

**FEUDAL CHIEFS, SOCIO - HISTORICAL RELATIONS AND
APPROPRIATION OF POWER IN MEDIEVAL ANDHRA**

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Partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the
DEGREE
OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN
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BY

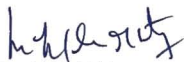
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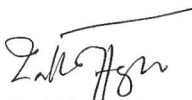
This is to certify that the thesis entitled *Feudal Chiefs, Socio-Historical Relations and Appropriation of Power in Medieval Andhra*, submitted by Challapalli Swaroopa Rani for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Regional Studies, School of Social Sciences, University of Hyderabad, is a result of bonafied research work she has carried out under our supervision. This work or a part of it has not been submitted to any degree or diploma. We recommend that the thesis be sent to the examiners for evaluation.



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ABBREVIATIONS

APGES	: Andhra Pradesh Government Epigraphical Series
AP HCP	: Andhra Pradesh History Congress Proceedings
ARE	: Annual Reports of Epigraphy
ASR	: Archaeological Survey Reports
EA	: Epigraphia Andhrica
EI	: Epigraphica Indica
HAS	: Hyderabad Archaeological Series
IAP	: Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh
ICSSR	: Indian Council of Social Science Research
IESHR	: Indian Economic and Social History Review
IHCP	: Indian History Congress Proceedings
JAHRS	: Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society
JAS	: Journal of Asian Studies
JESHO	: Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient
SII	: South Indian Inscriptions
TTD	: Tirumala Tirupati Devasthanam

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

I.1. Introduction

In the recent past, the reconstruction of history of the medieval Andhra has thrown up various issues, which need to be addressed in the light of recent developments in historiography. The scholars on political history of Andhra mainly concentrated on the major powers in medieval Andhra such as the Kakatiyas and the Vijayanagaras. The *Samantha* system, and the feudatory chiefs and the minor principalities which also played a prominent role in the political affairs during the medieval period in Andhra, did not receive much attention. In particular, studies on the socio-historical basis and the antecedent conditions which provided opportunities for the chiefs in medieval Andhra in appropriating power, are rather meager. In view of the growing interest in recent Indian historiography on the study of "state formation", an attempt is made here to investigate the role of different chiefs and chieftains and other principalities in the power dynamics of medieval Andhra. Fortunately, there is a large body of source material, both inscriptional and literary as well as the bulk of Telugu literature that has grown from 11th century onwards.

I.2. *Samantha* System

Samantha means a subordinate, who works under some one's authority. After the fall of the Satavahanas in Andhra, the *Samantha* system gradually emerged in the administration of this region. In the beginning of the *Samantha* system, they were treated as tax collecting authorities in the

administration of the early Andhra kingdoms. In the process of developing the feudal characters in our socio-political sphere these *Samanthas* became prominent in the administrative affairs. Besides the duties of collecting taxes, they were also entrusted with the duty of governing some small principalities in the dominions of their overlords. They also started maintaining some army. In return these *Samanthas* used to pay some of the amount to the kings and utilize the remaining amount for maintaining the army. Generally, they were obedient to their overlords. But the *Samantha* system in medieval periods in Andhra became more strong. They even denied the authority of their overlords and some of them proclaimed independence in their governing territory.

Sources such as epigraphs indicate that there were variations in the appointment of the feudatory chiefs in medieval Andhra. In the first case, generally, the defeated king, instead of being pulled down was made a feudatory or royal official. These feudatories governed their principalities with the acceptance of their overlords. They levied taxes on the subjects in their administrative jurisdiction and paid some of the amount as a tribute to their overlords.

In the second case, some chiefs within the king's dominions participated in wars on the side of the respective kings and attained some territories from the king as a reward for their services and valour, and were made by the kings as feudatories. In the last case, some of the warriors migrated from other places under unfavourable circumstances, settled down in newly founded areas and became loyal to the kings and got jobs in

the administration. Generally, these chiefs became prominent and played a significant role during the time of wars and were appointed as feudatories

Though the feudatory system existed during the medieval period in Andhra, but after the collapse of the great empires such as the Kakatiyas and the Vijayanagaras, these feudatory chiefs captured power, and emerged as regional and sub-regional powers and the intra-sub-regional principalities such as the Samsthanams in 14th, 15th and 16th centuries.

1.3.Objective, Scope and Methodology of the Study

The objective here is to investigate how the social and historical situations favoured the medieval chiefs in manipulation and appropriation of political power in the medieval history of Andhra. The purpose of this study is to examine the socio-historical relations which aided different feudal chiefs in their appropriation of political power in medieval Andhra.

The region we are concerned with for this study is Andhra comprising all parts of the present Andhra Pradesh state. The chronological period is from the Kakatiyas to that of the Samsthana period, roughly from 11th to 17th centuries AD. The scope of this study is three – fold. Firstly, it deals with the political and socio-cultural aspects of various social groups, with special reference to the feudal chiefs of the medieval period in Andhra under different ruling dynasties. Secondly, this period is marked by the decline of the major empires namely, the Kakatiyas, the Reddies and the Vijayanagaras. This vacuum in power structure provided opportunities for numerous chieftains and principalities which were under the overlordship of these major supra – regional powers, to become independent. These

chieftains and principalities took advantage of this situation, manipulated the socio – political order, appropriated power among themselves and emerged as independent self sustaining intra – sub - regional despots. Thirdly, this kind of historical situation offers avenues to examine and interpret the political and other processes in the emergence and appropriation of the power structure in the region under consideration.

Methodology of this study is historical analysis, basing on primary data available in the medieval and extending to the early modern sources as secondary sources. It is mainly based on medieval literary and epigraphical sources. The anthropological and sociological concepts which examine the intra-regional polities, power structure, and social mobility are taken into account to study the processess of legitimization by the chieftains, *Samanthas* and others. The elements for analysis are the different lineages and social groups of medieval feudal chiefs which were integrated into the caste based heirarchical order. The objective is to situate the medieval feudal chiefs in the historical framework and social formations in the medieval period of Andhra.

I.4.Primary Sources

For this period, there are a large number of stone and copper plate inscriptions issued by the kings, feudal chiefs, private persons and others. They throw light on political, economic and socio-religious issues. Inscriptions of the medieval period furnish information regarding the existence of various feudal chiefs, chieftains and nature of the feudatory system. Inscriptions of the 11th to 13th centuries refer to the chiefs such as Velanati Cholas, Kondapadumats, Kotas, Haihayas of Kona and Palnadu

glorifying Siva and Saivism. By this period, Virasaivism came into existence and many of these poets like Nannechoda and Palkuriki contributed to the Virasaiva liberal ideology in which people of all sections gained equal opportunity to pursue devotion to Siva. Nannechoda and Palkuriki Somanadha provide interesting data for our study. Nannechoda's *Kumarasambhavam* throws a flood of light on various social groups, tribals and other village groups (Madhava Sastry, 1968). Palkuriki Somanadha's *Basavapurana* (Subramanyam, 1968) and *Panditaradhyacharitra* (Narayana Rao, 1992) depict the social life. Palkuriki Somanadha dedicated himself for the propagation of Virasaivism in south India. The Virasaiva sectarian movement admitted various lower castes and tribes into its fold. These castes and tribes adopted Virasaivism and tried to improve their ritual status. In this context, Palkuriki Somanadha mentions castes like Chakali (washerman), Mangali (barber), Mala, Madiga, Jangama and the tribal people who entered into Virasaivism. He describes the Chenchus (hunter-gatherers) of Nallamala forest as the devotees of Siva and that they were providing facilities to the pilgrims on route to the Srisailem temple.

Ketana, a contemporary of the above Saiva poets, wrote *Vignaneswariyam* (Ramachandra Rao, 1979), which gives information on the social law of that period. Though this is primarily a work on the elite society, it has a few references on others too. Gona Budha Reddy also belongs to this period. His famous work *Ranganadha Ramayanam* (Lakshmi Kantham, 1961) gives an account of the social life of the period.

In the thirteenth century, Tikkana, the second poet of the *Kavitraya*, translated some portions of the *Mahabharata* from Sanskrit. Another work

Nirvachanottara Ramayanam throws some light on the peasant life in Andhra (Vedam Venkataraya Sastry,1961) He generalizes the agriculturalists as Kapus. But at present 'Kapu' is a particular Sudra caste, which is engaged in agriculture. Another important poet of this period is Manchana. His *Keyurabahucharitra* (Kodanda Ramaiah, 1966) is an important source for understanding the tribal economy of this period

Errana, who lived in the fourteenth century, is the last poet of *Kavitraya* He translated the last portion of the *Aranyaparva* of *Mahabharata* that had been left untranslated by the previous two. Like Nannaiah and Tikkana, he also did not completely follow the Sanskrit version of *Mahabharata*. His another work *Harvamsam* is an important source to understand the village life (Sivarama Sastry,1960) He gives details of various kinds of soils and crops grown in that period He also mentioned that cattle breeding and the diseases of cattle. Errana mentions the importance of bullocks in agricultural activities, and that the cattle herders generally spend most of their time in fields and forests in grazing their cattle In this contexts The poet describes the games of cattle herders in the fields (i e. swimming in canals and playing on the branches of trees like monkeys) and the peasants.

In the later part of the fourteenth century, Srinadha, one of the greatest poets in Telugu, wrote several works *Kndhabhiramam* (Ananda Murty,1988), *Haravilasam* (Venkata Ramanaiah,1961), *Bhimeswarapuramam* (Vedam Venkataraya Sastry,1967) and *Palnativiracharitra* (Lakshmi Kantham and Surya Rao,1961) are the important sources, which provide much information for our study. *Palnativiracharitra* depicts the role of the Palnadu Haihayas in the

contemporary politics. *Dwipada Paramayogivilasam* of Tallapaka Tiruvengalanadha is a fine discourse on the economic life of the period with special reference to various occupations and the artisan communities

Velugotivarivamsavali, a chronical provides usefull information regarding the origin and expantion of the Velamas in Andhra According to it Velamas started their career as agriculturalists and in course of time they evolved and enriched themselves as an important sub-regional powers during the medieval periods in Andhra(Venkata Ramnaiah,1935).

The Vijayanagara king Krishnadevaraya, proudly called as *Andhrabhoja*, was the greatest emperor in Andhra He was a scholar in Telugu and he patronized many scholars in his court It is in his reign that the greatness of Vijayanagara empire and Telugu literature reached its zenith His court was known as *Bhuvanavijayam* and his court poets were known as *Astadiggajas* (eight elephants) Krishnadevaraya's important work is *Amuktamalyada* (Vedam Venkataraya Sastry, 1964) In this text, he covers the lifestyles of agricultural groups, tribals and folk life of the day Sri Krishnadevaraya mentions the royal policy towards the tribal chiefs He also gave an account of the agricultural practices He says that he- buffaloes were used for tilling the dry land and bullocks for wet lands.

These cattle were used by the farmers to pull the water machines He says that all members of the family including women and children work together in the fields. As a poet, Sri Krishnadevaraya compares the snake that encircles the legs of the farmer with *Gandapendera* (golden anklet) and he compares the white turbans of the farmers as the line of cranes The

most famous and important among the other poets are Peddana, Dhurjati, Pingali Surana, Nandi Timmana, Tenali Ramakrishna and Bhattumurty. Dhurjati's *Sri Kalahastimahatmyam* is an important source for our study. It gives valuable information about the tribal chiefs such as the Chenchus.

For the Samsthana period also we have abundant literary sources produced by the court poets and scholars patronized by the Samsthanadhisas. Samsthanams of coastal Andhra, Telangana and the Palems of western Andhra (present Rayalasila) consist of court laurriets and poets who portrayed the socio-cultural and other conditions during the Samsthana period. The trend in the fields of art and literature during the Samsthana period seems to be almost a continuation from the Vijayanagara period. The Samsthanam of Gadwala in the Telangana region patronized the eight poets who were also called as *Astadiggajas*. During the Samsthana period Vemana composed a number of poems on various aspects of his time. Vemana's literature provides valuable information on the existing social system.

Besides the secular literature belonging to the medieval period in Andhra, we have religious scriptures of mythology, *Smriti* literature, *Sutras*, *Upanishats* and *Puranas* to understand the *Varnasramadharm* and the codes of various *Smritikaras* regarding the existing social order. *Bhagavatgita* (Kasinadh Trymbak, Telang, 1965), *Mahabharata* (Venkatavadhani, 1969) and *Manusmriti* (Buhler, 1964), eighteen *Puranams* and commentaries on these texts, furnish an important source material to understand the social life and position and ranks given to

various social groups in *Varna* hierarchy by the law givers of ancient Indian history.

Besides the inscriptional and literary sources, we have oral sources to understand the socio-cultural aspects of this period. *Kulapurāṇams*, folk tales and songs also contain historical information to understand the life of ordinary people that was not recorded in the classical literature and inscriptions.

I.5. Secondary Sources

Studies concerned with the history and culture of the Andhra and the current ethnographic literature constitute the secondary source material. Historical studies of Romila Thapar (1984), Burton Stein (1980), Arjun Appadurai (1936), Herman Kulke (1978), Champaka Lakshmi (1981), R.S.Sharma (1958,1968), D D Kosambi (1956), G D Sonthimer (1991), K.Satyanarayana (1982) Suravaram Pratapa Reddy (1992), T.V.Mahalingam (1970), P V.Parabrahma Sastry (1978), Somasekhara Sharma (1993), Yasodadevi (1993), R.Soma Reddy (1984), M Krishna Kumari (1985,1990), K Suryanarayana (1986) and others dealt with these issues of feudalism and social history. And the sociological studies of scholars like B R Ambedkar (1979), G S Ghurye (1930,1990), Risley (1930), M.N Srinivas (1977), Bernard C. Cohn (1996), Redfield (1973), Sorokin (1959), Milton Singer (1972), Hutton (1980) etc provide guidelines, insights and methodological and analytical procedures to analyse and interpret social mobility and change in the medieval periods. Several research articles such as " Right and Left Hand Castes in South India" by Arjun Appadurai (1974) ; Champaka Lakshmi's (1981) review article on

"Peasant State and Society in Medieval South India" of Burton Stien (1980); "Validity of the Brahmana- Peasant Alliance and Segmentary State in Early Medieval South India" by D.N Jha (1984), "Kings, Temples and Legitimization of Autochthonous Communities" by P.S Kanaka Durga and Y.A Sudhakar Reddy (1993) Kesavan Veluthat's (1993) " Religious Symbols in Political Legitimation The Case of Early Medieval South India"; M.L.K Murty's (1993)"Environment, Royal Policy and Social Formations in Eastern Ghats South India 1000-1500 AD" and "Forest Peoples and Historical Traditions in Eastern Ghats South India" (1994) , R.N. Nandi's (1984) " Feudalism of the State in Medieval South India"; Nicholas Dirks's (1982) " The Past's of a Palayankar: the Ethno-History of a South Indian Little King", Vivakanand Jha's (1986-87) "Candala and the Origin of Untouchability", Yogendra Singh's (1974) "Concepts of Social Change"; M. Somasekhara Sharma's article (1959) in Telugu, "Devarakonda, Rachakonda Rajyalu",and P.V Parabrahma Sastry's (1995) "Socio-Cultural Aspects of Vijayanagara Period" etc constitute the secondary source material These are helpful to a great extent for analysing the data

I.6. Chapterization

The thesis is organised into nine chapters Chapter I outlines the aims, objectives, scope of the study and source materials

Chapter II examines the beginnings of the feudatory system during the Kakatiya period in Andhra It discusses the social background of feudatories of the Chalukya- Cholas like Kona Haihayas, Kondapadumatis,

Palnati Haihayas and Chagis; and feudatories of Kakatiyas like Cherukus, Viriyala, Malyala and Kayastha chiefs, the Chalukyas of Elamanchili, Pithapuram, Vardhamanapuram, Kotas etc. and their political manipulations.

Chapter III deals with the rise of sub-regional powers in the post - Kakatiya period. The political career of the Velamas, Padmanayakas, Reddies of Kondavidu, Rajahmahendravaram and Kandukuru is evaluated in this chapter.

Chapter IV discusses the formation of intra- sub-regional powers such as the Samsthanams, Zamindaris, and Jagirs in the post-Vijayanagara period. It examines the political situation in Andhra during the post - Vijayanagara period and the role of small kings of the Samsthanams in the regions of Telangana, coastal Andhra and the Palems of western Andhra (present Rayalasila region) and their political appropriation.

Chapter V deals with antecedents of the caste system in our society. In this chapter, definitions and various theories regarding the origin and evolution of caste system in India in general and in Andhra in particular are discussed.

Chapter VI deals with the social mobility and the process of assimilation of indigenous communities in the medieval period in Andhra. It discusses the life of various caste groups particularly the Sudra and Atisudra communities, artisan groups, Panchamas and the tribal

communities, upward mobility among such social groups, and integration of their gods and goddesses in the Hindu pantheon.

Chapter VII discusses the role of religion and religious processes in social mobility. Medieval state and its close connection with the religion and attitude of the rulers in religious matters are discussed in this chapter.

Chapter VIII deals with the kingship, ritual sovereignty and legitimization of power. This chapter discusses the nature of kingship and the concept of Kshatriyahood in the medieval and late medieval Andhra, and the various methods followed by the rulers (considered to be of) low birth to stabilise their political power in their respective domains. It also examines the royal temple policy of the kings and the role of the Brahman priests in attributing Kshatriyahood to the rulers of Sudra and tribal origin.

The concluding chapter IX is devoted to summarise the findings of this investigation.

CHAPTER II
BEGINNINGS OF THE FEUDATORY SYSTEM IN MEDIEVAL ANDHRA
(ca. 1000-1323AD)

II. 1. Introduction

Samantha system was the main characteristic feature of medieval Andhra. Andhra history indicates that the *Samantha* system was part of the administration of this land from the rule of the Satavahanas (Satyannarayana, 1982). During the medieval period, Andhra was divided into a number of small principalities and was under the sway of different chiefs. Andhra was completely under the rule of the *Samantha* kings, *Dandanayakas*, *Amatyas* and *Senanis* during the 11-14th centuries. The Eastern Chalukyas, the Rastrakutas, the Chalukya-Cholas, the Kalyani Chalukyas and the Kakatiyas exercised the feudatory system in their administration. In Andhra, the Vengi Chalukyas owed allegiance to the Cholas in the eastern direction and in the western direction to the Rastrakutas, the rulers of Malwa in Karnataka, and the Western Chalukyas of Kalyani. And the Kakatiyas of Warangal had their feudatories in the regions of Telangana, Rayalaseema and coastal Andhra.

Different politico-administrative and economic conditions led to the formation of *Samantha* system in medieval Andhra. As the empires in the medieval period are vast, kings used to appoint the *Samanthas* in different administrative divisions for the safeguard of their dominions. Sources indicate that these *Samanthas* also had their own capitals. Generally, these

capitals are situated on the banks of the rivers, along the coast and hilly-forested zones and were very far to reach. *Senanis* (soldiers), *Dandanayakas* (army officers), *Amatyas* (ministers) and *Samanthas* (feudatories) played an important role in protecting the territories. The empire was divided into *Rastras* (states) *Mandalas* (small revenue divisions) and *Gramakutas* (villages) for administrative purpose. Generally, the chiefs maintained an army and provided assistance to the king during the time of wars. They participated in the battles on behalf of the king. They provided security in the bordering areas of the kingdom. Kings sanctioned some areas to those *Samanthas* in return to their services. They were given the authority to collect taxes in their respective principalities. The kings exercised all powers in appointing and dismissing the *Samanthas*. The *Samanthas* also had full-fledged freedom in recruiting and removing various employees under their control.

II. 2. The Chalukya – Cholas (ca. 1075 AD – ca. 1200 AD)

The Chalukya – Cholas ruled Andhra Desa from ca. 1075 AD to ca. 1200 AD for 125 years. Kulottunga Chola I was referred to by the historians as the founder of the dynasty. It is the fusion of two crowns of the Eastern Chalukyas and the Cholas. It is the first amalgamated dynasty in the annals of Andhra history. It was also for the first time in the history of south India that a person, Kulottunga Chola I, inherited an empire through his mother, the Chola princess. The Chalukya-Cholas succeeded the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi in Andhra Desa and stood as a link between the Eastern Chalukyas on the one hand and the Kakatiyas on the other.

The first Chalukya - Chola king, Kulottunga I adopted the *Samantha* system and stabilised his position in Andhra during his reign. All the available sources regarding the polity of the Chalukya-Cholas indicate their political supremacy in Andhra. But their feudatories like the Velanati Cholas, Kondapadumatis, Kona Haihayas, etc. were virtually independent. Though the Velanati Cholas owed allegiance to the Chalukya-Cholas, they controlled all the other chiefs such as the Kotas, Kondapadumatis and Chagis and made them their own subordinates. It seems that almost all the chieftains in Andhra began to exercise the de-facto rule, owing nominal allegiance to the Chalukya-Cholas. The feudatory chieftains accompanied the ruling Chalukya-Chola monarchs in times of invasions and wars. The Chalukya-Cholas were successful in the Kalinga wars and in repelling the Western Chalukyan attacks with the support of the feudatory chieftains such as the Velanati Cholas, the Kotas of Dharanikota and the Kondapadumatis (Krishna Kumari, 1985). The Chalukya-Cholas, in return, made the above *Mandalikas* much powerful and heightened their local stature. After the battle of the Godavari, several feudatories ceased to acknowledge the names of the Chalukya-Chola kings in their records (Krishna Kumari, 1985).

II. 3. Important Feudatories Under the Chalukya-Cholas

II.3(a).Velanati Cholas (ca.1100 AD – 1300 AD)

The Velanati Cholas ruled the areas of Aruvelanadu and Gudrahara *Vishaya* with the capital at Chandavolu in the present Guntur District during ca.1100 AD – 1300 AD. They belong to the Durjaya family. Their inscriptions are found in Draksharamam, Chandavolu, Tripurantakam, Dharanikota, and Chebrolu. Mallavarman seems to be the founder of the

famil. Since they owed alligiance to the Chalukya-Cholas, they held the name 'Choda' as prefix in their names and as a mark of their respect towards their overlords (Sastry,1990) Nanniraju, Gonka I Chodaraju, Rajendra Choda, Gonka II and Prithviswara were the important rulers in this line. Inscriptions say that the Velanati Cholas belonged to *Chaturtha kula* (the fourth caste).

The struggle between the Velanati Cholas and the Kalyani Chalukyas for capturing the throne of Vengi is significant during this period Since Vengi was the important place for the Chalukya-Cholas, the overlords of the Velanati Cholas, they fought for preserving Vengi for the interest of their overlords. The Velanati Chola kings with their constant struggle with the Kalyani Chalukyas for Vengi, regained it ultimately (*SII*. vol.IV, no 1182) They became independent during the reign of Rajendra Chola II They also had control over their co-feudatories like the Haihayas of Palnadu, Kona, and the Chalukyas of Pithapuram and Kolanu (*SII*.vol IV, Nos 1066, 1113 &1137) During the reign of Rajendra Chola the Velanati Chola kingdom was annexed into the Kakatiya empire in ca 1257 AD (Sastry, 1990) They owed matrimonial alliances with other co-feudatories, i e. the Kondapadumatis and Haihayas of Palnadu, who also claim their descent from Durjaya

II.3(b). The Kondapadumatis (ca.1100 AD – 1282 AD)

The Kondapadumatis held sway in the region to the west of Kondavidu. They had their capital at Nadendla They are the subordinates of the Chalukyas of Vengi and later on owed alligiance to the Chalukya-Cholas and maintained friendly relations with the Velanati Cholas. Their records, excepting the Chebrolu one (which give the early history of the

dynasty), indicate that Buddhavarman is the ancestor of the dynasty. He is mentioned that he served Makkanti Kaduvetti, the Pallava King and obtained the region of Omgerumargatraya as a reward. Later on Buddhavarman played an active role in the political affairs and assisted Kubjavishnu in conquering the local *gin* (hill), *vana* (forest) and *jala* (water) forts. Along with the other important petty chiefs Kubjavishnu made Buddhavarman also as his subordinate. Kondapadumati inscriptions refer to Buddhavarman as he served Kubjavishnu like Hanuman to Srinama.

Buddhavarman obtained 73 villages at the western direction of the hills of Kondavidu as a reward. While Kubjavishnu founded the kingdom of Vengi, Buddhavarman also founded the dynasty of Kondapadumati and became the ancestor of Kondapadumatis (*S II* vol IV, nos 662, 690 & 692). Chebrolu inscription refers to them as the *Chaturthakulas* (*S II* vol.VI, nos.103 & 246 of 1897)

After Buddhavarman, Manda I Ganda, Manda II Buddharaaju, Chodaraju, Manumanda III Malliraju, Manda IV Buddha IV and Panda ruled this dynasty. The kingdom was lost to the Kotas of Dhanyakataka, ultimately they were made as subordinates to the Kakatiyas of Warangal.

II.3(c). The Chagis (ca.1100 AD -1477 AD)

The Chagis or Tyagis ruled the Natavadi and Vijayavati *Vishaya* with their capitals at Gudimetta, Vijayawada and Vinukonda for nearly three centuries and a half. They owed allegiance to the Chalukya-Cholas, the Kakatiyas and the Gajapats respectively. Their family name was Vipparla. They had alliances of marriage with the Kakatiyas and the

Kondapadumatis. The Chagi records trace their ancestry to Durjaya and Durjaya Kula (*SII* vol. VI,no.218). Muppa I is the earliest known person in the Chagi family. Dora I, Pota-I, Dora II, Pota II, Ganapaya, Dora III, Manuma Pota and Manuma Ganapaya ruled this dynasty

The relation between the Chagis of Vinukonda and Gudimetlla is not known. But the Chagis of Vinukonda bore the suffix 'Nayaka' or 'Nayudu' in their personal names Annama Nayaka, Gannama Nayaka and Komma Nayaka are the important chiefs mentioned in the records of the Chagis of Vinukonda It shows that this branch of the Chagis might have been the army officers, or they held some superior position as heads of certain principalities.

II.3(d).The Kotas (ca. 1100 AD – 1270 AD)

The Kotas were the political successors of the Kondapadumatis and ruled over Velanadu 6000, on the southern bank of the river Krishna, for over a century and a half from the beginning of the 12th to the last quarter of the 13th century AD, with different capitals at Dhanyakataka, Tadikonda, Yanamandala and Draksharamam The main branch of the Kotas ruled with its capital at Dharanikota (Yasodadevi, 1993)

The Kotas owed alligiance to the Chalukya-Cholas in the beginning, and the Kakatiyas towards the end They sought alliances of marriage with the Kakatiyas, The Chagis, the Velanati Chodas and the Haihayas of Palnadu Beta I, Gunda, Bhima I, Betaraju, Keta I, Bhima II, Kota II, Bhima III, Keta III, Bhima IV and Ganapati ruled the branch of Dharanikota.

The capital for the second branch of the Kotas was Yanamadala. Betaraju was an important king in this line, and Kakatiya Ganapatideva gave his daughter Ganapamba to Betaraju of Yanamadala. After the death of Betaraju, Ganapamba ruled this branch. The rule of a woman feudatory is the significant feature of this Kota family. Ganapamba, as a Kota chief, owed allegiance to her sister, Rudramadevi. Ipuru inscription mentions her as *Mahamandaleswara Kota Ganapambayama Garu* (ARE, 535 of 1913). It shows that the woman feudatory Ganapamba governed her principality just like any other male person without any difficulty and also being legitimized.

Manuma Pota was the first known person of the Tadikonda branch. After his death, his wife Padambika succeeded the throne. The first known king of the Kotas of Draksharamam is Bhimaraju.

The relationship between the Kotas of Dharanikota, Yanamadala, Tadikonda and Draksharamam is not known. But all these rulers seem to be of Sudra origin. Because they claim the ancestry of Dhanunjaya, who was the subordinate of Pallava king Trilochana Pallava (Yasodadevi, 1993). The rulers of Kota families appear among the feudatories of the Pusapatis in the 17th century AD. But their names are not known.

II.3(e). The Chalukyas of Pithapuram (ca. 925 AD 1226 AD)

The Chalukyas in Andhra claimed that they belong to Manavyasa gotra, and descent from Harita. They also claim themselves as *Chandravamsa* Kshatriyas (Yasodadevi, 1993). They owed allegiance to the Chalukyas of Vengi, the Chalukya-Cholas, the Kalyani Chalukyas, and the

Gangas of Kalinga, and acquired significant political successes. The Chalukyas of Pithapuram ruled the country from Pithapuram to Simhachalam with their capital at Pithapuram for nearly three centuries from ca. 925 to 1226 AD. They maintained political relations with the Gangas, Cholas and the Haihayas, besides the minor kingdoms in Vengi, and other Chalukyas in Vengi and Kalyani.

Beta Vijayaditya V was the originator of the Chalukyas of Pithapuram. After him Satyasraya, Vijayaditya II, Vishnu Vardhana, Mallappa II, Vijayaditya III, Mallappa III, etc. ruled this dynasty. Among them Vishnuvardhana was a strong ruler and was referred to as an ornament of the lunar race of the Chalukya family (*EA* vol XX, no 268). There is no information about the alliances between the Pithapuram Chalukyas and the Kakatiyas; probably, after the rule of Vijayaditya, Pithapuram Chalukya territories came under the Kakatiya rule.

II. 3(f). The Haihayas (ca. 1100- 1700 A D)

The Haihayas held sway during the 1100 to 1400 AD with different names in different parts of Andhra. They are Kona Haihayas, Haihayas of Palnadu, Panchadarla Haihayas, and Gona Haihayas of Vardhamanapuram. We do not know the relation between these branches of Haihayas. But all these families commonly claimed descent from a mythical person, Kartaviryarjuna whose capital was Mahishmati.

The Haihayas of Kona *mandala* (ca.1073 AD – 1364 AD) held sway in the Godavari deltaic area for over three centuries. Kirtiraja was the earliest known person of this dynasty (*SII* vol IV, no.1011) who owed

alliance to the Cholas. He served the Chalukya-Chola king Kulottunga I and acquired a small principality as a reward around Rakuduru, in the present Godavari district. Probably Rakuduru was his capital (*SII* vol IV, nos. 780&1286). Inscriptions show that during the period of Bhima Vallabha and Rananadha, Kakatiya sway extended into the Godavari districts. Prataparudra was the reigning king. Probably, Bhima and Rananadha acknowledged the Kakatiya suzerainty (Yasodadevi, 1993). When the Kakatiya power ended, Kona Haihayas owed allegiance to the Reddi kings.

The Haihayas of the Palnadu branch ruled during the 12th century with their capital at Gurajala. They accepted the authority of the Cholas and their representatives, the Velanati Cholas, except when they were forced to accept the Chalukyan supremacy. The earliest historical person of the Palnadu Haihayas was Chagi Beta. The historically significant incident of Palnadu war between the brothers of Palnadu Haihayas occurred during this period. The civil war in Palnadu resulted in the immediate destruction of the region. The Haihaya kingdom ended but the heroes of the war are immortalized in the minds of the masses. This war hastened the fall of the Velanadu kingdom and other minor powers in Vengi, and brought in its tract the invasion of Rudradeva of the Kakatiyas (Yasodadevi, 1993).

The Haihayas of Panchadarla (ca 1200-1403AD) ruled the regions of Simhachalam and Panchadarla in the south Kalinga during the 12th and 14th centuries AD. Choda I, Upendra, Choda II and Bhima are the important kings that ruled this dynasty (Lakshmi Kantham, 1989).

Gona Haihayas (ca.1190-1294 AD) ruled over the tracts around Raichur (which were later a part of the Nizam's dominions) with the capital of Vardhamanapuram. Their names ended with Reddy or Nayani. They owed allegiances to the Kakatiyas and had marriage alliances with the Malayas, the other feudatories of the Kakatiyas. The earliest historical person of the family was Gona Kota Bhupati. Their genealogy was given in *Ranganadha Ramayanam*. Gona Ganna Reddy and Gandaya are the important rulers of this line (Parabrahma Sastry, 1978).

II.4. The Kakatiyas and Their Feudatories (ca.1000-1323AD)

The Kakatiyas, one of the major dynasties that ruled Andhra desa during the medieval period started their career as the *Samantha Dandanayakas* of the Rastrakutas and the Western Chalukyas of Kalyani. The early Kakatiya rulers, i.e. Beta I, Prola I, Beta II, Prola II accepted the supremacy of the Western Chalukyas. Until the rule of Prola II, the Kakatiyas were also considered as one of the feudatories of the Western Chalukyas. But they are more powerful than the remaining chiefs. When the influence of the Western Chalukyas decreased, the Kakatiyas declared independence and started their own independent sway (Parabrahma Sastry, 1978).

