombay.
- 20 *Karnataka Sahitya Parishat Patrika*, Bangalore.
- 21 *Man in India*, Ranchi, Bihar.
- 22 Bulletin of the Ramavarma Research Society, Trichur.
- 23 Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch, Colombo
- 24 *Mahā Bōdhi*, 4—A. College Square, Calcutta.
- 25 Papers of Kerala Society, Trivandrum, Travancore.
- 26 Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Bangalore.
- 27 *Journal of Sanskrit Sahitya Parishat*, 17 R. G. Kar Road, Calcutta.
- 28 Annual Reports & Memoirs of the Director General of
Archæological Survey of India, New Delhi.
- 29 Annual Reports etc. of Archæological Department of the
Nizam's Govt., Hyderabad (Deccan).
- 30 Do of Archæological Department of the Government of Mysore,
Mysore.
- 31 Do of Archæological Department of Travancore.
- 32 Do of Smithsonian Society, Washington, U. S. A.
- 33 Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.
- 34 *Bharata Itihasa Samsodhaka Mandali*, 314, Sadasivpet, Poona.
- 35 Gækwad's Oriental Series Baroda.
- 36 Report of Superintendent, Department of Archæology, Gwalior.
- 37 Journal of the Annamalai University, Annamalainagar.
- 38 Prabudha Karnataka. Dharwar
- 39 Nagari Pracharini Patrika, Benares.
- 40 Report of Director of Archæological Survey of Ceylon, Colombo.
- 41 Shrine of Wisdom, Aahlu 6, Arman Hill, London. E 11.
- 42 Brahma Vidya, Bulletin of Adayar Library, Adayar Madras.
- 43 Bulletin of the School of the Oriental studies—London University.
- 44 The New Indian Antiquary, Karnatak Publishing House, Bombay.
- 45 Journal of Sri Venkateswara Oriental Institute, Tirupati.
- 46 Bulletin of the Deccan College & Research Institute, Poona I.
- 47 "University of Ceylon Review", Ceylon.
- 48 Journal of Andhra History and Culture, Guntur.

EXPLANATION

OWING to unavoidable delay in the press and other causes which were beyond our control, the publication of the Journal was delayed, for which we regret very much. This issue may be treated as the first instalment of Vol XIV Parts 2, 3 & 4. The second instalment will be issued shortly.

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VIZIANAGAR DAY CELEBRATIONS

1945, October 13th, 14th and 15th

The Society will celebrate on the dates noted above the Vizianagar Empire Day at Hampi Ruins (near Hospet), the ancient capital of Vizianagar.

To mark the historical occasion, the Society will publish in Telugu two Commemoration volumes to be edited by Dr. N Venkataramanayya, M. A., PH. D. Reader in History, Madras University and Dr. C. Narayana Rao, M. A., L T., PH. D., Lecturer, C. D. College, Anantapur. Scholars are requested to send contributions either in English or in Telugu to the Secretary of the Society or to the Editors.

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