

**LANGUAGE, PRINT, REGIONAL ELITE AND MODERN
ASSOCIATIONAL LIFE IN THE PRINCELY STATE OF
HYDERABAD: A STUDY OF EARLY 20TH CENTURY TELUGU PRESS**

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DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN COMMUNICATION

By

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DECEMBER 2022



CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the thesis entitled **“Language, Print, Regional Elite and Modern Associational Life in the Princely State of Hyderabad: A Study of Early 20th Century Telugu Press”** submitted by Ms. HIMABINDU CHINTAKUNTA bearing the registration number 16SNPC01 in partial fulfilment of requirements for award of Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of Communication is a bonafide work carried out by her under my supervision and guidance.

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DECLARATION

I, HIMABINDU CHINTAKUNTA, hereby declare that doctoral thesis entitled “Language, Print, Regional Elite and Modern Associational Life in the Princely State of Hyderabad: A Study of Early 20th Century Telugu Press”, submitted by me under the guidance and supervision of Prof. E. Sathya Prakash is a bonafide research work and is free from plagiarism. I also declare that it has not been submitted previously in part or in full to this University or any other University or Institution for the award of any degree or diploma. I hereby agree my thesis can be deposited in Shodhganga/INFLIBNET.

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ABSTRACT

The thesis attempts to locate both political and cultural history of the Princely state of Hyderabad, with an emphasis on print and publishing efforts by the dominant Telugu speaking communities during the early decades of twentieth century. By establishing the relationship of regional elite with networks of modern public life like schools, hostels and voluntary associations the thesis contextualises scholarship around princely states and argues that media technologies and artefacts need to be understood in the realms of both discursive and the non-discursive. The relationship between media technologies, language and linguistic communities continues to be dynamic with changing nature of affiliations and affinities across historical epochs. This manifests in the proximities that languages and linguistic communities share with centres of power where region configures at the intersections of national and global modernities.

The regional elite in the princely state of Hyderabad took to establishing a secular affiliation to language, literature, history and the region but at the same time worked towards strengthening their existing modes of traditional authority based on hierarchies of caste and class. This reflected in their efforts in running periodicals and publishing houses, process of modernising the dominant vernaculars and establishing voluntary literary organisations. I establish a relationship between Golconda Patrika, Nizamrashtrandhra Maha Sabha, Nizamrasthrandhra Saraswata Parishat, all which functioned with support and patronage from regional elite who were anxious about the status of Telugu language in the Princely State of Hyderabad and also with the Telugu and Telugu speaking communities of the Madras Presidency.

The strained relationship of the regional elite with the language policy of the princely state, their discomfort with the status of Telugu and its institutional use, distaste towards the spoken Telugu variant with the influence of language modernisation processes happening in colonial British India, simultaneous patronage of the local ruling elite for periodicals and publishing houses and allied organisations forms the complex narrative of region, nation, language and print at the turn of the twentieth century.

1. Introduction

The thesis analyses the Telugu print and publishing scenario in the Princely state of Hyderabad by locating the socio-political context in which regional elite engage with modern forms of associational life during the early decades of the twentieth century. It locates this modern associational life as print and publishing units, changing networks of patronage, civil societal organisations and allied literary and political activities. In doing it primarily engages with the operations of *Golconda Patrika* a bi-weekly newspaper that was operating from the Hyderabad city and sharing an intimate relationship with the surrounding districts which reflects in the subscriptions and also patronage received from various samsthanas. Along with this it also critically analyses the literary and political activity of the regional elite by locating their activities in several organisations and the literary material they produced to locate print efforts at the intersections of language, region and nation.

1.1. The world of *Golconda Patrika*

Golconda Patrika started in the year 1926, as a bi-weekly under the editorship of Suravaram Pratapa Reddy who identified himself as a moderate Congress nationalist. With the help of donations raised by Kotwal Venkata Rami Reddy who was a bureaucrat with the princely state, Suravaram procured Treadle Press, Typewriters from Madras and set up Golconda Press in Troop Bazaar, Secunderabad (Ratnamala, 2016, pp. 25-26). Prior to starting *Golconda Patrika*, they were actively involved in library movement and held crucial responsibilities in the functioning of Sri Krishnadevarayandhra Bhashanilayamu, first library set up in the Princely State of Hyderabad in the year 1901. After receiving a degree in Law from Presidency College in Madras Presidency, Suravaram returned to Hyderabad city and took up the responsibilities of Reddy hostel, a boarding facility to support boys from the Reddy community who come to the city of Hyderabad for education (Krishna, 2009)

Both Suravaram and Venkata Rami Reddy were also involved in setting up of Nizamrashtrandha Maha Sabha, a Telugu literary and cultural organisation which was set up to convene annual meetings for discussing the concerns of Telugu speakers of Princely State of Hyderabad in the year 1930. Nizamrasthrandhra Saraswata Parishat which was started as an exclusive linguistic/literary organisation aimed at publishing books and also popularising use of Telugu was also set up with their support. *Golconda Patrika* and the organisations mentioned above and the individuals involved, formed the larger network of public life of Telugu speaking elite of Princely State of Hyderabad.

Initially the periodical faced challenges getting subscriptions but it later grew as an important venue for the public life of the Telugu speaking population of Princely State of Hyderabad. Along with Reddy Hostel, Nizamrashtrandha Maha Sabha, Nizamrashtrandhra Saraswata Parishat, *Golconda Patrika* and its publishing unit Golconda Mudraksharashaala (Golconda Printing Press) become possible with a growing desire for a modern public life during the early decades of twentieth century. Therefore this thesis situates the relationship between these organisations and modern ideas and institutions of public life like – Telugu periodicals, voluntary literary and political organisations, desire for modern education and reform of vernaculars, discourse and discontent around state education policies, interactions of the elite with other Princely States and Presidencies, especially with Telugu speaking elite of Madras Presidency. To this extent, the thesis examines the individuals, institutions they are part of and the worlds they inhabit in relation to each other. Suravaram Pratapa Reddy, Kotwal Venkata Rami Reddy, Madapati Hanumantha Rao, Mandumala Narasinga Rao, Raavi Narayana Reddy become important figures in Telugu print and publishing and also allied literary and political organisations, thereby defining the nature of these organisations.

1.2. Language, Territory and Print

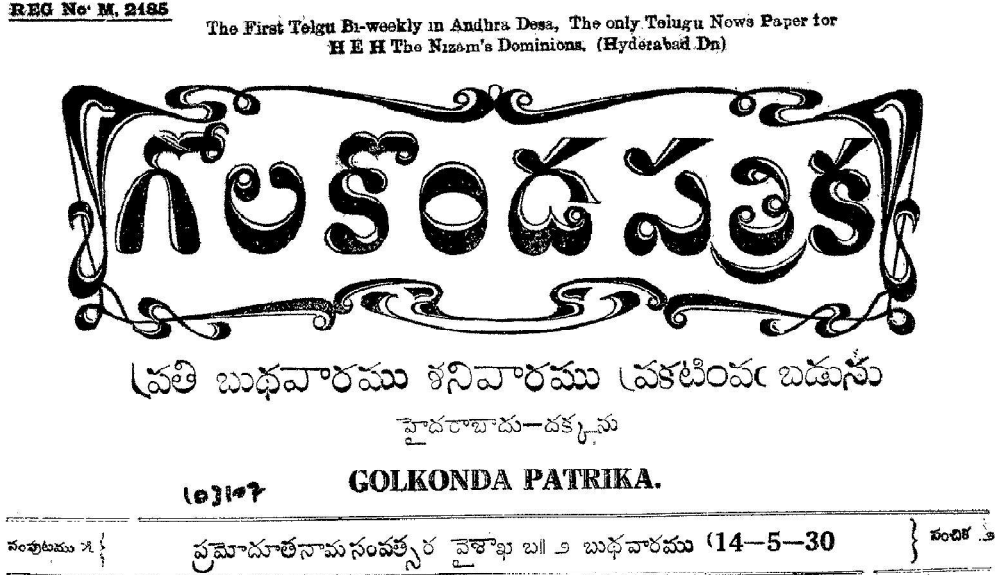


Figure 1.1: Masthead of *Golconda Patrika* from 1930

In its initial years, *Golconda Patrika* identified itself as “*The First Telugu Bi-weekly in Andhra Desa and the only Telugu Newspaper for the H.E.H. Nizam’s Dominions (Hyderabad Dn)*”. By Andhra Desa, it was positioning itself as a part of the linguistic community of Telugu speakers extending to Madras Presidency, claiming unity based on language beyond political boundaries. At the same time by referring to itself as the only Telugu newspaper in the H.E.H. Nizam’s dominion, the paper claimed a distinct linguistic unity within the territorial boundary. This claim for a territorial specificity and a cross-border linguistic unity allows us to understand the arguments of several scholars who worked with the ideas of ‘region’ where linguistic communities are not territorially bound and territories did not necessarily exist based on specific divisions along the lines of language (Mitchell, 2010) and cross border solidarities reflected the artificiality of state boundaries (Kooiman, 2002, p. 211). *Golconda Patrika*, its allied organisations and the vernacular elite who supported their functioning, worked around this same principle.

In her work Lisa Mitchell traces the emergence of distinct linguistic identities and attempts that were made to create monolithic worlds, where in diverse forms of knowledge and everyday practices were being organised in single distinct language in various regions of India, especially then Telugu speaking regions. According to her, language as a marker of belonging emerged only by the nineteenth century where language was mobilised both as an object of emotion and also an imagined foundation for reorganisation of knowledge, historical and literary practices and also population (Mitchell, 2010). Hence the dissertation takes into account the criticism against ‘naturalness of mother tongue’ and territorially bound imaginaries of language and its speakers and analyses the connections between language, region and nation, by foregrounding newspaper publishing of twentieth century.

In the writing of literary histories, language, literature and nation form the triangulated categories. ‘Literature is the object, language as the principle for inclusion or exclusion and nation the more or less tacitly assumed author of both.’ (Harder, 2010). Though Harder locates production of literary histories in the backdrop of nationalism and nationalist ideals, newspaper publishing and journalistic activity during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, this formulation of a triangulated connection between categories of nation, region and language, can be extended to early newspaper publishing as well. This can be evidenced in publishing ideals, newspaper structures or in the articles the periodicals carried.

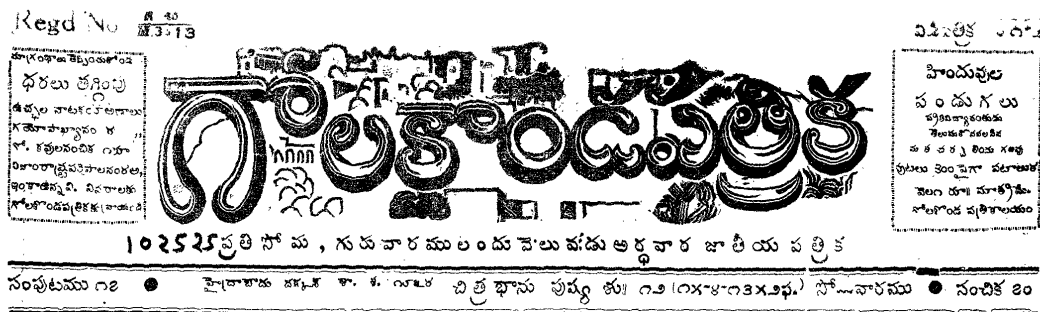


Figure 1.2: Masthead of *Golconda Patrika* from 1943

Golconda Patrika claimed a nationalist stance from the beginning, it made itself explicit from 1940s onwards announcing itself as a ‘bi-weekly nationalist newspaper’, while retaining its regional specificities and at the same time going beyond the immediate territorial or linguistic concerns and also marking a space for itself in the nationalist discourse. The Telugu elite in their biographies comment on the nature of periodicals at that time and claim that the periodicals had to function under restrictions from both the ruling monarchy and the British resident because of which an explicit political stance was avoided.

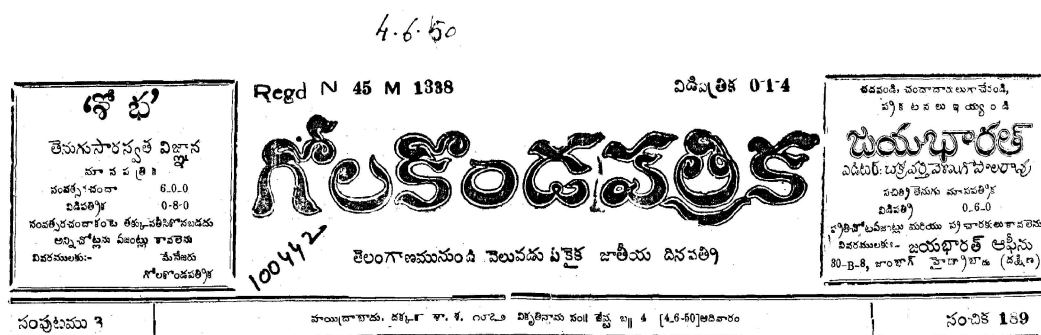


Figure 1.3: Masthead of *Golconda Patrika* from 1950

In the years that followed, the form and content of the periodical changed and it re-positioned itself as ‘the only national newspaper published from the Telangana region’, continuing to mark its distinction from other Telugu newspapers that were being circulated in the region but were published from other places beyond Telangana. Though the period of post-independent India and the rise of vernacular language newspapers fall out of the ambit of the thesis, it is important to note the claims of newspapers with changing socio political scenarios, linguistic affiliations and state structures.

1.3 Princely States and South-Asian Historiography

Numerous studies have analysed the princely states through the lens of national integration and an example of cultural synthesis. But these initial studies, with respect to the Hyderabad State, broadly focussed on ‘Deccani Synthesis’ and failed to account for distinct cultural

patterns and social structures and were heavily focussed on court cultures rather than the domestic cultures that go beyond the city of Hyderabad (Leonard, 1973). Most of the dominant discourses around south-asian historiography understood princely regimes as ‘relics of former oriental despotism and feudal formations, as vestiges of golden age or as mere adjuncts of colonial governmentality’ (Ernst & Pati, 2007)

In recent years though, there has been a growing body of work on Princely regimes in general and on the State of Hyderabad in particular. The Indian Economic and Social Review (IESHR) Journal in the year 2009 carried a special issue focussing on the new perspectives with which princely states have been analysed, to mark the growing academic interest in the study of princely states. While marking the conceptual trajectories of works done on princely states, this special issue directs academicians to broaden the horizons of existing frameworks, where movement of ideas and individuals between British India and the princely regimes are also understood. Attempting to bridge the scholarship between ‘British India’ and ‘Princely India’ the special issue concerns itself with newer perspectives around Princely states which examine the interactions and negotiations between presumably different Indias- British India and Princely India. The articles in the volume make connections between British India and Princely India which have been for a long time understood as worlds distinct from each other by engaging with spatial and geographical constitutions, negotiations with bureaucracy and law, shifting ideas of modernity (Ikegame & Major, 2009). This framework of negotiations and conversations between Princely States and Presidencies has been particularly useful in the dissertation, as I locate the life of periodicals and allied literary and political organisations of Hyderabad state which were in conversation with similar movements happening with Madras presidency.