When the Kakatiyas proclaimed sovereignty from their Western Chalukyan overlords, all the remaining feudatories of the Chalukyas turned to the subordinates of the Kakatiyas. After achieving independence Ganapatideva invaded and annexed the territories of the Velanati Cholas and all the feudatories of the Chalukya-Cholas and Velanati Cholas including the Kona Haihayas, Kondapadumatis of Nadendla, the Kotas, the

Chagis, the Telugu Chodas of Nellore and the Natavadis. They became allies or relatives to the Kakatiyas. Ganapatideva's sovereignty over the chiefs, who were almost enjoying a sort of independence, was mere nominal. He allowed all the chiefs to remain as they were in the Chalukya-Chola and Western Chalukyan periods. The subordinate chiefs of the Kakatiyas were allowed to have their freedom in all aspects except military affairs (Parabrahma Sastry, 1978)

As the Kakatiyas preferred decentralised type of administration with limited central enforcement, they appointed their officers throughout their kingdom. Besides the feudatories, who were continuing from the Chalukya-Cholas, the Velanati Cholas, the Chalukya family, Viriyalas, Recherlas, Malyalas, Kayastha, Padmanayakas, Chalukyas of Nidadavolu, the Telugu Cholas of Kandukuru, the Saronadhas, Polavasa chiefs, Yadavas, the Reddies of Koppula family and the Parchedis are the other feudatories of the Kakatiyas

II.4(a).The Cheruku Family (ca.1158-1324 AD)

The Cheruku family ruled parts of the Nalgonda, Mahaboobnagar and Kurnool from ca.1202 to 1321 AD with different branches at Jammalur, Amrabad and Veluru (Sastry, 1990). Though the Cheruku family belongs to the *chaturtha kula*, they claimed descent from Brahma and Vishnu. Kata is the founder of the Jammalur branch of Cherukus. The early chiefs of this line started their career as the army chiefs under the early Kakatiyas. But they rose to the position of *Mahasamanthas* later (Rama Rao, 1991). Kata, the founder of the Cheruku dynasty is said to be a brave person. He participated in the victorious struggles of the Kakatiyas and won the favour

of the Kakatiya kings. He is also referred to as the killer of the tiger and captured the region of Eruva *Mandala*. Beta of Kakatiya dynasty recognized the valour of Kata and honored him with the gift of 12 villages. Kata's son Keta was also an eminent warrior and he won the favour of Rudra of the Kakatiya dynasty. Likewise, Kata's son Bollaya Reddy is also a talented person in Cheruku family. Bollaya Reddy and brothers i.e. Kata, Mara and Erra served the Kakatiyas as army chiefs and participated in many wars in the side of their overlords and brought victories. In Cheruku family, Bollya Reddy is mentioned as the most powerful chief and he was appointed as the *Mahasamanthadhipathi* by the Kakatiya king Rudradeva. Later on the successors of Bollaya Reddy were also appointed as the army chiefs and *Mahasamanthas* by the Kakatiya kings. They extended the principality of Jammaluru by obtaining the regions of Amrabad and Valuru. They successfully ruled this principality over a period of 166 years i.e. from ca. 1158 to 1324 AD (Sastry, 1990).

II.4(b).The Natavadis (ca. 1104-1269 AD)

The Natavadis ruled over Natavadi *vishaya* for a century and half with the capital of Madapalli. Inscriptions indicate that they belong to the fourth caste and they did not claim the status of the Kshatriyas (*Inscriptions of Warangal District*, no 27). Beta is the earliest chief of the family. Natavadis served as the feudatories of the Western Chalukyas. Beta's father was the feudatory of the Western Chalukyas. As the Western Chalukyan power ended, Beta, the founder of the dynasty turned to the Kakatiyas subordination and continued as an important feudatory of the Kakatiyas. His successors Durga, Budha, Rudra I and II also worked as the feudatories of the Kakatiyas and have maintained friendly relations with the

other contemporary little kings such as the Chagis, Kotas, Kondapadumatis, Kandravadis and Velanati Cholas (Rama Rao,1991)

II.4(c).The Viriyala Family (ca.1124-1273 AD)

Poranti Vema was the earliest known person of the Viriyala family There are many popular military chiefs in this family (APGES no 3, 87-88) They claim themselves as the descendants of Durjaya They had alliances of marriage with the Kakatiyas and the Malyalas They were under the overlordship of the Rastrakutas, Western Chalukyas and the Kakatiyas The early members of the family such as Poranti Venna, Erra and Bhima served the Rastrakutas as army officers As the power of the Rastrakutas ended and Western Chalukyas emerged, the members of the Viriyala family also turned to the Western Chalukyas during the period of Erra Later they changed their allegiance to the Kakatiya rulers (*Inscriptions of A.P.Warangal District.no 27*).

II.4(d). The Malyala Family (ca.1200-1277 AD)

Malyala chiefs held their capital at Sumkisa Like the Viriyalas and the Kakatiyas. The Malyala chiefs also claim their descent from Durjaya.They owed alligiance to the Kakatiyas and served the Kakatiya kings as *Senanis*, *Dandanayakas* and *Amatyas* Danna *Senani* was the earliest person of this family. As an army chief, Danna became prominent during the reign of the Kakatiya king Beta II, and continued as the *Samantha Dandanadha* and the *Mantri* till the rule of Prola II Since the Kakatiyas were also in the subordination of the Western Chalukyas, alongwith Prola II, Danna also participated in the conquests of Polavasas (APGES no 3, 87-88) Though

the Malyala chiefs started their career as army chiefs under the Kakatiyas, later they rose as the *Amatyas* during the reign of Rudramadevi.

II.4(e).The Nidadavolu Chalukyas (ca.1200 -1400 AD)

The Chalukyas of Nidadavolu held their sway over a portion of the West Godavari district. They claimed to belong to Somavamsa, Manavyasa *gotra* and to the Harita lineage. They claimed themselves as *Chandravamsa* Kshatriyas. The Chalukyas of Nidadavolu acknowledged the supremacy of the Kakatiyas and contracted alliances of marriage with them. Probably to strengthen their position, they contracted alliances by marriage with the Haihayas of Kona mandala and the Kakatiyas of Warangal (Suryanarayana, 1986). Vengiswara was the first known person of this family. After him Malla, Gonka I, Ayyaladeva I, Mahadeva, Gonka II, Virabhadra, Indasekhara and Prataparudra ruled this dynasty. Virabhadra of this line is the husband of Kakatiya Rudramadevi (Yasodadevi, 1993).

II.4(f).The Saronadhas (Kolanus) (ca. 1220 -1320AD)

The Saronadhas or Kolanus ruled over Kolanu-*Vishaya* with the capital at Sarasipura, the modern Eluru in West Godavari, district for three centuries. They owed allegiance to the Vengi Chalukyas, the Chalukya-Cholas, the Chalukyas of Kalyani and the Kakatiyas at different times. The earliest known person of this family was Bhima. He and his children were killed during the rebellion of the subordinate rulers of Cholas and their overlords (Yasodadevi, 1993).

The Induluri family, the second Kolanu family is an important feudatory power of the Kakatiyas, had marital alliances with their overlords,

the Kakatiyas. Induluri Annaiah, the eminent chief of this family, married Ruyamma, a daughter of Rudramadevi. Indulun chiefs are believed to be the Brahmins of the Koundinyasa *gotra* of the Aradhya sect (Rama Rao, 1991).

II.4(g).The Kayasthas (ca.1220-1320AD)

Among all the feudatories of the Kakatiyas, the Kayasthas were the most powerful. It is believed that these chiefs originally belonged to a class of warriors of western India Ganapatideva appointed them at Panugallu as governors Gangaya Sahani was the earliest member who became popular in the service of Ganapatideva His nephews Jannigadeva, Tripurantaka and Ambadeva were also prominent among the Kayasthas Their inscriptions indicate that the Kayasthas ruled from Panugallu to Marjawada, in the present Caddapah district (Sastry, 1984 no 43, 96)

Among the Kayasthas, Ambadeva was a powerful chief Though the Kayasthas accepted the supremacy of the Kakatiyas in the beginning, they became more independent during the reign of Ambadeva He revolted against Rudramadevi and proclaimed independence in 1290 AD (Parabrahma Sastry, 1978)

By virtue of their valour. the Kayasthas rose to the position of independent rulers, though their chiefs started their career as army commanders. Ganapatideva elevated Gangaya Sahani to the position of *Mahamandaleswara* and honoured him with several titles Durgi inscription dated ca.1251 AD refers to his title *Chalamartiganda* and it further attributes him to be the chief of 17 *Niyogas* (SI vol X , no 334) Inscriptions of

Pushpagiri in Cuddapah district refer to Gangaya as *Ganda Penderaka Namadeya Kayastha Vamsothama Karanadhavaha Sri Ganda Senapativasya* (*Inscriptions of Cuddapah District* 137). All these titles of various Kayastha chiefs indicate that they obtained the position of independent rulers in those days.

Gangaya Sahini's epithets *Chaturvarna Samudharana* and Ambadeva's *Suryavamsaraya Nirmulana* show that they were originally of the fourth caste and claimed the Kshatriyahood later (Sastry,1984)

II.4(h).The Kanduru Cholas (ca.1080-1260AD)

The Cholas in Telugu country are known of from early times. In the second half of the 10th and first half of the 11th centuries AD, the dynasties of Telugu Cholas appear all over Andhra ruling in its different parts for various periods throughout the medieval times till the middle of the 16th century AD. Kanduru Cholas are one of the branches of the Telugu Cholas. They ruled parts of the Mahaboobnagar, Nalgonda and Khammam in the Telangana region. Since they belong to the region of Eruvmandalam, which consists of areas in the southern part of the river Krishna such as Atmakur, Markapuram and Dornala and the northern part of Mahaboobnagar, Nallagonda and Khammam, they are called as Eruva Chodas. They acknowledged the suzerainty of the Kalyani Chalukyas and the Kakatiyas. They ruled Eruvanadu with different capitals at Kolanupaka, Panugallu, Kanduru and Varthamanapuram from ca 1040 AD to 1290 AD (Sastry,1990).

Eruva Bhima Choda I was the earliest chief of this family. During the reign of Eruvabhima Choda II these chiefs rose to the position of *Mahamandaleswaras* from *Mandalikas* (APAR 3/1966) Eruva Bhima Choda II participated in the wars in favour of the Western Chalukyan king Vikramaditya VI and won victories. Vikramaditya gave him Kandurunadu as a reward for his services. After obtaining Kandurunadu by Eruva Bhima Choda II, the Eruva Cholas began to call themselves as the Eruva Cholas in their records. Though both the Kanduru Cholas and the Kakatiyas established their powers contemporarily, Kanduru's power increased since the period of Kakatiyas. But they were ultimately defeated by the Kakatiyas under Rudradeva I and made as the subordinates of the Kakatiyas.

Kanduru Cholas like the other feudatories of the period, also claimed themselves as *Suryavamsa* Kshatriyas and that they belong to the Kasyapa *gotra*. They also claimed that they are the descendents of Karikala Chola (APGAS).

II.4(i). Other Telugu Cholas(ca.1050-1350AD)

Besides the Telugu Cholas of Kanduru, there were other chieftains who also belong to the Telugu Cholas. The most well known of them were Konidena Cholas (ca.1050-1300AD), Pottapı Cholas (ca 1224-1350AD), Nellore Cholas (ca 1100-1350AD) and the Telugu Cholas of Hemavathi. They acknowledged the sovereignty of the imperial Cholas, the Kakatiyas, the Western Chalukyas and the Kalachurns. They were powerful feudatories of this period. They won some military achievements. Towards the close of the 13th century AD and the beginning of the 14th century, the

Telugu Cholas lost their power to the Kakatiyas and the Kayasthas (Yasodadevi, 1993) Though all these chiefs belong to the fourth caste, they claimed the Kshatryahood in their records.

II.4(j).The Polavasa Chiefs (ca.1024-1161AD)

The Polavasas were also called as Vengondas These chiefs ruled Ugravadi, Polavasa and Mantrakuta with the capital at Polavasa in Jagityal taluk, Karimnagar district, for a century, from ca.1075 - 1161 AD Madhava Varma was referred to as the earliest member of this family Polavas also claimed their descent from Durjaya of the Kshatriya origin But inscriptions of Bavajipet issued by Beta II, say that the Polavasas belonged to Vengonda community (*Inscriptions of A.P Warangal District*. no 14). But we do not have the caste by name 'Vengonda' at present Polavasa chiefs initially owed allegiance to the Rastrakutas, the Kalyani Chalukyas, and later turned to the early Kakatiyas by force Though the early chiefs of this family were loyal to the Chalukyas they revolted against their overlords during the period of Medaraju II and his brother Ganda and declared independence (Parabrahma Sastry, 1978). But this revolt was suppressed by the Kakatiya chiefs, who were also the subordinates of Kalyani Chalukyas With the assassination of Polavasa chief Gunda by Prola II, both the Kakatiyas and the Polavasas became rivals This rivalry between these two powers perpetuated until the fall of the Polavasa principality into the hands of the Kakatiyas (Parabrahma Sastry, 1978).

II.4(k). The Recherla Reddi Chiefs (ca.1050-1262 AD)

The Recherla chiefs were the most important feudatories of the Kakatiyas who served as the *Dandanayakas* and *Samantha Mandalikas* in

the reign of the Kakatiya kings Beta I, Prola I, Beta II, Prola II, Rudradeva, Mahadeva, Ganapatideva and Rudramadevi. They ruled parts of the Amanagallu, Pillalamarri, Miryalaguda, Nagulapadu and Somavaram in the present Nalgonda district, Elakurti, Mulugu, Narsampet and Machapur in the Warangal district; and Huzurabad taluk in the Karimnagar district. Recherla chiefs had their capital at Amanagallu in the beginning. They divided the principality into two branches for the purpose of distribution of power among the brothers. These two brothers held their capitals at Elakurti and Pillalamarri (Sastry, 1990)

The early chiefs of this family, Danna Senani, Muchcha Senani, Kata Senani and Kata Chamupati served the Kakatiyas as *Senapatis* and *Dandanayakas* during the reign of the Kakatiya king Prola- II, and elevated their position gradually. Recherla Rudra Reddy was the most important chief in this family. His services to the Kakatiyas were remarkable (APGES no IV, 73).

II.4(I). Reddies of the Koppula Family (ca.1250-1310AD)

Koppula Reddy family ruled some areas in the districts of East Godavari and Visakhapatnam with the capital at Pithapuram. This family of Reddies owed their allegiance to the Kakatiyas. But when the Kakatiyas were losing their strength, the chiefs took advantage of the prevailing conditions and proclaimed independence. Koppuma Reddy, Pagamechchuganda, Kataya, Prolaya, Namaya and Prolaya Nayaka were the important kings in this line. In the year 1310 AD Prolaya of this family was defeated by Kataya Vema Reddy of the Reddi dynasty. Ultimately this

family accepted the supremacy of the Reddi kings of Kondavidu (Sastry, 1990).

II.4(m). The Yadavas(ca.1150-1270AD)

The Yadavas were one of the important feudatories of the Kakatiyas, who ruled over different branches of Addanki, Panugallu and Alavulapadu.

The Yadavas of Addanki ruled between ca 1150 - 1270 AD as the feudatories of the Kakatiyas Sarangadhara I is the earliest person in this dynasty. After Sarangadhara I, Madhava Deva I, Singala Deva, Sarangadhara II, Singadeva, Madhava Deva II and Vijaya Deva ruled this branch of the Yadavas. Among the chiefs of Addanki Yadavas, Sarangadhara II was the most powerful. The inscriptions found at Nagulappalpadu, Sarangapuram, Koppolu and Endluru prove his efficiency as a feudatory of the Kakatiya king Ganapati Deva (*NDI* vol I)

The Yadavas of Panugallu branch (ca.13th century AD) belong to the Sevana dynasty and Sarangapani Deva was the important chief in this line. Tikkana's *Nirvachanottara Ramayanam* refers to them as migrants from Maharashtra (Tikkana 1961).They ruled as the feudatories of Prataparudra of Kakatiya dynasty in the areas surrounded by Panugallu and Suryapet. Sarangapani Deva was the prominent among the chiefs of this branch. He is said to belong to the family of Devagiri Yadavas

The Yadavas of Alavulapadu served as the feudatories of the Cholas of Nellore and Valluraju was said to be the earliest person in this line. Since Manumasiddi, the king of Nellore asked Valluraju to pay tax on grazing,he

denied Manumasiddi's order and fought against him. Valluraju's sons Prolaraju and Peddiraju also participated in the war against Manumasiddi. They claimed themselves as the descendants of Lord Krishna (Sastry, B.N.1990)

The Yadavas of Erragaddapadu ruled as the feudatories of the Telugu Chodas of Nellore. Katamaraju was the important chief in this line. As Katamaraju rejected to pay the tax of *pullari* (tax on the pasture lands) the war occurred between Khadga Tikkana, the brother of Nellore Choda king Manumasiddi and Katamaraju. It is said that both Valluraju of Alavulapadu branch and Katamaraju combinedly fought against Manumasiddi and won the victory. The famous folktale of *Katamarajukatha* is a masterpiece of this historical event (Sastry, 1990)

II.4(n). Other Feudatories of the Kakatiyas (ca.1000-1323AD)

During the last days of the Kakatiyas the Velamas of Recherla and the Reddies of Kondavidu were loyal to the last rulers of this dynasty. Details about these two chiefs were discussed in the next chapter. Beside these two important feudatories of the Kakatiyas there were other minor chieftains in this period. They are the Nagas of Darsi branch who ruled over the areas of Nellore *Mandala* during 13th and 14th centuries AD. Since they held their capital at Darsi, which is situated in the present Prakasam district, they are called as Nagas of Darsi. Among the rulers of Darsi Annadeva is the most prominent and a great warrior. They owed allegiance to the Velanati Cholas, Telugu Cholas and the Kakatiyas in different stages. The inscription at Darsi (*NDI*. vol. I, no. 13) refer to them as the Kshatriyas of *Chandravamsa* and belonged to Harta *gotra*. They also claimed

themselves as the Lords of the (mythical regions) of Ayodhya and Bhogavathipura. They had the ferocious snake as their symbol (Yasodadevi, 1993)

II.5. Summary

In the light of the above discussion regarding the chiefs and chieftains during the period of our study in Andhra, one can say that the state formation in medieval Andhra is quite relevant to the model of 'segmentary state' proposed by Burton Stien (1980) In this 'state', the centre of authority is absolute but shades towards the periphery into mere ritual hegemony. In a 'segmentary state' the power structure is pyramidal but the latter is reduced to the image of the king, (Burton Stien, 1980)

All the major dynasties of the medieval period, i.e the Cholas, the Chalukya-Cholas and the Kakatiyas followed the policy of decentralization in which the feudatory chiefs played a very prominent role, but the central authority is practically absolute, and the *Samanthas* attained the ritual hegemony through holding some epithets and newly created genealogies by the Brahman priests. Though both the king and the *Samantha* seem to have enjoyed real political power, the *Samanthas* were restricted not to use some terms which indicate one's overlordship in their administrative affairs

monarchical form' attributes the campaigns and conquests of the kings as a cause to the rise and fall of the kingdoms. Defects in the administrative system, particularly military organizational pattern and war craft are considered as important factors. Further the frequent participation of the kings in the suppression of the local chiefs, the invasion of neighbourhood rulers and foreign attacks, especially the Muslim expansion, into Andhra desa were also thought to be responsible for the fall of the kingdom.

The Marxist school of thought represented the state as a 'decentralized power structure' in which a class of landed intermediaries existed between the king and the peasants. These landed intermediaries of the feudal lords who became strong by possessing land and power delegated to them by the kings, declared independence when the overlord became weak or immediately after the fall of the respective dynasties. Powerful feudatories declared independence and developed into sub-regional powers at the expense of neighbouring weak feudal lords. Satyanarayana (1982) mentions that the lack of military discipline and - up - to date armour in the Kakatiya forces, internal warfare among the feudal lords, the growth of *Nayankara* system, the Reddi- Velama conflict, excessive taxation, the rise of sub-regional kingdoms and the plunder by the Muslim chieftains were some of the main causes for the fall of the Kakatiyas and the rise of sub-regional powers in Andhra, in the post-Kakatiya period (Satyanarayana, 1982).

The American school of thought which views the nature of medieval South Indian state as 'multi-centered power structure' wherein different power centers are linked dually i.e., royally and ritually, opines that the sub-

regional powers are nothing than structural continuities of local powers, over either the patrimonial or prebendial regimes This school of thought believes that when the linkages between the 'king' and different 'power groups', either royally, or ritually, are lost, the whole structure will collapse, and the local power groups gradually develop into sub-regional powers either by curbing the power of the neighbouring states or shifting alliances frequently among themselves (Burton Sten,1980)

While the first two schools of thought stress on the shortcomings in the administration, external threats, and feudal warfares, the third school of thought takes into consideration the very nature of the 'state' and linkages between the kings and different power groups.

III. 3. Political, Socioal and Economic Factors

The history and culture of a land depends upon its geographical conditions, environmental factors and resource zones. In other words, the political, economic, social and behavioural changes of a region maintain a harmony with the eco-system In historical research, the role of geography is considered as a significant variable Scholars like David Ludden (1978), David Wash Brook (1976), Baker (1984) and Burton Stein (1980) recognized the significance of the ecological factors and their influence on the organizational patterns of the state, society and economic formations

The Telangana is a semi- arid region which needs appropriate technologies for economic sustenance and political organization for the respective states to maintain themselves (David Wash Brook,1978).Generally, in this semi-arid zone, the land holding has been big, because of non-availability of water, low fertility of soils and low rainfall

There was no guarantee for yield. In these circumstances the peasant may not be able to pay the taxes regularly to the state. It is even difficult for the state to extract dues directly from them. Under such circumstances, the chiefs attained political power primarily as the generals or royal officials and finally became independent or even sovereigns, when the authority in the center collapsed. Thus the political organization of these semi-arid zones developed into a 'multi centered power structure' or 'states within the state' (Ranjit Guha, 1982, 83, 84 & 85)

In the light of above discussion, it can be said that the Kakatiyas started their political career in the Telangana as generals under the Rastrakutas. In the struggle between the Rastrakutas and the Western Chalukyas the Kakatiyas supported the former and lost their holding with the success of the latter (*Inscriptions of Karimnagar District* no 24). Meanwhile the *Samantha* powers of the Western Chalukya's in the Telangana, which is a buffer zone between themselves and the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi, began to attain prominence. Among such powers, the Viriyalas, the Maliyalas, the Recherlas, the Kanduri Chodas, the Polavasas, the Natavadis and the Mudigonda Chalukyas deserve mention (Parabrahma Sastry, 1978). Generally, when the power at the peripheral zones shifted their alliances with the surrounding 'war groups', the latter tried to either carve their independent power or to curb the others at the periphery. To take care of the agrarian economy, the Kakatiyas encouraged tank irrigation in the hilly and plateau regions of the kingdom. They excavated several tanks in the Telangana and their example was followed by the royal personages (Table III 1)

Table- III.1
CONSTRUCTION OF IRRIGATION TANKS

Name of the King /Chief/Person	Details of the Tanks	Region
(1).Prola-I(Kakatiya)	Kesari Tatakam	Bayyaram,Motupalli
(2) Beta-II(Kakatiya)	Sivapuram,Settikeriya Kesan	Hanumakonda
3 .Prola-II Kakati a	Sarisamudram,Kamasamudram	Khariset
(4) Udayaditya(soldier of Prola-II	Udayaditya Samudram	Bekallu
5 Rudradeva Kakati a	Bi Tank	Vardhamanapuram
(6) Gangadhara	Dendode Tank	Karimnagar
Minister of Gana atideva		
(7) Ganapatideva(Kakatiya)	100 Small Tanks	Bank of Godavan,Nellore,Gana avaram,Vedasivana ara
8 Mailamba Kakati a	Tank	Avalu
(9) Mailamba(Kakatiya)	Maila Samudram	Palampet
(10) Sura(Viriyala)	Tank	Pillalamari
(11) Yeruka Sani(Recharla)	Yeruka Samudram,Loka Samudram	Bayyaram,Namalapadu
(12) Rudra(Recharla)	Tank	Utnoor
13 Loka Redd Recharla	Loka Samudram	Nauladu
14 Kati Redd Recharla	Nama Samudram	Bhoosur
(15) Gandaganapati(Malyala)	Kuppa Samudram,Ayyavolu Tatakam	Nagurava
(16) Aditya Kumara(Minister of Gana atideva	Tank	Mandagalya Thirtha

Inscriptions indicate that the *Samanthas* increased the area of cultivation in their dominions not only through the excavation and construction of tanks but also by digging wells, *Kuntas* (ponds) and canals. These *Samanthas* shared the surplus of production with the central power in the form of taxes and also in extending military help, thereby becoming influential economically and politically in their localities.

All the *Samanthas* in this region, under the *Nayankara* system, were stipulated with the condition of maintaining (compulsory) armies for the service of the king in times of war. The local dominant peasant warrior groups emerged as intra-sub-regional power groups as *Nayakas*, holding

the *Nayankaras*, and gradually developed into sub-regional powers, with the decline of the hegemony of their over lords. The *Nayakas* were the army chiefs under the Kakatiyas. The term '*Nayaka*' indicates their muscle power. Like the other officials in administration the kings used to provide the *Nayankara* lands to those army chiefs as a remuneration for their services. Traditionally the *Nayakas* should enjoy only the taxes collected on those particular *Nayankara* lands. They have no right to sell or to keep assured. But practically the *Nayakas* seem to have enjoyed every right on these *Nayankaras*. They even arranged the labourers to cultivate the waste lands and ultimately owned them (Satyanarayana,1982) It seems that during the later part of the Kakatiyas period i.e., in the times of Prataparudra, there was a gradual reduction of '*Rachabhumis*' which were held by the royal officials who acted as a check against the *Nayankara* holdings. It resulted in loosing the royal links with the king. Moreover, decrease in the number of *Agraharas* and *Devabhogas*, held by the Bramhanas and temples, which acted as buffer zones between different war units, contributed for the loss of ritual links. When the two links are loosened, there was much scope for the consolidation of sub-regional power groups by frequently shifting their alliances with the neighbouring units of power, thereby emerging as the sub-regional powers, immediately after the central power collapses.

Added to this, the frequent Muslim attacks during the times of Prataparudra drained away the wealth of the empire to Delhi. These Muslim attacks in the Telangana resulted in bankruptcy of the treasury and decreased the state economy. The country, economically as well as politically, became weak and hence disintegrated.

Coming to the social causes, promotion of tank irrigation went hand-in-hand with the temple building. Extensive agricultural activities resulted in the growth of dominant peasant elite, which apportioned the surplus and the incorporation of tribal and pastoral communities into the caste society due to the process of socio-political and economic interaction, on the other By the time of the Kakatiyas, the Boyas and the Pulinda tribes entered in the polity as generals, and in the society, as Sudras. It resulted in caste proliferation and multiplication of Sudra *Varna* (E/VOI XXXII, 239, Shervani, and Joshi, 1973). The increase in the domination of the Velamas in the administrative and economic structure created jealousies in the other Sudra castes such as the Reddies and Kammās. Tradition states that the Reddies withdrew their forces from the battle field while Prataparudra was engaged in war with Ulugh Khan, out of jealousy for the Velamas (Prabrahma Sastry, 1978).

In the Telangana, the local peasant warrior groups emerged gradually into sub-regional powers due to structural anomalies and external influences. The Velamas of Recherla *gotra*, the Reddies of Kondavidu and Rajahmahendravaram, the Musunuri chiefs of Warangal, the Korukonda and Manchikonda chiefs were the dominant peasant warriors. They became 'local power groups' during the Western Chalukyan and the Kakatiya times and emerged as the *Nayakas* and *Amaranayakas* in the later Kakatiya times. These 'local power groups' finally developed as the sub-regional powers in the post - Kakatiya times. As they strengthen their economic and muscle power, kings appointed them as army chiefs

and provided the *Nayankara* lands as a reward for their services. With these privileges they gradually evolved as major powers

III.4.The Recherla Velama Chiefs of Rachakonda and Devarakonda(ca.1323-1475 AD)

The Recherla chiefs of Rachakonda and Devarakonda played a prominent role in the history of Telugu country during 14th and 15th century AD. They rose immediately after the fall of the Kakatiyas in 1312 AD and occupied the present region of Telangana. Their political achievements can broadly be viewed in four phases.

In the first phase, the Recherla family, by being the dominant elite group of the contemporary times, extended their support to the ruling emperors, the Kakatiyas, as their subordinate powers, and thereby consolidated their authority in their dominions. The early members of the family served the early Kakatiya rulers as generals and participated in the campaigns on behalf of them.

According to *Velugotivarivamsavali*, Chevvi Reddy or Betala Nayaka is the founder of the family who had three sons, Dama, Prasaditya and Rudra Nayaka. Prasaditya can be identified with Prasaditya, the great general of Rudramba and Rudra Nayaka to Rudri Reddy the great grand father of Prasaditya Raudra Nayaka, the younger brother of Prasaditya was stated to have ruled over Visunuru. But with regard to Dama Nayaka, we have no accurate information that reveals his political career. *Velugotivarivamsavali* mentions that Dama acquired the titles of '*Khadga Nayaka*', '*Rayaganagovila*', '*Bhujabalabhima*' and '*Pratigandabhirava*' but

we have no historical evidence to support this issue (Venkata Ramanaiah, 1939).

Dama and Prasaditya were succeeded by their sons Vennama and Sabbi Nayaka respectively. Their rule extended over Rachakonda and Devarakonda regions. Erradacha and Nalladacha succeeded their fathers Vennama and Sabbi Nayakas respectively at their ancestral home Rachakonda and Devarakonda, which were subordinates to the Kakatiyas.

Erradacha actively participated in the campaigns of Prataparudra against Pandyas and won victory for him. Hence Prataparudra conferred on Erradacha the titles '*Kanchikavata Churakara*' (a person who won the crown of Kanchi), '*Panchapandya*' '*Dalavibhala*' (a person who defeated the forces of the Pandyas) and '*Pandyagaja Kesari*' (a person who acts like a lion towards the elephants of the Pandyas). Erradacha had three sons namely Singama Nayaka, Vennama II and Yachama Nayaka. Of these three, only Singama Nayaka I distinguished himself in the early decades of the 14th century.

The second phase started with the rule of Singama Nayaka I, which witnessed the fall of their masters, the Kakatiyas, and the rise of sub-regional powers, out of which they themselves emerged as a successful power group. Singama Nayaka (ca. 1325 – 1361 AD) and his brother ruled over Rachakonda and Amanagallu regions as the loyal subordinates of Prataparudra. They took active part in the wars waged on Telangana by the Muslims in the early decades of 14th century AD. After Prataparudra and the fall of the Warangal fort in ca. 1312 AD, the Telugu country by and

large disintegrated due to the political disturbances, which ultimately resulted in the outbreak of the movement of liberation started by the local chiefs of Andhra desa. All the chiefs of Telangana formed into a league, against the Muslim rule which was led by the Musunuri chief, Kapaya Nayaka (Somasekhara Sharma, 1945). In the liberation period, Singama Nayaka I supported Kapaya Nayaka, after the purpose is served, the league was broken. Singama Nayaka I was not able to bear the supremacy of Kapaya Nayaka.

In the process of extension of power, Singama Nayaka came into conflict with Kapaya Nayaka of Warangal and defeated him, probably in ca 1360 AD, at Pillalamarru (Venkata Ramanaiah, 1939). By the year 1359 AD Singama Nayaka extended his kingdom as far as the banks of the Krishna. Eleswaram on the northern bank of that river, and some of the forts in the doab region between the Krishna and Tungabhadra, fell into his hands.

Singama Nayaka defeated the Mastya chiefs at Jilugupalli and Magatala and also Chalukya – Kshatriya princes of lunar race at the fort of Jallipalli near Khammam region (Venkata Ramanaiah, 1939). It seems that Singama Nayaka was assassinated in his struggle with the Jallipalli Kshatriyas. He was succeeded by his two sons namely Anapota I (ca. 1361–1384 AD) and Mada I (ca 1361-81AD). They resolved to complete the process of the extension of kingdom of their father. In order to strengthen their position, Anapota I made Rachakonda fort impregnable by constructing fort walls, ramparts, tanks and wells. It can be attested by the epigraphic evidences of Rachakonda. Their rule witnessed the climax stage of the Recherla power in Andhra.

When the Recherla chiefs were engaged in coastal Andhra with the Reddies of Rajahmahendravaram, Bukkaraya II of Vijayanagara attacked the fort of Panugul in the district of Mahaboanagar and the fort of Orugallu, the strategic forts of the Recherlas (Shervani and Joshi, 1973 and Venkata Ramanaiah, 1939).

In the year ca. 1399 AD, Sarvagna Singa II was succeeded by his sons Anapota II (ca 1399-1425AD) and Rao Madanedu, and at the same time, Mada Nayaka I I succeeded his father Vedagiri-I of Devarakonda. Their reign witnessed a series of wars with the Bahamanis. They also seem to have followed the policy of extension of the kingdom within the jurisdiction of their ancestors, probably to extend their power beyond the limits of their kingdom. During this period they came into conflict with the Reddies of Rajahmahendravaram. Probably, the main reason for this conflict between them was the asylum given to Annadeva Choda, a chief in the lower Godavari belt, who was driven out of his dominions by the Reddies of Rajahmahendravaram (Shervani and Joshi, 1973).

The Recherla Velamas of Rachakonda and Devarakonda ruled the entire Telangana as successful sub-regional powers for one and a-half-century, playing an active role in the contemporary politics. Since the kingdom itself was situated amidst the Bahamanis of Gulbarga in the west, Rayas of Vijayanagara in the south and Reddies of Kondavidu in the east, the Velamas had to contend with the above kingdoms to stabilize as well as to extend their power. Hence, the Velamas often shifted their alliances with their neighbouring states and tried to gain in the troubled waters.

The Velamas were the 'local peasant warrior groups' who started their political career as the 'subordinate powers' under the Western Chalukyas. They continued to remain the same, as before, under the Kakatiyas, who became independent with the weakening of the central power of the Western Chalukyas by ca 1161AD. They rose to the status of 'sub-regional' power i.e., as the *Mandalikas* or *Nanyakara* holders, thereby gaining prominence in and around the regions where they held their sway. After the fall of the Kakatiya hegemony, owing to the socio-economic and political background of the contemporary period, they consolidated their position and emerged as the sub-regional powers, established a kingdom, and became the kings.

The Velamas and the Reddies emerged in the transitional period between the two great Hindu empires, the Kakatiyas and the Vijayanagaras as sub-regional powers. Different sub-regional powers i.e. the Velamas and the Reddies had to contend with one another to respond and stabilize their power, on the one hand among themselves and with neighbouring power of Bahamanis, on the other. In this critical position the sub-regional powers frequently shifted their alliances among themselves and also with the Muslims for their advantage. Kapaya Nayaka, who was selected as the head of the league formed against the Muslim forces, after achieving the goal tried to capture the neighbouring principalities of the league. He occupied the regions between the Krishna - Tungabhadra doab of Singama Nayaka I and further helped Hasangangu of Bhamani dynasty to establish his kingdom. But Allauddin Bahamanshah helped Anapota I in his struggle against Kapaya, while Bukkaraya occupied the forts of Panugal of the

Recherla chiefs. Devaraya extended his help to Anapota II when he was engaged in war with Ferozshah. Thus, there was no guaranteed alliances between the sub-regional powers and the foreign powers which gave an opportunity to local powers within the region such as Jallipalli Kshatriyas and Jilugupalli rulers, Sambeta Pinna and Saluva Tipparaja, to shift their alliances from one king to the other. This situation gave scope to the weakening of the political power within the structure. Politically these conditions led to the deterioration of the Velama kingdom to a small principality under the Vijayanagaras

During the Vijayanagara times, the Velamas of the Recherla *gotra* appears to have been appointed as *Amaranayakas* at various places within the empire. After the fall of the Vijayanagara empire, they became nominally independent in the patrimonial regions. They paid tax and tribute to their overlords, the Mughuls, the Asafjahis, and the British in the pre-colonial and colonial periods, respectively. The Velamas finally emerged as the 'little kings' in their small semi-patrimonial regions or little kingdoms.

III.5. The Musunuri Chiefs of Warangal (ca.1323-1368AD)

At the fall of the Kakatiyas, the chieftains of Andhra organized themselves into a confederacy under the leadership of Prolaya Nayaka of the Musunuri family to oust the conquerors. Starting from Rekapalli, Prolaya slowly threw away the foreign domination and brought back the coastal strip of Andhra country under his control. Both Prolaya Nayaka and his uncle's sons, Kapaya Nayaka of the Musunuri family played a prominent role in liberating coastal Andhra from the Muslim rule. Kapaya inherited

Sharma,1993) of Mummadi Nayaka dated Saka 1280, and the other, the Akkolapudi (*EI.VOI.XIV*, 83) grant of Singama Nayaka dated Saka 1290, and one or two inscriptions of this family were, so far, been discovered. With the help of the above sources, history of this family has to be reconstructed (*EI. Vol XIII*, 259).

The Korukonda epigraph and the Srirangam grant of Mummadi Nayaka indicate that with the death of Toyyeti Anavota, the region between Rajamahendravaram and the sea on either side of the Godavari was lost to the Musunuri chiefs. And Mummadi Nayaka was recognized as their representative. By virtue of his ties of relationship with Kapaya Nayaka, Mummadi Nayaka conquered most of this region afresh. He brought the kingdoms of Panarakona, Kuravata, Cengara and others, lying on either side of the Godavari, under his subjugation. This is an evidence that the kingdom of Mummadi Nayaka was contiguous, in the north, with the dominion of the Koppula chiefs. (Somasekhara Sharma,1993)

III.7.The Reddies of Kondavidu (ca. 1325-1424 AD)

The sources for reconstructing the history of the Kondavidu Reddies and other minor principalities come from inscriptions and literary and traditional accounts. Besides the copper-plate and stone inscriptions issued by the Reddi kings, other traditional accounts, literary texts provide a good deal of information about this period. Mention must be made of the Sanskrit work '*Kumaragirirajiyam*' a commentary on the three dramas of Kalidasa by a Kondavidu Reddi king, Kotaya Vema, and *Srungaradipika*, a

their overlords and grew very powerful. To simplify the Kakatiya kingdom was divided into many administrative units. *Niyoga* was one of the small administrative units. It seems there were 72 *niyogas* and they were called as *bahuttara niyogas*. The heads of these *niyogas* were named as *bahuttaraniyogadhipatis* (Rama Rao, 1952)

The family name of the Kondavidu branch of Reddies is Donti or Desati. Before founding their Principality these nobles were living in Nellore district. Contemporary Telugu literature mentions that Nellore, Duvvuru, Gandavaram and others in the present Nellore district were the original abodes of the members of the Panta clan (Somasekhara Sharma, 1993)

Though the Reddies were mentioned as Kshatriyas by some scholars, all their lithic and copper plate records, and the works of Srinadha, state that they belong to *Chathurdha kula* or the fourth caste. The Reddies regarded themselves as masters of south-eastern portion of the Kakatiya dominion extending from Srisailem to the east coast. They continued to administer this region following the pattern of Prataparudra, with Addanki on the river Kundiprabha or Gundlakamma as their capital (Somasekhara Sharma, 1993).

Prolaya Reddy was considered as the founder of this Kondavidu Reddi kingdom. He served Ambadeva, the Kayastha chief, as *Samantha* and *Dandanayaka*. After the death of Ambadeva, Prolaya Reddy joined the service of the Kakatiyas during the reign of Prataparudra (Sastry, 1990). He strengthened himself and participated in the liberation movement which started after the fall of the Kakatiyas. Prolaya Reddy was also one of the

prominent figures in the league which was formed to expell the Muslim rulers from the Andhra regions (Sastry,1990).

Among the five sons of Prolaya Reddy, Vema I was the most important. Along with Musunuri Prolaya Nayaka, he took a lead in organising the forces of the country. He built large number of forts. Tradition mentions that they were 84 forts, the important of them being Dharanikota, Chandavolu, Vinukonda, Kondavidu, Kondapalli and Bellamkonda. Vema's brothers and kinsmen served him loyally and assisted him in administration. Vema I ruled his dominion practically as an independent chief, though nominally acknowledging his allegiance to Prolaya Nayaka and his successor Kapaya Nayaka. However, this subordination did not last long. The Kaluvacheru grant of Anitalli dated ca 1423 AD says that Vema I began to rule the territory independently only after the death of his overlord, Kapaya Nayaka (Sastry,1990)

Vema –I conquered his neighbouring kings and Manne chiefs, who were probably the descendants of the local nobles, who held military camps under the Kakatias. Some of them were the chieftains of *Boya vihara desa*, country of the Boyas (Somasekhara Sharma,1993).Vema's authority extended far beyond Tripurantakam over the region including Srisaïlam and Ahobilam. He confronted the Vijayanagaras under the rule of Harihara I and his brothers consolidated their power in this region by fortifying Udayagiri and making it their important hold in the east. Udayagiri, lying on the southwestern flank of the Reddi kingdom, became a standing menace to the latter, threatening its existence. In this way both the Reddies of Kondavidu and the Rayas of Vijayanagara, ever since the beginning of their

Reddi kings of Kondavidu. He came to the throne by the choice of ministers and nobles. He regained the losses suffered by the kingdom, prior to his coronation, and enhanced its glory by his conquests of the eastern parts like Divi, Venginadu, Panara, Kona and other countries in the lower Godavari region. In his time, the power of Kondavidu reached its zenith. It extended from Srisailam to the sea, and from Kandukuru to Simhachalam (Somasekhara Sharma, 1993)

Anavema was succeeded by his nephew Kumaragiri Reddy, who was the son of Anapota. During the period between ca 1386-1390 AD, Kumaragiri fought successfully with the kings of the west, north and east, that is probably with Vijayanagara, Rachakonda and Kalinga, respectively. He faced many troubles from the attacks of the Vijayanagara kings. They conquered the region of Vinukonda and Srisailam. Recherla Velamas invaded Kalinga and captured the forts like Bendapudi (Somasekhara Sharma, 1993).

Kumaragiri Reddy appointed his brother – in- law, Kataya Vema, as his minister. Kataya Vema participated in the conquests on behalf of Kumaragiri Reddy. Anavota II, the son of Kumaragiri, assisted Kataya Vema in his conquests of Pampa, Molluru, Kimmuru, Bendapudi, Ramagiri, Jantharanadu and Oddadi. Allada Reddy, the resident of Rajahmahendravaram and his sons played an active role in these campaigns. They occupied the regions upto cuttack. Kumaragiri made the prince Anapota II, as his representative in the conquests of the east and made Rajahmahendravaram capital. Allada Reddy's family assisted Anapota II in the administration of Rajahmahendravaram principality. Kumaragiri appointed

some faithful persons to rule the other forts and *Simas* as his *Samanthas*. He made alliances of marriage with the Allada Reddy's family (Somasekhara Sharma,1993). During the time of these victories achieved by Kumaragiri Reddy, his son, Anavota II expired suddenly His death totally disturbed the political conditions of the kingdom, Kumaragiri Reddy made Rajahmahendravaram as an independent kingdom and handed it over to his brother-in-law Kataya Vema. But Pedakomati and his followers considered it as an opportunity for internal struggle. This internal struggle created many disturbances to the public life. In this situation, the feudatories also revolted against the king. Pedakomati Vema, the ruler of Kandukuru also revolted and occupied the territories up to Tenali. He united all the *Samanthas* against the king, Kumaragiri Reddy and removed him. Pedakomati Vema Reddy occupied the Kondavidu throne in 1402 AD (Somasekhara Sharma,1993)

After achieving the throne, Pedakomati Vema had to face Kataya Vema from Rajahmahendravaram. He successfully suppressed the conquests of Kataya from Rajahmahendravaram. With the frequent wars, the Kondavidu kingdom became weak. Though Pedakomati Vema Reddy was an efficient king he couldn't unite the Reddi kingdom due to many disturbances in the country (Somasekhara Sharma, 1993). Racha Vema is the last king in the Kondavidu line. He is the son of Pedakomati Vema Reddy. As Racha Vema was a weak successor, the Vijayanagara rulers took advantage and occupied the southern parts of the country. During the last days of Racha Vema's reign, Gajapatis occupied the northern parts of this kingdom. The Kondavidu Kaifiyat says that the Kondavidu kingdom ultimately fell in the hands of the Gajapatis in ca 1424 AD (Somasekhara Sharma,1993).

III. 8. The Reddi Kingdom of Rajahmahendravaram (ca.1390-1448 AD)

As we discussed previously regarding the formation of the Reddi kingdom of Rajahmahendravaram, some of the Reddi families of Pakanadu migrated and settled in the region of the Godavari valley, on the banks of the river Godavari, surrounded by Rajahmahendravaram. During the eastern campaigns of Anavota and Anavema, Kataya Reddy and Perumandi Reddy, were the important nobles who migrated to Rajahmahendravaram. They belong to the Duvvuri family. Both the Reddies of Kondavidu and Rajahmahendravaram contracted alliances of marriage to strengthen their friendship. Allada Reddy, the grandson of Perumandi was a powerful noble, who assisted the Kondavidu kings in the conquests of the western country (Sastry, 1998).

After the death of Anavota Reddy II, Kumaragiri Reddy's brother-in-law, Kataya Vema Reddy, was appointed as the ruler of the Rajahmahendravaram principality. Though Kataya improved the glory of the Reddi kingdom with his courage, ultimately, he caused a civil war. Kataya did not pay his homage to Pedakomati Vema Reddy, the successor of Kumaragiri Reddy at Kondavidu. While he was fighting with Pedakomati Vema, the Eruva chief Annadeva Choda, made an attempt to recover his lost kingdom with the support of the Recherla Velamas. But the Eastern Chalukyan king Viswesara, a subordinate of the Reddies suppressed their attempts. But Annadeva Choda again made an attempt for conquest and achieved success. It seems both Annadeva Choda and Pedakomati Vema Reddy of the Kondavidu branch joined together against Kataya Vema Reddy. The struggle between these two parties continued for a long time.

and Kataya lost his life in these battles. Kataya Vema Reddy was a great scholar and poet. He served his master and brother-in-law Kumaringi Reddy loyally, as a prime minister He named his commentary on Kalidasa's dramas *Kumaragiri Rajeeyam* after his scholar master (Sastry,1998).

After the death of Kataya Vema Reddy, Allada Reddy took the responsibility, on behalf of his son Kumaragiri II, as he is too young But Kumaragiri II also died prematurely Allada Reddy's reign faced all the disturbances in the country and he successfully faced the attacks of Annadeva from the Kondavidu dynasty (Sastry,1998). After the regency of Allada Reddy, civil war broke out in the Rajahmahendravaram principality for the throne. Ultimately Anavota III, the nephew of Allada Reddy, won and captured the throne of Rajahmahendravaram (Somasekhara Sharma,1993)

The last ruler of Rajahmahendravaram principality was Virabhadra Reddy. But his brother Vira Reddy ruled the kingdom as a de-facto ruler. During his rule the Gajapathis, the Vijayanagaras and the Padma Nayakas made invasions on Rajahmahendravaram. In these expeditions, the Vijayanagara king Devaraya II expelled the Gajapatis from Rajahmahendravaram and made the rulers of Rajahmahendravaram as his feudatories After the submission of Rajahmahendravaram to the Vijayanagaras, Rajahmahendravaram became the battlefield for the Vijayanagaras and the Gajapatis (Somasekhara Sharma,1993) *Velugotivarivamsavali* says that both Kapleswara of the Gajapati's and Recherla Lingamanedu of Devarakonda joined together against the

Vijayanagaras and the Reddies. Ultimately the Rajahmahendravaram principality fell into the hands of the Gajapatis in ca. 1448 AD (Venkata Ramanaiah, 1939).

III. 9. The Reddi Kingdom of Kandukuru (ca. 1324-1430AD)

The kingdom of Kandukuru was between the coastal region and the *Boyaviharadesa*, or the country of the Boya chieftains comprising the present taluks of Atmakur, Udayagiri and Kanigin in Nellore and Prakasam districts. This *Boyaviharadesa* was a low hilly and forested country. The Boya chieftains were supreme in their own territory. But in course of time they gradually went into the hands of other dominant kings of their neighbouring lands. For the first time, the Eastern Chalukyan king Gunaga Vijayaditya, sent his minister Pandaranga to these *Boya Kottams*, reduced them, and established their sway over their land in the 9th century AD. During the 11th and 12th centuries this region passed on into the hands of the Telugu Chodas of Nellore. During the period of political turmoil and foundation of the Reddi kingdom of Kondavidu, Prolaya Reddy, conquered these *Boya Kottams* with the help of his *Senapathi* Malla Reddy. Prolaya appointed Malla Reddy as his representative in the Boya country at Kandukuru. Later Malla Reddy and his successors ruled this principality independently for a century (Hanumantha Rao, 1971).

The kingdom of Kondavidu was strengthened during the reign of Srigiri, the grandson of Malla Reddy. It is viewed that the Bahamani Sultan Feroz Shah attacked Kandukuru during his conquests on Vijayanagara empire. But Srigiri's brother Malla Reddy successfully faced the invasion of Feroz Shah and expelled him from Kandukuru. After the death of the

Vijayanagara king Harihara II, the Reddies of Kandukuru took advantage of the chaotic conditions that prevailed in the country and occupied Pottapi and Pulugunadu of from the Vijayanagaras (Somasekhara Sharma,1993) Srigiri's nephew Komati Reddy succeeded him to the throne. Komati Reddy took advantage of the political conditions in the Kondavidu Reddi kingdom and occupied the coastal region of Andhra His inscriptions at Lepaka indicates that he moved upto Udayagiri and captured it But the authority of the Reddies of Kandukuru did not last long The Vijayanagara king Devaraya was benefitted by the civil war and gained the territory of Udayagiri. And the coastal region was occupied by Pedakomati Vema Reddy During the reign of Komati Reddy II the Kandukuru principality ultimately went into the sway of the Vijayanagaras and accepted the suzerainty of the Vijayanagaras (Hanumantha Rao,1971).

III.10.Summary

Though the political unity was not achieved in this period of the *Nayakas* and the Reddies in medieval Andhra, this period seems to be a continuation of the Kakatiya period As the northwestern parts of Andhra merged into the Bahmani kingdom, all the parts of the present Rayalasila region were included in the Vijayanagara empire Besides the Vijayanagara empire, the sub-regional powers of Musunuris at Warangal, Velamas of Devarakonda and Rachakonda, the Reddi kingdom at Kondavidu, Rajahmahedravararam and Kandukuru in Telangana and coastal Andhra were newly founded

CHAPTER IV

INTRA - SUB-REGIONAL POWERS IN LATE MEDIEVAL ANDHRA : SAMSTHANAMS AND OTHER MINOR PRINCIPALITIES

IV.1. Introduction

After the fall of the Vijayanagaras in Andhra, the feudal chieftainship appeared in the form of intra-sub-regional power structure. This power structure consists of Samsthanams, *Jagirs*, *Palems* and the Zamindaris. These new segments of power which emerged in the late medieval times (ca. 1600-1700 AD), played a crucial role in the political affairs of south India in general and Andhra in particular. These terms signify the nature of the 'state' that prevailed in the later medieval times. The great empires of the southern peninsula began to crumble in the late medieval period. On the ruins of Bahamani and the Vijayanagara empires arose several kingdoms. Within the provinces of kingdoms, numerous small principalities existed, enjoying virtual autonomy within their jurisdiction and acted as 'states within the state'. Samsthanam was one such state. However, owing to the limitation on their extent of power which was confined to relatively small portions of provinces, they can be termed as 'little kingdoms' whose rulers were little kings (Nicholas Dirks, 1982). The battle of Tallikota in AD 1565 gave a death blow to the ailing Vijayanagara power, and the Sultans of Golconda and Bijapur became the masters of Andhra. The whole Andhra region went under the overlordship of the Muslim rulers. The Hindu chieftains, hitherto serving the Vijayanagara kings from the Kakatiya period, were forced to accept the suzerainty of the Muslim rulers. They simply followed the administrative structure of the previous Hindu kings with minor variations. They distributed the administrative power among different levels

like the *Samanthas*, *Mandalikas*, *Nayakas* and *Zamindars* and issued land grants called *Jagirs* and *Inams* as remuneration for their services. Generally, these officials enjoy the rights to collect taxes from the peasants on these lands. This created tension between the Hindu chieftains and Muslim nobles. At the same time, the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb, who invaded the Bahamani kingdom, needed the help of local chiefs to suppress them. In order to demarcate *Jagirs* i.e., the fiefs of the Muslim nobles, the Hindu chieftains formed *Samsthanams*.

Thus the identity crisis of the Hindu chieftains paved the way for the formation of the *Samsthanams* in this region. This identity crisis is revealed through the construction of forts, palaces and temples of the little kings of these regions.

There are some variations in the nature of *Samsthanams* in Andhra *desa*. As many of these little kingdoms are very ancient, some *Samsthanams* disappeared and some other Estates formed with the permanent settlement made by the British in 1802. According to an observation there are 448 *Zamindaris* in Andhra in the year 1938 (Donappa, 1969).

IV.2. Samsthanams of the Nizam Dominion

The *Samsthanams* of the Telangana region were under the overlordship of the Nizam. These *Samsthanams* were formed during the reigns of Sultans of Bahamani, Golconda, Bijapur, Mughals and the Nizams. *Jataprolu*, *Amarachinta* (*Atmakur*), *Gopalpet*, *Wanaparthy*, *Gadwala* and *Papannapet* are the important among the *Samsthanams* of

the Nizam's dominion. All these Samsthanams were recognized as the feudatories of the Nizam and were paying the tribute. Some of them enjoyed full-fledged and virtual freedom, and even they issued currency of their own.

IV.2(a) . Jataprolu (ca.1590-1949AD)

This Samsthanam is situated on the left bank of the river Krishna which flows to the east of this Samsthanam. Nandikotkur taluk of the present Kurnool district is situated to the north of the Samsthanam, Nagar Kurnool, Devarakonda taluk and Gopalpet Samsthanam and to the west Wanaparthy Samsthanam are situated. There are 106 villages in this Samsthanam covering 357 square miles of the area.

The founder of this Samsthanam was said to be Chevvi Reddy alias Bethala Nayudu, a well-known mythical figure in the legends of the Velama chieftains. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Chevvi Reddy was known to have served under Ganapatideva, the magnificent ruler of the Kakatiya kingdom. After the fall of the Kakatiya rule in the south, the Hindu chiefs namely Kapaya Nayaka, Prolaya Nayaka of Musunuri family, Recherla Singamanedu, and Harihara and Bukka of the Sangama family of the Vijayanagara dynasty established their supremacy in this region. Anapotanayudu and Madanayudu, the sons of Recherla Singamanayudu, having extended their sway in the whole of the Telangana region, and in parts of Palnadu and Rayalasila region, divided the territory into two in the 1370's. Anapota Nayudu made Rachakonda as his headquarters, while Mada Nayudu had Devarakonda as his capital (Somasekhara Sharma, 1951).

The alliances and conflicts with the neighbouring kings of Bahamani kingdom and the Vijayanagara were constantly changing in order to acquire and sustain supremacy in the Telangana region. However, the divided Recharla kingdom could not remain in power for long. In the year 1422 AD, the Bahamani ruler Ahmad Shah subjugated the Recharla chiefs of Rachakonda in 1461 AD. Humayun Shah of the same dynasty conquered the territories of Recharla chiefs of Devarakonda (Venkata Ramanaiah, 1978).

The Recharla chiefs took active role in the south Indian politics. As long as the Vijayanagara rulers were strong in this region, they sought the support of the Vijayanagara rulers. Immediately after the disintegration of the Bahamani empire. In 1590 AD, Madanayudu of the Recharla chiefs, with the help of Araviti Ramaraya of Vijayanagara, acquired Jataprolu, Sugur, Kottakota and Gadwal (Venkata Ramanaiah, 1978). From then onwards the history of the Recharla family took a new turn. The family, from the generation of Kumara Mada Nayudu became prominent as 'Surabhi'. Thus the Samsthanam of Jataprolu came into existence from the times of Mada Nayudu immediately after the battle of Talikota.

IV.2(b). Amarachinta (Atmakur)(ca.1653-1687AD)

Amarachinta Samsthanam was known as Amarachinta-Atmakur Samsthanam. It is surrounded by the provinces of Wanaparthy Samsthanam in the east, Raichur provinces in the west, Nizam territories in the north and the river Krishna and the Gadwal Samsthanam in the south. It consists of 69 villages covering 161 sq miles (*Names of Jagirs and*

Samsthanams exercising judicial powers in H.E.H Nizam Dominions Falsi
1342.A.P. State Archives, 39-49).

The ancestor of Amarachinta Samsthanam was Gopal Reddy, the native of Chandragiri, in the Chittoor district Gona Ganna Reddy, one of the feudatories of the Kakatiyas, when he visited Tirupati, developed an acquaintance with Gopala Reddy and invited him to Vardhamana Puram, which is presently, called Vaddemanu For his talents, the Kakatiya rulers made him Nadagoud (an officer to look after the revenue matters of some villages in the Telangana region of thirty to forty villages in the Maktal Paragana gave him responsibility of extending irrigational facilities and collection of revenues. Gopala Reddy's sons, Peda Gopi Reddy and China Gopi Reddy, further established their supremacy in this region They were also bestowed with several other villages in Amarachinta, Vaddemanu, Utkur and Kadechur Paraganas by Gona Koti Reddy, the son of Gona Budha Reddy (Venkateswaracharyulu,1981). Their position had increased from Nadagoud to Sarnadagoud chief over Nadagouds. After the fall of the Kakatiyas in 1323 AD this region went into the hands of Bahamani Sultans, owing to their local power base, their position was recognized by the new overlords i.e., the Sultans of Bahamani kingdoms (Venkateswaracharyulu,1981) The Bahamani Sultans further reduced their power in recognition of their services such as suppressing the rebellious Zamindars in neighbouring provinces For such valour China Gopi Reddy acquired the revenue and military powers on Maktal, Utkur, Amarachinta, Vaddemanu and Kadachur in addition to Muzafarnagar (Tirumala Rao,1974).

After the battle of Tallikota, Amarachinta province fell under the influence of the Qutub Shahis of Golconda. Gopi Reddy II of this family, again helped the Qutub Shahi ruler and Sultan Abdullah in suppressing the rebels and acquired the *Jagirs* of Allipuram and Muchintala. He was also made the Mansabdar of 500 forts and 200 cavalry (Donappa, 1969)

During the times of Tirumala Rao, the native *Jagirs* and *Inams* belonging to Gopala Reddy's family of Amarachinta were divided between Saheb Reddy and Gopi Reddy, the sons of Tirumala Rao. Saheb Reddy became the chief of Kadachur, Maktal and Utkur Paraganas. Vaddemanu and Amarachinta were taken over by Gopi Reddy II (Krishna Swamy Mudiraj, 1934). But within a short period, Saheb Reddy lost his sway over all the Paraganas which were under his control. However, Gopi Reddy II continued his sway over the entire region. From his period onwards, the history of Amarachinta took a new turn. He became one of the most important Mansabdars in Golconda (Krishna Swamy Mudiraj, 1934)

From the times of Chinna Reddy, son of Sarva Reddy, this family became politically a strong local potentate and their services as Mansabdars gradually disappeared and they almost became independent little kings in this region. This new phase was marked by the construction of a fort in the year 1680 AD and Amarachinta became the capital of the Samsthanam (Tirumala Rao, 1974)

IV.2(c). Wanaparthy and Gopalpet (ca.1510-1722AD)

Wanaparthy Samsthanam is surrounded by the provinces of Nagar Kurnool taluk in the north, Gopalpet Samsthanam in the east, the river

shna in the south and Amarachinta Samsthanam in the west. It consists 158 villages covering an area of 60559 miles (*Names of the Jagirdars Samsthanams Exercising Judicial Powers in H.E.H Dominions, Falsi. 1342*) Wanaparthy Samsthanam was also known as Sugur Samsthanam and was also recorded in the Golconda records as Sugur Samsthanam The name Sugur Samsthanam was named after a village Sugur where the founder of this Samsthanam, Vira Krishna Reddy, made it as head quarters and built a fort (Krishna Swamy Mudiraj, 1934)

Gopalpet Samsthanam was an offshoot of Wanaparthy Samsthanam, Hence founders of both were one and the same (Narasimha Sastry, 1975). Gopalpet Samsthanam is surrounded by the provinces of Wanaparthy Samsthanam in the west, Nagar Kurnool provinces in the north, and Jataprolu Samsthanam in the south. It consists of 36 villages covering an area of 14459 miles (*Names of the Jagirs and Samsthanams Exercising Judicial Powers in H.E.H Dominions, Falsi. 1342*) Vira Krishna Reddy was said to be the founder of the Samsthanam Wanaparthy and Gopalpet Paraganas were known as Panuganti sima Panuganti sima became a bone of contention between the Vijayanagara and the Bahamani kings similar to that of doab region

Vira Krishna Reddy, a rich landlord of Janupally of the old Cuddapah district (present day village in the Nandyal taluk) migrated to Panugantsima by crossing the rivers Tungabhadra and Krishna One of the reasons for his migration was the political chaos and economic uncertainty of the Vijayanagara empire on the one hand, and on the other, Amaldars of Bijapur for extending their sway over the villages of Cuddapah region

enkata Sastry,1992) Under these circumstances, Vira Krishna Reddy with his kith and kin, migrated to Pathapalem, a village on the bank of the river Krishna in Panugantisima, in the year 1510 AD (Krishna Swamy Mudiraj, 1934). He, being an agriculturalist, within a short span of time as a share croper and tenent, acquired fame and wealth. His agricultural skills were recognized by both the local potentates of Jataprolu and the Rayas of Vijayanagara. He was given the position of village renter in the Panugantisima. Gradually he acquired more villages by keeping a standing army. His militia mostly consisted of the tribals such as Boyas and the forest people mentioned in the records as *Kiratas* and *Mannedars* (Venkata Sastry,1992). These tribals were well known for their valour and courage

Krishna Reddy by virtue of matrimonial relations, and with his own brothers support, started his career as a renter of the village (Venkata Sastry, 1992). He had three wives from the same locality who were the daughters of the local landlords, and begot six sons. Gradually he subjugated some of the tribal chiefs such as the Chenchus, and with some others he made friendly ties and thus extended his local power base. He also threatned some of the local renters and acquired their villages, and with some others, he made a deal and purchased their renter rights over the villages (Venkata Sastry,1992 and Krishna Swamy Mudiraj,1934) Thus Krishna Reddy, by the second decade of 16th century AD became a potential force in the region. In order to signify his power in the locality, he shifted his residence from Pathapally to Sugur where he built a fort (Venkata Sastry, 1992).

The Wanaparthy and Gopalpet Samsthanams first capital was in Sugur. It came to be known as Sugur Samsthanam. Both the Golconda Sultans and the Rayas of Vijayanagara Empire recognized the Sugur Samsthanam. In fact, Aliya Rama Rayalu gave a *sanad* for both Jataprolu and Sugur Samsthanadhisas and made a pact with them (Venkata Sastry,1992)

After Krishna Reddy, the Sugur Samsthanam revived as a single Samsthanam and lasted for about 200 years Ranga Reddy who belonged to the eighth generation from Krishna Reddy got divided it from his brother Venkata Reddy and established Gopalpet Samsthanam (Mohan Reddy, 1998).

IV.2(d). Gadwal (ca.1290-1949AD)

The Samsthanam of Gadwal is situated in the Raichur doab, surrounded by the provinces of the Nizam in the north i e , the river Krishna and Amarachinta Samsthanam, the territories of the Nawab of Kurnool in the south; Raichur provinces in the west and the river Krishna and Jataprolu Samsthanam in the east, and the region gradually merges into the 'Raichur Doab'. The Gadwal Samsthanam consisted of 173 villages covering 817 sq miles.

The ancestors of the Gadwal Samsthanam were born during the times of the Kakatiyas in the provinces of 'Raichur doab' i e., leej and Dharur.They started their career as the renters of villages called Nadagouds. The office of the Nadagoud seems to have its origin in the Kalyani Chalukyan period. The *Nadu* denotes a province and the goud

ans its head. His chief duty was to make the inhabitants of the village cultivate the lands. Thus, he is primarily a renter of the village, and also acts under the capacity of *Munsif*, in keeping the law and order in the village (Donappa, 1969). Gona Guddha Reddy, one of the feudatories of the Kakatiyas, seems to be the founder of this family. After the death of Buddha Reddy, his son Timma Reddy became the Nadagoud of Ileej and Dharur. During the times of Basi Reddy, the grandson of Buddha Reddy, the Sultans of Bijapur and Golconda attacked the doab region which was under the Rayas of Vijayanagara. This Basi Reddy deserted Ileej and Dharur and fled away to the Kurnool region which was on the right bank of the river Tungabhadra. Basi Reddy had seven sons and a daughter. While staying at Kurnool the *Khilladar* (keeper of the fort), a Muslim tried to molest the daughter of Basi Reddy. Then her brothers killed the *Khilladar* and his followers and again fled Ileej and Dharur provinces (*Gadwala Kaifiyat, Microfilm 13149, A.P State Archives*).

Yedi Reddy, the eldest of the seven sons of Basi Reddy, by serving under the Sultans of Bijapur acquired back their Nadagoudship along with Cuddapah, Gurrakonda, Gandikota and Penugonda. Ileej and Dharur territories were shared by the first four sons and the rest three sons gained the Nadagoudship of Cuddapah, Gurrakonda, Gandikota and Penugonda (*Gadwala Kaifiyat, Microfilm 13149, A P State Archives*). But these later three sons could not continue as Nadagouds for a long time in the above said regions, since the local power group was very strong. But the first four sons who shared Ileej and Dharur, by kinship ties became a strong local power group and extended their sway even over their neighbouring territories. Sons of Basi Reddy, Yedi Reddy, made his headquarter at

Dharur, Yella Reddy at Rajoli; Savvi Reddy at Mundladinna; and Rami Reddy at Boravilla (*Gadwala Kalfiyat, Microfilm, 13149.A.P State Archives*)

All these headquarters are in strategic points They all spread to north, south and east of leej proper. Later through matrimonial alliances, the other places of doab region also came under their influence

IV.3. Samsthanams of the Rayalasima

Samsthanams of Rayalasima were formed in a different manner, according to the *Amaranayankara* system of the Vijayanagara period, in which the *Amaranayakas* were to provide military assistance to their overlords whenever they needed The western Samsthanams of Venkatagir, Kalahasti, Karvetinagaram, Punganur and Mutyalapadu were formed according to this policy The Nawabs of Golconda and Arcot continued the old *Amaranayankara* system but the British abolished this policy and brought all the Samsthanams of Andhra to the stature of Zamindaris (Donappa, 1969).

IV.3(a). Karvetinagaram(ca.1719-1885AD)

Karvetinagaram is one of the ancient principalities among the Samsthanams of Rayalasima. Previously it was called as Tondamandalam or Tundiramandalam, surrounded by hillocks and thick forest At the southern and north western direction of this Samsthanam was northern Arcot Taluka, Changalpat in the east, and the Kalahasti Zamindari in the southeastern corner Narayana Vanam was the earliest capital of the Karvetinagaram Samsthanam Later, it was shifted to Karvetinagaram after the construction of this town by its ruler Venkata Perumallaraya (1719-1732AD). Karvetinagaram Samsthanam extended in north Arcot and

Chittoor mandalams and occupied an area of 349 sq.miles and consisted of 793 villages (Donappa,1969)

The rulers of Karvetinagaram belong to the Reddi community and claimed their descent from the Saluva dynasty of Vijayanagara. Makaraju and Bopparaju, the Kshatriya brothers from North Arcot, were employed in this Samsthanam. It is believed that when the last Reddi ruler of this Zamindari died without children, Makaraju occupied this principality. According to Srinivasachari, Makaraju was the feudatory of the Vijayanagara emperor Srirangaraya (1614-1617AD) and he did not submit himself before the overlordship of Srirangaraya (Srinivasachari,1985).