Reviewing some of the key works within in scholarship on princely states during the 1990s and 2000s, Chithralekha Zutshi argues that scholarship on princely states no longer operates

in the margins or is studied in comparison with the British colonial counterparts, rather contributes to ideas of feudal formation, nature of modernity, etc., Most of the works she reviews in the article are the ones that engaged with administrative and bureaucratic structures, distribution of power, emergence of narratives around communalism in the princely states (Zutshi, 2009). But there has been little to no work done in the area of cultural and intellectual histories of the Princely States, especially the Princely State of Hyderabad. Scholars have attributed this neglect of Princely States in historiography to the inadequacy and inaccessibility of historical resources (Kooiman, 2002, p. 13).

Janaki Nair's proposition of 'monarchichal modern' to understand Mysore's 'uneven and discontinuous' journey of modernity, contributes to the larger discourse of understanding and expanding the idea of modernity and also locate princely state of Mysore beyond the trappings of regional histories (Nair, 2011). Shifting the focus to cultural history of Mysore by locating the ideas of cultural renewal, modernization and reform, the book discusses Mysore's experiments with bureaucracy, social reform, production of literary and historical works, Janaki Nair's work interrogates sources that have otherwise not been used in formal southasian history writing.

There were extensive book length studies that focussed on administrative and bureaucratic structures of Hyderabad state, nature of indirect rule, but failed to focus on the multi-tiered political and administrative structures that were shared between the rulers, their vassals and the British Resident. Benjamin Cohen brings attention to the complexities of multi-tiered administrative structure that continued till the twentieth century by shifting the attention from Hyderabad city to nature of Samsthanas, Jagirs, Paigah nobles and their relationship with Hyderabad State and the British Resident (Cohen, 2007).

1.3.1 Princely State of Hyderabad

During the twentieth century, Princely State of Hyderabad was a multi-tiered, multi-lingual region under the rule of Asaf-Jahs with Hyderabad city as the shared power centre between the British Resident, Asaf-Jahs, Samsthana rulers and also jagirdaars and zamindaars. Urdu was made the official language of the state and language of courts by the late nineteenth century and languages like Telugu, Marathi and Kannada existed as other dominant vernaculars. Princely State of Hyderabad consisted of 16 districts which were categorised into 4 subas (revenue divisions) – Warangal Suba, Medak Suba, Gulbarga Suba and Aurangabad Suba. Of these the Warangal and Medak subas comprised 8 districts¹ and had most Telugu speakers. Gulbarga and Aurangabad Subas comprised 8 other districts and predominantly had Kannada and Marathi speakers respectively (Hanumantharao, Telangana Andhrodyamamu, 1995, p. 2). These were revenue divisions of the state and not linguistic boundaries as multiple language speakers were spread across different districts. The Warangal and Medak subas comprised 14 Samsthanas which were: Gadwal, Wanaparthy, Jatprole, Amarchinta, Paloncha, Gopalpet, Anagundi, Gurgunta, Narayanpet, Domakonda, Rajapet, Dubbak, Papanapet, and Sirnapalli. These peculiar political structures claim a pre-modern status, tracing their genesis to Kakatiya and Vijayanagara empires (Cohen, 2007, p. 3). Thus the Princely state of Hyderabad held a complex multi-tiered, multi-lingual culture in both the city and surrounding districts. An understanding of this complex power structure is also important in imagining the production and circulation of periodicals, how sometimes they were a part of these structures themselves and how they had to receive permissions and patronage from different tiers of this structure and thereby were limited in their approaches of operating the periodical itself.

¹ The 8 districts were Warangal, Karimnagar, Adilabad, Nizamabad, Medak, Nalgonda, Mahabubnagar and Atrabubda

1.3.2 Historical-contemporary

After the annexation of Hyderabad State into the Indian union, these multilingual districts were integrated into the newly formed states of Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Maharashtra when federal boundaries were drawn based on language principles with the Linguistic reorganisation of States in 1956. Since then a sense of ‘historical backwardness’ has been attributed to these regions by sidelining their own trajectories of modernity as they did not fulfil the norms of colonial modernity that was predominant in the federal state boundaries they were integrated into. This led to these individual regions seeking for representation in the ongoing discourse of development in the growing Indian union. Which also meant that these regions had to all over again create a sense of history for themselves, look at their historical past to mark their presence in the present, thereby making the process of historical production a continuous one.

The Telangana region itself was perceived as being backward citing the lack of region’s enthusiasm with ‘modern colonial ideals’, overlooking the region’s own political, scientific, literary and cultural engagements. After the Linguistic Reorganisation of States in the year 1956, Telugu speaking districts of the region – referred to as Telangana was included as a part of Andhra Pradesh which predominantly included Telugu speaking regions, which were earlier under the Colonial Madras Presidency. As Keiko (2010) points, the movement for separate State of Telangana shows the failure of regional historiographies based on linguistic identity that were written out of certain dominant literate local elites, under a strong influence of colonialism and nationalism (Keiko, 2010).

Telangana is a newly formed federal state of India, in the year 2014, after a prolonged struggle by subaltern classes for their rightful representation in governance and bureaucratic structures and allocation of resources. The movement for a separate state of Telangana was

seen as one of the most democratic movements in the history of modern India with an active and vibrant base of student movements in universities, invocation of a subaltern past and a demand for separate statehood based on a historically distinctive character that does not fit the logic of Linguistic Reorganisation of States(1956) where federal boundaries of newly independent India were drawn based on linguistic unity. Critics have written about the non-translation of such a vibrant democratic movement into the structures of the new state and have commented that the newly formed state continues to harbour undemocratic and exclusionary ideals and is closer to an authoritarian state. The desire for *Saamajika and Prajaswamika Telangana*-socially just and democratic Telangana remains elusive as the newly formed state restricts itself to *Bhougholika Telangana*- Geographical Telangana² (Quadri, 2021).

In his piece on Journalism in Telangana K. Balagopal discusses about the dominance of Brahmins in early journalism as they were the community with a long history of literacy and access to language and print and any new community that enters into this world is seen with doubt, which the Brahmins did not have to face. Hence it is important to recognise and be critical of this aspect and trace such influences in analysing the early print resources to understand the socio-political scenario of the region better. He suggests not to give into the immediate temptation of regional affiliation alone in rewriting histories, analysing historical figures and their intellectual journeys. But to take into cognisance the dominant socio political historical conditions that made certain histories possible. Else we might once again fall into the trap of territorially bound understanding of region rather than socially just engagements. (Balagopal, 2016).

² During the separate statehood movement, subaltern groups imagined the yet to be born state to be socially just, and democratic in its character. The terms *saamajika*, *prajaswamika* were popularly used to refer to a democratic idea of Telangana that was more inclusive.

1.4 Objectives and Research Questions:

Research Objective 1: To understand the Telugu print and publishing networks of the early twentieth century Princely State of Hyderabad

- What was the early Telugu newspaper publishing scenario of Princely State of Hyderabad?
- What were the networks of public life that the regional elite were constituting and how were they representing themselves on the pages of *Golconda Patrika*?
- Who were the patrons, subscribers and contributors of early newspapers?
- What was the nature of the reading public?
- What was the relationship between the city and the surrounding samsthanas in newspaper publishing?
- What was the nature of interactions between print and publishing between Princely States (here Hyderabad) and Madras Presidency?

Research Objective 2: To understand the discourse around the idea of education in vernaculars and its relationship with education policy of the princely state

- What was the nature of language debates in the Princely State of Hyderabad?
- What was the nature of conversations of the regional elite of the Princely State and Madras Presidency?
- How were multiple language worlds and their functions imagined in a multilingual princely state?
- What was the discourse around education in the vernaculars?

- What were the debates of the Princely state authority and regional elite in terms of medium of instruction at schools and universities?
- What was the discourse around modernisation and reform of spoken language to match the standardised written form?

Research Objective 3: To examine the nature of voluntary linguistic associations in the public life of Telugu speaking population of Princely State of Hyderabad

- What was the nature and constitution of voluntary linguistic organisations?
- What were the concerns of Nizamrashtrandhra Maha Sabha in their initial years?
- How was linguistic identity deployed for unified territorial imaginary and how it subsumed other markers of identity?
- What were the tensions between territorial and linguistic boundaries?
- What were the tensions and ruptures within Nizamrashtrandhra Maha Sabha's linguistic concerns?

Research Objective 4: To understand the emergence of exclusively literary organisations and their attempts at institutionalising Telugu language

- What was the context of emergence of an exclusively literary association?
- What were the concerns and efforts of Nizamrashtra Andhra Saraswata Parishat?
- What were the attempts of Parishat towards institutionalising public use of Telugu?
- What was the nature of books published by Parishat?
- What was Parishat's idea of history in general and literary history in particular?

1.5. Print, Publishing and the discipline of Communication

Introduction to Communication discipline begins with the understanding of Shannon and Weaver's SMCR(Sender-Message-Channel-Receiver) model which maps unidirectional flow of media messages. This model was criticised for its decontextualised reading of media and media messages. Since then, communication and media studies scholarship has pondered on a broader range of questions that concern a contextual understanding of the existence of media and communication forms, its production and consumption practices. With increasing scholarship in the field of Cultural studies, production, distribution and consumption of media messages was brought into attention thereby contextualising the complex forms in which media operates. Critical theory brought in the question of 'production-of-culture', where in media studies directed its attention towards formation of consciousness, forces of dominant ideologies, maintenance of power and control- largely bringing together the study of media with study of society, which was new to the American media studies scholarship of the 1960s (Tuchman, 1983).

Early scholarship of understanding print as a medium, more specifically newspapers, was around the ideas of propaganda, where information in newspapers was perceived as directed to alter public opinion. Adrian Johns on the other hand pushes for connections between print and knowledge production where diverse social and technological processes are at play over time and across spaces, marking the necessity of understanding technology, specifically print technologies to be analysed in their local contexts (Johns, 1998). Ulrike Stark's work on Naval Kishore Press is one such important work that critically analyses the business of Book publishing enterprise of nineteenth century North India in relation to 'indigenous scholarship, functioning of literary associations, public libraries and vernacular press and also colonial education and its school curricula.' (Stark, 2008, pp.10)

In the Indian context, the history of newspapers is discussed around the ideas of anticolonial nationalism and social reform, where newspapers were seen as necessary for propagating the ideas of nationalism and freedom struggle. Milton Israel's work traces the emergence of Hicky's gazette, the first newspaper in India in the year 1780 and goes on to discuss the rise of Indian-owned newspapers, their socio-political concerns regarding education, social reform and expanding political life of the country (Israel, 1994). While such focus on the relationship between press and nationalism is important in understanding nation, censorship and press, they often ignore the complex ways in which newspapers have operated otherwise historically, like indigenous routes of communication and their spread. Focussing on social communication processes and state intelligence in north India-what he cumulatively terms as 'information order', C.A. Bayly (1999) gestures at the numerous ways in which public instruction, printing press and public debate in newspapers transformed the colonial Indian society in the nineteenth century (Bayly, 1999). Shifting away from the focus on printed newspapers, Thirumal and Lalrozami (2010) write about handwritten Lushai newspaper, bringing to fore the relationship between, plains and hills and the tensions between indigenous attempts to protect identities and a more modern sedentary civilizational culture through intertextual reading of 'Mizo Chanchin Laishuih' and place the newspaper in its communicational and historical context, where newspaper is 'emblematic of state and society and also product of the same' (Thirumal & Lalrozami, 2010).

1.5.1. Print History and the Telangana Region

Historically, there has been little to no work around cultural history of print and publishing in the Princely state of Hyderabad. Blanketed as history of print in Telugu, those pages largely speak of the printing in colonial Andhra Pradesh, which was then a part of Madras presidency. Most of the works that had dealt with the history of print in India, had dealt with a chapter on Telugu, but there was no mention of the simultaneous growth of printing in

Telugu in the Deccan region. B. S. Kesavan's(1997) work, has a chapter on Printing in Telugu, which only discusses the origin of print and book in Colonial Madras Presidency (Andhra region) along with passing reference to newspapers then in the Hyderabad State (Kesavan, 1997).

During the 1920s, when the Congress party recognised provinces based on language, there were 7 newspapers that were prominent in India between 1920 and 1932 which was the period of intense nationalism. These newspapers devoted themselves to the nationalist cause and represented influential Congress politicians who in turn articulated the interests of themselves and their class. (Jefferey, 1997, p. 61)

The table(1) mentioned below reflects the number of newspapers and books that were published from Telangana till 1948 and reflect the multilingual nature of the region.

Language (Publications till 1948)³	Newspapers	Books
Urdu	67	63
Telugu	40	300
Marathi	04	31
Kannada	04	16

While discussing the political conditions of the early twentieth century (Mantena, 2014) describes how the civil societal organisations in both British Andhra and Princely State of

³ This table is drawn from the list of publications mentioned by K.Sadanandam in his work "Printing in Telangana" (Sadanandam, 2002)

Hyderabad, shared similar goals of constitutional reforms and representative democracy, a major shift that was happening globally after world war-I, but had their independent regional contexts and different cultural and political goals to achieve in terms of self determination. According to her, the civil society of Hyderabad functioning under diverse linguistic and religious backgrounds had harnessed different goals to achieve that were in conflict with each other leaving the eventual annexation of Hyderabad state into the Indian union an unresolved one. These peculiarities of the regional context of the civil societal organisations of the twentieth century that were are working towards revival and reform of language, culture and literature in the Princely State of Hyderabad are the interest of this dissertation.

As argued by many historiographers, print did not by itself bring in new stories to tell, it had presented old stories in a new form. Print brought with it new literary practices and also has standardised many Indian languages, just like in Europe. This has been the case with most of the Indian languages and the initial books that were printed, which were largely mythological and religious (Blackburn, 2006)

While discussing the presence and possibilities of civil society in Princely state of Hyderabad, Rama Mantena mentions Suravaram Pratapa Reddy's idea of civil liberties and how for the activists of Hyderabad being "political" meant questioning the form of self-representation that Hyderabad state should imagine for its future. According to Mantena (2014) the idea of civil liberties was used as a persuasive strategy to enter into political debates with the princely states (Mantena, 2014). Therefore the Telugu periodicals managed by the vernacular elite in the princely state of Hyderabad shared an intimate relationship with ongoing literary and political movements and were also shaping the discourse around political futures, education policy, language reform and literary and historical production. Hence the thesis situates print production particularly that of periodicals as a 'network/assemblage' that operates along with allied literary, political and social fields.