Makaraju and Bopparaju claimed themselves as the *Suryavamsa* Kshatriyas; and that Karikala Chola was the ancestor. Both these brothers expanded this Samsthanam. Initially they owed alliances with the Chandragiri rulers, one of the major powers in this region and obtained *sanads* from the Nawab of Karnataka, later. They made an agreement with the Nawab that they would provide assistance in warfare to the Nawab in need. These Samsthanadhisas defeated the petty kings of their surroundings, and incorporated their territories into this Samsthanam. Karvetinagaram and Kalahasti were continuously at war with each other. Gradually, this Samsthanam went into heavy debts and collapsed. Permalluraju and Kumaraswamyraju were the last rulers of this Samsthanam (Donappa,1969)

The rulers of Karvetinagaram were great patrons of arts. They patronised *Saptasanthanams*. These rulers of Karvetinagaram constructed

temples and religious shrines. And they even excavated lakes and wells for the drinking and irrigation purpose of the people. With their great patronage Karvetinagaram became *Kalanagaram*, the city of arts. The patronisation of *Astadiggajas* (Donappa, 1969) in the royal court was being continued from the Rayas of Vijayanagara. *Astadiggajas* were patronized during the period of Makaraju Venkata Perumallu Raju of Karvetinagaram. They are Rugvedi Venkata Narayana Kavi, Polipeddi Venkata Rayudu, Patamangalam Appaya Kavi, Sarangapani, Srisaila Kavi, Mundela Appayacharyulu, Rayabhattu Vira Raghava Kavi and Anantharaju Subbaraya Kavi (Donappa, 1969). They took the dedication of the literary works of various poets of the period.

IV.3(b). Kalahasti (ca.1745-1890AD)

Kalahasti is one of the ancient Samsthanams situated in Pottapinadu (Tondamandalam). The portion of this principality extended in the North Arcot, Changalpat and Nellore *mandalams*. It consisted of 813 villages and covered an area of 73659 sq miles. The river Suvarnamukhi flows throughout this Samsthanam. This Zamindari was divided in 1920, and a new Zamindari called Panuru was formed.

The rulers of this Samsthanam belong to the Velama community of Inagola *gotram*. They were employed as *Kavaligars* under the Vijayanagara administration. During the reign of Sri Krishnadevaraya, Kommineni Rama Nayudu, the ancestor of this family, was appointed as an official in this region, as a reward for his services to the Vijayanagaras. Chennappa was the prominent chief in this line. After the fall of the Vijayanagara empire, these chiefs made attacks on their neighbouring small estates and occupied

territories. They extended this Zamindari upto Chennapatnam in the east and Kanchipuram in the south, during the midst of the 17th century (Donappa, 1969).

Damerla Venkatadri Nayudu, the prominent chief in this region, served the court of Sri Krishnadevaraya of Vijayanagara as an army chief. When Krishnappa Nayaka, the Jingi ruler revolted against Sri Krishnadevaraya, Venkata Nayudu suppressed his revolts, imprisoned him and took charge of Jingi for some time. His brother Ayyappa ruled Poona Mallidesa, situated to the west of Chennapatnam (Donappa, 1969). After the rule of Damerla Venkatadri Nayudu, Damerla Timma Nayudu, Kumara Venkatappa, Timma Nayudu II, Venkatappa II, Muddu Venkatappa, Timma Nayudu III, Chennappa, Rama Nayudu, Seshachalapati, Chinna Venkatappa and Venkatalingam Nayudu ruled this Samsthanam.

Damerla family, the rulers of Kalahasti, made an agreement with the Nawabs of Arcot to send 5000 army during the emergency. The Mughal emperor Aurangzeb, appointed the ruler of Kalahasti, as the feudatory of the Nawab of Arcot and issued the *sanad* (Donappa, 1969). When the *Palegars* of the surrounding areas humiliated the daughter of the Arcot Nawab, the Nawab issued the *Pharmana* to take revenge on those *Palegars*. Both the Samsthanams of Kalahasti and Karvetinagaram joined together, defeated those *Palegars* and incorporated their territories into their principalities.

The Samsthanadhisas of Kalahasti had matrimonial relations with the Vijayanagara ruler Venkatapatiraya and the family of Venkatagiri.

tate. As both the Estates of Kalahasti and Karvetinagaram had a strong army, both these Estates struggled with each other constantly to attain supremacy over each other. Ultimately the British abolished their army, occupied Kalahasti and made an agreement with them in 1802 (Donappa,1969).

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The rulers of this principality such as Damerla Vengalanaidu, Venkatadri, Akkaraju were great patrons of art and letters. In those days, Kalahasti was popular not only as a Saivite centre but also as the centre for literature. Since the rulers of Kalahasti served the court of Vijayanagara, they acquired some of the features of the Vijayanagara rulers. These Kalahasti rulers not only patronised literature but also some of them created literature.



IV.3.(c). Banaganapalli (ca.1782-1949AD)

Banaganapalli is situated to the west of Koilakuntla taluk, and east of the Erramala Hills, about 800 feet above the mean sea level. The town is about 250 miles north-west of Chennai, fifty miles from Kurnool, and 30 miles from the Tadipatri railway station. The total area is about 275 sq.miles. The region is generally characterised by low hills and thorny thickets (*Manual of Kurnool District*.1992)

The early rulers of this Samsthanam were Persians, belonging to the sect of Sayyads. The earliest known Persian of this family, Mohammad Beg Khan, was the son of Tahir Ali Khan who belonged to the royal family of Persia. Towards the close of the 17th century, Mohammad Beg Khan, a relation of Mubaraz Khan, a *Vazir* of Aurangzeb, was appointed as

r (incharge of the fort) of Banaganapalli, and his brother, Fassal Ali Khan, as *Khilladar* at Chenchelimala, near Banaganapalli, was added to Banaganapalli, and the united charge was held by Mahammad Beg, till the collapse of the Mughal empire. Asaf-ja (Nizam-ut-malk), the victory of Hyderabad, issued sovereign powers, and Mohammad Beg Khan became a chieftain of the Nawab. In the course of his southern tour, Asafja recognized Mohammad Beg's title and granted the territory as a *Jagir*. Mohammad Beg died at Banaganapalli about 1758 AD (*Manual of Kurnool District*.1992)

Due to the immature death of Fassal Ali Khan, the son of Mohammad Beg, was succeeded by his grandson, Fassal Ali Khan, alias Gulli Nawab, a boy of ten years old. During his minority, his uncle Mohammad Beg Khan ruled for eight years. Gulli Nawab had no children He looked after his sister's sons as his own sons and bestowed Banaganapalli to Sayyad Hussain Ali Khan, and Chenchelimala to Sayyad Ali Khan He died at Banaganapalli in 1782 AD Hyder Ali of Mysore invaded Banaganapalli and reduced Gulli Nawab to submission (*Manual of Kurnool District* 1992).

Hussain Ali Khan, the eldest nephew of Gulli Nawab had four sons Gulam Ali Khan, Sayyed Mushtafa Ali Khan, Sayyed Ahmed AliKhan and Sayyed Fatte Ali Khan. These brothers, as they were minors, their uncle Asad Ali Khan managed the territory for them Asad Ali Khan was the most efficient person in this family When Tippu Sultan of Mysore issued summons to Asad Ali Khan to appear before him, he disobeyed the summons and he was expelled as the Khilladar Mahammad Yusuf was

appointed by Tippu Sultan as *Killadar* to Banaganapalli Asad Ali Khan defeated the forces of Sultan Qutub Shah In 1791 AD he accompanied the Nizam's forces to join the British army in their wars with Tippu Sultan Nizam bestowed on him the office of *Subedar* of Cuddapah for his services (*Manual of Kurnool District* 1992).

Asad Ali Khan had four sons and a daughter He gave his daughter to his nephew Mohammad Ali Khan, the *Jagirdar* of Banaganapalli, bestowed on him also the districts of Chenchimala, subject to the condition that he looks after his sons (*Manual of Kurnool District* 1992)

Mohammad Ali Khan was honoured with the title of Mansur-u-Daula and resided at Hyderabad. Mansur-u-Daula (Mohammad Ali Khan) had two sons, Sayyad Hussain Ali Khan and Sayyad Fatte Ali Khan He placed the former for the throne during his lifetime, in 1821, and died in 1824, after a reign of 32 years (Narasimha Sastry,1975)

IV.3(d).Venkatagiri (ca.1570-1949AD)

Venkatagiri Samsthanam is situated in the district of Nellore and occupied a vast area.The rulers of this Samsthanam belong to the Padma Nayakas of Recharla *gotram*, who served the court of Kakatiya Ganapatideva The ancestors of this Samsthanam were the inhabitants of Amanagallu and Pillalamarri in Nalgonda district Chevvi Reddy alias Betala Nayaka, was the first known person of this family (Somasekhara Sharma,1959). Historians viewed that the ancestors of the Samsthanam of Venkatagiri, Jataprolu, Bobbili, Nuzuvudu, Pithapuram and Narasaraopet are the same.

Chevi Reddy had three sons namely, Damma Nayudu, Prasaditya Nayudu and Rudra who acquired the position of army commanders by destroying the enemies of the Kakatiyas (*Venkatagiri Kaifiyat*, vol.399 Lr.No.36). Peda Rayudu, alias Niryana Rayappa Nayudu, of the 15th generation obtained Velgodu. His son Lingappa was the ancestor of the rulers of Bobbili. Kumara Timma Nayudu, the third son of Niryana Rayappa Nayudu was the ancestor of the Venkatagiri Samsthanam. Venkatagiri, son of Rayappa, was the first ruler of the Venkatagiri Samsthanam.

In the initial stage, the rulers of Venkatagiri were appointed as *Amaranayakas* with prebendial rights in the regions of Kurnool, Nellore and Chittoor by the Vijayanagara kings. They extended their cooperation to their overlords in expanding the empire. Among the chiefs of Venkatagiri, 15th and 20th generation of chiefs participated in the victorious conquests of the Vijayanagara kings like, Sri Krishnadevaraya, Achyutaraya, Sadasivaraya and Ramaraya. *Amaranayakas* were the officials appointed by the Vijayanagara kings to maintain the army at regional level. For this, they were rewarded with some areas to govern and to collect taxes on that particular division.

During the second stage of this Zamindari, the Vijayanagara empire collapsed. When the central authority disappeared, the chiefs of Venkatagiri became the Samsthanadhisas with hereditary rights. After the death of the Vijayanagara king Srirangaraya in 1600 AD, Kumara Yacha of the 21st generation took an active role and established this Samsthanam.

In the third stage, the Venkatagiri Samsthanadhisas made alliances with their contemporary powers like the Asafjahis of Golconda and paid tribute. They considered themselves as the *Mandalika* chiefs of the medieval times. *Mandalika* (feudatory) system was the specific feature of medieval Andhra. Most of the ruling dynasties of medieval Andhra owed allegiance to a certain major empire and in course of time, they became independent. Venkatagiri Samsthanam reached its zenith from the rule of Banagaru Yachama Nayudu of the 22nd generation to Kumara Yachama of the 25th generation. Kumara Yachama ruled from Darsi in Prakasam district to Chengalpat district in Tamilnadu Venkatagiri, Sagatur, Palur, Manuprolu, Valluru, Kocherlakota, Darsi, Podili and Marella taluks were under the control of Kumara Yacha (Donappa, 1969) In return, these Samsthanadhisas paid a rent of rupees four lakhs to the British and remained as the Zamindars with the act of permanent settlement in AD 1802.

IV.4. Samsthanams of Middle Andhra

Middle Andhra of the Madras presidency is situated on the coast of the Bay of Bengal. It is bounded by the Nizam's territory in the north and by the Rayalasila region in the west. It consisted of four districts namely Guntur, Krishna, East Godavari and West Godavari.

IV.4(a). Nuzuvudu(ca.1667-1949AD)

Nuzuvudu is one of the ancient Samsthanams in the Krishna district. It consisted of 231 villages and occupied an area of 269 sq.miles. Initially, it was a single unit, later, it was divided into six Estates called Venra Pragada, Vuyyuru, Mirjapuram, Kapileswarapuram, Telaprolu and Meduru.

The rulers of Nuzvidu principality also belong to the Velama community who served in the court of the Kakatiyas. Nuzvidu family belongs to Vipparla *gotra* which ruled the area between the Krishna and the Godavari rivers in Andhra. 'Meka' (goat) is their family name. Meka Basavanna is the first known person of this family. He was referred to as he as an employee in the court of Karikala Chola, as a *Sardar*. The descendants of Meka Basavanna held the title 'Cholarajya Pratistapanacharya' like him. It gives an impression that a chief of the Kakatiyas, Basavanna, might have assisted the Cholas of Nellore in re-installing them by the Kakatiyas (Donappa, 1969)

After the fall of the Kakatiyas, the Meka family migrated to the south. Basavanna was succeeded by Timmanna, Bapanna, Konappa, Venkatagiri and Appanna. Among the rulers of Nuzvidu, Appanna was the most prominent person, who extended this principality. By his courage and valour, Appanna acquired 18 *Paraganas*. He obtained favour of the Nawabs of Golconda. He held the titles of 'Tahawara-Jalalpat', 'Dastagaha', 'Rajabahadur' and 'Rao'. He became popular as Appa Rao. From this period all the rulers of Nuzvidu had the title of Appa Rao as a suffix to their names (Donappa, 1969)

Appa Rao had a son called Venkatadri Appa Rao. Venkatadri Appa Rao's two sons i.e., Narasimha Appa Rao and Aubbana extended the strength of Nuzvidu by adding some *Paraganas* (a division of territory) to this Samsthanam. Narasimha Appa Rao had the title of *Thin Hazar Mansabdar* (*Mansabdar* of 3000). As these two brothers had no children,

e Nuzuvidu principality went into the hands of their distant relatives and they also bore the same suffix and Appa Rao, Venkatadri Appa Rao, being the prominent ruler among them (Donappa, 1969).

Rangaiah Appa Rao, the last ruler of this Samsthanam, bore the title Raju (the king) He was in charge of the Uyyuru Estate and held the position of minister of cultural affairs in Andhra Pradesh assembly (*Manual of Krishna District*.1992) The Zamindars of Nuzuvidu, who rose by their fighting quality in the times of turmoil were subjugated by the British

IV.4(b). Amaravati (ca.1670-1849AD)

Vasireddi family of Amaravati, belonging to the Kamma caste, had matrimonial alliance with the Yarlagadda Zamindars of Challapalli (Devakota), in the present Krishna district They occupied a very prominent position in the present Guntur district for more than a century, but their extensive possession have now passed into the other hands At present, the only member of the family who holds land on Zamindari tenure is a representative of a junior branch of Raja Vasi Reddy Bhavani Mukteswara Prasada Nayudu of Mukhtala.

Vasi Reddi Virappa Nayudu was the ancestor of this family He obtained a *Sanad*, a certificate issued by the government for appointing him as the Deshmukh (an officer of a *Paragana* to look after the revenue collection) of *Paraganas* of Nandigama in 1670 AD. His sons Ragavaiah, Chandra Ramaiah and Chandramouli divided this Samsthanam into three Estates and lived separately. Magallu, Gaghavapuram and Chintalapadu were distributed among the three brothers (*Manual of Krishna*

ct.1992). These three divisions were the descendents of the offsprings of the three brothers and this Vasi Reddi China Padmanabhudu, the only son of Raghavaiah of Magallu, out stepped his cousins in the race of power, obtaining the *Paraganas* of Penuganchiprole and Betavole in the Kondapalli Circar (*Manual of Krishna District.1992*).

China Padmanabhudu had six sons, of whom the third son, Naganna stands prominently. He was prominent over all the other possessions of the Vasi Reddi family

IV.4(c). Challapalli (Devarakota) (ca.1576-1949AD)

Challapalli is one of the Samsthanams situated in the Divi taluk of the Krishna district. In the western direction, it is bordered by the river Krishna and Gannavaram, and Gudivada taluk in the northern direction. It consists of 66 villages, 32 Palems and 20 Agrahas.

The rulers of Challapalli Samsthanam were of Kamma caste of Recherla *gotram*. Yarlagadda Gurvinidu (1578-1596AD) was the first known person of the family. His successor Tirmala Nayudu was the feudatory chief of the Golconda Nawab Abdullah Kutub Shah Ankinidu (1710-1722 AD) was the most prominent person in this family, he was the feudatory of Nizam Nawab I (Donappa,1969).

Kodanda Ramanna who belonged to the sixth generation in this family was the most efficient person. He earned Guduru, Akulamannakula and six other small villages in Divi Sima from the French. He constructed many temples and villages and patronized the poets and scholars like

uktevi Perumallaiah. Kodanda Ramanna's adopted son Ankinidu got the title of 'Srinath', from the Piswa of Pune, 'Raju', 'Bahadoor' 'Jabdatul' and 'Akram' from the Nawabs of Nizam. All the descendants of Ankinidu bore these titles later. Ankinidu constructed the fort at Challapalli (Donappa,1969).

IV.4(d). Pithapuram (ca.1612-1949AD)

Pithapuram is a united territory of Kakinada, Prolunadu and Selapaka in the *Suba* of Rajamahendravaram. Its capital was Pithapuram (previously it was Pistapuram in the inscriptions). The rulers of Pithapuram belonged to the Velama community of Chitnividu family, Chevi Reddy, the ancestor of the Padma Nayakas of Devarakonda and Rachakonda, seems to be the ancestors of this Pithapuram family. Singama Nayudu of the Rachel *gotram* seems to be the first known person of the family. Singama Nayudu and his family were killed in the war with Madhava Varma of the Vijayanagaram Samsthanam. During this period Singama Nayudu's wife was pregnant and she gave birth to Anapotanidu in Vinjamuri Narasanna's shelter. Anapota who was born after the death of his father Singamanidu, defeated Madhava Varma and re-captured his parental kingdom (Donappa,1969).

The ancestors of Pithapuram rulers were the representatives of Golconda Nawabs of Rajamahendravaram. Chitneni Rama Nayani was one of the earliest representatives of Golconda Nawabs of Rajamahendravaram. As he had no children, his nephew Tenugu Rayanigaru (1612-1672AD) accessed the throne of Pithapuram. He

belonged to the 12th generation of this line. He was succeeded by Krishna Rao. After his death, his brother Rangasai took the responsibility of the Samsthanam. He committed suicide and his elder brother Chandrarayana garu obtained Kakinada, Prolunadu and Selapaka as lease from the viceroy of Mughals. Chandrarayana garu made Pithapuram his capital. His descendants were efficient. But the Mughal Viceroy made an attack on Pithapuram and kept some prominent persons under imprisonment in 1748 AD (Donappa, 1969)

Ananda Gajapati of Vijayanagara Samsthanam made an invasion on Pithapuram during the reign of Kumara Mahipatraya. Venkata Niladriyani (1778-1828AD) was recognized as the ruler of Pithapuram by the high status during the reign of Raja Venkata Mahipati Gangadhara Rama Rao Bahadoor (1844-1890AD), the grandson of Venkata Niladri. His son Surya Rao Bahadoor came to power in 1906. He bore the title of *Maharaja* in 1924. He maintained matrimonial relations with the Zamindars of Nuzvidu, Palivella, Totapalli, Anantavaram and the Kshatriyas of Assam. This Samsthanam was incorporated in the state of Andhra during the reign of Surya Rao Bahadoor's sons with the Zamindari abolishment act in 1949 (Donappa, 1969)

IV.4(e). Kapileswarapuram (ca.1818-1949AD)

Kapileswarapuram Samsthanam is situated in the East Godavari district near by Draksharamam. It consisted of Kedari Lanka, Narayana Lanka, Bollanka, Vadapalem and Vidhivari Lanka villages; and the Kesanakurru Estate was also added in this Zamindari.

The rulers of Kapileswarapuram belonged to the Sudras of Kamma sub-division. Bulusu is their family name. They held the title of 'Jabdu Akram'. Naginidu I Bikkinidu, and Immadi Naginidu were the ancestors of this family. Bulusu Peda Sarva Rayudu, the son of Bachaiah bought this principality from a Uppalapati Ramaraju in 1818 AD

Peda Sarva Rayudu built the temple and excavated the lakes. He was succeeded by his sons Buchi Krishnamraju and Pattabhi Ramaiah. Pattabhi Ramaiah ruled upto 1866 AD. He was succeeded by his brother's son, Buchi Sarvarayudu, who died at a young age. After his death, his wife Rama Lakshamma came to the Zamindari and adopted a child by name Pattabhi Ramaiah. Pattabhi Ramaiah ruled the Samsthana from 1870-1896 AD. At the time of the death of Pattabhi Ramaiah, his two sons were minors. Again Rama Lakshamma took the responsibility of the Zamindari on behalf of her grandson. After her death in 1906 her grandson Buchi Sarva Rayudu accessed the throne. Sarva Rayudu extended the Samsthanams by purchasing some villages. Buchi Sarva Rayudu and his sons became more prominent. He was elected as the president of the District Board of the East Godavari District. The British government honoured him with the title of 'Rao Bahadoor' in 1945. His sons Prabhakar Pattabhi Rao, Venkata Chalapathi Rao and Satyanarayana Rao also held prominent positions in the Government of Madras presidency and Andhra state (Donappa, 1969).

IV.5. Samsthanams of Northern Circars

Northern Circars lie on the east coast of the Madras presidency. On the east, they are bounded by the Bay of Bengal, and on the south by

coastal districts of middle Andhra, and on the north by the state of Orissa. Northern Circars consist of three districts, namely, Visakhapatnam, Vijayanagaram and Srikakulam. Geographically, they form an open strip of land facing the shore and of two large areas of hilly country facing north and west of these Circars. These hills are mostly covered with jungle and inhabited by the tribal communities, whose mainstay of economy is shifting cultivation.

IV.5(a). Bobbili (ca.1652-1949AD)

This Samsthanam is located in the present Srikakulam district and is surrounded by Gajapati Nagaram, Chicocole, Chipurupalli, Parvatipuram and Saluru on the bank of the river Nagavali in the Eastern Ghats. It is situated at a distance of 70 km to Visakhapatnam in the south eastern corner. Bobbili is its capital. The name 'Bobbili' is derived from the name of the Chicocole Nawab i.e. 'Sher' Mahammad Khan, who gave this Estate to the rulers of Bobbili. The Hindi/Urdu term 'Sher' means tiger. In Telugu it is called as '*Pedda puli*' or '*Bebbuli*', and thus the name of this Samsthanam came to be known as as *Bobbili*. This Samsthanam occupied an area of 920 sq.miles and consisted of 202 *Zirayiti* villages, 70 *Agrahas*, and *Mokshasa* villages. The rivers Nagavali, Vegavati and Suvarnamukhi flow in this Samsthanam (Donappa,1969). The rulers of Bobbili Samsthanam belonged to the Velama community of Recherla *gotram*. As we discussed above Peda Rayudu, alias Nirvana Rayappa Nayudu is the first known person in this line. They had matrimonial and friendly relations with the Inuganti, Chintapatla, Chelikani, Tandra and Damerla families. Nirvana Rayappa Nayudu acquired this principality from the Mughals through the Chicocole Nawab Sher Mohammad Khan, by assisting him in his conquest

on Kalinga in 1652 AD. He constructed the fort in the name of his overlord Sher Mohammad Khan.

Lingappa was the son and successor of Rajendrappa. He bore the title 'Rangaraya', by protecting the son of Sher Mohammad Khan at Rangavaka *Pituri*. Sher Mohammad Khan rewarded him with the grant of 12 villages. All the members of Bobbili family had the suffix 'Ranga Rao' from Lingappa's period (Donappa, 1969)

As Lingappa had no children he adopted Vengala Rao, son of Madhava Raya of the Venkatagiri Samsthanam. The conquest of Bobbili (1757 AD) by the French commander Bussy was an important event in the history of this Samsthanam. While the Zamindars in the Northern Circars rose in rebellion against the foreign rule, Vijayanagara Samsthanadhisa Peda Vijayarama Raju assisted Bussy in suppressing the native Zamindars. The rivalry between the rulers of Bobbili and Vijayanagaram started from the establishment of these two Estates. The last ruler of Bobbili was Sir Sweta Chalapati Ramakrishna Ranga Rao Bahadoor, who accessed the throne in 1920 and became the leader of Justice Party, and also acted as the Chief Minister of the Madras presidency between 1932-37 (*Manual of Vizagapatnam District* 1994)

IV.5(b). Vijayanagaram (ca.1540-1949AD)

Madhava Varma was the ancestor of the Vijayanagaram family. All the Kshatriya rulers of the Northern Circars treated the *Maharaja* of Vijayanagaram as their head. Madhava Varma belonged to the Kshatriya *varna*, who migrated to the Telangana during the 514th year of the Sali

Vahana era. The chiefs of the Vijayanagaram family involved themselves in the service of Ibrahim Qutub Shah of the Qutub Shahi dynasty of Golconda and became Sardars of some consideration of the court of Golconda. The best known one is Pusapati Madhava Varma, who took his name from the village of Pusapadu in the Kondapalli Circar, where he resided. But a Telugu poet derives it from the Sanskrit '*Pushavat*' belonging to the line of the sun (*Pusham*), the *Suryavamsa*, as distinguished from the *Chandravamsa* or lunar race of Rajaputs (*Manual of Vizagapatnam District* 1994).

Pusapati Madhava Varma was the first member of this family who formed the portion of Chicocole Circar in AD1652 AD. Madhava Varma rented Kumile and Bhogapuram from Sher Mohammad Khan, the founder of Chicocole. Madhava Varma was succeeded by his son Sitarama Chandra. Sitarama Chandra obtained the lease of 10 additional taluks and improved the strength of the principality. Potnuru was his residence (*Manual of Vizagapatnam District* 1994).

Vijayarama Raju, the successor of Sitarama Chandra, shifted his residence from Potnuru and established the town of Vijayanagaram. Narayana Babu, the seccessor of Vijayarama Raju ran in to debts and agreed to mortgage his Zamindari to the government. The British made permanent settlement with him in 1802AD. At the time of permanent settlement, the Vijayanagaram Zamindari consisted of 24 *Paraganas* or *Hundas*, comprising 834 *Zirayiti* villages, 73 *Mokhasas* and 250 *Agraharas* (*A Manual of Vizagapatnam District* 1994).

IV.5(c). Andra (ca.1700-1949AD)

Andra is one of the ancient tribal Zamindaris situated in the Srikakulam *mandalam* in the Gajapati's dominion. Garaya Dora of the Konda Dora tribe was the founder of this family. He was appointed as the incharge of Andra taluk by Viswambhara Deo of Jeypore, with the title Pratapa Rao. These Doras allied themselves to Vijayanagaram family. Afterwards, this Andra Principality lies at the foot of the hills and is environed by the countries of the Pusapatis. After Garaya Dora Ramanna Dora, Rammurti Dora, Garaya Dora II, Rama Pratapa Rao Bahadoor (1910-1955), and Garaya Pratapa Bahadoor ruled this principality. They had relationship with the rulers of Merangi family. Andra is their residence, they claimed themselves as Chandravamsa Kshatriyas of Bharadwaja *gotram*. At the time of a permanent settlement, Andra comprised of 33 villages, 9 *Zirayitis*, 22 *Mokhasas* and some *Agraharas* (Donappa, 1969).

IV.5(d). Chemudu (ca.1794-1949AD)

Chemudu is one of the tribal Zamindaris in the Kalinga region situated in the Srikakulam Mandal to the north of Visakhapatnam. The *Zirayiti* villages of Antivalasa, Pandiri, Mamidi, Valasa, Puligummi, Bandaluppi, Baghavalasa, Lachirajapeta and Virabhadrapuram *Agraharas* of Ingilapalli and Lakshmpuram, *Mokhasas* of Mucherla and Velagavalasa are included in this Samsthanam (*Manual of Vizagapatnam District* 1994). This Zamindari was a fief of the Rayas of Jeypore, along with the other hill Zamindaris the Chemudu principality also fell under Vijayanagaram in the time of Pusapati Sitaramaraju. Somaraju was the first representative of the line. He was succeeded by his son Jagannadh Raju who transferred this Estate to Lavati Narasaiah and Lavati Bhagavanulu in 1835. Jagannadh

Raju was succeeded by his son Somaraju II. When Somaraju's son Kasipati Raju was very young and a minor, Somaraju expired in 1855, and the Estate was placed under the commission of the Northern Circars. This family belonged to the 'Konda Raju' caste and their ancient title was 'Rana Simha' or lion in battle (Donappa,1969). Ultimately the Chemudu principality was occupied by the Pusapapati's of the Vijayanagaram Samsthanam under the rule of Sitaramaraju.

IV.5(e). Merangi (ca.1795-1949AD)

Megangi is situated in the Parvatipuram taluk of Srikakulam district, at a distance of nine miles to Parvatipuram. It is also one of the ancient tribal Zamindaris. It comprised of 39 *Zirayiti* villages and Agraharas. Satrucharla is the hereditary title of this family. This Zamindari was founded between 1672-1676 AD, during the reign of Viswambhara Deo of Jeypore. Dharma Raju Dora was the earliest person of this family. When Dharma Raju Dora tried to be independent from the Jeypore king Raghunadha Krishna Deo, he was suppressed by the king of Jeypore. Dharma Raju Dora escaped to Parlakimidi. With the conspiracy of both the rulers of Jeypore and Parlakimidi, Dharma Raju was killed. Jagannadha Raju, the faithful servant of both Jeypore and Parlakimidi was installed in this Estate of Merangi. Jagannadha Raju married the wife of Dharma Raju Dora and got the title of 'Satrucherla' (a person who imprisons the enemy) (Donappa,1969).

Kurupam is another tribal Zamindari situated close to the Megangi Estate. While these two Estates were quarrelling among themselves for domination, the Pusapatis of Vijayanagaram took advantage and arranged

these two principalities into Vijayanagaram. But they were released later. After releasing this principality by the owners of Vijayanagaram, Ganguraju of this Konda Dora family, accessed the throne of Megangi. After the rule of Gangiraju, Jagannadharaju, Prataparudraraju, Balagangadhara and Narayana Raju ruled this principality. They had alliances with the other hill Zamindaris like Andra and Kurupum. Though the Merangi's mother tongue was Oriya, they learned Telugu language and patronized the Telugu literature (Donappa, 1969)

IV.5(f). Kurupam (ca.1794-1949AD)

Kurupum is one of the tribal Zamindaris situated in Srikakulam district at a distance of ten miles from Parvatipuram. It comprised of 200 villages, 48 *Zirayiti* villages, 10 *Agraharas* and 8 *Mokhasas*. It was established by the kings of Jeypore. Previously, it was a part of the Jeypore Samsthanam and was called Nandapuram.

The rulers of Kurupam belonged to Silavamsam, a sub-sect of *Chandravamsam*. They belonged to the Konda Raju caste and Odhra *Jati*, and Vairicherla is their family name. Sanyasi Dora was the earliest person of the family. He was mentioned as 'Agnivirudu' (hero of the fire), and Paidi Maramma is their family deity (Donappa, 1969). After the rule of Agnivirudu, Pedu Sanyasi Raju, Sivarama Raju, Virabhadra Raju, Narasimha, Suryanarayana Raju and Narayana Gajapati Raju ruled as chiefs of this Estate.

IV.6. Summary

Late medieval Andhra witnessed the emergence of intra- sub-regional principalities. The identity crisis among the small chiefs resulted in the formation of these Samsthanams and Zamindaris after the fall of the great empire of Vijayanagara. Each principality had its own identity and maintained its own polity, and administration. In spite of certain variations, these Samsthanams and Zamindaris continued the policies of the great empires such as the Kakatiyas and the Vijayanagaras. Most of the Samsthanadhisas belonged to the Sudra communities such as Kamma, Reddi and Velama. Interestingly, the Samsthanams of the Northern Circars belonged to the tribal communities. Particularly the rulers of Andra, Kurupam and Merangi belonged to the (which are now labeled as) Scheduled tribes i.e. Konda Dora community. Even then, all the above Sudra and tribal Samsthanadhisas maintained the ritual sovereignty and claimed themselves as the Kshatriyas of *Suryavamsa* and *Chandravamsa*.

CHAPTER V

ANTECEDENTS OF CASTE SYSTEM IN ANDHRA SOCIETY

V. 1. Introduction

To understand the social background of the feudal chiefs in Andhra, it is necessary to discuss the antecedents and evolution of caste system in India, and Andhra in particular.

Caste system is India's peculiar feature. Generally, terms like *Varna*, *Jati* and *Kula* are used as synonyms for the caste though each term has a separate meaning. *Varna* means the colour which is often confused with caste though it is far from having the same meaning. There are four *Varnas* and each is associated with a particular colour i.e. fair with the Brahman, red with the Kshatriya, yellow with the Vaisya and black with the Sudra (Hutton, 1980). It is possible that this colour distinction was associated with race, but not so during the present times. The second term *Jati* denotes the race, and birth determines one's *Jati*. The population of India is a mixture of Aryans, Dravidians, Mongolian and several others. All these stocks of people came to India, from various directions and with various cultures, centuries ago, when they were in a tribal state (Ambedkar, 1979). The third term *Kula* means 'group of people'. Thus, all these factors are involved in the concept of caste.

V.2. Definitions of the Term Caste

'Caste' is a confusing word, and in different contexts, it was used to convey different meanings. The word 'caste' comes from the Portuguese

word 'casta' signifying breed, race or kind. The first use of this word, in a restricted sense, of what we now understand by caste, seems to date from 1563 AD.

Senart, a French anthropologist (1930) defined caste as a close corporation (in theory) which is hereditary, equipped with certain traditional and independent organization, including a chief and council, meeting on occasions in assemblies of more or less plenary authorities and joining together at certain festivals, bound together by common occupation, marriage rules, food habits, ceremonial pollution, jurisdiction, and the authority of the community in certain practices (Senart,1930)

Nesfield (1885) defined caste as a class or community which discovers any connection with any other class, can neither inter-marry nor eat nor drink with any but a person of their own community (Nesfield,1885)

According to Sir Risely "a caste may be defined as a collection of families or groups of families bearing a common name which usually denotes or associated with specific occupation, claiming a common descent from a mythical ancestor, human or divine, professing to follow the same professional callings and are regarded by those who are competent to give an opinion as forming a single homogenous community" (Risely,1908)

Ketkar defined caste as "a social group having two characteristics : (a) membership is confined to those who are born of members forbidden by an inexorable social law to marry outside the group" (Ketkar,1990) .

V.3. Religious Literature on Caste

There is a vast body of religious literature than secular literature on caste. People consider the religious literature more sacred and that it is written by divine bodies. All religious texts like the *Vedas*, the *Upanishads* and the *Puranams* provide information about the traditional caste system

The earliest information of caste can be seen in the *Purushasukta* of the *Rigveda*. In this part caste is mentioned as originated from various organs of the creator Brahma or the pre-embryonic body. The Brahman was born from the head and the Sudras from the legs. *Brahmanasya mukha maseeth bahoo rajanya krutah uruthadesya Yadwasyaha padabhogam Sudro ajayata* (Griffith, 1987). This is a symbolic representation of the rank and functions of the four *Varnas*. In the cultural body image, the head, the arms, the thighs and the feet are marked in a descending order and so are the traditional functions. Acquiring and disseminating knowledge and performing sacrifices are the functions of the Brahman who enjoyed the highest position. Next in rank were defence and war, administration and government which are the functions assigned to the Kshatriyas. Third in rank were trade, commerce and agriculture, the work of the Vaisyas. Serving others was the fourth rank, through crafts and labour, are the work of the Sudras (Dube, 1992).

Evidence regarding the Chandala occurs in the post-Vedic phase. Chandala was referred to as one of the indigenous tribes known to the Aryans and living on the periphery of Aryan settlements (Vivekanand Jha, 1986-87). Another social group which was not included in the

Chaturvarnas were the aboriginal tribes. In ancient Sanskrit Literature, various tribal groups are named as *Kiratas*, *Dasas*, *Dasyus* and so on. The *Vedas*, *Puranams*, *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* have references to the tribals. According to *Chaturvarna* system, the four *Varnas* i.e. Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaisya and Sudra are placed in two categories, *dvija* and *ekaja*. But all the four *Varnas* are known as *Savarnas*. The Chandalas and the aboriginal tribes were termed as *Avarnas*.

With the radical views of Buddhism regarding the caste system, Hinduism was subjected to criticism. To preserve the traditional four caste system, *Manusmriti* was written. *Manusmriti* is the most important *Dharmasastra* which gives the social law. It is written about ca. 300 BC – 270 BC. *Manusmriti* is more conservative towards the low castes and the women. According to it, the Sudras, untouchables, and women should not learn the *Vedas*, and if they do so, they must be punished by pouring lead in their ears. Like *Rigveda*, Manu's code also gives a divine origin to the four castes from the organs of Brahma. He gives the list of various occupations of the period. They are carpenters, hunters, traders, butchers, Ironsmiths, goldsmiths, toddy tappers, weavers and dyers (Buhler, 1964).

The period of the *Dharmasastras* is no doubt marked by the erection of fresh barriers, rooted in taboos, within the Brahmanical society itself. The notion of pollution is a potent reality in the *Dharmasastras*, and is seen in full play, in respect of women and the Chandalas. *Manusmriti* contains more elaborate injunctions regarding the Chandalas than any other Brahmanical text of the earlier period. Untouchability of the Chandalas, and

V.4. Characteristic Features of Caste

We can understand the characteristic features of caste from the definitions given by various anthropologists. Each caste contains some specific characters which distinguish that particular caste from the others. But there are some general attributes to all castes. Dube has given the features of caste in the context of *Jati* (Dube, 1992) (a) *Jatis* are endogamous units, (b) they are hierarchically graded; (c) they invariably have a *Jati* linked occupations, (d) considerations of purity, and pollution determine the interaction between social groups having a conventional pattern of thought and behaviour including beliefs, values, rules of conduct, economic, and political, religious and social organization, and the like, which are transmitted from one generation to the other. In several parts of India, *Jatis* have intra-village and inter-village mechanisms of social control and conflict resolution (Dube, 1992). All the attributes have wide and general acceptance, but each one of them also has some permitted exceptions. A *Jati* is an endogamous unit, but some of the lower castes absorb a man or woman marrying into them. The children born of such unions are fully accepted in the *Jati*. Even some of the upper castes allow hypergamous unions, a man can marry a girl from an approved range of slightly lower castes. The progeny carries no stigma and is given full membership of the caste.

V.5. Theories on the Origin of Caste

Caste appears to be an institution of highly complex origin. There are a number of opinions among the scholars about the origin of caste system in India. The origins ascribed to castes vary from one another. Romila

Thapar (1983) argues that caste system prevailed in the Indus civilization and it is the pre-Aryan phenomenon. She further explains that some essentials of the society which supports the existence of caste as pre-Aryan system are;

1. Marriage and lineage functions through exogamous and endogamous kinship relations.
2. The integration of the divisions of labour into a hierarchical system which eventually took the form of service relations.
3. The idea of pollution in which some groups are seen as ritually pure, others less so and set others totally impure or polluting.
4. The association of castes with particular geographical locations. And she further argues that untouchability was also in practice in the Indus civilization (Romila Thapar, 1987).

B.S.L. Hanumantha Rao (1972), an Andhra historian also argues that priesthood and the occupational division of labour prevailed in the Indus civilization, and that the Aryans have attached the idea of *Varna* (colour) to the already prevailing occupational divisions (Hanumantha Rao, 1972)

Historians like N.K. Dutt (1970), D D Kosambi (1965), and Rahul Sankrityayan (1986) have opposed these opinions of pre-Aryan phenomenon of caste by Romila Thapar and B S L. Hanumantha Rao. They attributed the origin of the caste system to the Aryans.

As discussed earlier, the *Rigveda* states that the four castes originated from the body of the creator Brahma. Brahman from the face, Kshatriya from the arms, Vaisya from the thighs and Sudra from the feet.

In the beginning, there were only three castes among the Aryans Beside Brahman, Kshatriya and Vaisya, the other groups which practiced various occupations were called 'vis' means 'people'. After the growth of economy through agriculture, many occupations like carpentry and pottery came into existence. With these occupations, some Sudra castes also increased (Hanumantha Rao,1972).

A some what less known traditional theory of the origin of caste is the in *triguna* theory propounded by *Bhagavatgita* The philosophic speculation of ancient India identified three *gunas* - inherent qualities in human beings, animate and inanimate objects and in human actions, *satva*, *rajas* and *tamas*. *Satva* consists of noble thoughts and deeds, goodness and virtue, truth and wisdom *Rajas*, on the other hand, was characterised by high living and luxury, passion and some indulgence, pride and valour At the bottom, is *tamas*, with the attributes of coarseness and darkness, over indulgence without taste, the capacity to carry out heavy work without much imagination. Those with *satvic* qualities were classified as Brahman, those with *rajas* as Kshatriya and Vaisya, and those with *tamasic* qualities as Sudra (Dube,1992). These philosophical notions, perhaps were applicable to those of a higher level of conscious thought among the respective categories and the common masses. Another theory takes account of ethnic admixture, culture contact and functional specialization Any of these three components cannot explain the origin of castes In the initial stage of evolution of the Hindu society i.e, Vedic stage, race and complexion were important factors, but in its fully evolved form, it was only a make-believe phenomenon, not a biological reality Aryanization was the result of culture

contact, but it was not a one way process involving donor-recipient relations (Dube,1992).

Sir Risely and others explained the origin of caste based on hereditary occupation. It may be one of the factors for the origin of caste, but there are some evidences to show that hereditary occupation is not the main factor for the birth of caste (Jha,1977). In supporting this argument, Rahul Sankrutayan says that before the advent of Aryans the priests like Bharadwaja, Vasista, Viswamitra and others also participated in wars like the Kshatriyas (Rahul Sankrutyan,1986). Lakshmi Narasu (1988), the earliest scholar who worked on caste, states that caste is rigidly endogamous, although it seems to be coupled with internal exogamy. This endogamous character isolated the castes and tends to shut them out for ever from one another (Lakshmi Narasu,1988). B.R.Ambedkar also supported the above argument and he denies the origin of caste based on occupation. Ambedkar further says that caste in India means an artificial chopping of the population into fixed and definite units, each one prevented from fusing into another through the custom of endogamy and a caste is an enclosed class (Ambedkar,1979).

V.6. Evolution of the Caste System

Social anthropologist G S Ghurye classified the history and evolution of caste system in India into four stages. The first stage is the Vedic period ending at ca 600 BC, the second stage is the post-Vedic or Buddhist period, most idealistic, which rebelled against the system, and provides us with a natural picture of some aspects of the caste. The third stage may be styled the period of *Dharmasastras* and ends with ca 10th or 11th

centuries AD. Manu, Yagnavalkya and Viswamitra were the chief exponents of social ideals of this age. And the fourth stage is the modern period; it brings us down to the beginning of the 19th century. The customs and beliefs of contemporary Hindus are mostly fixed and classified by the writers of the period (Ghurye, 1990).

It is necessary to stress that the mobility character of caste in the traditional period resulted only in positional changes for a particular caste or sections of castes and did not lead to structural change. That is, no matter which individual caste moves up or down, the structure remained the same.

The institution of *Varna* evolved gradually during the *Vedic* period (ca. 1500-500 BC), the earliest period for which the literary evidence is available. The *Purushasukta* of the *Rigveda* gives a mythical account of the origin of the four *Varnas*; Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaisya and Sudra.

The Brahman's position began to strengthen during the later part of the Vedic period, and this was linked up with the increasing importance and elaboration of the institution of sacrifice. By the end of the Vedic period, Brahman's position had become impregnable, and the Kshatriya has been pushed to a secondary place.

The Vaisya occupied a lower place in the hierarchy during the *Rigvedic* period and indeed, this *Varna* appears little in the Vedic literature. The conversion of Vaisyas to Buddhism and Jainism probably resulted in an improvement of their position.

Apart from the rise and fall of particular *Varnas* over the centuries, the system enjoyed a degree of 'openness'. This is seen in the case of Kshatriyas who seem to have been recruited in ancient times from several ethnic groups including the Greeks (Yavana), Scythians (Sekos) and Parthians (Pahlava) (Srinivas, 1995)

V.7. Origin of the New Castes

By the later half of the first millennium BC the picture becomes far more complex. All social groups could not be given a precise *Varna* status. The process of *anuloma* and *pratiloma* had to be conceded and a number of new and inevitably mixed castes were incorporated in the social order. They were given a rank among the Sudras, of these many came to be described as Mlechas such as Ambasta, Ugra, and Nishada among the *anuloma* and Suta, Magadha, Chandala, Ayogava and Pulkasa among the *Pratiloma* (Buhler, 1964). Some common features are identified in these mixed castes. They were all given a low rank in social order, had a very precarious living and were in far worst conditions than the others. They speak non-Indo-Aryan languages. They were described as having low families or inferior births. These despised *Jats* roughly correspond to the untouchable sections of the Brahmanical society. In a Jain text, they were mentioned along with the other tribes such as the Sabaras, the Dravidas, the Kalingas and the Gandharas. But gradually, the Chandalas came to be looked down as untouchables. It seems that untouchability appeared probably towards the end of the pre-Mauryan period (Sharma, 1980).

In this context it is pertinent to discuss the evolution of untouchability and its implication on the Chandalas. As Ambedkar points out, it is a case

of territorial segregation and putting the people inside a barbed wire, into a sort of cage (Ambedkar, 1969). Louis Dumont, a modern author on caste, defines untouchability in a way that is most current, by the segregation into distinct hamlets or quarters of the most impure categories (Louis Dumont, 1970). The phenomenon of untouchability in the Indian context is nothing but a by-product of the *Chaturvarna* system that prevailed in the ancient society. The law givers made prescriptions to keep the Chandalas at a distance from the settled *Savarna* population and prohibited physical contact with them as completely as possible. Four castes were mentioned in the *Rigveda*. But there was no evidence of the Chandalas and the idea of untouchability in this text. Koutilya allots quarters for the Chandala on the outskirts of the city and nearby to the cremation ground, showing their connection with it *Manusmṛiti* says that the touch of a Chandala causes pollution and requiring an expiatory bath (Buhler, 1964). The Chandala was perhaps viewed as a degraded Sudra, who was looked down with contempt and who occupied the lowest position among the hierarchically stratified servile communities (Vivekanand Jha, 1986-87)

Even within the mixed castes there is a hierarchy of ranking as recorded in the *Dharmasastras*. Professionally, they followed occupations which were regarded as activities associated with tasks such as washerman, fisherman, potter, leather worker, ironsmith, basket maker, hunter and scavenger (Romila Thapar, 1987). The members of mixed castes did not necessarily have a low status. Ambasta, Ugra, Suta, Magadha and the Nishada have obtained some political power in various times. In contrast, the case of the Chandalas is exceptional, the emphasis is being on impurity and not on a difference in culture (Romila Thapar, 1987)

Another important social group, the Vratya, appears in the texts. The *Dharmasastras* use the word Vratya in the sense of 'degenerate'. According to the Vedic literature, the Vratyas were not brahmanical in culture. They were thrown out of the Brahmanical ritual - oriented order. But considerable efforts were made to try to circumvent this problem; one of it is the famous ritual of the *Vratyastoma* by which the Vratya was purified and accepted into Aryan society (Romila Thapar, 1987).

Based on the foregoing survey on the origin and evolution of caste system in India it can be viewed that the caste system in India originated simply because of the occupation, inherent qualities and endogomy. Since caste is a complex institution it is deeply rooted in the hereditary occupations and custom of castes such as Brahmans, Ksatriyas and Vaisyas and the occupations of the lower social groups. In this context, one can come to the opinion that the untouchability, based on the notion of purity and pollution, evolved on the basis of occupational theory. On the other hand, endogamy which has been the main principle, that is strictly followed by the native societies, avoided those social groups or did not mingle with other group and ultimately led to the origin of caste.

Though the current situation regarding occupations and marriage among different communities is totally different, the native societies seem to have strictly observed this pattern. Perhaps, both the occupational pattern and endogamous character of our ancestors might have led to the origin of caste in India.

V.8. Caste System in Andhra

From the beginning of its civilization Andhra society looks like a web of different social and cultural groups. Different races, tribes and castes of people with different linguistic backgrounds composed the population of Andhra through the generations. Andhras were said to belong to Andha, Pundra, Sabara, Pulinda and Mutiba tribal groups. Telugu, Koya, Chenchu, Lambada, Yerukala, Gosangi, Mala and Madiga tribes were also included in the above category and all these social groups were said to be the original inhabitants of the Andhra region

Though the society was depicted as based on the fourfold *Varma* system, there are numerous castes and sub - castes, occupational and semi-occupational groups in the matrix of the Andhra society. Beside the priests, kings and the traders the rest of the society, at the lower level, was a mixture of numerous caste groups. Sudras, who occupied the fourth place in the *Varma* hierarchy, were sub-divided into Satsudras and Atisudras. Agricultural communities like the Kamma, Reddi, Velama and Kapu come under the category of Satsudras. All the artisan communities like the Panchanamvaru, Barbers, Weavers, Washermen, Basket Makers, Potters, Oilmongers etc. belong to the Atisudra group, and semi-traders like Telika, Perika, Dommara and Balinja, and pastoralists like Gollas and Kurubas were also included in this group. After the Sudras, the Panchamas, who were said to be the untouchables, stand in the *Varma* hierarchy. Mala, Madiga, Begari, Gosangi etc. were also included in this group.

We have a specific feature of dependent caste system in Andhra society. All the major caste groups like the Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas

and Sudras maintain their bards to narrate the stories of their origin. Generally, these bards wander from one place to another and receive food materials (grains, grams, millets) and other things such as cloths from their patron communities. They are Vipravinodins, Bhats, Viramustis, Pichukuntlu, Runzas, Dakkalis, Asadis, Chindus and Mandechulu (Subbachari,2000).

Beside the castes and sub-castes, we have social groups, the so called aboriginal tribes, which were living in the forests through the historic times, having their own life styles and following their customs, traditions and practicing the traditional mode of hunting – gathering, shifting cultivation and agro-pastoralism. At present there are 33 kinds of tribal communities identified in Andhra Pradesh. Boya, Chenchu, Koya, Konda Reddi, Savara, Gadaba, Gond, Yerukala, Yanadi, Lambada etc , are important among them. Though some of these tribal groups are assimilated into the mainstream, changing their way of life, many of the tribals are continuing their customs, traditions and survival strategies (Swaroop Rani,1996)

Even though the Andhra social structure appears to be complex with distinct cultural aspects, there have been intra and inter-caste relations, and a process of mutual exchange has been going on among different social groups like the Sudra, Atisudra castes, artisan communities and tribal groups which have been trying to move up in social ladder and adopting the professions which were traditionally attached to the upper castes. Our sources indicate that the Satsudra communities, which originally belonged to the agricultural sector, were raising to the level of the Kshatriyas and started claiming the Kshatriyahood. Communities like Kamma, Reddi and

Velama started to maintain/supply armies (Swaroopo Rani, 1996). All the feudatory chiefs in medieval Andhra and the major powers like the Chalukya-Cholas, the Kakatiyas, the Reddies, the Vijayanagaras and the Samsthanadhisas of the post- Vijayanagara period belonged to the Sudra peasant class, and by virtue of their valour and strength, they attained the political power and claimed themselves as Kshatriyas (these aspects are discussed in chapter -VI)

In the religious customs and belief systems of Andhra, we can observe two phases, i.e Brahmanical and non-Brahmanical. While the Brahmanical practices like chanting the *slokas*, offering worship to Brahmanical deities, celebrating the festivals and processions were observed by the upper strata of the society, the non-Brahmanical belief system was followed by the lower strata. Folk beliefs and customs like worshipping of *Gramadevatas* (village deities), celebrating the *Jataras*, and offering animal sacrifices on these occasions were the important aspects in the non-Brahmanical belief system. While the Brahmana priest plays a prominent role in the Brahmanical rituals, persons from the lower communities, of the Panchama origin, are the priests in the village festivals. The idea of purity and pollution based on one's birth is not the factor in this context. Pothuraju, an important person in folk religion generally belongs to an 'untouchable' community. He is believed to be the only brother of the *Gramadevies*, numbering one hundred and eight. He plays a prominent role in the *Jataras*. Bhutapoligadu is also an important person in the village festivals. He belongs to the lower castes, takes the responsibility of animal sacrifices and distributing the rice mixed with the blood of the sacrificed animal (*Kumbham*) at the four directions of the village

Likewise, the *Jataras* of Kurmaiah in the present Mahaboobnagar district also reflect an alternative non-brahmanical religious practices which is being followed by the lower social groups in Andhra through the ages. The priests who perform all the rites and rituals during the occasion of Kurmaiah *Jatara* belong to the Panchama community, the Mala

V.9. Summary

Caste system is a peculiar feature of the Indian society. Though there have been different opinions among the scholars regarding the origin of caste, it has been playing a prominent role in socio-religious and political spheres of our society. Caste system is not static, it has always been dynamic. It has been taking different shapes and positions according to the existing situations in various historical stages of development. The Andhra society is no exception. Caste has been the determining factor in socio-religious, cultural, economic and political spheres in the history of the Andhra country.

CHAPTER VI

SOCIAL MOBILITY AMONG THE IDEGINOUS COMMUNITIES

VI.1. Introduction

To evaluate the socio-historical relations in appropriating political power by the chiefs of medieval Andhra, it is pertinent to understand the process of social mobility among different social groups in medieval Andhra society.

A characteristic feature of 'state' level societies in brief is a mechanism of organized social structures and related social institutions, often displaying a hierarchical order. The social structure is denoted by caste and class, whereas the social institutions embody the 'ithos' and 'idios' of a given society. It can also be said that the social structure is the pivot on which the social institutions of a society revolve. In the process of social formation the social structures and the institutions are in constant interaction and they are instrumental in the maintenance of the social system.

VI.2. Economic Conditions

Generally, different kinds of rural and urban societies are formed on the basis of their respective economic conditions. In the densely settled riverine zones of advanced rice agriculture where linear villages are formed, prestigious cultivating Brahman groups, in a sharply defined social hierarchy are formed. In the more dispersed chiefdoms where mixed wet and dry cultivation are practiced, nucleated villages are formed. In the hilly

regions and the tribal areas, isolated villages are formed where dry agriculture and herding are source of livelihood. In these areas horizontal or vertical social distinctions gave way almost completely to horizontal or spatial once, of small scattered polities under petty chiefs (Boserup, 1965).

VI.3. Society

Coming to the medieval state (which is of concern here), the cultural, linguistic and ecological complexity is reflected in an amalgamations of the Sanskrit or great tradition (*Marga*) and the non-Sanskrit or little (*Desi*) traditions, *Marga* tradition corresponds to the entire nation, whereas the non-Sanskrit *Desi* tradition represents the culture of a place or tribe or caste or region. Most of the little traditions occur in oral form. The culture of the forest tribes, pastoral communities, Malas and Madigas are the parts of the little tradition. The presence of the *Astadasavarna* in villages represents the presence of both traditions in it. Boserup (1965) describes villages dominated by peasant groups as intermediary societies, which reflect the Sanskrit tradition of the upper caste and non-Sanskrit culture of lower castes and tribes.

VI.4. Theories of Social Mobility

The changes that have been taking place in the Indian society are being studied recognized by various social anthropologists. Srinivas (1995), Redfield (1973) and Milton Singer (1972) have tried to evolve a conceptual framework that could explain the process. One of the major features in social change that they have recognized is that many social discriminations prevailed in the traditional Indian society and that the lower castes always tried to move up in status. This upward mobility is supposed to be achieved

through 'Sanskritization' (Srinivas, 1995). According to Srinivas, Sanskritization is the process in which lower Hindu castes or tribes or other groups change their customs, ritual, ideology and way of life to those of high and in particular a twice born caste. It is noted that this 'Sanskritization' is not only confined to Hindu castes but occurs among tribal and semi-tribal groups.

Redfield and Milton Singer proposed another concept in this context. According to them, each civilization consists of two traditions, one of the elite or the reflective few that is formally articulate and the other of folk or the peasants (Milton Singer, 1972) Redfield called the former 'great' and the later 'little' tradition McKim Marriot (1976) has also supported this view in his studies in Interpreting Indian society. He characterizes the mode of interaction between the little and the great traditions in Indian villages as 'Parochialization' and 'Universalization' (Yogendra Singh, 1974). The tribal and peasant cultures are generally included in the little tradition These traditions are supposed to be drawn into the Hindu society either by state coercion or through culture contact (Kanaka Durga and Sudhakar Reddy, 1992).

The Marxist historians who support the Asiatic mode of production say that there is no mobility in Indian society because of the existing productive relations between various social groups (Arjun Appadurai, 1936). British historians of 18th and 19th centuries argue that there was no possibility of changes in Indian caste system (Romila Thapar, 1984) But the neo-Marxist historians of the recent decades are not accepting the above options. Burton Stein (1978), Arjun Appadurai (1986) and Suvira

Jayaswal (1979-80) argue that the Indian caste system is not rigid and there is a scope of social mobility in social structure. While Arjun Appadurai(1936) and Burton Stein (1978) suggest that the social mobility has taken place at the family, and individual level, scholars like Romila Thapar (1984) and Suvira Jayaswal (1985) proposed that social mobility had taken place group wise.

Social mobility appears in two stages. In the first stage, little communities like the tribals and pastoralists were Sanskritised and in the second stage, those Sanskritised communities become a part of village life and serve the villagers, and ultimately they were absorbed into the Sudra *Varna*.

In the process of social mobility in these two stages there was a need of Brahman priests. These Brahman priests made genealogies of the Sudras and Kshtriyised them, and in return they obtained *agraharas* as remuneration.

VI.4 (a). Mobility Among the Brahmins

During the medieval period, the Andhra society was divided into a number of castes, and each caste was sub-divided into sub-castes in accordance with various endogamous rules (which divided the society into numerous groups of varying sizes). While the caste system during the Kakatiya period was in a very rigid state on the one hand, hereditary professions had become impracticable and therefore ceased to be a binding force on the other. The Brahmin always tried to keep up his dignity and authority and lived mostly on the patronage of kings and the charity of

the people. It is witnessed in this period that some changes took place in the status of Brahmans (*EI. XXXVI, 298*) Both literary and inscriptional sources tend to show that they were divided into numerous sub-sections basing on their *gotra* and each *gotra* derived its decent from a *Rishi*. Nine *gotras* of Brahmans were found from the inscriptional sources, some of the Brahman families derived their family names from the villages, or *nadus* to which they originally belonged such as Velanadu, Venginadu, Sabbinadu, Pakanadu, Renadu, Mulikinadu etc

The Brahmans of the period were not restricted to religious life only. Though they were appointed as officers in army and other professions, some of them got the titles like *Amatya* and *Sachiva* and worked as officers at administrative divisions like *Sthalas* and *Simas*. In the Vijayanagara period Brahmans were engaged in all professions. They were settled as priests, employees in royal courts, traders and hereditary landlords. A few of the Brahmans who had taken themselves as *Brahma Kshatriyas* probably formed themselves into a separate sub-community. In this connection, an epigraph from Bapatla dated saka 1076 refers to *Brahma Kshatriyas* or a community of *Brahma Kshatriyas*.

Simahasana-dwatrimika of Korivi Goparaju and *Hamsavimsati* of Narayanamatya provide interesting information regarding the life of Brahmans. They say that during that period Brahmans could not earn their livelihood through the priesthood and they were engaged in many menial jobs such as cooking for their survival. Inscriptions mention that some Brahmans were experts in cooking delicious dishes and they were in the service of cooking (Srinivasachari, 1929) *Sukasaptati* by Palavekan

Kadiripati (Ramaraju, 1979) says that some priests were not educated and in another context the priest says to the farmer that he was not provided with sufficient food and he shows his torn *dhoti* as a symbol of poverty. Though there is a poetic exaggeration here but the information regarding the conditions of Brahmins is clear.

VI.4 (b). Mobility Among the Kshatriyas

Though the Kshatriyas occupied the second position in *Varna* hierarchy, the presence of Kshatriya community in south India is a controversial matter (Burton Stein, 1984). In this context it should be noticed that all the rules of the medieval period and all those who took the military service did not belong to the Kshatriya caste (Krishna Kumar, 1985). But there were some rare instances of occupation of the throne by the Kshatriyas in the Samsthana period. The Samsthanadhisas of Vijayanagara were said to be Suryavamsa Kshatriyas and Madhavavarma was referred to as their ancestor. And they had relationship with the other Kshatriya families such as Udayapur, Bhari, Jhala, Chavuda, Punkara and Solankies in north India (Donappa, 1969). It is very clear that the Sudras entered in the field of administration in Andhra during all periods, and the Kshatriyahood became a goal to be achieved by the others.

VI.4(c). Mobility Among the Vaisyas

According to Manu, the duty of the Vaisya is to increase the property of the country, agriculture, cattle keeping, trade and commerce, making grants, performing the sacrifices and studying the *Vedas*. The Vaisyas of Andhra are generally called Komatis or Settis. In the inscriptions several sub-divisions of this caste were mentioned like Kamma Komatis (*SII* vol IV,

no.1131), Venginadu Komatis and Kalinga Komatis (*SII.vol .X, no 115*). In addition to those divisions based on the regions populated by them, they were also sub-divided into Vaishnava and Madhva according to their religion.

This period witnessed some changes in the duties of the Vaisya community also. They were even engaged in military duties of the period. Draksharama inscriptions refer to a person called Suraya Setty who was a minister of the Kakatiya Rudra Deva (*Draksharama Inscriptions, 74-75*). We find some persons of the Vaisya community distinguishing themselves as soldiers (*Senanis*), Writers (*Lipikaras*) Linguists (*Bhashavetthas*) and the (lords) *Prabhus* (*NDI. Part 1, no 54*). In this period, by inventing a mythical origin from the celestial beings, and adopting several social honours, the industrial and merchantile classes held superior claims equal to the privileged classes. The Vaisyas of this period bore the *gotras* like the Brahmins of the period and styled themselves in glowing terms such as the lords of Penugonda and the lords of Ayodhya and usually traced their descent from Kubera (the richest person in Hindu mythology). The *Haravilasam*, which was dedicated to Avachi Tippayya Setti by Srinadha, refers to thousand *gotras* of the Vaisyas (Venkata Ramanaiah, 1973). In the *Kanyakapuranam* by Satyanarayana Gupta (1986), it is said that the Vaisyas belong to 714 *gotras* and all these *gotras* are connected with various *Rishis*.

VI.4 (d). Mobility Among the Sudras

There is an interface between the folk and Brahmanical traditions that played a very important role in the social, political and economic

spheres in Andhra The Sudra community formed the bulk of the population in the society and was divided into a number of sub-sections There are many variations in their customs and traditions. R.S Sharma classified them as Satsudras and Asatsudras (Sharma, 1958). They were called as Satsudras because they pertained to domestic and ritual engagements, incline occupation such as agriculture; the Asatsudras because they are involved in the so called menial jobs such as washing, hair cutting, pottery making and weaving In the process of social change the position of the Sudras in the economic system on the one hand and their social and ritualistic status on the other are considerable Those peasant castes, supplemented by some artisans, accounted for the pure are Satsudras or pure Sudras and those who still continued in their old positions and were further re-inforced by the growing number of untouchables came to be known ritually *Asat* or impure Sudras (Sharma, 1958) They are otherwise classified as right and left hand castes

Communities like Kamma, Reddi and Velama who practiced agriculture were listed as right hand or Satsudras. Other communities who practiced non-agricultural occupations like carpentry, weaving, pottery, smithy, shoe making, fishing, oil mongering and washing clothes were listed as left hand communities (Arjun Appadurai, 1974).

Sudra peasant communities like the Reddi, Kamma, Kapu and Velama were economically and politically advanced than the other lower Sudra communities, untouchables and tribals Basically, these groups were agriculturalists, but some communities like Kamma, Reddi, and Velama achieved economic prosperity and became dominant among the village

folk. A considerable number of them followed the profession of arms and became soldiers. As stated by Krishna Kumari (1985) many of the *Mandalikas* of the medieval period belonged to the Sudra caste (Krishna Kumari, 1985). She further says that the feudatory chiefs like the Velanati Cholas, the Kondapadumatis, the Kotas, the Parichedis and the Mandati chiefs belonged to the Sudra community. These *Mandalikas* were believed to belong to the Kamma, Kapu, Velama and Reddi sub-sects of the Sudras. As they became the rulers, their social status had become elevated, they came to be recognized as Kshatriyas and the traditional Kshatriyas also entered into marriage alliances with these Sudra rulers. The Haihaya Kshatriya prince of Palnadu, Anuguraju, married Mailaladevi, the daughter of Velanati Gonka II of Sudra sub-sect (Krishna Kumari, 1985).

During the late medieval period, and later, the above-mentioned Satsudra communities like the Kammas, Padma Velamas and Reddies acquired the status of the Samsthanadhisas. The Samsthanadhisas of Bobbili, Venkatagiri, Nuzvidu and Wanaparthy belonged to the Padma Velama community, who served the Kakatiyas, and the Samsthanadhisas of Kapileswarapuram, Challapalli and Amaravati, belonged to the Kamma sub-division of the Sudras. The Samsthanadhisas of Amarachinta, Gadwal and Gopalpet belonged to the Reddi community (Donappa, 1969).

The Satsudra families or dominant lineages/clans of peasant warrior groups of the medieval times, in the process of agrarian expansion and elevation in social hierarchy, attained political power and claimed Kshatriyahood and legitimized their newly acquired authority. They traced their lineage to mythical races. This is also termed by Herman Kulke as

atriyization (Eschman, Herman Kulke and Tripathi, 1978). It is interesting to note that many regional powers during medieval period in Andhra like the Kakatiyas, Reddies and others traced their lineages to the sun and moon. They claimed Kshatriyahood of lunar race in the early career and superimposed Kshatriyahood of solar race after becoming sovereigns. The Velamas, who emerged as a regional power in the post - Kakatiya times in the Telangana region, also appear to have followed the same practice, but they claimed equality with the Raghuvamsa. Their subordinate rulers of Jallipalli called themselves as Somavamsa Kshatriyas (Venkata Ramanaiah, 1939). The social function of this upward mobility, in the context of the early Indian historical tradition, appears to be to establish kinship links to emphasise the legitimacy of succession, to indicate the migration of important groups, and to provide social status to those who had acquired political power (Romila Thapar, 1984)

Medieval sources indicate that the Sudras, like the Reddies and Kapus, were appointed as *Kavaligars* and *Palegars* during the Vijayanagara period in Andhra. These *Palegars* played a crucial role in the present Rayalasila region during 17th and 18th centuries. The local headman of the Kakatiya period gradually strengthened and emerged as *Palegars* during the Vijayanagara period. Due to their authority in collecting taxes and maintaining army, their prominence increased in the late medieval state. Not only the Satsudras but also the pastoral Gollas, Ekaris and Kuruvus; and the tribals such as the Chenchus, Yanadis and Yerukalas also reached to the position of the *Palegars*. *Palnativirachantra* by Srinatha says that the peasants like Reddies became dominant by that time. Srinadha, further mentions in *Bhimeswarapuramam* that the Sudras and the

Kshatriyas were equal in status. He says that the Sudras, particularly Padmanayakas, Velamas and Kammas were practising agriculture, and in course of time, some of them became the landlords and economically prosperous (Tammaiah, 1967) They became very efficient and got administrative powers such as *Samanta*, *Senapati*, *Kosadhikari* and *Dandanayaka*. Many factors played a role in the appropriation of land and power by these Sudra peasant groups As these peasant settlements emerged in fertile river valleys of the Krishna, Godavari, Penner and Tungabhadra, these peasant lineages gained dominance through the agrarian development, and gradually, they also encroached upon the non-peasant people. For the appropriation of political power, these dominant peasant groups followed many ways Initially they were employed in the army of their respective kingdoms as ordinary soldiers, and by virtue of their valour, some of them rose to the ranks of army chiefs (*Sainyadhyakshas*), commanders (*Dandanayakas*) and ambassadors (*Rajadutas*), and in course of time they become the feudatory chiefs of the major empires. The Velamas of Rachakonda and Devarakonda, Musunuris and the Reddies of Rajahmahendravaram, Kandukuru and Kondavidu strengthened their power gradually and in course of time as they emerged as the rulers

VI.4(e). Mobility Among the Pastoral Groups

Our sources provide interesting information regarding various pastoral groups The Gollas, Yadavas and Kurubas were the main pastoral groups mentioned by various poets of the period Sometimes, they were even mentioned along with the Boyas (Lakshmi Kantham and Surya Rao, 1961). Errana's *Harivamsam* gives a clear picture of the life of Golla

community (Sivarama Sastry, 1960). Though the Gollas were primarily cattle keepers and shepherds, our sources indicate that they were engaged in other professions also. There were some sub-sects in the Golla community. *Sukasaptati* by Kadiripati mentions that a sect of the Gollas i.e. *Gutta* Gollas were practising trade and commerce (Ramaraju, 1979). In Telugu *Gutta* means lease, those *Gutta* Gollas might have adopted the occupation of trade which is the original occupation of the Vaisyas. Another sect, *Kase* Golla is also mentioned in our sources (Tallapaka Tiruvengalanadha, 1967).