Periodicals are at once a part of this network and also get constituted by the happenings in these diverse cultural institutions. A more detailed relationship between print and these allied institutions and the nature of these networks is elaborated in the chapters that follow.

1.5.2. Print Culture and Understanding the Telugu Print Archive

In this section I would be addressing the question of ‘making of a Telugu print archive’. The Telugu speaking vernacular elite were in conversation with the transformations happening around the questions of language, region, nation, efforts for representative governance, etc., with other princely regions like Travancore, Mysore and also with Presidencies of Madras and Bombay. Evidence of these can be found in the articles published in *Golconda Patrika*. The influence of the rising nationalist movement, language reforms, responses to communal forces, were all evident in the articles of *Golconda Patrika* and so were the literary and historical efforts of allied literary and political organisations. These interactions and influences are important to recognise in understanding the efforts of the Telugu vernacular elite in establishing publishing houses, setting up newspapers, schools and libraries along with generating language and regional histories and literature. These activities were also not independent of the interventions from local landed elites who took interest in supporting various efforts around printing press, schools, libraries, reform of the vernaculars, so as to continue their dominance in emerging secular spaces.

So the Telugu print archive, here a combination of books and newspapers produced around twentieth century princely Hyderabad, was responding to the need for a distinct Telugu print culture against the burgeoning Urdu print culture and also the Telugu print culture of Madras presidency where solidarities were being drawn on commonalities of language and not necessarily on geographical/territorial boundaries. Therefore, the Telugu print archive, in this context, is a response against the more dominant and standardised language of print of the

Madras presidency- where the vernacular elite of the princely region wanted to carve a distinct space for themselves in the ongoing language movements; and make a claim for Telugu speaking population of Princely Hyderabad in the emerging 'Telugu region'; and also a response of the elite of the hinterlands (the samsthanas) to make a space for themselves in the expanding and modernising princely Hyderabad by establishing Telugu as a 'language of command' by seeking support to Telugu literary efforts, also including Telugu as a medium of instruction in schools and also the newly established Osmania University . These attempts were a product of western education from British India, a critique of landed elite against the Brahmins with influences from non-Brahman movement in the Madras Presidency (reflected in *Andhrula Sanghika Charithra*-a book on Social history of Andhras written by Suravaram in 1943), desire to be dominant forces in the courts of princely state, angst against the newly introduced Urdu medium instruction in public institutions and also be recognised as a part of the dominant literary and historical narratives around Telugu language and Telugu region.

1.5.3. Sources and their descriptions

Primary Sources:

- Digitised Archives of *Golconda Patrika* (1927-1945) : The periodical started functioning by 1926 and continued till the late 1960s, but the focus of the dissertation is to understand the nature of print culture in the Princely State of Hyderabad, I limit my analysis to the issues available between 1926-45, before the Hyderabad State was annexed into the Indian union
- Digitised Archives of *Hitabodhini* (1913-14): *Hitabodhini* survived for two years before shutting down due to lack of patronage and subscriptions. The thesis analyses the limited issues available to understand the nature of Telugu newspaper publishing in the beginning of twentieth century

- Digitised Archives of Hyderabad Samacharamu (1941-45): It is a state-run journal published by the Information and Advertising wing of Hyderabad State in English, Telugu and Urdu. Primarily published policies, welfare schemes, notifications and clarifications from the government. It was intended as a reference journal and the first page of it mentions that anyone is free to use, copy, and reprint the contents for research and reference without any restrictions.
- Books published by Nizamrashtrandhra Saraswata Parishat between 1943 and 1945: Nizamrashtrandhra Saraswata Parishat (now Telangana Saraswata Parishat) started in Hyderabad in 1943 and had its regional in different villages of the Hyderabad state, from where they also published various literary and historical works. Currently only a few from the collection are preserved at the library, which I was able to access during my visit.

Secondary Sources

- Biographical sketches, essays and historical works by Suravaram Pratapa Reddy, Mandumala Narasinga Rao, Raavi Narayana Reddy and Madapati Hanumantha Rao
- Documentation of Andhra Maha Sabha meetings by K. Jitendrababu

Libraries

- Indira Gandhi Memorial library (IGML), University of Hyderabad
- Telangana State Archives, Hyderabad
- Telangana Saraswata Parishat, Hyderabad

1.5.4. Methodological moves and Disciplinary Concerns

In examining in the archives of the mentioned newspapers and literary and historical works, one of the main concerns I had was what should be my focus of analysis? Whether it should be an account of the historical records of events or their representations? For example, do I work with the political and cultural moves that these projects make or do I focus on the discourse that is happening in print or focus on the historical trajectories these ideas take. While these questions are not separate from each other, I chose to foreground the discourse available in these sources, considering the disciplinary position of my dissertation. In doing so, I discuss the interconnectedness of both ideas and individuals in the organisations. As in while being concerned with the happenings of Nizamrashtrandhra Maha Sabha, education policy or activities of Parishat, discourses around these organisations in *Golconda Patrika* and other secondary sources along with analysing the material produced by these organisations, the chapters of the thesis also locate the networks which made this ideas, events and organisations come to life and grow.

The choice of focussing on discourse had enabled me to foreground newspapers and knowledge production, to also read these institutions as a network of public life. For this Foucaultian conception of '*dispositif*'/apparatus has been particularly useful. Foucault proposes the ideas of *dispositif* as an extension of his earlier proposition, the episteme. He theorises *dispositif* to accommodate the knowledge systems and the structures of power that knowledge occupies. Elaborating on the idea of *dispositif/apparatus*, Foucault writes,

What I am trying to identify in this apparatus is precisely the nature of connection that can exist between heterogeneous elements. A particular discourse can figure at one time as the programme of an institution, and at another it can function as a means of justifying or

masking a practice which itself remains silent, or as a secondary re-interpretation of this practice, opening out for it, a new field of rationality. (Foucault, 1980, p. 194)

The research applies Discourse Analysis as a methodology for understanding social and cultural history of print scenario of the early twentieth century. The methodology would help us understand the archive of *Golconda Patrika* and to look into secondary publications by key figures. seems an appropriate methodology, as it allows one to work with functions of language both at micro and macro levels, where one engages with the text at multiple levels- linguistic styles; institutional production of the text; and the larger social structures that the text occupies (Fairclough, 1995)

Along with Discourse analysis, I do an intertextual reading of the periodicals by locating them in their socio-political contexts by analysing the biographies of the regional elite and contextualising them with available scholarship on princely states. With respect to the literary and historical works produced by the voluntary organisations, drawing from methods in book history, I read the paratexts along with the contents of the books to understand the conditions of book production and circulation and also their connections with the periodicals through announcements, advertisements for books and book sales, book reviews, etc.,

1.5.5. Navigating through Digitised Archives:

Traditionally historians have located newspapers as ‘sources’ to understand various phenomena, as the periodicity of the newspapers makes it an important avenue for understanding longer historical periods. But media and communication scholarship has also been interested in looking at newspapers not only as sources alone but also attempts to understand the historical and material production of these media objects themselves. In this section, I attempt to understand my experience of accessing both physical archives and

digitised newspaper archives, where accessing digitised newspapers led me to the physical archive and the physical archive in turn deepened my analysis of the digital material.

Telugu newspaper archives of early twentieth century Princely State of Hyderabad, namely *Golconda Patrika*, *Hyderabad Samacharamu* and *Hitabodhini* have been digitised and made available for public access.

The concept of the archive shelters in itself, memory of the name 'arkhe'. But it also shelters itself from the memory it shelters: which comes down to saying also it forgets it.....The meaning of the 'archive', its only meaning comes from the Greek word 'arkheion'- initially a house or, a domicile, an address, the residence of superior magistrates who commanded".The dwelling, this place where they dwell permanently, marks their institutional passage from the private to public, which does not always mean secret to non-secret. (Derrida & Prenowitz, 1995, pp. 9-10)

Jacques Derrida and Eric Prenowitz in their article discuss further on how an archive needs to be understood as existing in a substrate, meaning where the archive is housed and the politics of archiving are as important as the archive itself. For my work, I look at the substrate as a constitutive environment in which objects exist and events occur in relation to each other.

In theorising the archive, the place of archive's physical existence becomes a prominent mode of analysis, as it holds an integral relationship to memory, structures of power that made the existence of the archive itself possible, like for example state censorship or the conscious creation of historical objects that stand as testimony for a historical past. When a researcher accesses the physical archives in the environment that they are housed, they do not necessarily access it as an isolated entity but in relationship to the other objects housed there, like catalogues which guide them in placing the documents or documents that are placed next to each other which might or might not share an immediate relationship and sometimes

accidental finds that might alter the researcher's course of inquiry. But while accessing the digitised versions, the researcher is removed from this process of having to access to record of catalogues or existence of other records which they might not have necessarily intended studying. There is an immediate distance from the physical memory that the archive holds, which accessing the tangible material might otherwise provide. Archives are digitised over several steps to be made available in their existing digital format and all of these steps creates a distance for the researchers accessing them (Brake, 2012). Though digitised, most of newspaper archives continue to be 'quietly incomplete' with their missing pages and issues that continue to question the 'authenticity' of the digitised versions (Force & Wiles, 2021) While not discounting the presence of digitised documents, their ease of availability and access that researchers have now, it is important to note how the nature of inquiry is also dependent on these connections and distinctions.

"In writing of history, Michael De Certeau discusses how historians as a professional collective classify certain objects as 'documents' and 'evidence', how they create archives and how texts become sources. Every work of literary history is the result of selective and constructive processes which depend on evaluations, evaluations pertaining to selection of works, data and facts, considered relevant and representative...." (Frese, 2010, pp. 84-85)

Along with accessing the digitised versions of the periodicals, I have also accessed archives of Nizamrashtrandhra Saraswata Parishat (now Telangana Saraswata Parishat) at their office in Boggulkunta, Hyderabad. The Saraswata Parishat library and book sale counter are maintained by the trust and the archive like the most of us can expect by now are poorly catalogued and maintained. There was a wealth of books of the twentieth century, published by Parishat, lying in the dusty floor of the store room which were not even catalogued in the main register that I found during my visit to their book sale counter. Access to this archive was done physically but with no formal set of rules or bureaucratic procedures- the

organisation had not asked for formal permissions to access. But this also meant I had to adhere to informal conversations and also gain trust of the librarian with repeated appearances and also engage with questions around my social location- i.e., Caste. During one such initial conversations, the librarian, assuming that I came from Brahmin community went on to narrate his personal experiences and in yet another instance went ahead and asked if I did indeed belong to that community. I would like to record this experience here to reiterate the popular notion about how proficiencies in languages (both Telugu and English) typically get ascribed to the dominant castes. This interaction gave me inhibitions about possibilities of accessing the archives further, an inhibition which I did not face while accessing the digital archives. But access to the books published from Parishat's regional offices during twentieth century would not have been possible if not for the physical visits made.

The archive is a glorious moment of history, but the documents within for the most part are endless and banal. The archive is constituted as the only real space that is free of context, argument and ideology – indeed history itself. But the archive is simultaneously the outcome of historical process and the very condition for production of historical knowledge. (Dirks, 2015, pp. 28-29)

Archives need to be understood as processes of history rather than static objects, as they are continuously in the making through careful processes of 'assemblage, collation and collection' (Mantena, 2012, p. 11). This approach would allow us to gain deeper insights into the archives rather than settling for pre-existing narratives when we reduce them to mere objects for facts. Therefore I look at this archive in two ways

1. As something that manifests content – but selective within in manifestation both in terms of content and its form

2. I would also look at this archive as it exists in a substrate which also owing to its nature obscures some.

As I sat with the digitised images of the twentieth century archives of *Golconda Patrika*, I was overwhelmed with the number and nature of the archives I was committing to study. Most of the researches with digitised archives in the English academia assume **key word search** as an important component while working with digitised archives. I started with that assumption and tried locating the software that would possibly make my work more doable. Soon I realised that Telugu language archives do not render themselves easily for scrutiny, with changes in forms of letters, nature of the digitised archives and also the style of organising of newspapers/periodicals where the columns and rows get merged when any software tries to disassemble its contents. Hence when one attempts to convert the archive image file into a readable word format, the content gets jumbled with jumbling of horizontal rows and vertical columns making it almost impossible to assume what is next to what. Digitising fragile print material has refused to open up the content in digitally friendly ways. Widely acknowledged idea behind digital methodologies in analysis of newspapers is that the electronic versions are fundamentally different from the printed versions and the archive's search interface is central to determining the nature of questions that researchers can ask of the material (Nicholson, 2013). The archive dwells in our gadgets ready to be accessed at our convenience but this just seems to mean reading them at convenience and nothing more. Then what is the relationship between traditional print material and the digitised version when it comes to vernacular languages and how the minimally technically digitised version constitutes another version of the print material?

In an overwhelming journey of navigating through the archives, reading Dirks's work on archives has been particularly reassuring, as it helped me understand the limitations of working with documents, as archives do not render themselves for scrutiny in ways that

researchers look for. In my case there also has been a distance from the physical realities of archives, as I deal with digitised versions. There was a sense of double distance from history, historical documents and their digitised images and representations. While describing his journey of working with archives from early modern India Dirks writes,

“...I was worried that I could never fully penetrate its (the archive’s) fully kept secrets and worse that these secrets were impenetrable not because of the daring originality of my work but because I was too ignorant or not mindful of the archival realities.” (Dirks, 2015, p. 31)

Archives cannot be analysed in a purely factual manner for their record of events, along with the archival realities of who wrote them, who catalogued them, why did some archives manage to survive while some perished, the researcher’s background and subjectivity also come into play.

Newspapers in vernacular languages in India, originally produced in print, have been scanned and digitised and made available for digital access. But these are not necessarily machine-readable. While ‘digitally-born’ material (material produced directly in digital media) can be accessed even in vernacular languages, beyond English, same does not hold true for historical documents of the past. While this is a significant drawback for researchers, using digitised material along with physical archives can lead to interesting methodologies and newer findings which would otherwise not have been possible only with one or the other sources. Digitisation has given the researchers an ease of access that was not possible before but analysing these sources still seem to be happening in traditional modes of ‘reading the text’ due to limited technological possibilities.