There was also a particular artisan group which used to work in constructing buildings called *Kasevaru*. The word *Kase* Golla raises the question whether some Gollas were also engaged in building work. All these sub-sects of the Gollas indicate that during the medieval period in Andhra, the Gollas were not only engaged in herdsmanship and husbandary but some of their groups were also engaged in other occupations like trade and commerce and construction work.

Inscriptions and secondary sources give information that the Gollas were appointed as *Palegars* and *Kavaligars*. The records show that a few families of the Gollas in Rayalasima were appointed as *Palegars* during the period of the Vijayanagara and they left their profession, pastoralism (Johnson, 1989). Those Golla *Palegars* adopted the practises of the rulers of that time, as small kings. These Gollas had their *Samayas* or *Kulasanghas* of the villages (Pratapa Reddy, 1992). These associations constituted a political body by themselves, and their consent, either implicit or explicit, was sought by the Vijayanagara government. They helped, to a

large extent, the rulers in the administration of the local areas (Mahalingam, 1940).

VI.4(f). Mobility Among the Artisans and Atisudras

Various groups of artisan communities and village crafts were mentioned in medieval literary texts such as *Kumarasambhavam*, *Sukasaptati*, *Amuktamalyada*, *Kridhabhiramam*, *Palnavirachantra* and *Bhimeswarapuram*. Each community was practicing its hereditary profession. Important artisan communities were the Kummari (potter), Kamsali (goldsmith), Kammani (ironsmith), Vadrangi (carpenter), Sale (weaver), Medari (basket weaver), Gandla (oilmongerer) and Darji (tailor)

The other left hand communities were Chakali (washerman), Mangali (barber), Jalari (fisherman), Pinzari (weavers of cotton), Pallaki Boya, Balija Setti, Teliki (oil presser) and Perka. During the medieval period in Andhra, there were some dependent communities mentioned in our sources. They are basically nomadic bards singing and performing for their patron castes. These are Runzas, Dommaras, Pichukuntis, Vipravinodins, Viramustis, Bavanis, Begaris and Pambalas. Most of this caste groups organised themselves as *Samayas* or guilds to solve their problems. *Sukasaptati*, *Kridhabhiramam* and *Amuktamalyada* provide information about the artisan groups of the period. *Amuktamalyada* mentions various sub-sects among the weavers community, i.e. Padmasale, Pattusale and Agasale. It further mentions the existence of two other sects among the weavers i.e. Satulu (bag weavers) and Itulu (weavers of mats) (Vedam Venkataraya Satry, 1964). These classifications might have been made according to the nature of their work.

During the medieval period in Andhra, the craftsman like Swarnakaras (goldsmiths), Kummaris (black smiths), Silpakaras (sculptors), Kammaras (ironsmiths), and Chitrakaras (painters) were together called Panchanamvaru, the followers of five occupations. It is interesting to note that the members of the present day artisan communities also belong to the above five communities. Viswakarmas claimed a status higher than that of the Sudras and called themselves Viswakarma Brahmins. They wear the sacred thread like the Brahmins, and in the regions of coastal Andhra, they eat only vegetarian food. Inscriptions indicate that they were employed as the engravers of the records (*SII* vol IV, nos 1091, 1103, 1249 & 1155). Other artisan communities like Balija Settlu (Krishna Kumari, 1985) and Teliki (*SII*, vol IV, no 666, vol. VI, no. 152) (oil mongers), were the semi traders who claimed the position of Vaisyas in the society by assuming the large *prasastis*. Balinja Settis elevated their status by calling themselves as Togatavira Kshatriyas.

VI.4 (g). Mobility Among the Panchamas

Panchamas were referred to by many names like Mala, Madiga, Begari, Bavani, Pambala, Mantanga and Jakkula. Among them the Malas were mentioned as engaged in weaving, tailoring and agricultural activities. Some of them were also serving in the army as soldiers. *Velugotivarivamsavali* explains the story of the Mala agricultural labourer by name Rachadu. According to it, Rachadu is the servant of a Velama agriculturalist by name Beti Reddy or Bethala Nayakudu. When both Beti Reddy and Rachadu went to the agricultural field, an invisible voice tells Beti Reddy that he will get the *nidhi* (treasure trove) human

sacrifice. Then Beti Reddy falls in a dailama as to whom he should sacrifice to get the treasure. Suddenly Rachadu comes forward to be sacrificed. Rachadu tells his master that if Beti Reddy's family takes his name as their family name and get *talambralu* (rice mixed with turmeric used during the ritual of Hindu marriages) from the community of Malas, he will offer himself for the human sacrifice. Then Beti Reddy agrees to the condition of Rachadu and slains him. As Beti Reddy got the treasure with the sacrifice of Rachadu, the Velama families of that region started holding the name of Rachadu, i.e., Racherla as their family name. The Velama community has been continuing the practice getting *talambralu* from the community of Malas. After acquiring the treasure trove, Beti Reddy as Betala Nayakudu became prominent and ultimately attained the political power (Venkata Ramanaiah, 1939).

The Madigas, another sub-sect of the Panchamas, were engaged in shoe-making and leather tanning. They are otherwise called as *Charmakaras*. Both these communities and their occupations were also included in the list of traditional occupations and the 'state' provided *inams* for them during the Vijayanagara period. Malas and Madigas were also appointed as *Palegars* and *Kavaligars* during the Kakatiya and Vijayanagara periods in Andhra (Pratapa Reddy, 1992).

Besides the communities like the Malas and Madigas, among the Panchamas, the communities like Matanga, Jangama and Dasari were involved in the performance of religious rituals. The Jangamas and Dasaris, respectively, are Savite and Vaishnavite religious priests. They perform rites in the village rituals and are a link between the folk and the

Brahmanical orders. Their services as priests in the village rituals are acknowledged by the upper castes in the society. In *Amuktyamalyada* the role of Maladasari, a Vaishnava mendicant is given due importance. The peculiar religious characters like Mastidu and Surabata are also included among the Panchamas. Like the other dependent castes, the Pambala, Byndla and Chindu were attached to the Panchamas. They earn livelihood by singing songs in praise of the village goddesses, Ekavira or Renuka Ellamma (Pratapa Reddy, 1992)

Expecting the *Kumarasambhavam* of Nannechoda, most of the literary texts of the medieval period mentioned that untouchability was observed against such Panchamas during the medieval period in Andhra

Kumarasambhavam mentions that the Panchamas were living in *Velivadas* (separate wards in the outskirts of a village) and they were not allowed to fetch water from public wells and lakes (Pratapa Reddy, 1992) But it is evidenced that each social group was living in a separate *vada* (ward) and this is an aspect of village settlement on the basis of social groupings. Though there was no reference to untouchability, we cannot say that there was no inequality among different social groups. There were clashes among the upper castes and lower communities. There are evidences to suggest social antagonisms in the medieval Andhra society. Conflicts between the lower communities and the upper castes during the Vijayanagara period were mentioned. Sources indicate that most of the artisan communities and the Panchamas were following Virasaivism and Vaishnavism, which were very liberal in their attitude towards the lower social groups. Virasaivism took into its fold all the communities which were

said to be down trodden. Brahmanaidu, the propagator of Vaishnavism in medieval Andhra adopted Kannamanidu, a Mala person, and also arranged *Chapakudu* or the inter-dinning between various communities, to eradicate the discriminations among different castes. The occasion of *Chapakudu* among different communities is an important attempt to establish the egalitarian society during the medieval period. Virasaivite literature also describes the stories of various devotees from different lower groups like the washerman, potter, barber and Panchama, and the stories of Madivelu Machaiah and Ekanta Ramaiah reveal the attempts made to allow the down trodden groups to attain equal status in the Virasaivite ideology.

VI.4(h). Mobility Among the Adivasis

Both literary and epigraphical sources of medieval Andhra indicate that there was an upward social mobility among the Adivasi communities like the Boyas, Koyas and Yerukalas. While some of the tribals retained their identities, living in isolated localities, certain lineages of these tribals such as the Boyas and Chenchus which played a role in the affairs of the 'state,' witnessed upward mobility. But they continued their traditional strategies of livelihood. Tribal communities are primarily food-gatherers and hunting, is their main occupation. In medieval Andhra, though they depended mainly on their traditional practice of hunting some groups also took to agriculture. *Sri Kalahastimahatmyam* mentions that Yerukalas were producing various crops in their fields. There are two interesting stanzas describing their practices and beliefs. They mention that the Yerukalas were keeping elephant heads and antlers as scare-crows in their fields to protect from the evil eye (Madhava Sastry, 1968). They were also raising fences with *chamaras* (fly whisks) to avoid the entry of wild pigs into their

ripe fields on the hills. This indicates that certain tribal groups were engaged in agriculture, and also that these Yerukulas though living in a forested environment and still practicing hunting, adopted agriculture (food production) and were drawn into the fold of peasant groups (Papaiah Sastry, 1961). Some of the tribals such as the Boyas took to pastoralism, settled down in the villages, and looked after the village cattle. *Palanativirachantra* mentions this situation with regard to the Boyas, who were working as cattle keepers under the service of others (Lakshmi Kantham and Surya Rao, 1961).

As the tribal habitats have been getting incorporated into the kings domain, the tribals were involved in a system of reciprocity and exchange, of forest produce with the peasantry. *Keyurabahucharitra* of Manchana refers to a tribal man selling honey in the streets of a town (Kodanda Ramaiah, 1966). Allasani Peddana in his *Manucharitra* mentions a number of forest produce like *chara pappu*, *nakka junnu* and a variety of fruits like wood apples, tamarind etc. exchanged by the tribals.

Tribals were not only adapting to agriculture and trade but were also employed as warriors. Gradually some of them legitimized their status as Kshatriyas. The king appointed them in their hunting expeditions and royal sports and also recruited the tribals as warriors because they were experts in archery and excelled others in that branch of war. *Manucharitra* mentions this situation (Murali Krishna, 1986). It is stated that Krishnadevaraya mobilized soldiers mostly from the hill tribes, Chenchus, Boyas and Koyas who formed the battalion of the *Nayakas* (Murali Krishna, 1986). The position of the *Nayakas* in the Vijayanagara army was considerable. The

term *Nayaka* indicates their muscle power and strength; since the tribals are known to their physical strength and hunting, they were given more importance in the Vijayanagara army. They were appointed in the border areas to protect the country from the attacks of enemies. Inscriptions and literary sources mention that the Boyas were appointed as the *Nayakas* and *Samanthas* in the feudal order of the medieval polity. They figure more prominently in the reciprocity with the state. Since the state had to depend on the tribals for the sustenance of its frontiers, the Eastern Chalukyan kings employed these Boyas as officials (Balaram Murty, 1987). It is also seen in the inscriptions that the tribals helped the early Kakatiya chiefs, Beta and Prola II, and obtained villages and titles as rewards. In the medieval context, it is opined that in the process of the state colonization of the forests, the tribal people played a prominent role in political and social milieu on the one hand and in the sustenance of settlement frontiers of the 'state' on the other. In this context, the designations like *Kavaligars* and *Palegars* came into existence and the villages founded by reclamation of forested lands were organised into Palems. These Palems were given to the tribal Boyas, pastoral Gollas, and the Sudra castes, Kapus and Reddies with hereditary rights (Murty, 1994). It is also stated that the Boyas who were the original inhabitants of Rayalasima and southern Karnataka regions were taken to coastal regions of Andhra by the Chalukya-Cholas and were implanted in the frontier regions as a check to their foes, the Gangas and Gajapatis of Kalinga (Balaram Murty, 1987).

Inscriptions also mention that the Boyas not only held land but also rose to the position of landlords holding *bonirattadikam* or the tax collecting authority in the villages. These inscriptions indicate that the Boyas rose to

The religious literature of this period portrays the levels or stages of interaction and integration of the tribals vis-à-vis the Brahmanical order. This process is a kind of mutual reciprocity. It is the state that needed the support and services of the tribes, and the latter, rather than certain powerful lineages of the tribal chieftains, took advantage of this political situation.

VI.5. Summary

In the light of the above discussion, the society in the medieval Andhra appears to be flexible. Though it was based on the four-fold *Varna* system, there were many sub-castes that originated on the basis of various occupations followed by the people.

The status of the artisan communities, pastoralists and the tribals also improved during this period. The temple acted as an amalgamating force of various communities. While the state integrated the tribals and the pastoral communities, their gods and goddesses were also Sanskritised. In this process forest tribes and the pastoralists were assimilated into the caste system.

Chapter VII

THE STATE AND RELIGION

VII.1. Introduction

For understanding the legitimization of political power by the feudal chiefs, it is important to take into account the role of religion and religious processes which gave scope to the rulers of non-Kshatriya lineages to ascertain their authority and sovereignty.

Religion plays an important role in our society. During the medieval period in Andhra, religion highly influenced the people and the rulers. The temple also became an important institution for various social activities. Sectarian religions such as Virasaivism and Vaishnavism worked for social mobility. These two religious sects brought many changes in the medieval society. Many lower groups such as the Panchamas, Sudras, and Atisudra communities embraced these religions and acquired some dignity in the society.

VII.2. Religious Syncretism

Reform (non-conformist) movements like Virasaivism and Vaishnavism that emerged during this period brought radical changes in the society. They tried to eradicate social inequalities and worked against the traditional caste system and Brahmanical rituals. They admitted all the lower communities into their fold. Though Brahmanaidu, the important personality of the story of *Palanativiracharitra* arranged *Chapakudu* (inter-dining) among all the communities, there was a conflict between the Virasaivates

and Vaishnavates during this period which caused a war called *Palantiyuddham* (war of Palnadu). In spite of the clashes between these two sectarian movements, both these sects were greatly influenced the common people, including the tribals and untouchables (Pratapa Reddy, 1992).

The temple played a prominent role in the medieval Andhra. K.A. Nilakanta Sastry observed that the temple acted as a landholder, employer, consumer of goods and services, bank, school, museum, community hall, theatre and institute (Nilakanta Sastry, 1937). Of all the constructional activities of the medieval society in India temple building was the foremost. The society in the Kakatiya, Reddi and the Vijayanagara kingdoms was no exception in this regard

The Kakatiyas were actually the devotees of Kakatamma, a folk deity. Later on, they elevated this goddess as their 'state deity' (Virabhadra Rao, 1936). The dynasty itself derived its name from this deity Kakatamma. Early rulers of the Kakatiya dynasty followed Jainism and later they took to Saivism and Vaishnavism. Though the Virasaivate religion is non-confirmationist, its propagators like Basaveswara and Mallikarjuna Pandita (12th and 13th century AD.), belonged to the Brahmanical sections of the society. In spite of their respect towards the Vedic religion, these philosophers embraced Virasaivism and propagated it in the regions of Andhra and Karnataka. Palkuriki Somandha's *Panditaradhyacharitra* and *Basavapurana* and Mallikarjuna Pandita's *Sivatvasaram* contain the stories of Saiva devotees.

VII.3. Medieval State and Religious Policy

VII.3(a). Political Situation

During the period of our study Andhra was variously under the rule of the Chalukya-Cholas, Velanati Cholas and other feudatories, the Kakatiyas, the Reddies, the Vijayanagaras and various Samsthanadhisas (and the British, succeeding the latter)

Several local chieftains began to exercise their authority as feudatories during the period, the Chalukya-Cholas, Velanati Cholas, Kona Haihayas, Kondapadumatis, Parichedis and Kotas are important among them. The Velanati Cholas, at the beginning, served the Eastern Chalukyas as their commanders. And they started their rule over that territory, when their capital was Danadapuram, the present day Chandole in the Bapatla taluk of the Guntur district. They were given the total responsibility of the Chalukya-Chola kingdom by their masters and they ruled independently up to ca.1210 AD, till the defeat of the last king Prithviswara of the Velanati family by Ganapathideva of the Kakathiya dynasty. During this period, feudatories like Kotas (ca.1200-1300AD), the Haihayas (ca 1200 AD), of Palnadu (ca 1200-, 1300 AD), the Telugu Chodas of Konidena (ca 1300-1400 AD), Kammanadu and Pakanadu, the Chagis of Gudimetta also played a prominent role in the political affairs (Krishna Kumari, 1990)

The Kakatiyas were for nearly two centuries the subordinate chiefs under the Rastrakutas and Western Chalukyas respectively. They emerged as independent sovereign powers from ca.1163AD, with the proclamation of independence by Rudradeva. For the first time, after the Satavahanas, the Kakatiyas brought all the Telugu speaking parts under one umbrella.

Rudradeva, Ganapathideva, Rudramadevi and Prataparudra were the important rulers of the line.

The Kakatiyas laid stress on local self-government with regard to their relations with the subordinate rulers, who, in several cases were allowed to remain as independent *Mandalikas*, as they were during the Chalukya-Chola regime in the coastal Andhra. Many feudatories and chiefs enjoyed freedom in this period. The Recherla chiefs, Malyala chiefs, the Natavadi chiefs, the Cheruku chiefs, the Kota chiefs, the Kayastha chiefs, the Induluri chiefs, the Velama chiefs and the Chalukyas of Nidadavolu were the feudatories of the Kakatiyas (Parabrahma Sastry, 1978)

After the fall of Warangal in ca 1323AD, the whole of Andhra country was under the sway of the Tughluq, emperor of Delhi. During this period, there were as many kingdoms and principalities as there were chiefs. The Musunuri chiefs of Warangal, Padmavelama chiefs of Rachakonda, Vijayanagara, Yadavas, Reddies of the Panta clan at Kondavidu were the important powers that held rule in different parts of Andhra country during the post – Kakatiya period. Besides the above chiefs, there were the other small principalities of the Manchikonda Nayakas or Korukonda and the Koppula chieftains of Pithapuram. Side by side there was the ancient kingdom of Eastern Gangas of Kalinga (Somasekhara Sharma, 1948)

The three Reddi kingdoms of Kondavidu, Rajamahendravaram and Kandukuru, which shaped the destinies of the Andhra people in the coastal tract lying between Simhachalam in the Vizagapatnam district and Kandukuru in the Nellore district, cover over a century and a quarter from

ca.1325 AD to ca.1448 AD (Somasekhara Sharma, 1948). They were in the service of the Telugu Chodas of Nellore and the Kakatiyas of Warangal, and gradually established their power in the southeast coast of Andhra, after the fall of the Kakatiya empire. Within a short period, Reddi kingdom extended itself from Ahobilam to the Bay of Bengal and from Nellore to river Krishna. The Reddies came to power during the period of the struggle for liberation carried on by the Hindus the against Muslim rule. They joined hands with the Musunuri chiefs and succeeded in liberating the Andhra country from the occupation of the Muslims. The authority of the Reddies was checked by the Rayas of Vijayanagara in the Nellore area. In spite of the Vijayanagara interference, the Reddies continued their rule for a century (Nagabhushana Sharma and Virabhadhra Sastry, 1995)

The Vijayanagara empire was established in ca 1336AD, by two brothers, Harihara and Bukka, who were at first in the service of Prataparudra II of the Kakatiya dynasty. This great empire ruled successfully by four dynasties namely, the Sangama (ca 1336 – 1485 AD), the Saluva (ca.1485 – 1490 AD), the Tuluva (ca 1530-1542 AD) and the Aravidu (ca 1542-1565 AD), and established their overlordship over Andhra, Karnataka and Tamilnadu regions for three centuries (14th to 16th centuries AD). The history of Vijayanagara kingdom is the last glorious chapter in the history of independent south India. The Vijayanagara kingdom is rightly considered as the most important resurgent Hindu state that successfully resisted the Islamic expansionism in defence of ancient Hindu *dharma* and native cultural traditions. Beside the founders of the empire, Harihara and Bukka of Saluva dynasty, Sri Krishnadevaraya

(Tuluva) is the magnificent king among the rulers of Vijayanagara and he occupied a prominent place in the history of south India. All the rulers of Vijayanagara extended their patronage to art and letters and improved the glory of Andhra culture.

The Vijayanagara rulers established an able administration. They followed the decentralization of power in different segments of the governing bodies. Besides the central government, the king employed *Samantas, Ayagars, Amaranayakas, Parupatyagars* and *Palegars* at the local level to maintain the provincial administration (Satyanarayana, 1982).

VII.3 (b). Theories on Medieval State Formation

After the fall of Vijayanagara empire, their feudatory chiefs and *Amaranayakas* appropriated power and became *Samsthanadhisas*. They established petty chieftencies over their governing authority. In the recent research on the political history of medieval periods, scholars have been concentrating on inter-disciplinary approach on the political structure, rather than the administration. The historiography on the state formation of the medieval south India is represented differently by different schools of thought. The traditional school of thought is represented by N Venkata Ramanaiah (1935), K.A.N.Sastry (1946), P.V.Parabrahma Sastry (1978), V.Yasodadevi (1978), A Vaidehi Krishna Murty (1975) and M Somasekara Sharma (1948). These scholars viewed that the state is 'unitary', which is "centrally organised" with a strong "central bureaucracy" and is regulated by the monarch. Hence the king is the pivot, on which the whole

administrative system revolves. He is the commander-in-chief of the army, fountain of justice and the head of the ministry. The rise and fall of the kingdom depends upon the strength and weaknesses of the king, but not on the "structural defects or changes" in the state itself. The king is the only person who could protect and punish the people in this realm

The second school of thought is the Indian feudalism model. It was proposed by D.D.Kosambi (1965), R S Sharma (1958), D N Jha (1987), B.N.S.Yadava (1973) and K.Satyanarayana (1982,1983). They represent the Marxist school of thought. Though there are minor variations in their opinions, they believe in the concept of delegation of powers as the basis for feudal order. D.D. Kosambi, R S Sharma, B N S Yadava opined that feudalism in India has its own distinctive characteristic features, owing to its geographical variations and unique social stratification, which is based on the caste. D D Kosambi formulated the concept of 'feudalism from above' and 'feudalism from below' in Indian History. R.S. Sharma termed the medieval state as the "Indian feudal state." Amalendu Guha (1968) pointed out an "archaic feudalism", B N S. Yadava coined it as the *Samanta* system. Romila Thapar(1984) named it as 'semi-serfdom' and A L Bhasham (1967) termed it as "quasi- feudalism"

There is yet another school of thought, represented by western scholars like Burton Stien (1980), Nicholas Dirks (1979) and Arjun Appadurai (1936). This school views the south Indian polity as a segmentary state with a multi-centered power structure. In this state, at the center, the authority is absolute, but shades off towards the periphery into ritual hegemony. In a segmentary state, the power structure is pyramidal, the latter being a

reduced image of the former. Burton Stein elaborates two more points which are essential for understanding the concept of the segmentary state in south India. The organisation of the segments, in the segmentary state, as a whole is pyramidal. This pyramidal segmentation is continued in various segments themselves. Further, he mentions that the sovereignty in a state, where multi-centred power structure exists, is dual; one is political, and the other is ritual. In the core region, the ruling dynasty exercises actual political control and the in the peripheral zones, through ritual sovereignty and incorporation. Hence, the medieval state is a multi-centered power structure and functions on the principle of 'tributary overlordship'. Scholars like R.Champaka Lakshmi (1981), D.N Jha (1984) and Noboru Karashima (1984) criticised the 'segmentary state' proposed by Burton Stein. But an alternative model for the nature of medieval south Indian state with all its intricacies is still an enigma.

VII.3(c). Kings and their Religious Policy

Though there was a conflict between the Saivites and Vaishnavites during this period, this clash was limited to different social groups of devotees only. But the conflict did not enter into the minds of the ordinary folk. Hence they did not observe any discrimination towards their fellow beings. While the Brahmanical groups, the upper strata of the society, and the non-Brahmanical lower strata were quarreling among themselves, the rulers did not show any difference between Siva and Vishnu. In spite of preference to Saivism, the Kakatiyas did not oppose Vaisnavism and continued to have the sacred *Varaha* (boar) and the sacred *Garuda* (vulture) as the crest and banner of their family. Many of the Kakatiya ministers and generals were great patrons of Vaishnava institutions (EA vol

VI, 88). Incriptions of the last two rulers in the Kakatiya dynasty, i.e. Rudramadevi and Prataparudra (*SII*. vol VI, no. 602, vol. X, nos. 341, 425 & 505) record gifts dedicated to Vishnu in the names of Kesavadeva (*SII*.vol. X, nos.192, 278 & 309) Chennakesava (*SII*.vol X, no 499) and Gopinatha (*SII* vol.X, no.573). It is viewed that the reign of Ganapatideva seems to be a landmark in the growth of syncretism. Ganapatideva was a Saivite, and took *Sivadiksha* from Visweswara Sivadeva, the head of Golakimatha. He showed great regard for the teachings of Tikkana, who propagated the unity of the god, and popularized the concept of *Hariharanadha*. Ganapatideva strove hard to religious harmony among the people so that they could successfully meet the Turkish threat and preserve their freedom and culture (Hanumantha Rao, 1993).

The Reddi kings also continued the religious policy of the Kakatiyas. The kings and vassals followed the Pasupata Saivism. Srisailam, Tripurantakam and Draksharamam were some of the principal strong holds of the Pasupata school (Somasekhara Sharma, 1948), One of the five schools of religious thought mentioned in the *Mahabharata* (Venkatavadhani, 1969). The Pasupata devotee had to live a life of moderation in his food and drink, for of his existence and for loosening the bonds of existence. The Pasupata creed had certain distinguishing characteristics, meditation, concentration and practice. This creed became popular and found patronage with the Kalachuris, Hoyasalas, Vijayanagara emperors and the Yadavas. Next to Saivism, Vaishnavism was the most important religion in the Reddi kingdom. Though Vaishnavism was popular in the Andhra country long before the Reddi period and has its strongholds in the famous holy places like Srikurmam, Simhachalam,

Sarpavaram and Bapatla, it really began to capture the hearts of the princes and the people during this period (Somasekhara Sharma, 1948). Though the early Reddi rulers like Prolaya Vema, Anavota and Anavema, and the rulers of Rajamahendravaram were staunch Saivites, Kumaragin Reddy, Kataya Vema Reddy and the latter rulers of Kondavidu were followers of Vaishnavism. Their conversion to Vaishnavism did not effect their attitude towards other sects. They were tolerant to other faiths and extended their patronage without any partiality (Somasekhara Sharma, 1948).

The kingdom of Vijayanagara was founded by Harihara and Bukka at the instance of Vidyanaya in order to protect the *Vaidikadharma*. The Rayas under the influence of Vidyanaya, the spiritual head of Sriranga *matta*, regarded all sects of Hindus alike, built temples to Siva and Vishnu, and extended their patronage to them (Parabrahma Sastry, 1995 and Mahalingam 1940). They patronized even the Jains and Muslims and *mattas* of these sects. The Saivas, Vaishnavas and Jains flourished, and largely influenced the society during this period. They were primarily educational institutions and stood for the propagation of certain schools of thought imparting religious education in a particular way. Golaki, Sringeri, Kanchi Kamakoti and Vyasaraya *mattas* are important among them. During the Vijayanagara period there were non-Brahmanical Siva *mattas* belonging to the Lingayats. These *mattas* propagated the tenets of Basaveswara of 12th century (Parabrahma Sastry, 1995 and Mahalingam, 1940). These *mattas*, *Mattadhipatis* and temples received the care of the state and were maintained by the rulers of Kakatiya and the Vijayanagara periods in Andhra. Kings gave generous grants to the temples of Siva, Virupaksha,

Kalahasti, Srisaillam, Amaravati and other places, besides their grants to Vishnu temples at Tirupati, Kanchi, Simhachalam, Ahobilam and Bapatla

For stabilizing the political the power kings gave grants to the *Agraharas* and *Devabhogas* to the Brahmans and made the temples as centers of social activity. Temple evolved as an institution of divine, political and economic strength of the rulers. When the *Samantha* system was at its zenith, in the medieval times in Andhra, temple construction highly increased. As stated by Herman Kulke (1978), in medieval periods, the king established the royal temple policy and stabilised their political power. In this policy three methods were followed by the kings,

- (1) To extend patronage to the already existing temples and shrines by providing grants
- (2) To increase *Agraharas* to the Brahmans
- (3) To construct monumental temples under royal patronage.

There are evidences from the Eastern Chalukyan period to the Vijayanagara period that the rulers built temples on their names, for example, the Bhimeswara temple of Draksharamam constructed by Chalukya Bhima (ca. 892-922 AD); and the Eastern Chalukyan kings, along with others, built the *Aramas* at Palakollu, Bhimavaram, Gunapudi and Amaravati (Venkata Ramanaia, 1950). During the Kakatiya period, temples like Proleswara, Beteswara, Rudreswara, Chenna Kesava, Maheswara and Umamaheswara were built on the names of the particular kings (Satyanarayana, 1982). Like the kings, the local chiefs also built temples such as Iteswara, Kondeswara, Erateswra, Kameswra, Kateswara, Malleswara, Nameswara, etc. (Satyanarayana, 1982)

VII.4. Folk Religion

Through the available literature and epigraphical records of the medieval period we can understand the distinction between the religious beliefs of the elite or Brahmanical sections and the folk or lower sections of the society. While the ruling classes were observing the sacrifices and rituals in the name of the gods and goddesses, constructing temples, and offering liberal donations for the maintenance of the *mattas*, the common people were observing the *Jataras* and *tirunallu* (the ritual congregations and religious processions) and were worshipping the village gods and goddesses like Mailara, Ekavira, Ellamma, Poleramma, etc (Ananda Murty, 1988). Suravaram Pratapa Reddy states that the folk traditions like *Sidi* was practiced by women of Panchama caste; and that *Bonalu* festivals of the present Telangana districts existed during the medieval period in Andhra. He further states that Basivi and Pothuraju who are the religious figures at the lower strata played a prominent role in the religious processions of the villages in the Telangana, Rayalasima, and coastal districts in the medieval Andhra society. The Basivis appear as *Jogurallu* and Pothuraju appears as *Bhutapoligadu* (Satyanarayana, 1982). Basically, these three personalities belong to the Panchama communities like the Malas and Madigas. Basivis and *Jogurallu* are the symbolic representations of the Devadasis and they were described as singing and dancing in front of the village gods and goddesses on the occasion of village festivals called *Gramajataras*.

Generally, the parents of Basivi / Jogini women have single daughters. Hence they feel insecurity in the society and think that if they perform

marriage to that girl they will have no successors. With such superstitious beliefs, and backwardness, they conduct marriage of their daughter with the village diety or a headman. These Basivis remain as the successors of their parents, like the male children, and they even conduct all ceremonial rites after their parents death. These Basivis have liberty to live with any person according to their will and are considered as *Nityasumangali* (auspicious woman, unwidowed, until their death). The Basivi / Jogini can have children and her children take the surname of Basivi's / Jogini's father. Another important person, Pothuraju or Bhutapoligadu is said to be the only brother of *Gramadevatas* numbering seven (*eduguru akkammalu*, in the Brahmanical tradition, they are *Saptamatrikas*). The image of Pothuraju is always in front of the village goddess. He is a protector diety. During the Reddi period the goddesses Gogulamma, Srimandatalli, Nukamba, Ghattambika and Manikyadevi were worshipped by the villagers (Pratapa Reddy, 1992). Like the Kakatiyas, the Reddies also had their family diety, Mulaguramma (Tammaiah, 1967).

VII.5. Sanskritization

The medieval period in Andhra witnessed Sanskritization of the folk gods and goddesses. Religious syncretism gave scope for acculturation of the tribal and pastoral communities with the state and caste society. Their gods and goddesses were assimilated into the Hindu pantheon. Further, their origins were mythified on the lines of *Puranic* traditions. For the acculturation of the Boyas, the concept of Rudra Siva was used by the caste society. They are compared with the *ganas* of Siva (Appa Rao, 1991). Village deities, worshipped by the lower castes such as Ellamma, Polerama and Gangamma were universalised as Brahmanical deities like Durga,

Parvathi and Lakshmi. Srinadha in his *Bhimeswarapuram* mentions the village diety Gogulamma as the manifestation of the (Brahmanical) goddess Parvathi. *Kridhabhiramam* says that Renuka Devi, the mother of Parasurama, was worshipped as Ekavira (Ananda Murty,1988) Village goddesses were universalised as the consorts of the Brahmanical gods Siva and Vishnu. *Bhimeswarapuram* mention that Bhimeswara, the lord of Draksharamam was protected by the four goddesses i.e Nukambika, Ghattambika, Manikamba and Manadatali (Tammaiah, 1967)

VII.6. Status of Women

As women constitute a substantial population in our society, it is also necessary to understand the status of women in the period of our study. Literature and inscriptions of the period classify women into three categories; *Kulastrilu* (family women), *Bhogastrilu* (courtsans) and *Vesyalu* (prostitutes) Most of the women of the period belonged to the first category. Patriarchical family system was the order and women occupied the second position Duties ascribed to the *Kulastrilu* were serving her husband as a god and looking after the children There are very few exceptional women of royal families like Rudramadevi, Ganapamba and Nayakuralu Nagamma, who occupied important positions in political sphere of the period

Practices like dowry, child marriage, sati, Devadası system, and polygamy were prevelent during this period Women belonging to royal and aristocratic families received education. Some of the occupations attached to the women are singing, dancing, music, drawing, handicrafts, and making figures and images (Vaidehi Krishna Murty 1975) Though women had no

equality with men during this period, some property rights were granted to them as prescribed by Manu *Vignaneswariyam* by Ketana divides the *stridhana* into five types. According to it, except during the time of famines and other critical conditions, no one should touch her property (Ramachandra Rao, 1997). It is observed that women of the lower communities and tribals were enjoying some sort of freedom of their husbands and they were involved in various occupations like selling flowers, forecasting and singing ballads for their livelihood (Ananda Murty, 1988 and Lakshmi Kantham and Surya Rao, 1961), and that the tribal women were also participating in hunting and food-gathering along with men (Madhava Sastry, 1968 and Papaiah Sastry, 1961).

Women of the artisan groups like potters and oilmongers were assisting their men in making pots and oil pressing. In this period, peasant women were generally called as *Kapustrilu* (women from agricultural families) (Ananda Murty, 1988). Telugu works mention that the Kapu women equally participated in agricultural activities and cattle breeding along with men. Sometimes, poets romanticized the life styles of these working-class women. Medieval classical poets describe the Kapu women as prosperous and beautiful and they ignored the drudgeries in their day-to-day life.

In so far as the Devadasis are concerned (women attached to the temple), they were called *Sanulu*. They were accomplished in dancing, music and several other fine arts and they dedicated their lives to the service of gods. These *Sanulu* might have been married and might have had children. They also formed as *Samayas* or guilds. The word *Sanimunnuruvaru* or *Sanis* of three hundred is seen in inscriptions very

frequently. It is important to remember that the meaning of *Sani* in the medieval period is respectable unlike in the modern period.

Nannechoda's *Kumarasambhavam*, Palkuriki Somanadha's *Panditaradhyacharitra* and Srinadhas *Palnativrachantra*, furnish details about the Vesyas or prostitutes. They were *Padmini jati strilu*. Their localities are called as *Vesyavatikas* (Ananda Murty, 1988) and *Sanivadas* (*SII* vol.IV, no. 989). It is accepted that prostitution was common during the festive occasions of different temples. The Vijayanagara kings even levied taxes on prostitutes. Hence, it can be said that the government recognized prostitution as a separate occupation and regulated the same (Soma Reddy, 1984). The Vesyas were referred to as leading the respectable life. They were well versed in fine arts and attracted the rich and other important men in their contemporary society.

Virasavism and Vaishnavism were of liberal dispensation towards the lower social strata. They also permitted women to have equal status with men. They rejected the tradition that restricted the freedom of women. There were many women devotees and saints such as Akka Mahadevi, Remmavva and others in these two religions. They even composed poems and expressed their devotion towards Siva, as the records of the period mention the grants given by women. We can understand that women were enjoying some property rights and freely participated in public life.

VII.7.Summary

During the period of our study, in Andhra, political power has been fluctuating. During the period of Chalukya-Cholas, the Vijayanagara

CHAPTER VIII

KINGSHIP, RITUAL SOVERGNITY AND LEGITIMIZATION OF POWER

VIII.1. Introduction

To analyse the nature of the state it would be crucial to examine the nature of kingship and sovereignty in medieval Andhra. The historiography on the nature of kingship in medieval south India is represented by the traditional school of thought, the Marxist school of thought and the western school of thought. The traditional school of thought portrayed 'heroic kingship' in which the king's authority is derived from a connection of blood of a king to people and their land of which he was substantially a part. The second school of thought stressed moral or *dharmaic* kingship in which the king is fully realised as *Chakravarthi* who is a complete moral agency for the protection of his pupils. The lord-vassal relationship is determined by the loyalty and subalternity of the latter. The third school of thought viewed it as 'ritual kingship'. It reflects the incorporation and integration of different power groups. In other words it is a Brahmanical ritual constitution in which the Brahmins, temples and kings play a prominent role.

VIII.2. Concept of Kshatriyahood

The process of Kshatriyahood in South India is a debatable issue among the historians. Many scholars accepted that the Kshatriya community, which occupied the second place in the traditional fourfold *Varna* hierarchy is totally absent in south India. There was an interesting debate regarding the Kshatriyahood in the *Mahabharata*. In the context of

the, Kauravas, the question arises whether the Kshatriyahood comes by birth or by acquiring? In this regard majority of the people accept that the person who possesses *Kshatra* (coercive power) and held the *rajya* can only be considered as the Kshatriya (Venkatavadhani,1969). Similar conditions could be applied to the period of our study in Andhra, to the kings, chiefs and the Samsthanaadhisas. Since all the rulers of this period belong to the *Chaturdha kula* or the peasant warrior group, they claimed the Kshatriyahood after attaining political authority. By virtue of their coercive power, these peasant warrior groups gradually became the rulers of the land. They were called Satsudras because they are engaged in domestic and other occupations such as agriculture (Sharma,1958). Among such Sudras, the Reddies, Velamas and Kammas deserve mention. The dominant peasant groups of the early medieval times who were humble in origin such as the Rastrakutas, the Chalukyas and the Kakatiyas claimed Kshatriyahood after attaining sovereignty. The Rastrakutas and the Chalukyas claimed to be Kshatriyas of lunar race. So also the Kakatiyas, who were the peasant warrior group of Sudra caste, claimed Kshatriyahood of lunar race (*Chandravamsa*) in their early career, and claimed the solar race (*Suryavamsa*) after they attained sovereignty (Kanaka Durga,1992).

It is interesting to note that all the feudatory chiefs of the Chalukya - Cholas and the Kakatiyas also appear to have followed the same practice. The Velanati Cholas, the Haihayas of Kona family, Konda padumatis, Kotas, Natavadis, Cherukus, Chodas of Kunduru and Nellore, Vinyalas, Malyalas and Kayasthas are the Kshatriyas of solar and lunar races. So the transmission or acquisition of political domination from the central to the supra- local and local powers with the symbol of Kshatriyahood was quite

common in the medieval times. It is termed by Herman Kulke as Kshatriyahood (Herman Kulke, 1971). The Sudra families and the dominant peasant warrior groups of the medieval times, in the process of agrarian expansion attained political power and claimed Kshatriyahood, thus legitimized their power and stabilised their (newly acquired) authority. They traced their lineage to mythical races. It is interesting to note that the feudatory chiefs such as the Velanati Cholas, Haihayas, Kondapadumatis, Natavadis and Chagis who emerged as political powers during the medieval period claimed the lineage from Durjaya, whereas the Velamas claim their lineage from *Raghuvamsa*, Manuma, Brahma, Vishnu and Vishnu Vardhana (Venkata Ramanaiah, 1939). As mentioned elsewhere, to legitimise the coercive power and to hold the ritual links with all the different cultural and power groups, they portrayed their ritual hegemony through (1) *birudavali* (entitlement), (2) filiation (descent) and (3) patronage to arts and letters.

VIII.3. *Birudavali* (entitlement)

To establish their pomp and glory, kings, chiefs and feudatories of medieval Andhra had the epithets which reflect their grandeur. The titles like *Mahamandaleswara*, *Chalamartiganda*, *Andhra desadhiswara*, *Aniyankabhima*, etc indicate the strength and valour of those kings and feudatory chiefs. The term *Mahamandaleswara* reflects one's overlordship in their particular principality. Likewise, *Chalamartiganda* and *Aniyankabhima* show their physical strength. *Andhradesadhiswara* indicates that the particular chief exercised complete independence over the regions of Andhra country (Table VIII.2).

TABLE-VIII.2
TITLES OF THE KINGS AND CHIEFS

Dynasty/Principality	King/Chief	Epithets	Date	Reference
(1) Kona Haihaya	Rajendra Choda-I	Vikramarudra, Gandaberunda	ca 1128-1135AD	<i>EI</i> , Vol no XII
(2) Palnadu Haihaya	Anuguraju	Mahamandaleswara	ca 1134-1147AD	304 of 1930-31 301 of 1915
(3) Chagi	Dora-II	Natavadi Vishayadhiswara	ca 1190-1147AD	294,296 of 1892
(4) Kondapadumati	Manda II	Aniyanka Bhima	ca 1125-1199AD	214 of 1892, <i>SII</i> Vol IV, 662
(5) Natavadi	Durga	Mandalika, Natava divishayadhiswara	ca 1104-1157AD	Yasodadevi, V 1993
(6) Saronadha	Indulun Annaiah	Gajapati, Gajasimha	contemporary of Prataparudra	M Rama Rao <i>Kakatiya Sanchika</i>
(7) Pithapur Chalukyas	Vishnuvardhana	Sarvalokasraya,	ca 1123-1145AD	41 of 1912 1941
(8) Elamanchili Chalukyas	Upendra	Maharaja, Rajasekhara	ca 1282-1300AD	299 of 1899
(9) Nidadavolu Chalukyas	Mahadeva	Shatsahasravani	ca 1194-1230AD	280 of
(10) Konidena Cholas	Tribhuvana Malla	Tenkanaditya, Jaganoobaganda	ca 1137-1151AD	Yasodadevi, V 1993
(11) Nellore Cholas	Viraganda Gopala	Tribhuvana Chakravarti	ca 1292-1302AD	Yasodadevi, V 1993
(12) Kanduru Cholas	Tondaya Chola	Mahamandaleswara, Viramaheswara	ca 1077-1116AD	APGAS no 3
(13) Velanati Cholas	Gonka-I	Mahamandaleswara	ca 1076-1106AD	APGAS no 3
(14) Malyala	Dannasenani	Padamuyhuganda Divichurakara	ca 1076-1106AD	Telangana Inscriptions
(15) Velama	Prasadutya	Kakattiyavamsa stapanacharya	ca 1076-1106AD	<i>Velugotivavamsava</i>
(16) Musunuri	Kapayanayaka	Andhradesadhiswara	ca 1076-1106AD	M Somasekhara Sharma 1993

VIII.4. Filiation

The other means of exercising hegemony over different power groups was through maintaining geneologies and filiation As mentioned earlier, the kings, after attaining sovereign power, legitimized themselves by claiming Kshatriyahood and by bringing them in the line of mythical geneologies which were prepared for them by the Brahmans However, the

genealogical record is not based on the region but on the distribution of the lineage which may or may not coincide with a geographical region (Romila Thapar, 1978). It is interesting to note that the genealogies belong to a specific social group the members of which belong to the lineage that had access to political status (Table VIII.3)

TABLE-VIII.3
GENEALOGIES OF SELECT SOCIAL GROUPS

Dynasty/Principality	Ancestor	Place	Date	Reference
(1) Kona Haihaya	Karthavirya	Mahishmati	ca 1300-1400AD	<i>EI</i> no X
(2).Palnadu Haihayas	Karthavirya	Mahishmati	ca 1100-1481AD	<i>Telangana Inscriptions</i>
(3).Chagis	Durjaya	Lotd of west	ca 1100-1477AD	<i>SII Vol V, no 218</i>
((4) Kondapadamati	Kubjavishnu	Omgerumargatraya	ca 1100-1282AD	<i>SII Vol VI, 218</i>
(5) Kotas	Dhanunjaya gotra	Omgerumargatraya	ca 1100-1270AD	<i>SII Vol VI, 103</i>
(6) Natavadi	Durjaya	Omgerumargatraya	ca 1104-1269AD	M Rama Rao, <i>Kakatiya Sanchika</i>
(7) Saronadhas	Brahma	Lords of lake	ca 950-1260AD	<i>Kakatiya Sanchika</i>
(8).Pithapur Chalukyas	Hanta, Manava sa	Ayodhya	ca 925-1226AD	<i>IA XX, 168</i>
(9) Elamanchili Chalukyas	Atri, son of Brahma	Ayodhya	ca 1150-1530AD	<i>IA XX, 268</i>
(10) Konidena Cholas	Kankala	Koduru	ca 1137-1151AD	Yasodadevi, V.19 93
(11) Nellore Cholas	Viraganda Gopala	Ayodhya	ca 1292-1302AD	Yasodadevi, V 1993
(12) Kayastha	Gangaya Sahini	Mahishmati	ca 1273-1335AD	Tnpurantaka Devalaya Sasanalu
(13) Kanduru Cholas	Tondaya Chola	Koduru	ca 1077-	APGAS no 3
(14) Polavasa	Medaraju	Mahishmati	ca 1116-1160AD	<i>Telangana Inscriptions</i>
(15).Velanati Cholas	Gonka-I	Ayodhya	ca 1076-1106AD	<i>APGAS no 3</i>
(16) Velama	Prasaditya	Amanagallu	ca 1076-1106AD	<i>Velugotivan-Vamsavali</i>
(16).Musunuri	Kapaya Nayaka	Mahishmati	ca 1076-1106AD	M Somasekhara Sharma 1993

III.5. Royal Temple Policy

The subsidiary dynasties and the regional powers which emerged by virtue of their political, economic and social basis found a substantial driving force in formulating and manipulating the social institutions. In order to stabilise their political base, the kings legitimised their coercive power over their realm through their patronage to the institutions which was inevitable to hold different power and cultural groups together. So they sought the help of religious groups especially the Brahmins, Vaishnavite and Saivite sectarian leaders. Temple became an important institution to stabilise the king's authority which resulted in framing of royal temple policy. As discussed in Chapter VI, it had three major characteristic features

1. Royal patronage to the places of pilgrimage of regional and all India importance with their respective kingdoms
2. A systematic and large scale settlement of Brahmins. And
3. construction of new imperial temples (Herman Kulke, 1978)

These three major characteristics facilitated the linking of the different powers and cultural groups to the central power on the one hand and also integrated the autochthonous communities into caste society on the other.

The kings in order to have effective control over their realms, visited different centres of pilgrimage, which were centered around devotionalism or *bhakti* cult. The kings after the campaigns and conquests visited the shrines and temples in their domains and paid obeisance. They made

donations to the shrines and temples both in cash and kind, on one hand, as devotion, and on the other, to legitimize their authority over the newly conquered provinces by them. Anavota I during his invasion over coastal Andhra made a pilgrimage to the Simhachalam temple (*SII*.vol VI,no 1081) On that occasion he made a gift of three *tankas* to the treasury of Lord Narasimha, the presiding deity. In the same way Vedagiri I also made gifts to lord Narasimha (*SII* vol VI,no.1100) The devotion of kings to the deities (the so called royal policy) resulted in extending their patronage to the temples Anapota I constructed steps to the north of Srisailam near Jatararevu, to facilitate the pilgrims coming from Telangana region. In the same period Anavema Reddy constructed steps to the Srisailam temple (*SII* vol.IV,no. 559). Patronage and royal visit to the temple appears to have added grandeur and prestige to the kings.

This period witnessed the growth of Vaishnavism and Virasaivism Initially, the cult centres were held by the Brahmans, but the powerful *bhakti* movement could no longer be passed by the royal ideologies It seems that the *bhakti* movement which traces on personal faith and self sacrifice became the vehicle to hold the society together Thus the kings through the pilgrimage tradition and royal visit to the temples tried to uphold their ritual hegemony.

The second aspect is the systematic settlement of Brahmans. As discussed previously, the role of the Brahmans and their association with temples and *Mattas* was needed by the 'state' The kings used to give the *Agraharas* to the Brahmans in the newly formed provinces, so that they may act as pace makers with the people in their given areas and legitimize

the rule of the king in these regions. Thus the local chiefs derived their legitimacy by exchange nexus between themselves and Brahmans and those Brahmanical institutions and the *Brahmadeyas*, and there was exchange of gifts and royal honours between the pontiffs and kings.

Another aspect of this policy is attributing divinity to the king (i.e. the king as the deputy of the deity) and construction of royal temples on the personal names of various kings. In attempting to equate royalty with the divinity, the divine figures chosen were significantly, gods of the agamic Puranic Hinduism. It was necessary to accommodate even the gods with whom the newly Kshatriyised rulers were equated into the pattern of the Puranic texts (Kesavan Veluthat, 1993). Another way was naming the temples after the ruler who made the endowment. In most cases, the deity himself was known by a name or a title of the ruler. It is viewed that the Cholas in south India started the practice of consecrating images of the kings in temples and thus making them objects of worship (Kesavan Veluthat, 1993). This practice was repeated by rulers of later dynasties in south India. Particularly the chieftains and feudatories in medieval Andhra have followed this policy of constructing royal temples on their own names and in the memory of their parents and family members (Table VIII. 4).

TABLE- VIII.4
ROYAL TEMPLES

Dynasty/Principal ity	King/Chief	Particulars of the Temple/Structure	Date	Reference
(1) Kona Haihaya	Rajendra Choda	Gandaberunda beva Mandapa of Bhimeswara temple of	ca 1100- 1300AD	<i>EI</i> Vol IV, no 17

		Draksharamam		
(2).Kotas	Ganapamba	Beteswaralingam of Yanamadala, Ganapeswara Temple	ca 1100-1270AD	<i>EI</i> Vol III, no 16
(3).Natavadis	Muppambika	Installed lord Muppeswara at Tnpuantakam	ca1104-1269AD	<i>Yasodadevi</i> , 1993
(4) Ivani Kandravadis	Palakolani Kotonayaka	Lakshmi Narasimhadevatemple at Atmakur	ca 1238AD	<i>APE</i> 63 of 1917
(5) Nidadavolu Chalukyasa	Bhima-I Vengiswara	Bhimeswara temple, Prasada with mandapa installed Vengiswara and Nandi mandapa at Denduluru	ca 1325AD	<i>EI</i> IV, no 32, <i>EI</i> XIX, no 26
(6) Konidena Cholas	Mara	Someswara temple of Kopparam	ca1137AD	<i>APGIS</i> 327 of 1915
(7) Kanduru Cholas	Mailambika	Bhimeswara temple, Bhimananarayana temple at Panugallu	ca 1124AD	B N Sastry, <i>Inscriptions of Kanduru Cholas</i>
(8).Kayastha	Gangaa Sahini	Kamateswara temple at Pushpagiri	ca 1255AD	<i>Cuddapah District Inscriptions part I</i> no 137
(9) Velanati Cholas	Gonka-I	Pandiswara temple at Chandavolu	ca 1255AD	<i>Yasodadevi</i> , 1993
(10) Malyala	Chounda	Choundiswara temple at Kondiparti	ca 1203AD	<i>APGES</i> no 6
(11) Velama	Mada-I	Chennakesava temple at Domalapalli	ca 1367AD	<i>Nalgonda District Inscriptions</i> No 147
(12) Velama	Venna	Temple of Kondiparti	ca 1369AD	<i>Inscriptions of A P Warangal</i> dt no 105
(13) Recharla Reddies	Loka Chamupati	Rudreswara, Lokeswara and Ganeswara temples of Elakurti	ca 1260AD	<i>APGES</i> no 6
(14) Reddies of Kondavidu	Prolaya Vema Reddy	Steps to the temple of Srsailam (Patalaganga)	ca 1423AD	M, Somasekhara Sharma 1993
(15) Reddies of Kondavidu	Bendapudi Annamantri	12 pillar Gopura Mandapa in Bhimeswara temple of Draksharamam	ca 1428AD	<i>SII</i> Vol IV, no 1381

VIII.5. Extensive Patronage to Arts and Letters

The rulers maintained a court of poets and scholars to enhance their pomp and glory and to perpetuate their name and fame. They took

dedication of those creative works written by the poets and scholars patronised by them. Generally, the poets use to praise the greatness of their patron and offer their books as a symbol of their respect towards their overlords. Sometimes, the kings themselves were the poets. Their works also reflect the glory of the particular scholar.

Another means of exercising authority by the medieval rulers was by matrimonial alliances with their feudatories within their empire, in order to have effective control over them, and to stabilize their authority (Ramachandra Rao, 1990). In order to prove their legitimacy over the territories of their rule, the medieval rulers followed naming the places and villages on their personal names. The places like Ganapeswaram, Rudravaram, Betavolu, Bayyala Cheruvu and Bhimeswaram were named after the personal names of various kings and feudatories in medieval Andhra.

VIII.6. *Kulapurānam*s

The role of *Kulapurānam*s in enhancing the social and ritual status of various Sudra and lower communities is significant. Since they are in oral forms it is not possible to assess the date of origin of these *Kulapurānam*s. But we have evidences of the existence of those bards like Pichukuntlu, Dakkalis, Asadis and Viramustis in medieval Andhra. Medieval Telugu literature mentions those dependent communities. Particularly, the Virasaivate works such as *Basavapurānam* and *Panditaradhyachantra* by Palkuriki Somanadha mentions the dependent communities. It is interesting to note that these *Kulapurānam*s and the stories connected with them are closely associated with Virasaivism. In the *Kulapurānam*s and Virasaivism

are aimed at social equality of various communities particularly the Sudras and other artisan communities. Every *Kulapuranam* reflects the self respect of that particular community. For example, the *Jambapuranam*, the *Kulapuranam* of Madigas narrates that Jambavantha, the ancestor of the Madigas is the eldest among the heavenly bodies. For the sake of the society, he kills his own son and manufactures various implements out of his son's organs. Hence, it can be viewed that the *Kulapuranams* of the lower social groups are created for elevating their social status. Hence, it is viewed that the *Kulapuranams* and Virasaivism got prominence almost during the same period in Andhra i.e. 12th century AD (Subbachan, 2000)

Generally, the bards like Pichukuntus, Batrajas, Asadis and Dakkalis praise their patron communities in their songs and stories and obtain the *miracies* (remunerations) for their service. Pichukuntus compare the ancestor of the Reddi community i.e. Kunti Malla Reddy with Lord Mallikarjuna of Srisailam. Kurubas also explain the story of Mallanna as the *Kulapuranam* of the Gollas. Patamvaru, the bards of the Chakalis (washerman) recite the story of *Rajakapuranam* which is otherwise known as *Basavapuranam*. According to this narrative, Medivelu Machaiah, the ancestor of the Chakalis was born out of the sweat of Virabhadra. *Markandeyapuranam*, the *Kulapuranam* of Padmasalis mention that Brugu Maharshi who was proficient in weaving the clothes was the ancestor of the Padmasali community.

VIII.7. *Kulapuranams* and Ritual Status

Kulapuranams also give the Sanskritised names of various communities which reflect their ritual status. For instance the Panchanam

varu, the five artisan Sudra communities such as the sculptor, painter, goldsmith, ironsmith and the carpenter were termed as Viswakarmas or Viswabrahmans and the term Mangali (barber) was Sanskritised as Nayi Brahman. Likewise, in this process of upward mobility, Gollas legitimized themselves as Yadavas, Chakali as Rajaka, Kamma as Chowdari, Jalari as Agnikula Kshatriya, Madigas as Jambavanthulu or Arundhatiyulu, Salis as Devangas and Vaddera as Togata. Terms were coined for those Sudra and Atisudra communities to exhibit their ritual status. It is also noteworthy that communities like the Viswabrahmans and Nayi Brahman started wearing the *Jandhyam* (sacred thread) which is the original practice of the twice born communities, i.e. The Brahmanas, Kshatriyas and Vaisyas. During the period of our study in Andhra, the Sudra ruling classes like the Kamma, Reddi and Velama appointed bards from the community of Bhatraju to recite their *Kulapuranams* and highlight their status. Generally, the Bhatraju praise their patrons and their families in singing, to the accomplishment of music and dancing, their *Kulapuranams*. They connect the ancestors of those Sudra communities with the mythical personalities and also attributed Kshatriyahood to these ruling communities. In this process, the non-ruling artisan groups also imitated the upper strata of the Sudra communities, and they also maintained their bards to praise their genealogies. Hence, the main objective of the *Kulapuranams* is to assert the identity and social status of the various Sudra and Atisudra communities (Table VIII 5)

TABLE- VIII. 5
KULAPURANAMS

Name of the patron community	Dependent community	Particulars of the <i>Kulapuramams</i>
(1).Reddi	Pichukuntlu, Batraju	<i>Kuntimallareddy Katha</i>
(2).Kamma	-do-	-do-
(3).Velama	-do-	-do-
(4).Panchanamvaru(Viswakarma)	Runjas	<i>Viswakarma Puranam</i>
(5) Golla(Yadava)	Mandechulu, Golla Bhagavatulu, Kommulavaru	<i>Yadava Puranam, Katamaraju Katha</i>
(6)Kuruba	Oggu, Birannalu, Devinollu	<i>Oggu Katha, Mallanna Katha</i>
(7)Telaga,Kapu,Tenugu	Kakipadagalu	-do-
(8) Gounda	Goundajettis	<i>Koundinya Puranam</i>
(9) Padmasale	Kunapulivaru	<i>Devangapuram</i>
(10) Chakali(Rajaka)	Patamvaru, Ganjikutivaru	<i>Rajaka Puranam</i>
(11) Mangali(Nayi Brahmana)	Addapollu	<i>Nayi Brahmana Puranam</i>
(12) Kummari	Pekkintvaru, Pekkandru	<i>Pekkinti Puranam</i>
(13)Madiga	Dakkali, Chindu	<i>Jambapuram, Chindu Bhagavatam</i>
(14) Mala	Mala Masti, Gurramvaru	<i>Malapuram</i>
(15).Gonds	Pathans	<i>Gondu Puranam</i>
(16) Koya	Doli	<i>Koya Puranam</i>

VIII.9. Samsthanadhisas and Ritual Sovereignty

During the late medieval and early modern periods in Andhra the Samsthanadhisas who were craving for identity, adopted all the strategies for the projection of ritual sovereignty on the lines of the Vijayanagara

emperors. The political ideology of the Samsthanadhisas appeared to have undermined the Kshastriya *Varna* base to rule. But the Hindu *dharmic* tradition was modified by the priestly class of the late medieval times to incorporate ritually low *Varnas* and to give them the right to rule. The rulership whether that of the chieftainship or kingship is made sacral. Therefore it is dependent upon ritual incorporation. The very term 'raja' is altered to suit the ritually incorporative character of Samsthana kingship (Burton Stien, 1980)

The *rajas* of Samanthams also patronised poets, scholars and pandits in their courts (Donappa, 1969). Even in this tradition they followed the Vijayanagara style. For example Chinn Soma Bhupati of Gadwala Samsthanam was compared with Krishnadevaraya. He was titled as '*Navabhojaraja*' who had eight poets i.e. *Astadiggajas* in the royal court (Venkateswara Sharma, 1987). The Samsthanadhisas had court poets apart from several pandits, who were seated in the special *darbars* which took place on the occasion of *jataras* and festivals.

The Samsthanadhisas imitated the ritual sovereignty of the Vijayanagara rulers. Like the Vijayanagara rulers they wore the royal dress and other paraphernalia. The *jeri* turbans and silk clothes with *jeri* borders, gold bracelets, golden girdles and anklets were the components of the royal dress. They also maintained royal harems and royal palaces with all grandeur. They too patronised the Chennakesava cult like the Vijayanagara rulers (Ramulu, 1993).

The Samsthanadhisas appeared to have followed almost all the *dharmic* traditions of the Vijayanagara empire. They tried to stabilise the political hegemony through rituals and Hindu ideology, and it is reflected in their temples with magnificent *gopuras*, huge *prakaras* and in the celebration of Hindu festivals such as Dasara and Sriramanavami with great pomp and glory (Ramulu, 1993) The important temples constructed in the Samsthanams reflect Vijayanagara style The *galigopuras* (towers) are very high which symbolise the Hindu identity For example the *galigopuram* of Chennakesava temple at Gadwal is a spectacular view from the banks of the river Krishna. The huge fortresses, their beautifully decorated dwellings within the highly protected garrisons and fortifications, and the big temples with high *gopuras* reflect the attempts of the Samsthanadhisas to consider themselves homologous, though not equal with god It reflects their desire for ritual recognition Within the territories of the Samsthanas, *jataras* of village goddesses such as Jamulamma, Maremma, Sunkulamma and Savaramma were celebrated with glory and grandeur (Ramulu, 1993).

VIII.10. Summary

During the period of our study in Andhra, the kingship, Kshatriyahood and sovereignty were not followed in a traditional way Any person belonging to any community could acquire the ruling power by virtue of his valour and strength The *Varnasramadharma* was not followed The term Kshatriya seems to be totally absent in south India, and new interpretations to Kshatriyahood and kingship were given. In this process the Brahmans played a very crucial role in attributing the Kshatriyahood and creating new genealogies to various non-Kshatriya and Sudra peasant

communities and received land grants and agraharas as remuneration for their ritual services.

While Kamma, Reddi, Velama and Kapus from Atisudra community played a vital role in medieval Andhra, the Gollas, Baliyas, Jalaris, Boyas and Konda Doras and pastoral and tribal communities also occupied prominent place as the *Palegars*, petty chiefs and Samsthanadhisas in the late medieval and early modern periods in Andhra. All the Sudra peasant, pastoral and tribal communities who obtained the ruling power were given the status of solar and lunar races of Kshatriyas. To stabilise their authority and power in their respective domains the non-Kshatriya rulers made many attempts to prove their ritual status. Patronising the Brahmans, offering land grants and gifts, visiting religious centres in the remote areas of their realms, constructing royal temples and installing images, claiming new genealogies, linking them with mythical ancestors, patronising arts and letters and imitating the other 'royal' practices were some of the measures implemented and followed by the ruling families.

CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSION

IX.1. Introduction

The objective of this study is an explanation of the role of the chiefs and chieftains and the socio-historical relations in their appropriation of power in medieval Andhra with a view to situate the feudal chiefs in medieval Andhra in historical relations. The geographical and political units for this study are all Telugu speaking parts of medieval Andhra: the Coastal, Telangana and Rayalasima regions. The period broadly covers eleventh to seventeenth centuries AD. The legitimization of political power by medieval feudal chiefs, to a large extent, is related to the inter-and-intra-sub regional process; has a linkage to the centripetal and centrifugal variables in the realm of respective 'state (s)'; and the socio-cultural dynamics of the peasant, pastoral, and tribal communities in adapting to the new frontiers, power and authority of the 'state' in the medieval framework. The textual, literary and epigraphic sources of the medieval period of this region provide valuable sources for this study.

IX.2. *Samantha* system

The *Samantha* system was the main feature of the medieval Andhra. Andhra was completely under the rule of the *Samantha* kings, *Dandanayakas*, *Amatyas* and *Senanis* during ca 1100-1400 AD. The Eastern Chalukyas, the Rastrakutas, the Chalukya Cholas, the Kalyani Chalukyas and the Kakatiyas exercised the feudatory system in their administration. Sources such as epigraphs indicate that there were variations in the appointment of the feudatory chiefs in medieval Andhra. In

the first case, generally, the defeated king, was made a feudatory or royal official. These feudatories governed their principalities with the acceptance of their overlords. In the second case, some chiefs within the king's dominion were given some territories by the king as a reward for their services and valour and were made feudatories. Gradually, some of these chiefs became prominent and played a significant role during the time of wars and were appointed as feudatories.

The rulers in the medieval period of Andhra appointed the *Samanthas* in different administrative divisions for the safeguard of the territory. Our sources indicate that these *Samanthas* also had their own capitals. The empires were divided into *Rastras*, *Mandalas* and *Gramakutas* for administrative purposes. The feudatory chiefs maintained armies and provided assistance to the king during the time of wars and provided security in the bordering areas of the kingdom. Kings sanctioned some areas to those *Samanthas* in return to their services and they were given the authority to collect the taxes in their principalities. The kings exercised all powers in appointing and dismissing the *Samanthas*. The *Samanthas* also had full-fledged freedom in recruiting and removing various employees under their control.

IX.3. Feudatories of the Chalukya-Cholas(ca.1100-1200AD)

The Chalukya-Cholas ruled Andhra desa from ca 1075 to 1200 AD, for 125 years. They succeeded the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi and stood as a link between the Eastern Chalukyas on one hand and the Kakatyas on the other. All the available sources regarding their polity indicate that they adopted the *Samantha* system and their political supremacy in Andhra was

limited (Krishna Kumari, 1985). Velanati Cholas, Kondapadumatis, Chagis, Kotas, Chalukyas of Pithapuram, Haihayas of Kona, Palnadu, Panchadarla and Gona regions were the important feudatories who owed allegiance to the Chalukya-Cholas (Yasodadevi, 1993)

IX.4. Feudatories of the Kakatiyas(ca.1000-1323AD)

The Kakatiyas, one of the major dynasties that ruled the Andhra *desa* during the medieval period started their career as the *Samantha Dandanayakas* of Rastrakutas and the Western Chalukyas of Kalyani. When the Kakatiyas proclaimed sovereignty from the western Chalukyan overlords, all the remaining feudatories of the Chalukyas turned to the subordinates of the Kakatiyas. Ganapatideva allowed the feudatories of the Chalukya-Cholas to remain, as they were in the Chalukya-Chola and Western Chalukyan periods. As the Kakatiyas followed the decentralised type of administration with limited central enforcement, they appointed officers throughout their kingdom. Besides the feudatories who were continuing from the Chalukya-Cholas, the other feudatories of the Kakatiyas were Velanati Cholas, the Chalukya family, Vinyalas, Recherlas, Malyalas, Kayastha, Padmanayakas, Chalukyas of Nidadavolu, the Telugu Cholas of Kandukuru, the Saronadhas, Polavasas, Yadavas, the Reddies of Koppula family, Panchedis and Banas (Yasodadevi, 1993). All the major dynasties and their *Samanthas* were of the *Chaturtha Varna* and claimed themselves as Kshatriyas of lunar and solar races.