1.6. Chapter Descriptions

Chapter 2 deals with *Golconda Patrika* in its initial years, where it carried articles on religion, health, social reform, regional news along with reporting nationalist activities happening across British Presidencies and Princely States. This chapter uses Foucaultian conception of *dispositif/apparatus* and analyses newspapers in relation to both the discursive and the non-discursive structures. For this, advertisements, subscription models, inaugural editorials of periodicals were looked at along with several unsigned articles to understand newspapers in relationship with publishing houses, hostels, schools and networks of patronage. Drawing from the articles published in *Golconda Patrika* and *Hitabodhini*, the chapter establishes the conditions in which Telugu periodicals were operating out of the Hyderabad state and navigating different tiers of power in the multicultural and multilingual region. Along with this it attempts to understand the nature of reading public and their education and patronage from the surrounding samsthanas. The chapter argues that newspapers and periodicals have to be looked as dynamic entities which constantly evolve to accommodate diversely irreconcilable objects in their pages.

Chapter 3 engages with the conversations happening around education in vernaculars through the early decades of twentieth century where the dominant vernaculars particularly Telugu, were engaging with the official vernacular of the state Urdu, for recognition in the education system and the larger public discourse. This chapter exclusively engages with discourse around Urdu and Telugu in multiple issues of *Golconda Patrika* (between 1930 and 1945) to understand the anxieties expressed by the regional elite in terms of linguistic competencies, provisions in education and employment. I also consult the articles from *Hyderabad Samacharamu* (between 1941-1945) a monthly journal published by the Hyderabad state, to understand the state's attempt towards language modernization, its attempt to establish Urdu, a vernacular, as official language, as opposed to the British

colonial Presidencies that dominantly have English. Theorising the archive as a space that allows for recontextualisation of the past, the chapter contextualises *Golconda Patrika* and Hyderabad Samacharamu to understand the concerns and anxieties surrounding education in the vernaculars when English language education was being promoted across India after Macaulay's minute on education. To locate the diverse political and cultural stands taken by the Telugu literati in engaging with the question of language and education, I look at autobiographies, articles and historical books written by Suravaram Pratapa Reddy, Madapati Hanumantha Rao and Mandumala Narasinga Rao. The chapter attempts a conjunctural analysis of debates around education in mother tongue during the early half of the twentieth century and engages with the diverse connections language has had with region, religion, state and print culture. Concerns surrounding the establishment of Osmania University, possible employment opportunities with the bureaucracy, curriculum in educational institutions, communal tensions associated with languages are some of the themes that emerge in the discussion.

Chapter 4 discusses the context in which Nizamrahtrandhra Maha Sabha emerges and the political environment in the Hyderabad State, its role in Telugu language debates in the twentieth century, transformation of the organisation from the one that promotes literary and cultural fervour during the 1930s, to a more political organisation by 1940s. The trajectory of NAMS in this region would show the increasing importance associated to linguistic affiliation. This chapter establishes relationship between newspapers and voluntary civil societal organisations in the Princely State of Hyderabad. In theorising these voluntary organisations, the chapter uses Partha Chatterjee's framework of civil society and political society, where civil society essentially was limited in its concerns around social reform and nation building and was largely composed of the elite sections of the society.

Golconda Patrika published the proceedings of the meetings of Andhra Maha Sabhas, resolutions passed and also acted as a space of negotiation between NAMS and the ruling state and the regional elite. Maha Sabhas met regularly at to discuss conditions of education, employment and scope for improvement of Telugu in Telangana. The chapter also describes the fissures within the organisation and its members around the concern of social reform and also linguistic unity to understand the tense political conditions in which linguistic solidarities were commanded. The chapter argues that the process of making of a region has largely been that of domination by contextualising the scholarship around regional historiography in the context of Telugu speaking population from both Madras Presidency and the Princely State of Hyderabad.

Chapter 5 discusses the origins of Parishat which started with a vision of forwarding Telugu literary culture in Princely state of Hyderabad. This chapter looks at the conditions under which a need for an independent literary and cultural organisation for Telugu came up during the 1940s and also employs methodologies of book history to understand the paratexts and contents of the books published by Parishat in the 1940s.

Series of articles in *Golconda Patrika*, reveal that there have been political tensions within Andhra Maha Sabha, which was set up in the 1930s, which was transforming itself into a political mobilising agent, which was not taken well by the moderate nationalists. Saraswata Parishat, which was a fall out of this, headed by Suravaram and others, came up with an agenda to improve literary traditions in Telugu, conduct exams and encourage language capacities in Telugu, etc., There were competing claims of identities, with two major political ideologies opposing each other – the Congress (Parishat) and the Communists (Andhra Maha Sabha). The proceedings of the meetings of the Parishat were also published in *Golconda Patrika*, publications produced by Parishat (Suravaram's Andhrula Sanghika Charithra,

Khandavalli's *Andhruka Charithra*, Tholisanja, Abhignana Shankunthala) are reviewed in chapter.

Using Derridian conception of archive as existing in substrate, the chapter focuses on interrelationship between periodicals (*Golconda Patrika*) and books produced by Parishat around language and history and ideas of the Telugu literati around nature of Telugu language where they were concerned with the spoken Telugu variant because of the influence from Urdu and Persian. Engaging with articles from *Golconda Patrika* the chapter contextualises the objectives of Parishat and their concern of distancing the question of language from political questions of caste and class. Members of the Parishat wanted to limit the activities of the Parishat to language and attempted being political individuals outside of it. Parishat's project of literary and historical production is also studied by analysing the prefaces and contents of the books produced to understand how language was imagined as a horizontally unifying category.

Chapter 6 This chapter outlines the central arguments of thesis and presents its limitations and scope for further research.

2. Composing a Newspaper in the Twentieth Century: Telugu Publishing in the Princely State of Hyderabad

2.1. Introduction

The newspaper, like the modern city, is not wholly a rational product. No one sought to make it just what it is. In spite of all the efforts of individual men and generations of men to control it and to make it something after their own heart, it has continued to grow and change in its own incalculable ways. (Park, 1923, p. 273)

The above mentioned lines theorise the nature of newspapers in early twentieth century America where commercialised newspaper publishing industry grew to respond to the growing markets of readers with emergence and growth of cities and the urban reading public. History of print is often connected with history of enlightenment, growth of literacy and transitioning to modern technologies; and emergence of newspapers is described as society's attempts to engage with ideas of modernity. While modern newspapers are often located as products of capitalism, market structures and are related to emergence of ideas of modern nation-states, the early newspapers in the South Asian context were not entirely commercial enterprises during the twentieth century. Newspapers and periodicals have been looked at as historical artefacts in the research around print culture, but most of the studies in the Indian context are limited to investigating them as objects produced in the colonial state around anti-colonial nationalist struggle. Early newspapers were also referred in connection with arrival and spread of missionaries. This assumption believes that early newspapers functioned exclusively with ideas around either religion or nationalism and hence were more ideological than commercial, profit-making enterprises. Though the foregrounding of ideological concerns in the early print ventures is not completely untrue, the story of print and publishing globally and also in South Asian context treads the slippery roads of profit-making, moral economy that reflects in subscription models, patronage from regional elite

and support from local business establishments and also significantly in the diversity of the content it provided space for. Political economy approach has been limited to understanding newspapers from post-independent India and has not been applied to the newspapers published during the colonial period and has been studied largely to understand the functioning of 'nationalist press' foregrounding the Indian nationalist movement (Elavarthi, 2018).

Newspapers during the early twentieth century in Colonial India and Princely States did not function as "carriers of news" reflecting "objectivity", the imagination of a newspaper diversely and distinctly varied from the current imaginary. Most papers were not dailies and did not necessarily "report" events/activities, etc., they were literary, poetic, scandalous, moral, all at the same time. In this chapter, I engage with popular publishing in the early decades of twentieth century, by analysing the archives of a popular Telugu language periodical *Golconda Patrika* operating from the Princely State of Hyderabad to understand the socio-cultural, economic and political processes that define composing the newspaper and understand how diversely irreconcilable objects are placed together in the making of news pages. Theorising newspapers as dynamic and amorphous units, this chapter engages with encounters of regional elite with ideas of enlightenment and modernity, systems of patronage and the larger publishing networks and social life that newspapers were a part of.

Historically, there has been little to no work around cultural history of print and publishing in the Princely state of Hyderabad. It remains an under-researched and under-discussed area amidst the narratives around colonial archives and more recent narratives of "*regionalism*" around newly formed Telangana State. To this extent, the chapter attempts to revisit the print archives of one of the earliest Telugu periodicals, run by the patronage of one of the most dominant and powerful communities- a periodical that is often cited as the symbol of resistance against the Nizam rule of the 20th century. I attempt to understand the making of the newspaper and its contents and the conditions under which newspapers functioned and

the ideals they stood for – which were not necessarily anti-colonial or nationalist but were politically moderate with the ruling state and also on moderate lines feudatories as the newspapers themselves functioned largely under their patronage.

Along with the archives of *Golconda Patrika*, I also refer to the digitised archives of *Hitabodhini*, a monthly journal, to understand the initial concerns of the periodicals. In discussing these, I attempt to generate a narrative of early Telugu periodicals that were being published from the Princely State of Hyderabad. For the chapters that follow I engaged with the archives with a thematic focus on vernacular education, literary and political activity, etc., But for this chapter I look at newspaper's concerns- procuring technology, advertisements and subscription models for their sustenance, support and patronage received from rulers of samsthanas that reflected in the newspaper's thanking notes, articles and announcements about other modern institutions like hostels which were a part of the larger network of the regional elite. Most of the articles are left unsigned and sometimes written under several pseudonyms all these constitute the newspaper's literary and political activity.

Most studies examine newspapers for their 'illustrative value' where they are seen as records of past events and as moderators of public opinion- largely for the content they manifest. Studies that locate newspapers as historical artefacts that shape socio-economic and technological changes and in turn transform their content and form, tracing the socio-political and information networks that connect the newspapers have been far and few. Therefore historiography of Press in southasia can benefit from the approaching it through the lens of historiography of technology that helps one move beyond the familiar nation-centric narratives and uncover connections and exchanges which are less visible (Bonea, 2014, pp. 390-392). Thus, this chapter attempts to complicate the ideas associated to historical artefacts which are so commonly referred to for ideological and regional affiliations. While not dismissing the context in which efforts around vernacular print and publishing happened and

not overlooking the restrictions around freedom to publish, the chapter attempts to create a complex narrative of newspapers where they are not seen as ideologically motivated objects alone. Referring to the statement that I started the chapter with, newspapers have functioned beyond any singular ideology and have managed to survive as sites that encompass distinctly irreconcilable ideas in their pages and this chapter engages with this dynamic possibility of history of newspapers.

2.2. Theorising Newspapers: Literary Elite and Institutions of Public Life

Listing some of the important changes that occurred in Modern Europe with interaction with print technologies, Elisabeth Eisenstein outlines some of the essential features of print culture like - wider dissemination of texts, standardisation of languages, newer modes of data collection and rationalising, codifying and cataloguing data, the nature of fixity that comes with print, and amplifying and reinforcing the already existing stereotypes of sociolinguistic divisions (Eisenstein, 1983). Many of the later scholars have criticised that not all of these features are completely applicable in their respective local contexts or even within Europe. But these features need to be acknowledged to understand how newer technologies interacted with older forms of communication systems and reorganised knowledge systems and thereby had different historical trajectories. They also help us in locating the processes which propelled the generating a public sphere that looked to engage with modern ideas of rationality and civilization.

Though criticised for its limitations, Habermasian conception of Public Sphere (Habermas, 1991) is an important framework that helps us understand the transformations happening in the modern European societies with respect to change in the structures of power and leaders of public opinion. This conception allows us to inspect the nature of institutions and individuals who emerged as carriers of dominant discourse in the society. Most of the civil societal institutions at large and in the Indian context as well were constituted by the elite

who had opportunities for education, access to economic and cultural resources and emerged as key figures who would eventually dominate the public life in society.

In theorising the ‘Hindi Literary Sphere’, Francesa Orsini elaborates the multilingual worlds that publishers lived in even through print languages carried boundaries (Orsini, 2002, p. 1). She studies the growth of Hindi language press during the early twentieth century around the time when Urdu and Persian language press were thriving in colonial north India and also remained as dominant vernaculars in Punjab, Delhi and Awadh (Oudh), marking the prominence of mixed language urban elite of that time (Orsini, 2002, p. 3). She defines this as ‘Hindi literary system’ and writes,

The object of this study is ‘Hindi literary system’ as a whole, and especially what semioticians and sociologists of literature call ‘institutional arrangements; i.e., places and mechanisms of production, transmission and fruition. Institutions, especially press, schools and publishing houses are important for study. They were both concrete and discursive. The press, education and schools and political activities were all spaces where language, ideas, literary tastes and individual group identities were reshaped, both consciously as well as by the dynamics and momentum of each medium. Its institutional grounding in journals, associations, universities and schools allowed the literary and historical discourse of Hindi-Hindu to become hegemonic, with a hold on the social transmission of knowledge, despite the presence of dissenting voices and different agendas. (Orsini, 2002, p. 7)

Orsini’s work is significant in understanding the interconnectedness of diverse institutional mechanisms. In theorising them as both concrete and discursive spaces of activity, she makes connections between the spaces that one inhabits and how it shapes one’s ideological and political concerns. She elaborates,

From the first half of the nineteenth century, under the influence of British ideas and institutions, many educated Indians started evolving codes, institutions and a language to express the need for new concepts like 'unity' and 'progress' and a 'common cultural heritage'. Public spaces for argument and debate were established and codes evolved by which people acknowledged that they entering spaces that were common and public. These places transcended, while incorporating, people's social being. (Orsini, 2002, p. 1)

Like Orsini's elaboration of publishing scenario in central India, Veena Naregal focuses on the nature of newspaper publishing in colonial Western India, more specifically the Bombay-Pune region during the mid nineteenth century where the bilingual elite were not only concerned with high literary cultures but worked with establishing newspaper ventures to engage with the hierarchical position of English and Marathi languages and popularise Marathi. (Naregal, 2001, p. 5). Both Naregal and Orsini focus on networks of public life like schools, public associations, vernacular education and their relationship with print spaces to understand the emergence of a modern vernacular literary/public sphere.

The literary elite- the ones who had received education in vernaculars from the Hyderabad state and also the ones who went to Madras Presidency for education and thereby had encounters with colonial modernity and western ideas of knowledge formations, both were interested in generating possibilities for a modern social life where there would be conversations about social reform, education, engaging with modern ideas of history, literature. This they felt was possible by creating institutions like libraries, publishing houses and hostels. Their attempts, though sporadic reflect the continuities and discontinuities with the past and engagement with modernity.

By the time Telugu newspapers were being established in Princely State of Hyderabad, there was an already existing popular Persian and Urdu press. With Urdu becoming the official language of the state by the end of nineteenth century, there was also a burgeoning Urdu

print culture, modernization of language, emergence and growth of newspapers and periodicals and also public education in Urdu. Along with Urdu newspapers which were already popular there were also newspapers from British India like Hindu from Madras, the Maratta from Pune and the Amrutha Bazaar Patrika from Calcutta (Mantena, 2019, p. 1257). The Telugu speaking population was already accessing newspapers in multiple languages of the region and also from across regions.

The Telugu literary elite in their articles and biographies commented on the absence of public life/engagement and *chaitanyamu* (awakening) among the Telugu speaking population of the Princely State of Hyderabad till the early years of 20th century and mark the establishment of the first Telugu library Srikrishnadevarayandhra Bhashanilayamu (1901) as the beginning of public engagement. *Naveenakalamulo ettiyudyamamukainanu pracharamusaagutaku vaarthapatrikalu chaala mukhyamu*. In a modern society to publicise any movement, newspapers are of utmost importance (Madapati, 1995)

The literary elite, who were engaging in activities like publishing newspapers, running schools, were commenting about the lack of enthusiasm among people to embrace newer forms of public life. ‘Those days there was no awakening (*Chaitanyamu*⁴) among people. Education was limited and even among the educated there was no interest in worldly affairs, they limited themselves to looking at newspapers only for local news or recruitment in government positions, announcements of transfers and promotions and never considered enriching themselves with knowledge of the world outside (*..prapancha gnanam avasaramani thalachevaaru kaaru!*).’ (Mandumala, 2012)

⁴ The Telugu word *chaitanyamu* is used as a phrase in biographies of prominent figures like Madapati, Mandumala and Suravarm to refer to public engagement (or the lack of) with the newspapers. Authors in their writings use *chaitanyamu* interchangeably with enlightenment/consciousness/awakening, all referring to encounters with ideas of modernity and also with modern technologies.

2.2.1. Newspapers and *dispositif*

For this chapter I look at the digitised archives of *Golconda Patrika* between 1927-30, marking them as the years before the rise of civil societal organisations - transformation of Andhra Jana Sangham into Andhra Maha Sabha, institutionalised efforts towards generating a vernacular public sphere⁵- discourse around vernacular education and emergence of Nizamrashtrandhra Saraswata Parishat, which occupy significant space in the pages of *Golconda Patrika* and also in the larger civil societal movements of that time (which I discuss in my other chapters).

Michel Foucault in his work *Confessions of Flesh*, discusses *dispositif* (apparatus) as a system of relations that can be established between diverse combination of discursive and non discursive elements. According to Foucault, '*dispositif/apparatus* is a 'thoroughly heterogeneous ensemble consisting of discourses, institutions, architectural forms, regulatory decisions, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements, philosophical, moral and philanthropic propositions - in short, the said as much as the unsaid' (Foucault, 1980, p. 194). Expanding on the earlier idea of episteme which theorises the discursive practices of power, *dispositif* he says extends to the realm of the non-discursive as well. The apparatus he suggests also has a 'dominant strategic function' (Foucault, 1980, p. 195) at a given historical moment.

Hence for this chapter as much as I focus on the discursive elements like the articles, advertisements published in the periodical, I also engage with the invisible elements like political power, institutions of public engagement like schools, hostels and libraries,

⁵ 'The concepts of 'civil society' and a 'public sphere', as derived from the history of modern West, subsume several large and overlapping social processes.....Aiming to transplant the social and historical processes that had formed part of the rise of modernity in the West, the colonial education project served as a proxy tool to stimulate several of these results into sub-continental society through a grand bureaucratic scheme'. (Naregal, 2001, p. 60)

patronage from feudal elite, desire for space in the city, subscription to periodicals and encounters with ideas like enlightenment/consciousness/awakening.

2.3. Early Newspaper Scenario: The City and the Samsthanas

Shifting the focus of scholarship from the urban Hyderabad city to the ‘multi-tiered’ ‘multi-ethnic’ forms of political and administrative regimes that existed in the Hyderabad state, Benjamin Cohen (Cohen, 2007) elaborates the layered structures of power with a focus on Samsthanas. Samsthanas defined themselves as political structures that had their roots in Kakatiya and Vijayanagar empires and when the bigger empires fell, the supportive kings continued in power as heads of Samsthanas, thus tracing medieval status unlike the *paighas*, *jagirdars*, which came into existence after the emergence of Asaf Jah rulers.

Describing the administrative structures and the Samsthanas, he writes

The samasthans and other forms of nobility comprised the third tier of Hyderabad’s pyramidal political structure. At the top of this structure was the Nizam.....Below the Nizam in the political structure was the dewan (revenue minister) who was responsible for overseeing the daily administration of the state. As such, the minister was frequently in touch with the state’s nobles, with the British Resident, and with his master. Beneath the minister was a wide spectrum of elites including the samasthan rajas; paigah nobles whose ancestors were bequeathed land by the first Nizam on a military tenure; jagirdars who over time were also granted land for a variety of reasons, and a bevy of daftardars (record keepers). Nobles at these ranks held land in the countryside, and often aspired to higher rank by being patrons of artists, musicians, dancers, poets, and pundits. Finally, there were vakils (agent, lawyer) who served both patrons and clients, and would represent either or both in day-to-day court business. Outside of this pyramid, but frequently involved in the state’s politics, was the British Resident. The Resident served as a local representative of the Company’s governor general, and later the Queen’s viceroy. Finally, cutting across

these landed elites were a variety of other communities who were intertwined with the Nizams, ministers, nobility, and Residents. These communities included Arab moneylenders, African soldiers, as well as Afghan and Rohilla mercenaries. (Cohen, 2007, pp. 15-16)

Most of the newspapers and journals seem to be published with support from Samsthanas⁶ whose rulers showed interest in patronising Telugu by establishing schools and venturing into supporting publishing enterprises. The Telugu publishing history in the Princely state of Hyderabad marks *Sedya Chandrika* (1883) a monthly journal translated from Urdu to Telugu as the first attempt at Telugu journal and newspaper publishing. Following this, many journals, newspapers and magazines were published later on and *Hitabodhini* (1913-14) is marked as the first Telugu journal. But such enterprises did not seem to gather public support as the education percentage was very less and was limited largely to the elite, more so in the case of Telugu language, leading to limited readership and these ventures had to eventually shut down. *Hitabodhini* (1913), *Tenugu Patrika* (1922), *Neelagiri* (1922), etc., were among the few which managed to survive for few years before shutting down (Sadanandam, 2002). Those days, *Golconda Patrika* was the only periodical that continued its operations beyond 10 years and other periodicals were short lived (*Anthakamundu velasina patrikalu pubbakarthe lo putti magha kaarthe lo antharinchinave*) (Reddy, 1992, p. 15)

Periodicals like *Neelagiri*, *Tenugu Patrika* and *Golconda Patrika* emerged around Library movement and Andhra Janasangham (Later Nizamrashtrandhra Maha Sabha). They did receive generous support from the Samsthanas but Andhra Janasangham and Library movement formed the flesh and blood (Balagopal, 2016, p. 26)

⁶ Hyderabad State had fourteen samasthans, which were: Gadwal, Wanaparthy, Jatprole, Amarchinta, Paloncha, Gopalpet, Anagundi, Gurgunta, Narayanpet, Domakonda, Rajapet, Dubbak, Papanapet, and Sirnapalli (Cohen, 2007, p. 3)

Discussing the context of handwritten newspapers in Europe Droste and Nilkander (2019) discuss the social embeddedness of news as well as newspapers and suggest looking for a different kind of economy that is based on social resources and extends far beyond the public news market instead is built on trust, networks, etc., If universal education and political consciousness have to be considered as necessary pre-requisites for the rise of publishing (*patrikarangam yedugudala*) patronage is equally important (*kalavaari poshana kuda avasaram*) If education and political consciousness were responsible for growth of Press in Warangal, Mahabubnagar witnessed spread of publishing houses chiefly because of patronage from Wanaparthi, Gadwal, Kollapuram and Amarachintha Samsthanas. (Balagopal, 2016, p. 26). *Golconda Patrika*, based out of Hyderabad city, made sure to repeatedly declare its distinctive 'Telugu linguistic' character, secure its position in the larger Telugu literary and cultural networks and at the same time distance itself from anti-colonial nationalist struggle to avoid immediate confrontations with the ruling monarchy.

2.3.1. Annual Editorials

In the inaugural editorial of *Golconda Patrika*, editor Suravaram compares the status of vernacular (here Telugu) newspapers in Hyderabad State to Travancore State and says 'if it is possible for such a small state like Travancore to have hundreds of periodicals, it is a loss that we only have two functional Telugu language periodicals in Hyderabad. So we have no regrets in launching a third one to fill the gaps' (Srinivas, 2015, p. 394). In an article titled '*Andhra Desa Patrikalu*', *Golconda Patrika* compares its circulation with several national and international periodicals and laments at the lack of subscribers for Telugu periodicals, excerpt reads as follows,

There are not more than 120-130 Telugu periodicals. Their life span seems like water bubbles, which come and perish quickly. The number of periodicals in Telugu is very less in comparison to Malayalam and Kannada. Considering the number of Telugu speakers,

we should have at least 500 newspapers. Reading newspapers is a part of the daily routine in the west due to wide spread education and better financial status in more affluent countries like Holland and England. In our country newspapers do not receive necessary encouragement due to lack of education, poverty and lack of interest among people. Newspapers are also not appreciated because most of them are based on either caste or religion. Japan's 'Asaha', a daily released in their national language, has 22,00,000 active subscribers, similarly England's 'Daily Herald' has 4,50,000 subscribers. There are not even 10,000 subscribers for even one periodical in Andhra Desa.⁷

Suravaram imagined the periodicals to be in conversation with happenings of other princely states and also the presidencies. He also regularly publicised the launch of new periodicals⁸, published translated excerpts⁹ from popular English and other language newspapers¹⁰ from outside of Hyderabad. *Golconda Patrika* published book reviews¹¹ and encouraged readers to buy those books and also made the services of Golconda Press available for commercial printing along with publishing books with support from Samsthana rulers. An advertisement describing the newer technology that the newspaper acquired, reads as follows,

We procured new English types and also a new treadle press. We can now do printing in both English and Telugu more beautifully and also on time. Now it is possible to do block

⁷ Andhra Desa Patrikalu, 9th November 1927

⁸ For instance, on 18th May 1927, Golconda Patrika published an advertisement of the launch of new periodical *Shaivamani* under the title "*Patrika Sweekaramu*". Similarly on 25th May 1927, it also published the details of the latest issue of the monthly magazine *Sujatha*. In the same issue, there was also a note supporting Krishna Patrika, a Telugu periodical that started from the Madras Presidency and briefly came to a halt. Golconda Patrika, wished the newspaper should resume its publishing soon. On 9th November 1927, Golconda Patrika also published an announcement introducing the newly launched *Rayyat*, which was an Urdu periodical run by Mandumala Narasingarao.

⁹ On 11th June 1927, Golconda Patrika published translated excerpts from *The Volunteer*, *Mahabodhi* and *The Calcutta Review*.

¹⁰ On 18th May 1930, Golconda Patrika carried an advertisement for the national daily *Swarajya*, mentioning the details of local agents who can be approached for subscription.

¹¹ Pustaka Pareekshana, 1st June 1927 ; Pustaka Pareekshana: Andhra Veerulu – Seshadri Ramana Kavulu , 4th June 1927

printing as well. We print wedding invitations, letter heads, books and also notices. Please send your orders to Golconda Power Press, Troop Bazaar, Hyderabad Deccan.¹²

In yet another editorial, Suravaram writes about the change in layout of *Golconda Patrika* and provision of distinct space for advertisements and news. We procured new printing types and also brought blocks. We also shifted from our regular 3 column page division to a four column one and also stopped spreading advertisements across pages. This procurement of new types and newer organising of pages made its form more attractive, because of which we saw a rise in our subscriptions. But considering the increasing number of educated people and the rising needs of the Andhras (Telugu speakers) there is still scope for improvement in the number of subscribers¹³ (Suravaram, 1989)

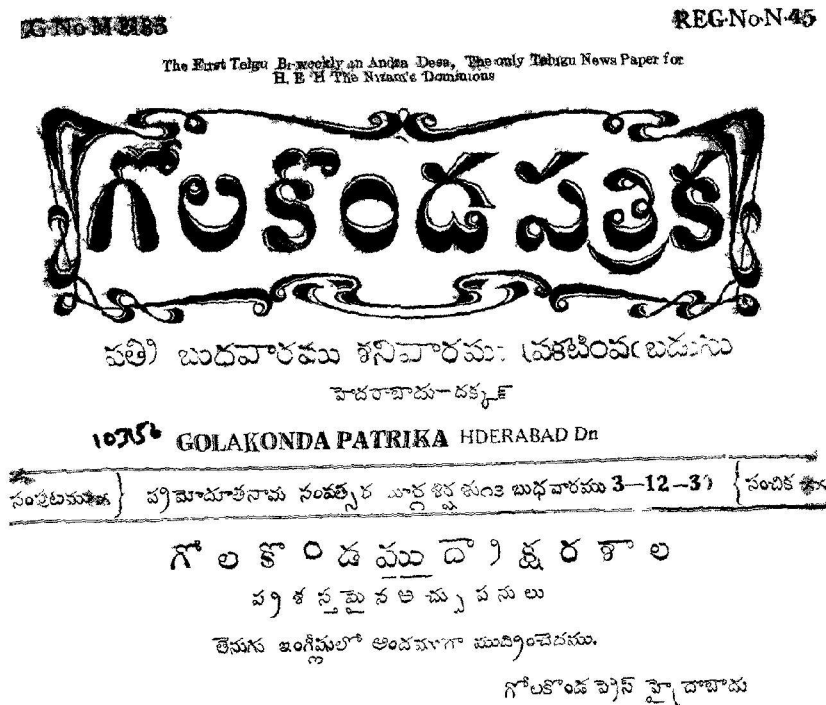


Figure 2.4: *Golconda Patrika* 3rd December 1927. Header and an announcement inviting people to use Golconda Press for printing services

¹² *Golconda Patrika*, 25th May 1930

¹³ *Swavishayamu, Golconda Patrika*, 1st June 1936

Bahadur who promised to allow us to use the *mudrana yanthramu* (printing press) available at his samsthaana....I request the Telugu readers to patronise this journal, the annual subscription fee is Rs.5/- but would be available for Rs.3/- for women and students.’¹⁴

Hitabodhini ran for two years between 1913 and 1914 and published articles under four themes – Agriculture, Medicine, Industries and Social reform. The editor in the first issue describes *Hitabodhini* as a nationalist enterprise and opts for a moral and ethical outlook on articles around the themes which were perceived to be scientific. Poems and quotes on moral code of conduct, ethics of living, caste supremacy, get interspersed with the articles on agriculture, medicine, etc.,