IX.5. Sub-Regional Powers in Post-Kakatiya Period

In the post-Kakatiya period, the Musunuri chiefs of Warangal, Velamas of Rachakonda and Devarakonda, the Reddies of Kondavidu and

Rajamahendravaram branches, the Nayakas of Korukonda and Manchikonda emerged as sub-regional independent powers in the Telangana and coastal regions of Andhra. Since the conditions prevailed in this period are not discussed properly in the works of many historians, scholars like Somasekhara Sharma (1945) viewed this period as a 'forgotten chapter' in the history of Andhras.

The causes for the fall of the Kakatiyas and the rise of regional powers were viewed differently by different schools of thought. According to the traditional school, the defects in administrative system, particularly the war-craft, was the major reason for the fall of the Kakatiya power. The Marxist school of thought viewed that the landed intermediaries between the kings and peasants became strong by possessing land and power, and declared independence when the overlord became weak, and developed into sub-regional powers. The American school of thought believed that when the linkages between the 'king' and different 'power groups' were lost, the whole structure collapsed and the local power groups gradually developed into sub-regional powers, either by curbing the power of the neighbouring states or shifting alliances frequently among themselves.

IX.5 (a). The Velamas of Rachakonda and Devarakonda(ca.1323-1475AD)

The Recherla Velamas of Rachakonda and Devarakonda held the entire Telangana as successful sub-regional powers for one- and-a-half century, playing an active role in the contemporary politics. They started their political career as subordinate powers under the Eastern Chalukyas and continued in the same position under the Kakatiyas. They rose to the

status of sub-regional power, i.e. the *Mandalikas* or *Nayankara* holders, thereby gaining prominence in and around the regions. After the fall of the Kakatiya hegemony, taking advantage of the socio-economic and political background of the period, they consolidated their position and emerged as a sub-regional power, established a kingdom and became rulers (Yasodadevi, 1978).

IX.5(b). The Musunuri Family(ca.1323-1368AD)

After the fall of the Kakatiyas, their feudatories organised themselves into a confederacy under the leadership of Prolaya Nayaka of the Musunuri family. He slowly threw away the Muslims and regained the coastal regions of Andhra. Both Prolaya Nayaka and Kapaya Nayaka of the Musunuri family played a prominent role in liberating coastal Andhra from the Muslim rule. In order to protect his victories, Kapaya fought with the Delhi Sultan, Mohammad-bin-Tugluq, and the neighbouring Hindu kingdoms. But the Velamas of Recherla family defeated Kapaya and annexed his kingdom. The principality of Korukonda also became powerful during the post-Kakatiya period (Somasekhara Sharma, 1993).

IX.5(c). Reddi Kingdoms of Different Branches(ca1250-1430AD)

There are many branches among the Reddi dynasties in medieval Andhra, which ruled in different areas with different capitals. Beside the Panta clan of the Kondavidu dynasty, Reddies of Rajamahendravaram and Kandukuru are the other families which grew as the regional powers after the fall of the Kakatiyas. The Reddies in medieval Andhra society were basically agriculturalists. In course of time, they took military service, and became generals and commanders. They gained the favour of their rulers

by their valour and loyalty and rose to political power and prominence (Somasekhara Sharma, 1993).

The main sub-regional powers, i.e. the Velamas and the Reddies emerged in the transitional period between the two great Hindu empires, the Kakatyas and the Vijayanagaras. Different regional powers had to contend with one another to stabilize their own power. In this critical position, the sub-regional powers frequently shifted their alliances among themselves and also with the Muslims.

IX.6. Intra-Sub-Regional Principalities in the Post-Vijayanagara Period

On the ruins of the Bahamani and the Vijayanagara empires, several kingdoms arose and enjoyed virtual autonomy within their jurisdiction (discussed in chapter IV). Samsthanams were one of the category of such states. The Hindu chieftains, who hitherto served the Vijayanagara kings from the Kakatiya period, were now forced to accept the suzerainty of the Muslim rulers. The Muslim rulers of the south created *Jagirs* and *Inams* of their own nobility. This situation created tension between the Hindu chieftains and the Muslim nobles. In order to demarcate the *Jagirs* and fiefs of the Muslim nobles, the Hindu chieftains formed Samsthanams.

There are some variations in the nature of Samsthanams in the Andhra desa. As many of these Samsthanams are very ancient, some of them disappeared and some other estates were formed with the permanent settlement made by the British in 1802.

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IX.6(a). Samsthanams of the Telangana Region(ca.1590-1949AD)

The Samsthanams of the Telangana region were under the overlordship of the Nizam. Jataprolu, Amarachinta (Atmakur), Gopalpet, Wanaparthy, Gadwala and Papannapet were important among the Samsthanams of the Nizam dominion. All these Samsthanams were recognised as the feudatories of the Nizam and were paying tribute (Donappa, 1969).

IX.6(b). Samsthanams of the Rayalasima Region(ca.1719-1949AD)

Samsthanams of Rayalasima were formed in a different manner, according to the *Amaranayankara* system of the Vijayanagara period. The western Samsthanams of Venkatagiri, Kalahasti, Karvetinagaram, Punganur and Mutyalapadu were formed according to this policy. The Nawabs of Golconda and Arcot continued the old *Amaranayankara* system but the Samsthanams of Andhra were given the status of Zamindaris (Donappa, 1969)

IX.6(c). Samsthanams of Middle Andhra and Northern Circars (ca.1667-1949AD)

The Samsthanams of middle Andhra were Nuzuvudu, Amaravati, Challapalli, Pithapuram and Kapileswarapuram, and the Samsthanams of northern circars, Bobbili and Vijayanagaram. Andra, Chemudu, Merangi and Kurupam owed their allegiance to the Nizam. Though all these Samsthanams were nominally under the overlordship of the Nizam, they were virtually independent and played a prominent role in the political affairs. They followed the Vijayanagara rulers in all manners (Donappa, 1969)

IX.7. Antecedents of Caste System

Caste is one of the most important attributes to begin with for any kind of historical analysis of social mobility. Religious texts such as *Rigveda*, *Puranas*, *Manusmriti* and *Bhagavatgita* attribute the origin of caste to Brahma and Vishnu. According to *Rigveda* the four castes in the *Varna* system were born from the four organs of the creator. Likewise, *Bhagavatgita* says that the *Chaturvarna* system was created by Lord Krishna and he classified different castes according to their qualities. *Manusmriti*, the text on law, provides lower status to the lower caste groups and women.

Sir Risely and others explain that the origin of caste is based on hereditary occupation. It may be one of the factors for the origin of caste. But there are some evidences to show that hereditary occupation alone is not the main factor for the birth of caste. Social analysts like Lakshmi Narasu (1988) and B R Ambedkar (1969, 1979) state that caste is rigidly endogamous and the endogamous character isolated the caste and tends to shut them out for ever from one another.

IX.8. Evolution of Caste System

The institution of caste evolved gradually in different phases. Apart from the rise and fall of particular castes over the centuries, the system enjoyed a degree of 'openness'. All social groups could not be given a precise *Varna* status. The processes of *anuloma* and *pratiloma* were conceded and a number of new and inevitably mixed castes were incorporated in the social order. Of these, many came to be described as *Mlecha*, such as *Ambasta*, *Ugra* and *Nishada* among *anuloma* and *Suta*,

Magadha, Chandala, Ayogava and Pulkasa among *pratiloma*. They were all given a low rank in social order and were described as having inferior births.

IX.9. Concept of Untouchability

In this context, it is pertinent to discuss the evolution of untouchability and its implication on the Chandalas. As Ambedkar points out, it is a case of territorial segregation and putting the people inside a barbed wire or a sort of cage (Ambedkar, 1969). Louis Dumont defines untouchability as the segregation into distinct hamlets of the most impure categories (Louis Dumont, 1970). The phenomenon of untouchability in the Indian context is nothing but a by-product of the *Chaturvarna* system that prevailed in the ancient Indian society. The law givers made prescriptions to keep the Chandala at a distance from the settled *Savarna* population and prohibited physical contact with them as far as possible. Hence, it is viewed that the idea of untouchability evolved gradually and the Chandalas came to be looked down as untouchables.

Even within the mixed castes, there is a hierarchy of ranking, as recorded in the *Dharmasastras*. Professionally, they followed occupations such as washermen, fishermen, potters, leather workers, iron smiths, basket makers, hunters and scavengers.

IX.10. Situation in Andhra

Coming to the situation of caste system in Andhra in the historical context, though the society was depicted as based on the fourfold *Varna* system, there were numerous castes and sub-castes, occupational and

semi-occupational groups in the complex web of the Andhra society. Beside the priests, kings and traders the rest of the society at the lower level, was a mixture of numerous caste groups. Sudras, who occupied the fourth place in the *Varna* hierarchy, were sub-divided into Satsudras and Atisudras. Agricultural communities like the Kamma, Reddy, Velama and Kapu came under the category of Satsudras. All the artisan communities like the Panchanamvaru, barbers, weavers, washermen, basket makers, potters and oil mongers belong to the Atisudra group, semi-traders like Telika, Perika, Dommara and Balinja; the pastoral Gollas; and Mala, Madiga, Begari and Gosangi were included in the group of the Panchamas.

Beside the castes and sub-castes, we have the aboriginal tribes who have been living in the forests through the centuries. At present there are 33 kinds of tribal communities identified in Andhra Pradesh. Chenchu, Koya, Konda Reddy, Savara, Gond, Yanadi, Yerukala and Lambada are important among them (Vidyarthi and Binay Kumar Roy, 1989).

In religious customs and belief system, we have two phases i.e. Brahmanical and non-Brahmanical in the Andhra society. While the Brahmanical rituals and worship were observed by the upper strata of the society, the non-Brahmanical and folk beliefs such as celebrating *jataras* and worshipping *grama devatas* were observed by the lower strata.

IX.11. Social Mobility

Both upward and downward social mobility among different communities occurred in the medieval (and modern periods) in Andhra. The

society appears to be rigid in so far as the hereditary professions are concerned.

IX.11(a). Mobility Among the Brahmans

It is witnessed in this period that some changes occurred in the status of Brahmans. They were not restricted to religious life only. In the Vijayanagara period, Brahmans were engaged in all professions. They were settled as priests, employed in royal courts, and were also traders and hereditary landlords. A few of the Brahmans who claimed themselves as Brahma Kshatriyas, probably formed themselves into a separate sub-community.

IX.11(b). Concept of Kshatriyahood

Though the Kshatriyas belong to the second position in the *Varna* hierarchy, the emergence of the Kshatriya community in south India is explained in various ways. It is clear that the Sudras entered the field of administration in Andhra during all periods and the Kshatriyahood became a goal to be achieved by them.

IX.11(c). Mobility Among the Vaisyas

The Vaisyas of Andhra are generally called Komatis or Settis. In the inscriptions, several sub-divisions of this caste were mentioned like Kamma Komatis, Venginadu Komatis and Kalinga Komatis. Some changes in the duties of the Vaisya community also occurred in the period of our study in Andhra. They were even engaged in military duties during this period. We find some persons of the Vaisya community, distinguishing themselves as soldiers, writers and linguists. They claimed mythical origin and obtained

several social honours. The merchantile classes held superior claims equal to the privileged classes. They bore the *gotras* like the Brahmans and styled themselves as the lords of Penugonda and the lords of Ayodhya, and others traced their descent from Kubera

IX.11(d). Right and Left Hand Communities

There is an interface between the folk and Brahmanical traditions which played a very important role in the social, political and economic spheres in Andhra. The Sudra community which formed the bulk of the population, was divided into a number of sub-sections. R.S.Sharma (1958) classified them as Satsudras and Asatsudras

In the process of social mobility, there was a considerable change in the position of the Sudras in the economic system on the one hand and their social and ritualistic status on the other. The peasant castes, supplemented by some artisans, accounted for 'the pure' ('Satsudras' or 'pure Sudras') and those who continued their old positions were further reinforced by the growing number of untouchables, and were regarded as ritually *asaf* or impure Sudras. They are otherwise classified as right and left hand castes. Agricultural communities like Kamma, Kapu, Reddy and Velama were listed under the right hand or Satsudras. Other communities who practiced non-agricultural occupations like carpentry, weaving, pottery, smithy, shoe making, fishing, oil mongering and washing clothes were listed under the left hand communities

IX.11(e). Mobility Among the Right Hand Communities

Sudra peasant communities like the Reddy, Kamma, Kapu and Velama were economically and politically advanced than the other lower Sudra communities, untouchables and the tribals. Basically, these groups were agriculturalists, but some of them, by achieving economic prosperity became dominant. A considerable number of them followed the profession of arms and joined the armies as soldiers. The feudatory chiefs like the Velanati Cholas, the Kondapadumatis, the Kotas and the Parichedis belong to the Sudra community. They belong to the Kamma, Kapu, Velama and Reddi subsects of the Sudras. As they became the rulers, they rose in social hierarchy and claimed Kshatriyahood.

During the late medieval (and early modern) periods in Andhra, the Satsudra community acquired the status of the Samsthanadhisas: the Samsthanadhisas of Bobbili, Venkatagiri, Nuzividu and Wanaparthy belonged to the Padma Velamas, the Samsthanadhisas of Kapileswarapuram, Challapalli and Amaravathi belonged to the Kamma sub-division of the Sudras and the Samsthanadhisas of Amarachinta, Gadwal and Gopalpet belonged to the Reddi community.

In the process of agrarian expansion and upward mobility in social hierarchy, the Sudra peasant communities of the medieval period attained political power and claimed Kshatriyahood to stabilise their newly acquired authority. They traced their lineage to mythical races. The Kakatiyas, and the sub-regional powers in the post- Kakatiya period such as the Velamas

and the Reddies, the Vijayanagaras and the Samsthanadhisas called themselves as Surya Vamsa and Chandra Vamsa Kshatriyas. Also the *Palegars* of medieval Andhra, belonging to the Boyas (traditional hunter-gatherers) and the Gollas (pastoralists) emerged as powerful chieftains. The Golla *Palegars* claimed that they were Yadavas.

IX.11(f). Mobility Among the Left Hand Communities

It is interesting to note that the members of artisan communities such as Panchanamvaru, i.e. Swarnakara, Kumhari, Silpakara, Kammari and Chitrakararas called themselves as Viswakarma Brahmins. Other Atisudra and semi-traders like Balinja Settlu and Talikas claimed the position of Vaisyas in the society by assuming the gotras of Rishis. The Panchamas were referred to by many names like Mala, Madiga, Begari, Bavani, Bindla, Pambala, Matanga and Jakkula. Except *Kumarasambhavam* of Nannechoda, our sources do not speak about the untouchability observed against the Panchamas during the medieval period in Andhra. Though there was no reference to untouchability we cannot say that there was no inequality among different social groups. Our sources indicate that most of the artisan communities and the Panchamas were following Virasaivism and Vaishnavism which were very liberal in their attitude to the lower social groups.

IX.11(g). Mobility Among the Adivasis

Both literary and epigraphical sources of medieval Andhra indicate that there was an upward social mobility among the tribal communities like Boyas, Chenchus, Koyas and Yerukalas. Certain lineages of these tribals who played a role in the affairs of the 'state' in several ways, witnessed upward mobility. Some of the tribal groups adopted agriculture, trade and

were also warriors in the armies. Some of them legitimised their status as the Kshatriyas. Kings appointed them not only in their hunting expeditions and royal sports but also recruited the tribals as warriors because they were experts in archery. They figure more prominently in the reciprocity with the state (Vedam Venkataraya Sastry, 1964). During the late medieval and early modern periods in Andhra, some of the tribals like Kondadoras occupied the position of Samsthanadhisas. They are efficient in the battlefield . With their economic prosperity, the tribals such as the Kondadoras acquired the position of Samsthanadhisas which is generally believed to be occupied by the ruling classes Our sources indicate that the Samsthanadhisas of Merangi, Andra and Kurupam belonged to the Kondadora tribe. After attaining political power, these tribal Samsthanadhisas also claimed the Kshatriyahood of lunar and solar races (Donappa,1969).

IX.12. The Role of Temple

The temple played a prominent role in the medieval Andhra It was observed that the temple acted as an institute of all the constructional activities of the medieval society (Parabrahma Sastry,1978) The society in the Kakatiya, Reddy and Vijayanagara kingdoms was no exemption in this regard. For stabilising the political power, the kings gave grants to the *Agraharas* and *Devabhogas* to the Brahmans and the temples, and institutionalized these organizations The Temple evolved as an institution of political and economic strength of the rulers Temple construction increased when the *Samantha* system was at its zenith in medieval times in Andhra. As stated by Herman Kulke, in the medieval period, kings

established the royal temple policy and stabilised their political power (Herman Kulke, 1993).

IX.13. Sanskritization

Medieval period in Andhra witnessed Sanskritization of folk gods and goddesses. Religious syncretism gave scope for acculturation of the tribal and pastoral communities with the state and caste societies. Their gods were assimilated into the Hindu pantheon. Not only the gods but also their origins were mythified on the lines of Puranic traditions. Village goddesses were universalised as the consorts of Brahmanical gods Siva and Vishnu (Murthy, 1993).

IX.14. The Position of Women

With regard to the status of women, they were classified into various categories in this period-- *Kulastreeelu* (family women), *Bhoga Streeelu* (courtesans) and *Vesyalu* (prostitutes). During the medieval times in Andhra, the *Bhogastreeelu* or the courtesans occupied prominent place in the society. Generally, men belonging to the royal or rich families were attracted to these women. They patronized them, more-or-less as paramours, and provided them wealth. These women, with their wealth and prosperity, maintained some individuality. They even gave grants to the temples and issued inscriptions. They are well versed in performing arts like dance and music. The courtesan women enjoyed respect in the society.

IX.15. Theories on State Formation

During the period of our study, Andhra was under the rule of the Chalukya Cholas, Velanati Cholas and other feudatories, the Kakatiyas, the Reddies, the Vijayanagaras and various Samsthanadhisas. The

historiography on the state formation of medieval south India is represented by different schools of thought. The traditional school viewed that the state is 'unitary' which is 'centrally organised' with strong 'central bureaucracy' and is regulated by the monarch. Hence the king is the pivot, on which the whole administrative system revolves. The rise and fall of the kingdom depends upon the strength and weakness of the king.

The second school of thought is the 'Indian feudalism model' and it subscribes to the concept of delegation of powers as the basis for feudal order. D D Kosambi (1985), R S Sharma (1965) and B N S Yadava (1973) opined that feudalism in India has its own distinctive characteristic features, owing to its geographical variations and unique social stratification which is based on the caste. They formulated the concept of 'feudalism from above' and 'feudalism from below' in Indian history. R.S Sharma termed medieval state as 'Indian feudal state'. Amalendu Guha referred to it as 'archaic feudalism'. B.N.S. Yadava called it the '*Samantha* system'. Romila Thapar (1984) named it as 'semi-serfdom', and A.L Bhasham (1967) termed it as 'quasi feudalism'.

There is another school of thought represented by western scholars like Burton Stein (1984), Nicolas Dirks (1982) and Arjun Appadurai (1974). This school views the south Indian polity as 'segmentary' state with 'multi centred power structure'. In this state, at the centre, the authority is absolute but shades off towards the periphery into ritual hegemony. In a segmentary state, the power structure is pyramidal. Burton Stein proposed the concept of 'segmentary' state in south India. The organisation of the segments in the segmentary state as a whole is pyramidal. The pyramidal

segmentation is continued in various segments themselves. Sovereignty in a state where multi-centered power structure exists is dual. The one 'actual' and the other 'ritual'. In the core region the ruling dynasty exercises actual political control, and in the peripheral zones, through ritual sovereignty, and incorporates different segments of power

IX.16. Kingship and Ritual Sovereignty

The aspects of kingship, ritual sovereignty and legitimization of power in medieval south India were examined by various scholars (discussed in chapter VIII). With regard to Kshatriyahood in south India, traditional scholars viewed the kingship as 'heroic', the Marxist scholars as 'dharmic'; and the western scholars as 'ritual'. Many scholars are inclined to opinion that the Kshatriya community which occupied the second place in the traditional fourfold *Varna* hierarchy was absent in south India, but many rulers raised themselves, or legitimized themselves, as Kshatriyas through ritual processes (Arjun Appadurai, 1936)

Since all the rulers of this period were of the *Chaturthakula* or the peasant warrior group, they claimed the Kshatriyahood after attaining the political authority. All the feudatory chiefs of the Chalukya-Cholas and the Kakatiyas also appear to have followed the same practice. The Velanati Cholas, the Haihayas of Kona family, Kondapadumatis, Kotas, Natavadis, Cherukus, Chodas of Kandukuru and Nellore, Viriyalas, Malyalas and Kayasthas claimed the status of the Kshatriyas of lunar and solar races. To legitimize their coercive power and to hold the ritual links with different cultural and power groups, they took recourse to ritual hegemony through

(1) entitlement, (2) filiation, and (3) patronage to arts and letters (Herman Kulke, 1993).

To proclaim their pomp and glory, kings, chiefs and feudatories of medieval Andhra had epithets which reflect their grandeur. The epithets like *Mahamandaleswara* '(the greatest feudatory)', *Chalamartiganda* '(physically strong)', *Andhradesadhiswara* '(the lord of Andhra desa)', and *Aniyankabhima* '(strongest like Bhima, the third brother of the Pandavas of *Mahabharata*) indicate the strength and valour of those kings and feudatory chiefs. The kings after attaining the sovereign power claimed Kshatriyahood to legitimise their kingship by having themselves incorporated in mythical genealogies which were prepared for them by the Brahmans. In order to stabilise their political base, the kings legitimised their coercive power over their realm by their patronage of institutions, thus keeping different power and cultural groups together. It seems that the temple became an important institution to stabilise the king's authority which resulted in framing of royal temple policy. The rulers maintained a court of poets and scholars to propagate their pomp and glory (Herman Kulke, 1993).

Other means of exercising the ritual authority by the medieval rulers was the matrimonial alliances with their feudatory chiefs within their empire, and naming the places and villages on their personal names such as Ganapavaram, Rudravaram and Bayyaram.

IX.17. Role of the *Kulapuranams*

The role of the *Kulapuranams* in enhancing the social and ritual status of various Sudra and lower communities is significant. Generally, the

bards like Pichukuntlu, Batrajulu, Asadis and Dakkalis praise and obtain the *miracies* for their service. The *Kulapuranams* also give the Sanskritised names of various communities which reflect their ritual status. The *Kulapuranams* refer to such lower communities such as the Madigas as Arundhatiyas, the Chakalis as Rajakas, the Mangalis as Nayibrahmans, the Padmasalis as Devangas, the Balinjas as Togatas and so on

It is also interesting to note that the newly turned Brahmins like the Viswabrahmins and the Nayibrahmins started wearing the *jandhyam* (sacred thread), which is the original practice of the twice born castes, i.e. the Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaisyas

During the late medieval (and extending into the early modern period) in Andhra, the Samsthanadhisas who were craving for identity adopted all the strategies for the projection of ritual sovereignty on the lines of the Vijayanagara emperors. The rulership is made sacral. Therefore, it is dependent upon ritual incorporation. The very term 'raja' is altered to suit the ritually incorporative character of the Samsthana kingship. They patronised poets, scholars and pandits in their courts, constructed temples and celebrated certain festivals like Sriramanavami and Dasara with great pomp and glory (Burton Stein, 1984).

To sum up, in the period of our study, the feudal chiefs of Sudra origin attained the status of the traditional Kshatriyas through legitimization of political power.

This period witnessed upward social mobility among the Sudra communities. As the Sudras formed the bulk of the population and were divided into a number of sub-sections, they were classified into Satsudras and Asatsudras or Atisudras. The peasant Sudras come under the Satsudras and the remaining artisan and other occupational groups were termed as Asatsudras or Atisudras. Peasant Sudras, like Kamma, Reddi and Velama communities in course of time grew in economic strength, joined the armies and rose to the positions of *Senanis*, *Dandanayakas*, *Samanthas*, *Amaranayakas*, *Palegars* and the *Samsthanadhisas*

The Sudra artisan groups also got Sanskritised during the period of our study in Andhra. Some of them adopted the customs of the Brahmins and styled themselves as the *Viswabrahmins* and *Nayibrahmins*. The fishing community and the community of *Balinjas* claimed themselves as the *Agnikula Kshatriyas* and the *Togata Vira Kshatriyas*, respectively

We can observe upward social mobility also in the tribal communities during this period. The communities which are now called as 'tribals' were known in the medieval period as *Andh*, *Nishada*, *Kirata*, *Sabara*, *Bhilla*, *Boya*, *Yerukala* and *Pulinda*. They were hunter-gatherers. The famous episode *Kiratarjuniya* speaks about the prowess of a *Kirata* in archery. In *Sri Kalahasti Mahatmyam*, *Dhurjati* talks of *Chenchu Redu* (chieftain/ king), *Yerukula Redu* and *Bhilla Nayaka* (Murty 1994). *Dhurjati* gives a description of the rich lifestyles of these forest communities and also the beauty of their maidens (*Cencitalu*, *Sabara Satulu*, *Bhilla Bisaruhaksulu*). Inscriptions from ca.900 AD refer to *Boya* chieftains/ lords as *Simhasana* *Boya* (*simhasana*:throne) and *Boya Dora* (lord) and *Boya Kottams* (fortified

settlements); and an inscription of the great Chola King Rajendra Chola (ca.1100 AD) mentions a Boya chief by name Mahamandaleswara Gonkaya Boya as lord of 480 villages (Murty 1994). Further, the Boya chieftains began to give up the suffix Boya and adopted honorifics (embodying power) like *Nayak*, *Reddi*, *Nayudu*, *Nedu* and *Raju*. Not only that, inscriptions mention (Hanumantha Rao, 1983-84) Boyas with Brahman titles (of Vedic scholars) such as *Sarma* and *Somayajulu*, and a land grant records 74 Boyas with Brahman *gotras* such as *Kaundinya*, *Bharadvaja*, *Kasyapa*, *Parasara* and *Gautama*.

Likewise, powerful lineages of the pastoral communities belonging to Kuruba, Kuruva, and Golla identified themselves as Yadavas Those lineages among these social groups which moved up in social hierarchy and gained power, prestige and economic prosperity became the *Palegars* and *Samsthanadhisas*. After such an elevation, some of these lineages also claimed the Kshatriyahood. This is clearly demonstrated by the fact that the Sudra peasant classes and some of the tribals which achieved economic as well as military strength, irrespective of their traditional base, could achieve higher status rising even upto the level of the ruling classes, the Kshatriyas. At the same time, in contrast, those communities which were completely dependent upon the economically superior groups for survival and living, became marginalized Those who took occupations that were considered menial were deemed as untouchables (i.e ranked as Chandalas). There are no evidences in our sources to suggest upward mobility among the Chandalas during the medieval and pre-colonial periods. Efforts are being made since independence to bring improvement in the position of the Chandalas

The picture of upward mobility of the Sudras, tribals and other groups as provided by our sources indicates clearly that there was social space for such a process to take place. The process of social change among the Sudra peasant classes appears nearer to the current situation. But the upward social mobility of the tribals stands in contrast to the colonial and post-independence situation when the 'state' and economically advanced classes intensified commercial exploitation of the tribal regions, and the tribals were marginalised and became economically dependent.

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GLOSSARY

- Agrahara** : A village or land granted as an endowment to learned Brahmins.
- Amaranayaka** : An official appointed by the Vijayanagara Kings to maintain army at the regional level.
- Amatya** : A minister
- Anuloma** : A marriage alliance between lower caste woman and higher caste man.
- Astadasavarnas** : Eighteen communities that existed in the rural society including artisan and other specialized groups.
- Astadigajas** : Eight elephants supporting the earth at eight cardinal directions. The term has been frequently used to glorify eight poets in the court of the Vijayanagara king Sri Krishnadevaraya, as the main supporters of the world of poetry. They are Allasani Peddana, Pingali Surana, Nandi Timmana, Bhattumurty, Dhurjati, Tenali Ramakrishna, Madayyagari Mallana and Madiki Singana.
- Avarnas** : Since the fourfold caste system does not mention the Chandalas and tribals, they are called as *avarnas* or casteless.
- Basivi** : An unmarried girl dedicated to the god. Like the Jogini, she also belongs to the lower sections of the society. She plays an important role in the village festivals.
- Bhogastrilu** : Ladies for the comfort of the god.
- Bhutapoligadu** : A religious person belonging to the non-Brahmanical sections of rural society.
- Boyaviharadesa** : The land of the Boyas.

Chapakudu	: Inter-dinning between various communities.
Charmakara	: A leather worker.
Chaturvarnas	: Four main divisions of the Hindu society in descending order, Brahmana, Kshatriya, Vaisya and Sudra.
Dandanayaka	: A general and a leader of the forces, an army officer, a military commander.
Dasari	: The Vaishnavate religious person usually a mendicant belonging to the lower sections of the society
Deshmukh	: An officer of a Paragana for administration and land revenue collection
Desi	: Traditions of the rural and lower communities, commonly called as folk traditions.
Devadasi	: A maid of gods.
Dharma	: Moral and religious merit.
Dharmasastra	: Sacred law.
Dwija	: Twice born (first physically, then by initiation into the <i>Vama</i> status). A tradition with the three upper <i>Varnas</i> of the Hindu social order.
Dwipada	: Simple way of composing poetry for the sake of ordinary people. Most of the medieval Saivite literature was written in this method of <i>dwipada</i> .
Ekaja	: A person borns once i.e.his physical birth. As the Sudra does not perform any religious rituals, and he does not wear the thread, he is considered as once born or <i>Ekaja</i> .
Gandapenderam	: Golden anklet to be offered to the poets and

scholars by their patrons.

- Gopura** : A tower-like structure in front or on the cardinal directions of the temple with an entrance.
- Gotra** :A sept
- Gramadevatas** : The village goddesses.They are 107 in number. Gangamma, Ellamma, Poleramma, Maridamma, Maisamma, Sunkulamma, Nukalamma, Talupulamma etc..
- Gramani** : Head of the village.
- Ikta** : A piece of land
- Inam** : The remuneration granted to the feudatories and other lower order officials by the kings.
- Jagir** : Like the *Inams*, the Muslim rulers of the medieval times issued these land remunerations to their fiefs.
- Jangamas** : The Saivite religious personalities belong to the lower castes.
- Jatara** : A village ritual/festival.
- Jogini** : An unmarried girl dedicated to the village gods in *rural* areas of the Telagana region. Like Basivi, she also belongs to the lower sections of the society.
- Kapustreelu** : Women belonging to the agricultural sector.
- Kavitraya** :The translators of the original Sanskrit *Mahabharata* into Telugu are known as *Kavitraya* (the three poets) They are Nannaya (11th century AD), Tikkana (13th century AD) and Errana (14th century AD) Nannaya translated the *Adiparva, Sabhaparva* and the first part of *aranyaparva*. Tikkana translated the rest of 15 *parvas*. Errana the last poet of *Kavitraya*,

translated the part of *Aranyaparva* that had been left by Nannaya.

<i>Kavaligar</i>	: Guards to look after the security of the villages and towns.
<i>Khilladar</i>	: Incharge of the fort.
<i>Konda Zamindaris</i>	: Zamindaris of the tribal origin situated in the hilly forested zones.
<i>Kulapuranams</i>	: They are the caste myths of various communities.
<i>Kulastree</i>	: A woman of chastity.
<i>Mandala</i>	: An administrative unit.
<i>Mandalika</i>	: A feudatory.
<i>Mahamandaleswara</i>	: A feudatory ruler or governor
<i>Mahasamantha</i>	: A great chieftain.
<i>Matangi</i>	: Like Jogini and Basivi she is also dedicated to the village gods in the rural areas of coastal regions of Andhra. She belongs to the lower sections of the society.
<i>Mlechcha</i>	: Impure person, used for non- Hindus from outside India.
<i>Nadagoud</i>	: An incharge to look after the revenue duties of some villages during the Kakatiya period in Andhra.
<i>Nadu</i>	: A territorial division equivalent to modern taluk.
<i>Nayaka</i>	: The <i>Nayakas</i> were the army chiefs. The term ' <i>Nayaka</i> ' indicates their muscle power. Like the other officials in administration, the kings used to provide the <i>Nayankara</i> lands to those army chiefs as a remuneration for their services.

- Nityasumangali* : A married woman with all signs of Hindu marriage such as Mangala sutram, bangles, turmeric and vermilion.
- Niyoga* : A small administrative unit during the period of the Kakatiyas.
- Palegar* : The lowest ruling authority at the rural level during the late medieval period in Andhra.
- Panchama* : The fifth caste: communities like the Mala, Madiga, Begari and Gosangi come under this category
- Panchanamvaru* : Five artisan communities in the rural society. They are believed to be the five sons of Viswakarma. Goldsmiths, ironsmiths, blacksmiths, painters and sculptors are called as the *Panchanamvaru*.
- Pancharamas* : The religious shrines.
- Perikas* : Sacks used for carrying merchandise. Perika is also the name of a community, whose members carry goods in their bags on bullocks.
- Peshcush* : Rent payable to the British by the Zamindars and the Samsthanadhisas.
- Pothuraju* : An important person in the folk religion who is believed to be the only brother of the village goddesses.
- Pramadaganas* : Attendants of lord Siva.
- Prasasti* : A pynergetic formula or description found in inscriptions.
- Pratiloma* : A marriage alliance between an upper caste woman and a lower caste man.
- Puranas* : The Hindu religious texts composed in the first millennium AD. They are 18 in number.