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స్వవిషయము

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డిసెంబర్ పత్రికలు కొందరిచందా దాలాకు వీవీ, మూలమున పంపితిమి’ అం దుకొందరాంధ్ర శూకులు, “మాకు బేకులేదనియు, “వీ, వీనాపన్ కియాగయానై” యనియు, “వాపస్ ”యనియు తమ తమ యమోఘ పాండిత్యమును, నిగుఢమానన త్యన్తతంబును నెల్లడియగునట్ల వీ, వీలపైన న్రాసి శాశ్వతంబువించిరి, వారిధర్మాస్తులును, ఇదినరకు పత్రికలు వారిచేరపంపబడి నట్లు టపాలవారి రశీదులును మాకార్య స్థానం బురగలవు, గానవారిపై మహబూబ్ నగరం న్యాయస్థానమున ఆభియోగముదెచ్చు టకై యెఠయు చింతిల్లు చున్నాము,

మా వీ, వీలు’ అది చండాధనముపంపుచు మమ్ము పోతాహపరచిన చం దాదాలాకు కృతజ్ఞత దెలుపుచున్నాము,

Figure 2.6: February 1914, *Hitabodhini*: Editor's note mentioning a possible legal action against subscribers for uninformed cancellation of subscription

¹⁴ Introductory remarks, *Hitabodhini*, May 1913

2.3.3. Initial Journalistic activity and the culture of pseudonyms

Golconda Patrika in its initial years of publication had carried articles on religion, health, social reform, regional news along with reporting nationalist activities happening across British Presidencies and Princely States. Though they published stories on social reform, nationalism, language, etc., it concentrated more on reporting incidents and advertising events rather than explicit pro-nationalist articles that appear from the 1930s onwards following its active engagement with various socio-political and literary organisations. The changes in style and nature of the periodical since inception and later on with its association with the emerging social and linguistic movements of that time are of interest to this chapter. The initial bi-weekly issues of *Golconda Patrika* published short stories, various advertisements with textual descriptive reviews, articles on moral and social conducts, code of conduct for women, reporting robberies and crimes, research reviews from foreign universities, etc., *Golconda Patrika* does not seem to venture into an active display of nationalist discourse until the beginning of 1930s, where its connections begin with ongoing social movements. There were sections similar to Editorials, Letters to Editors, though not titled explicitly so but similar to the sections we see in the current newspaper dailies and the review of few periodicals reveals that most of the content of the newspaper was largely written by either one or two individuals.

Golconda Patrika carried several opinion pieces written anonymously and signed by several pseudonyms like *swakeeya vilekhari* (self-identified/independent journalist), *oka andhrudu* (a Telugu speaker), *chithraguptudu*, *vividhapraantha vyavaharika bhasha sevakudu* (colloquial language worker of different areas), *pattanajana shreyobhilashi* (well wisher of the city people), *Aadi Hindu Sangha Shreyobhilashi* (well wisher of the Aadi Hindu organisation) among the few. The articles written this way using pseudonyms generally touched up on what was considered as ‘controversial’ topics for discussion. Typically were prone to making

provocative statements that were directed either at specific individuals, organisations, modes of thinking that was considered 'regressive' by the nationalist moderates. Sometimes they were also directed towards the Hyderabad state demanding their attention towards civic issues. Historians who have worked on *Golconda Patrika* also noted that Suravaram Pratapa Reddy wrote majority of the content of the newspaper, and under several pseudonyms made provocative comments to generate public debate which improved the circulation of the newspaper and its reader engagement when several readers volunteered to write open letters and counter articles to the editor of the newspaper (Ogeti, 1985, pp. 60-61).

2.3.4. Publishers and their social location

Writing about the nature of publishers in Hindi language press, Orsini traces the social status of the publishers,

The champions of Hindi belonged to small zamindaar or even peasant families whose fathers and grandfathers had sometimes diversified into teaching, law, the lower echelons of government service or army; from families that served local land owners and worked as village clerks (*Patwaris* and *Kanungos*) or priestly Brahmins educated in Sanskrit, who performed ritual duties in the village and sometimes taught in schools(*paathashaalas*) and finally they could be from Agarwal and Khatri merchant families. It was those higher and middle castes, of once-diverse linguistic competencies, that compacted around Khari Boli Hindi, They produced the first wave of activism and created institutional spaces for Hindi in the form of periodicals, literary and public associations and textbook writing. (Orsini, 2002, pp. 3-4).

The Telugu publishing scenario in the Princely state of Hyderabad was no different from this, the editor of *Hitabodhini*, B.Srinivasa Sharma was from Madhva Brahmana lineage and was an Ayurveda doctor by profession. The editor of Neelagiri, Shabnavees Venakatarama

Narasimha Rao belonged to a family of record keepers; while Tenugu Patrika's Oddiraju brothers were prominent literary figures of Telugu language and the editor of *Golconda Patrika*, Suravaram Pratapa Reddy was from the Reddy community, a dominant landowning caste in Telangana. In the first edition of the bi-weekly its editor Suravaram Pratapa Reddy, in his editor's note mentions the objectives of the newspaper along with the principles on which it was set up. He points that the newspaper though is patronised and run by people from the Reddy community is solely not representative of the concerns of only Reddys but all the communities in Telangana (Sangishetty, 2003). In his piece on Journalism in Telangana K. Balagopal discusses about the dominance of Brahmins in early journalism as they were the community with a long history of literacy and access to language and print and any new community that enters into this world is seen with doubt, which the Brahmins did not have to face. Hence is important to recognise and be critical of this aspect and trace such influences in analysing the early print resources to understand the socio-political scenario of the region better (Balagopal, 2016).

Initial Telugu periodicals, mostly functioned from the Samsthanas, though they also imagined to address and to be able to speak to the city. But *Golconda Patrika* starts its operations from the city itself and becomes a part of larger network of public life that the regional elite were trying to establish. Though it functioned from the city, the subscriptions extended to surrounding samsthanas as well, as it regularly made announcements for requirement of reporters and distributors and held distinct sections in the periodical for news from surrounding districts, city, other princely states and presidencies and also world affairs.

2.4. Networks and Patrons

Regional elite extended their patronage in whatever limited forms to periodicals, journals and also publishing of books. Tracing the patronage around book publishing in late colonial Madras Presidency, A R Venkatachalapathy notes the dwindling systems of traditional

patronage for popular book publishing by the 19th century and notes the dilemmas of cultural producers with newer systems of patronage (Venkatchalapathy, 2012). *Golconda Patrika* regularly published advertisements of the books published from *Golconda Patrika* Press in the periodical itself, sometimes it also wrote advertisements and descriptive articles about donations received from feudal elite and also donations from Reddy community towards the periodical, functioning of Reddy hostel, etc., The periodical and the allied libraries and hostels managed by the editor (Suravaram Pratapa Reddy) regularly sought donations big and small from the landed gentry and the affluent communities in general.

రెడ్డి బోర్డింగునకు విరాళములు చెల్లించినవారు	
శ్రీయుత వీరనోలు ముట్టారెడ్డిగారు గ్రామము ముట్టా రు తా ఐదల్లగొండ	2-0-0
16 వజరె వాఙ్మనరెడ్డిగారు పకేలు సూర్యపేట జిల్లా నల్లగొండ	25-0-0
17 ఆనంతరెడ్డిగారు గ్రామము గడ్డిపెల్లి తా పంజాగు నగరము జిల్లా నల్లగొండ	25-0-0
18 వాడరెడ్డి మర్లారెడ్డిగారు మ యిమామపేట తా సూర్యపేట జిల్లా నల్లగొండ	2-0-0
19 ముట్టారెడ్డిగారు మ యిమామపేట తా సూర్యపేట జిల్లా నల్లగొండ	2-0-0
మొత్తము రూ 50-0-0	
పైనాది యోదార్యమునకును, కులబి మానము నకును రెడ్డిహాస్టలు సెక్రటరీ కమిటీపక్షమున కృతజ్ఞ తా వందనము బర్పించుచున్నాడు.	
సు. ప్రతాపరెడ్డి సెక్రటరీ.	

Figure 2.7; *Golconda Patrika*, 11th June 1927: List of donors and donations received for Reddy Hostel

Announcing the marriage celebrations of ruler of Gadwal Samsthan, *Golconda Patrika* published a full page article describing the contributions of the Gadwal royal family to the Telugu language, literature and history. The periodical published a full page article in which it described in detail the contributions of generations of men from the family to the service of Telugu language and generous donations made to setting up of Reddy hostel¹⁵, hostel library and hoped that the current ruler also continues the legacy. A relevant excerpt from the article reads as follows,

Gadwal samsthan had contributed Rs.30,000/- for the establishment of Reddy hostel and also left Rs.10,000/- as support during later time. Gadwal Maharani is the chief patron of *Golconda Patrika*... Spending thousands of rupees they are continuing to collect *shasanas* from Andhra kingdoms and are soon going to publish a book that would trace the genesis of Reddy community to Kshatriyas.

...during its (Reddy Hostel) establishment they donated 5000/- rupees and 500 books in Telugu and Urdu languages to the Reddy library. The bride and the groom are both educated. Someshwara Rao (groom) is a graduate, he also cleared his Judicial examinations (Mulki certified) we hope that he shall carry forward the legacy of his father in his regime and continue the patronage to Andhra bhasha (Telugu language)¹⁶

¹⁵ Reddy Hostel which continues to exist now was established in the early decades of 20th century was run, managed, patronised and was open to Reddy students coming from surrounding districts to the city of Hyderabad to pursue education. This place becomes one of the most significant political and cultural spaces for Telugu elite and several political cultural figures refer to Reddy hostel and their life there in their biographies.

¹⁶ *Golconda Patrika*, 4th June 1927

రెడీక్సుల నిర్వహణచంద్రిక

ವಿಧಿ

ఉ తమ గంభీరములు.

[illegible]

[ప్రకాశం] బజారు,

శ్రీమద్రామాయ నామః .

తరగతి లేనున్న పనాతన ధర్మమును నిజా
ము గావ్యక్తిమంతుల నిన్ని పాఠశాలలోను
చదువబడుచున్న అత్యుత్తము పేదాంత గ్రం
థము. మెం. 1-0-0

హారతి-లు (చిత్రకథలు) ,, 1-0-0

ములుగు పెంకటరమణయ్య,

ఇ. మృ. పం. (నిజాం.)

ఇదివరకు పండితులకు మాత్రమే దొరుకు
చుండెడిది.

ప్రాచీన కవులు కృతములు.

[illegible]

నాటిల్లోను, నేను కల్యాణశక్తి:

కలయనాగి శివ పరమేశ్వరాని తల్లి
యనెను.

ಗೌರವಾನ್ವಿತ ವ್ಯಕ್ತಿಗಳ ಸಾಕ್ಷಾತ್ಕಾರವು

క్రొ.పు.బ.బా.వి. పా. నా.నా.నా. వి.వి. - 1

రెడ్డి బొద్దింగు సేవాయమునకు

మంచితరుణము

ఈవైకాళి జ్యేష్ఠ మాసములలో దేశమంతటను
వినాయకములు జరుగును. ఈ శుభకార్యములందు
చెడు రైతులుగాని, రాజులుగాని సంహోషముతో
ననేక విధముల ఖర్చు చేయుచుందురు. కొన్ని ఆనవస
రములై గర్వామయై నవియు ఖర్చులు పెట్టుచుందురు.
అట్టివో నిండుక రడ్డి బాలుర విద్యాభివృద్ధి నిమిత్తమై
పాటుపడు హైదరాబాదులోని బోర్లింగు విద్యార్థుల
యిండుక యభిమానముంచి వధూవరుల పక్షముల వా
రలు తమకు వీలెంత చందాలు పోగుచేసి యాక్రంది
వారి కంపిన కృతజ్ఞతతో నందుకొని తమచేరులు ప్ర
కటింతురు. ఈవిషయము హైదరాబాదుని నమ్ముచున్నా
ము. రెడ్లందరు అభిమానించి తమ తమ చందాలు పం
పగలరని పారన

ಕರ್ನಾಟಕ ರಂಗಭೂಮಿ ಸಂಘ

హా, హా, హా.

08-3-3

ಇಲಾಖೆ

సూర్యనరము పతాపరక్షి

१०३

Figure 2.8: 4th June 1927, note from the editor of *Golconda Patrika* seeking donations to Reddy hostel

The above note calls for collection of donations to Reddy hostel from the Reddys who are farmers and rulers at the weddings and other ceremonies. The relevant excerpt from the notice reads as follows

In the coming months of vyshakha and jyeshtha, there would be weddings across the region for which both farmers and rulers from the Reddy community would be spending extravagant amounts and there would also be some unnecessary expenses. So I request the families of both the bride and the groom to collect generous donations and support the expenses related to educating young Reddy boys at Hyderabad's Reddy boarding.¹⁷

Golconda Patrika, continued to publish list of donations from the Reddy community to the Reddy hostel and published descriptive articles of special celebratory events happening among the feudal elite and in those articles also sought contributions to support Telugu literary and educational and publishing activities happening in the capital city of Hyderabad also setting up of libraries in several districts. It provided space to publish articles on setting up of new libraries, status of libraries¹⁸, difficulties involved in running and maintaining libraries in samsthanas¹⁹, their renovation and maintenance²⁰ and also sought donations via articles and advertisements. In article titled *Naa Pracharamu*²¹, the author describes a village which is about 12 miles away from Atmakuru Samsthana which has neither schools nor reading halls and mentions the names of few important figures from the samsthana who came forward to set up a school and had promised to take subscription of Tenugu Patrika and *Golconda Patrika*.

¹⁷ *Golconda Patrika*, 4th June 1927

¹⁸ *Bhuvanagiri Grandhalayamu*, 4th June 1927, an article by independent reporter (*swakeeya vilekhari*) describing the shutting down of the said library due to plague.

¹⁹ *Andhrula Kartavyamemi*- by M.Narayana Rao, Vakilu, 4th June 1927 describing the status of libraries set up as a part of Andhra Jana Kendra Sangham and how it is no longer a conducive environment for growth of language and libraries.

²⁰ *Golconda Patrika*, 6th July 1927 published articles titled *punaruddharana* (renovation) and *Sri deshoddhakandhra bhashanilayamu*, mentioning the efforts of locals in subscribing newspapers to the libraries and efforts of some publishers to share their newspapers and books to the libraries.

²¹ *Naa Pracharamu* by Kanche Narasimhulu Gupta, *Golconda Patrika*, 7th June 1927

In yet another instance, as a part of the 18th anniversary of *Golconda Patrika*, Suravaram thanks the chief patrons of *Golconda Patrika* and reflects on their contributions to the successful running of the periodical. He writes,

Our *Golconda Patrika* finished 18 years yesterday. We know there are faults with our paper, but who is without faults? But we will always strive to rectify our mistakes. Taking this occasion we would like to thank our *Rajaposhakas* (Chief patrons- people who on our request aided financially in the beginning of its establishment and contributed generously) – rulers of Gadwal, Jataprolu, Wanaparthi and Domakonda Samsthanas, Pingali Venkata Rama Reddy Deshmukh, Pingali Kondanda Rama Reddy, Raja Bahadur Venkata Rami Reddy (O.B.E), Muthyala Venkata Krishnaiah, Konda Venkata Ranga Reddy Vakil²² (Suravaram, 1989)

As the focus of the periodical was to also encourage setting up of reading halls and libraries in the samsthanas, they regularly published articles announcing annual celebrations²³ of existing libraries. In an article titled *Orugallu- Gruhapravesa Mahotsavam*²⁴, describing the house warming ceremony of a merchant, *Golconda Patrika* mentions that he is the Secretary of Andhra Grandhalayamu hence it would be generous if he can announce some support to the library on the occasion.

Periodicals also received regular support from the Hyderabad state along with support from the Samasthana elite. In several thanking notes that were published on the occasion of anniversary of the periodical, Suravaram writes that they received support from the Hyderabad state both financially and also in the form of news gathering from agencies.

²² *Maa 19va Samvatsaramu*, *Golconda Patrika*, 13th July 1944

²³ *Kandibanda – oka vilekhari*, 7th June 1927. The article announces the third annual celebrations of library in the village and the support that event received from the local deshmukh Sri Varaparaju Venkata Raghava Rao Deshmukh.

²⁴ *Golconda Patrika*, 2nd July 1927

In the order of contributions or support received for our periodical the state comes first followed by the nobility and finally our subscribers. Hyderabad state procured news from AP, OP and Reuters and distributes it to newspapers across the state and we were earlier the recipients of this support as well²⁵ (Suravaram, 1989)

Government supported the procurement of raw paper and also sanctioned Rs. 50/- per month for our newspaper. This support has been extended all newspapers during the war period and we thank the government for the same²⁶ (Suravaram, 1989)

Golconda Patrika needs to be read in connection with the network of institutions that were emerging in the twentieth century, like reading halls, libraries and hostels and the generous support and donations received from the affluent communities and also the print space it provides to acknowledge and praise the literary and monetary efforts of samsthana elite and nobility for their contributions.

Thus the periodical wanted to engage in generating a vernacular public sphere for which modern ideas and institutions of education were necessary and this access was made possible by the newspapers and allied organisations to the members of upper caste communities.

2.5. Newspapers and Reading Publics

The relationship between the content of the newspaper and the audience reception has been one of the difficult things to document. Connections are largely mapped based on the identities of journalists and the identity of the newspaper itself, based on circumstantial evidence rather than any consolidated empirical evidence. (Bonea, 2014, p. 391). There is no evidence on the nature of readership of the periodicals discussed and also the circulation figures. In the sections that follow I attempt to generate this narrative from the announcements by editors on subscriptions, comments from the articles about how

²⁵ Mana rasthra Patrikalu (Newspapers of our State), *Golconda Patrika*, 24th September, 1942

²⁶ Swavishayamu, *Golconda Patrika*, 10th May 1943

newspapers wanted to present themselves for public consumption – as vehicles of knowledge and progress. This narrative though does not completely talk about the nature of readers, it does reflect on the concerns that newspaper editors had towards an imagined reading public.

2.5.1. On Subscriptions

Golconda Patrika, that started its operations over a decade after *Hitabodhini*, in 1926, carried advertisements for subscription in the early stages of its establishment and also repeated notices from the editor to support the periodical by regularly paying the subscription charges. Advertisements regarding subscription models, non-payment of subscription charges was a common sight. The advertisements and regular notices in the periodical evidently show that there were not many subscribers. The letters to editor section (titled *jaabulu*) carried announcements for the subscribers to not stop their subscriptions just because their articles submitted to the periodical are not being published.

చందా దారులకు సూచన

ఇంతవరకెన్ని యోసార్లు ప్రకటింపబడినను
కొందఱు పి. పీటరు తిరుగగొట్టుచున్నారా.
ఇందువలన మాసినవరక వ్యయము భరింప
నలసి వచ్చుచున్నది తమకు ప్రతికసపనరమ
గుచో మొదలే ఒకకార్డు ప్రాసిన చాలమేలు
జేసిన శాగుదురు. కనుక భాషాభిమానులగు
చందాదారులు మనింప ప్రార్థింతులు
గో. ప. ప్రి.

Figure 2.9: An announcement from *Golconda Patrika* for its subscribers. This advertisement was repeatedly published in the initial years

Citing the rise of commercial publishing and decreased costs in procuring raw paper, Naregal mentions the decreased newspaper prices of Marathi language by late 1840s and 1850s where annual subscription charges of dailies ranged between Rs.4/- to Rs.10/-, as opposed to the

initial publishing years of 19th century where annual subscription charges were Rs.24/- (Naregal, 2001, p. 196). We can infer that newspaper publishing charges decreased by the 20th century across regions, due to decreased costs in procuring raw paper. But the cost of Telugu periodicals did not change significantly as the annual subscription charges for Hitabohini(a monthly) was Rs.5/- and a discounted price of Rs.3/- for students and women. Similarly *Golconda Patrika*'s(bi-weekly) annual subscription charge was Rs.7/- and half-yearly subscription was priced at Rs. 3/-.

According to a narrative, Suravaram intended *Golconda Patrika* as a weekly, but Madapati Hanumantha Rao intervened to make it a bi-weekly instead, as there were already Telugu weeklies Neelagiri and Tenugu Patrika which were being published from the villages of Samsthanas and Madapati felt a new weekly from the Hyderabad city would suffer losses and stop due to increased competition (Krishna, 2009, p. 61). Despite, *Golconda Patrika* functioning as a bi-weekly, the above mentioned newspapers did eventually shut down and this reveals the precarious conditions in which initial Telugu newspapers were functioning. Suravaram Pratapa Reddy, in his editorial in *Golconda Patrika*, writes how his friends has warned him about the difficulties in running Telugu periodicals as no Telugu periodical had managed to survive beyond five years during the early decades of the twentieth century. He also comments on the apathy of Telugu intellectuals of Madras Presidency towards the Telugu speakers of the Hyderabad state.

My friends have warned me that Telugu periodicals do not survive for more than five years in the Nizam State. Tenugu and Neelagiri ceased publication in their fifth year and Sujatha in its fourth. Our periodical has only one aim- service to the Nizamrastrandhras.

British Indian Telugu newspapers are only interested in our subscriptions and not in reflecting the issues and concerns of our people.²⁷ (Suravaram, 1989)

From 1935 onwards *Golconda Patrika*, seemed to have received support in the form of advertisements and also growth in number of subscribers. After Andhra Patrika and Krishna Patrika (Telugu periodicals from the Madras Presidency) *Golconda Patrika* is the only Telugu periodical that managed to survive for 14 long years. For a long period we faced monetary issues but now we are seeing increased subscriptions and are no longer suffering losses (Suravaram, 1989).

2.5.2. Newspapers as symbols of civilizational progress

During the seventh anniversary of *Golconda Patrika*, an open letter was published by one of the readers Nandigama Dattatreya Rao, who praises the efforts of *Golconda Patrika* by citing the importance of periodicals for a civilizational society a poem on the importance of news and warns his fellow readers that the world shall be in ruins when we stop grasping the importance of exchanging news and information. He also suggests some changes that *Golconda Patrika* may consider to cater to both the orthodoxy and modern reformers²⁸. On a similar note, during several of his annual editorials, Suravaram writes that newspapers are to be considered as a part of our civilization and anybody who does not read them should be seen as people without any knowledge of the world. Newspapers were presented as carriers of knowledge and consciousness of the socio-political happenings and without these an individual or a society was deemed 'backward'. Excerpts from some of the articles read as follows,

²⁷ Maa Katha, *Golconda Patrika*, 6th May 1940

²⁸ *Golconda Patrika*, 22nd June 1932

From now on, it is not surprising if people who do not read newspapers are considered as unknowledgeable (*prapancha gnana shunyulu*)²⁹.

Reading newspapers during these times (the World War II) is very important. Newspapers are the only sources of knowledge for our rural population and for their access to the happenings of the war. No village should be without at least two newspapers. It is not wrong to assume that a village without newspapers is truly uncivilised and backward³⁰.

Veena Naregal comments on the nature of Print and publishing ventures in Colonial Bombay and points out that the processes of standardisation of vernaculars for print; efforts towards mass education happened even before the emergence of a reading public – as opposed to the West (Naregal, 2001). Princely state of Hyderabad engaged with modernization and administrative reforms by the late 19th century and the emergence of reading publics and modernization of vernaculars was happening almost simultaneously. ‘In the West, print had precipitated the standardisation of scripts and helped fix linguistic norms like spelling and grammatical usage through dictionaries and grammars in the second half of the eighteenth century. Attempts to create a standardised mass-education system had followed after half a century or more. In contrast, the entry of print into the colonial context saw the inauguration of urgent official efforts to standardise codes and fix scripts for native languages so as to rapidly transform indigenous textual traditions, which were hitherto current mainly through oral transmission. One of the arguments made about shift in literate practices through print in the West is that the new mode of textual transmission created its own audiences, it did not simply address the pre-existing ones. This was even truer in the colonial context, for the introduction of print occurred through bureaucratic efforts to develop generally understood codes of vernaculars. Ironically, such efforts preceded the dissemination and acceptance of these forms among reading communities’. (Naregal, 2001, p. 157)

²⁹ Swavishayamu, Golconda Patrika, 8th May 1937

³⁰ Swavishayamu, Golconda Patrika, 7th May 1942

The vernacular print, here I am referring to the efforts in Telugu, were also influenced by the similar processes through interactions with the Telugu-speaking regional elite of the Colonial Madras Presidency. The literate and culturally powerful communities had to generate formal systems of knowledge and learning that would continue their traditional forms of authority and at the same time seal their already existing superiority into emerging scientific and secular learning spaces, this reflected in their patronage towards establishing newspapers, setting up schools and hostels, donating to civil society organisations run by regional elite.

2.6. Conclusion

In an article titled “*Vaaritha Patrikalu- Vilekharulu*”³¹ (Newspapers – Journalists) which seems like an open letter to the editor of *Golconda Patrika*, an anonymous “critic” lists out the reasons for lack of subscriptions to Telugu publications in the Princely State of Hyderabad and laments the lack of patronage from *zamindaars* and the educated elite and also public in general. He also goes on write an extensive list talking about nature of existing newspapers, need for diverse content, author guidelines for people to generally follow while submitting articles, etc., This article though given a by-line, also shows a possibility that it could have been written by the editor of the newspaper itself, as similar concerns were expressed under advertisements and different articles at different points of time. The periodical through its articles often expressed the difficulties in functioning without public support.

Golconda Patrika chose to remain moderate in its political expression against the ideas of then ruling state and also against the immediate repressive acts of the feudal ruling elite. It published anonymous articles against feudal oppression but liberally and openly praised the generosity of certain other feudal elite; it published articles against blind religious practices and the same time published articles with scientific temperament interspersed with religious

³¹ *Golconda Patrika*, May 1927

ideals, there were articles on education, social reform and also on upholding the dying ancient traditions that were an important memory. *Golconda Patrika* published extensive articles on social reform³², educational practices³³, articles around reform of caste society that reflect the conflicts, confusions and (dis)continuities with emerging modernity and tradition.

To conclude, the Telugu newspapers and periodicals along with literary efforts and public institutions during the early decades of 20th century from the Princely State of Hyderabad were significantly patronised by Samsthanas and were part of larger networks that the elite were imagining for a public life in the city. First newspaper from the Princely state of Hyderabad was an Urdu periodical *Risala-e-Tibabath*, a medical journal, established in the year 1885. Since then with the recognition of Urdu as the official language of the state, there was burgeoning of Urdu newspapers from the end of 19th century. Periodicals in Kannada, Marathi and Telugu emerged predominantly in the first decades of 20th century. The periodicals held limited readership due to lack of education in general and lack of education in Telugu in particular as only the affluent could afford to continue their education in multiple dominant vernaculars. Telugu periodicals of that time are perceived as significant in the narratives around Indian nationalism and the recent efforts of generating a distinct historically rooted Telangana identity by the current ruling party. Such narratives repeatedly invoke pride of the land around literary and cultural efforts which historically chose to embark on literary and linguistic concerns, considering them as not very political, there by not wanting to disturb the status quo. Early print history is deeply linked to education, modern infrastructure, availability of monetary and cultural resources, availability of technological tools for production and distribution of newspapers, ideological concerns, etc., Hence it is not possible to refer to all the regional efforts of setting up and running newspapers as sole acts of resistance by reading them against available categories of nation

³² Punarvivahamu taravaatha, 14th May 1927

³³ *Aadhunika Vidyavidhanamu*, *Golconda Patrika*, June 1st 1927 ;

and region. As discussed in the chapter, newspapers are dynamic and amorphous as they are composed of diverse objects just like the city which cannot be fully rationalised against singular dominant frames of rationality. The attempts of the regional elite to create a network of publishing and civil society, though sporadic, reflect the conflicts with modernity, continuities and discontinuities with historic past, competing claims to technology, tradition and territory. At this juncture, it is important to critically engage with historical artefacts to create a narrative that is not blinded by reified ideas of nation and region but instead explore the multifaceted possibilities provided by the nature of the newspapers themselves that escape the existing categories.

3. Princely State, Regional Elite and the Discourse around Education in the Vernaculars

3.1. Introduction

The debates around vernacular education cannot be discussed without Lord Macaulay's document - Minute on Education (1835) that pushed for English education during the nineteenth century India and found both the classical and the vernacular languages entirely unacceptable for any valuable learning. His remarks set into motion language modernization processes from Colonial Bengal, Madras to the Princely State of Mysore, Hyderabad.

The regional elite who drew their authority from religious and caste affiliations across the colonial presidencies and princely states found an immediate necessity to scrutinize their practices of learning and investigate their principles of education and devise a new language of domination. The imposition of colonial western knowledge was threatening to shatter their traditional authority associated with knowledge acquisition and making scientific secular education a threat to the religious and moral code of conduct that was in place.

These literate and culturally powerful communities had to now devise formal systems of knowledge and learning that would continue their traditional forms of authority and at the same time seal their existing superiority into emerging scientific and secular learning and eventually the emerging nation state that was imagined on principles of representative governance. In this complex process of defining education systems during the 19th and 20th centuries, various languages were caught in dialectic relationships with their own past and their compelling present. The elite with knowledge of English education had to wrestle with maintaining a dominant power relationship with classical languages and at the same time modernize their vernaculars to enable languages to fulfil modern, secular and scientific purposes. Individual vernaculars had to deal with their traditional past and now modernize themselves and compete with English and other vernaculars. This dialectic relationship

between languages, their past and their possible future, political and cultural choices that reflected in education systems, print and publishing houses, literary and political institutions are of interest to my dissertation and more to this chapter in particular. This chapter generates a narrative that captures the tensions in the discourse around language modernization, cross border influences, competing linguistic environment, relationship between modern and vernacular education and print as a representational realm where these struggles for political and cultural capital are mooted for public discourse.

This chapter engages with the conversations regarding education in mother tongue through the early decades of twentieth century when the dominant vernaculars particularly Telugu, was engaging with the official vernacular of the Hyderabad state-Urdu, for recognition in the education system and in the larger public discourse. The engagements of the ruling monarchy and the regional elite with the question of education in mother tongue; the conversations that eventually defined the education system of the twentieth century and print as a space for these conversations to occur; and the irresolutions that continue with respect to the use of mother tongue as a medium of instruction are discussed in this chapter.

3.2. Language Modernisation and the case of Vernaculars

The processes of standardisation of languages were intended within a democratic framework where more people could access governance and therefore it had to happen in languages accessible to most citizens. This brought in the idea that a single national language³⁴ is required for ordinary citizens to read, write and access the state structure. (Hobsbawn, 1996, p. 1071)

Until the late nineteenth century, Persian continued as the language of politics and governance in the Hyderabad State. In the year 1884, as a part of constitutional reforms taken

³⁴ For a more recent elaboration on the connection between secular democracy, linguistic majoritarianism and a quest for 'Eastphilian democracy' in the contemporary times refer to 'Language, Purity and logic of Democracy' (Dasgupta, 2022)

up by Salarjung-I, Urdu came to be recognised as the official language of the state and the language of governance and courts. Through the nineteenth century, Urdu replaced the classical Persian for the first time ‘in North India in large parts of British territories from Bihar, the North-West Provinces, Punjab, Princely States of Kashmir and also Hyderabad’ (Datla K. S., 2013, p. 8). The governance structures and the newly emerging bureaucracy had to now function in Urdu, which gave rise to increased investment in public education, where the government showed interest in setting up schools, colleges and universities.

In the Telugu speaking regions of the Madras Presidency, there were long winding debates over the question of ‘which’ Telugu should be used in textbooks, divided broadly between *Vyavaharika*-the colloquial and *Granthika*-the pedantic variants of the Telugu diglossia³⁵ (Mitchell, 2005; Mallam, 2019). Describing *bhasha*³⁶ and the context of modern Malayalam Ramakrishnan writes,

The process of modernization of languages, after the spread of English demanded that regional languages internalize the logic of rationality and empiricism that had already been initiated by print. Thus the internal economy of the regional languages changed acquiring an elitist high form and many varieties of these regional languages were relegated to the level of dialects, while the ones closer to the elite variant gained canonical value. (E V, 2017, p. 63)

³⁵ In the language modernisation debates that were happening in the Madras Presidency, Telugu language was imagined in a spectrum between the polar *Vyavaharika* and *Granthika* styles. Between these were few other styles which were shared more proximity to one over the other. *Gramya* was described as the vulgar variant or the variant spoken by the lower classes of the society, *Sishta Vyavaharika* was away from *Granthika* and closer to *Vyavaharika style* but was the dialect of the polite educated classes, *Sarala Granthika* was more closer to the pedantic *Granthika* but was relaxed in its rules of linguistic composition (Mallam, 2019, p. 77)

³⁶ The decline of the use of Sanskrit and growing prominence of regional languages or the vernaculars is described by Pollock, where he describes the cultural, linguistic and material shifts that led to ‘vernacularisation’ where newer modes of knowledge production, newer vocabulary for conceptual categories was being evolved. Similarly E.V.Ramakrishnan uses the term ‘*bhasha*’ instead of vernacular to describe the regional languages and the cultural habitus they inhabit, which has socio-political and cultural implications. (E V, 2017, p. 57)

Public education systems were dealing with the question of ‘what should be the language of the textbooks’ across British India, and the Princely state of Hyderabad was also dealing with the same in the early decades of the twentieth century, but the differing political and cultural concerns of the state and the Telugu cultural elite in a visibly multicultural and multilingual atmosphere are the focus of this chapter.

Telugu speaking elite of the Princely State was engaging with the language modernization movements happening in the Telugu speaking regions of the Madras Presidency and had contributed to writing against the *Granthika* style and in support of the modern *Vyavaharika* style which was promoted by the language reformists as being closer to the spoken Telugu variant of the Northern Circars (Suravaram, 1949). In their writings they supported the usage of *Vyavaharika bhasha* for education but at the same time viewed the locally spoken Telugu of the Hyderabad region misfit for modern education because of the influence of Persian and Urdu.

In this chapter I engage in a detailed analysis of articles around the use of Urdu and Telugu in multiple issues of *Golconda Patrika* (between 1930 and 1945) to understand the anxieties of the regional Telugu elite in acquiring linguistic competencies in their mother tongue, provisions for Telugu medium education and thereby potential employment opportunities in the expanding and modernising princely state. I also refer to articles from *Hyderabad Samacharamu* (between 1941 and 1945) a monthly journal published by the Hyderabad state, to comprehend the state’s attempt towards language modernization, its attempt to establish Urdu, a vernacular, as official language of the state, as opposed to the British colonial Presidencies that dominantly have English as medium for bureaucratic, legal and commercial communication. The chapter also engages with criticisms of the regional elite against their perceived ‘apathy’ of the state towards the other dominant vernacular, Telugu. To locate the

diverse political and cultural stances taken by the Telugu literati in engaging with the question of language and education and to understand their efforts towards institutionalisation of Telugu language in Hyderabad state, I peruse autobiographies, articles and historical books written by Suravaram Pratapa Reddy, Madapati Hanumantha Rao and Mandumala Narasinga Rao.

The printed Telugu language in the periodicals resembled the Telugu of the periodicals from the Madras Presidency. The discourse though was not around ‘what should be the language of print’ as opposed to the Madras Presidency. But the intellectuals who were running the newspapers in forging linguistic unity like the one happening in the neighbouring areas where regions were beginning to be imagined along the lines of dominant languages. They also wrote articles reflecting this sentiment. Excerpt from one such article reads,

The *Kannadigas* are respectful and encouraging of their newspapers. There are continuously putting efforts to bring together the Kannada region together which is now scattered across four different regions. And their newspapers are very important in devising and propagating this project. *Andhra Patrika* is an important part of the life and character of every Telugu person and has been significant in the Andhra movement which was aimed at bringing all the Telugu speakers together. Different periodicals in various languages across the Princely State of Mysore, Bombay and Madras Presidencies are working towards a linguistic unity and territorial integration of their respective communities.³⁷

³⁷ *Kannada Patrikalu: Telugu Patrikalatho Polika*, Author: Suvarla Sriramanrusimha Panthulu, *Golconda Patrika*, 18th November 1935

3.2.1. Archives as Discursive Spaces

Substantiating the use of archival methods for research, Helen Freshwater in her work ‘allure of the archive’ identifies the importance of going back to the archives for recontextualisation rather than a reconstruction of the past. ‘Archive cannot offer direct access to the past, any reading of its contents will necessarily be a reinterpretation, researcher should foreground the agency of the interpreter and acknowledge that this is a recontextualisation of the past rather than reconstruction’ (Freshwater, 2007, p. 14). In suggesting to foreground the researcher’s subjectivity in analysing the archives, what Freshwater suggests is not a fatal dismissal of archive’s possibility of providing access to ‘facts’ and completely relying on ‘interpretations’ alone. What she suggests rather is a reconstruction of past by acknowledging the limitations of archive’s being, where the existence of an archive itself implies a careful set of choices that were in place in the making of an archive before it was available for any external access. ‘Despite our reservations concerning the reliability of archive and its liability to mislead and manipulate, we have to return to past, or what remains of it, in order to attempt a cautious and conditional reconstruction’. (Freshwater, 2007, p. 16) While the archive is an outcome of several contingent choices and becomes a ‘site of conflicted signification’ researchers need to return to it for a careful reconstruction of the past that acknowledges the vagaries of time, people, places and discursive possibilities that the archive has to offer.

I look at the archives to locate the differing dominant discourses around the idea of what should be the language of formal schooling and the political and cultural standpoints around education in mother tongue. This also becomes relevant with newer education policies still battling with questions of education in mother tongue- how mother tongue gets defined, which language/s get to enter modern, scientific and secular systems of learning. As the irresolutions around modern education, modern language and political and cultural assertions

around language continue till date, this chapter makes a conjunctural and historical analysis of what could be seen as the dominant discourse around education during the twentieth century to understand the dynamic relationship of language with region, religion, state and print culture. In doing so what the chapter offers is not a factual reconstruction of the past, the individuals and institutions and their choices are not analysed based on the significance of the value of their choices. What is rather does is discursive analysis of their discussions in political periodicals which are considered as representative of their political stances for heuristic purposes.

3.2.2. Languages and their Functional Descriptions

By the nineteenth century modern Indian languages were going through a phase of reform and the Princely state of Hyderabad made Urdu the official language of the state, making a move towards secular education and enabling the vernacular to perform the functions of bureaucracy. This decision manifested in the education system of the Hyderabad state, where Urdu became the medium of instruction, after primary education in respective mother tongues or the *Mulki*³⁸ languages (Telugu, Kannada and Marathi).

The choice of the state to let go of the classical Persian and embrace the modern vernacular Urdu, though appreciated, also received opposition from the *Mulki* languages. The Telugu speaking elite was anxious about the lack of possibility of Telugu's proximity to state power and the 'burden' of learning an additional language for employment opportunities and power in the bureaucracy (language of practice). Hyderabad state was modernising like British India and the place of British in colonial India was replaced by the non-*mulki* administrative elite

³⁸ *Mulki* is the Urdu word for country, which became an adjective to refer to belongingness to the region of Hyderabad. From the literature available *Mulkis* were referred as sons of the soil to distinguish themselves from the outsiders or *ghair mulkis* primarily from North India, who came to occupy higher positions of authority in the Princely administration during the nineteenth century.

(western educated Indians from colonial India) which irked the *mulki* or native Hyderabadis of both rural and urban and Hindu and Muslim backgrounds (Leonard, 2003).

The discussion around language had shifted towards their practical application to attune themselves to finding employment opportunities. The vocabulary used by both *Golconda Patrika* and *Hyderabad Samacharamu* primarily reflect the functions that languages were imagined to perform. Mentioned below are the phrases used in various articles of both *Golconda Patrika* and *Hyderabad Samacharamu* to describe the languages with respect to the functions they were performing.

Urdu: *Kaccheri bhasha* , *Raja bhasha*, *Sarkaari bhasha*, *saarvajanika bhasha*, *sarvasaamanya bhasha* – The language of governance, the courts and the official language of the state, the language of commons and a simple language

Telugu, Kannada and Marathi : *Mulki bhaashalu* – the language of the land; *Maatru bhasha* mother tongue of the respective speaking populations.

Hindustani : *Saamanya bhasha* – The language of commons

English: *Paradesi bhasha* – Foreign Language/ language of others

The articles in *Hyderabad Samacharamu* outline the language system followed in schools, after the modernization reforms taken up by the state during the late 19th century, where most of the schools run by the government had primary education in Urdu and as the students moved to middle schools, they were taught in Urdu and had to learn their mother tongue as second language. For those students whose mother tongue was Urdu, the state made it mandatory to have at least one *Mulki* language as a second language.

Reviewing the government education policy and the debates during the late 19th century, Roosa in his dissertation comments that the Hyderabad state remained highly distrustful of public education unlike the other Princely states like Baroda and Travancore. Citing Syed Husain Bilgrami's (Director of Public Instruction, Nizam Dominions) influence over government education and his faith in universal education and belief that the state should not impose a particular form of religious education, Roosa writes 'for him religion was a moral system that promoted reverence, self-control, honesty and good manners' (Roosa, Quandry of the Quam: Indian Nationalism in a Muslim State, Hyderabad 1850-1948, 1998, p. 160) Bilgrami's combination of support and hostility to public education marked Hyderabad state's educational policies in the late 19th century. The government wished to promote both a common system of schools and a separate system of schools for Muslims. (Roosa, 1998, p. 161). This reflected in the curricula at schools, universities and colleges that were established.

Constitution of curricula in higher education was never merely an academic subject but was entwined with discussions of the character of the modern state and its relationship to both religion and public. The story of how Indians engaged in the complex debates over education, modernization, language, religion and literary study, remains largely untold. (Datla K. S., 2013, p. 8)

By twentieth century the discourse around languages became more explicitly communal and the influence of ideas of Hindu-Hindi-Hindustanee (Dalmia, 2010), soon made Urdu, an exclusive language of the Muslims as opposed to the idea of the Hyderabad state which attempted a secular affiliation to contest the universal use of English like in the Presidencies. The articles published around education in mother tongue, justification of the state education systems and the anxieties of the vernacular elite with proximity to power are discussed in detail in the further sections.

3.3. Regional Elite and the Hyderabad State: *Golconda Patrika* versus *Hyderabad*

Samacharamu

Most of the Telugu intellectuals in their articles and biographies commented on the absence of public life/engagement and awakening (*praja chaitanyamu*) among the Telugu speaking population of the Hyderabad state and mark the establishment of first Telugu library Srikrishnadevarayandhra Bhashanilayamu (1901) as the beginning of public engagement (Suravaram, Madapati, Mandumala). All of them were also involved closely with running newspapers at different points. While Suravaram and Madapati received their education from the neighbouring Madras presidency and were influenced by the language movements happening there, Mandumala Narasinga Rao received his education in Persian and Urdu. ‘My father had made arrangements for training in Urdu and Persian. Urdu is the language of the state. Hence the *Karanams*, *Patels*, *Deshmukhs* and *Deshpandyas* living in the villages felt it was necessary for their children to be trained in Urdu’ (Narasingarao, 1977, p. 4) . Unlike Mandumala, Survaram received his education from Khangi schools in his village initially, then primary education in a missionary school, went on to study in Nizam College and then finished his Degree in Law from Presidency College in the Madras Presidency (Krishna, 2009).

The discourse around the public use of Telugu and the angst of the Telugu literary elite towards institutional status of Telugu are discussed in my other chapters and the focus of this chapter is on the discourse around use of vernaculars in public educational institutions – focussed mainly the discussions around education in Osmania University, traditional education systems and the educational reforms sought by the regional elite. *Golconda Patrika* regularly discussed the importance of education in mother tongue through various articles and

called for social reform through compulsory primary education (*nirbandha praathamika vidya*).

In this section that comprises the major archival description and analysis of this chapter, I engage with articles from *Golconda Patrika* and *Hyderabad Samacharamu* (published in English, Telugu and other vernaculars) a monthly journal published by Information and broadcasting ministry of the Hyderabad state. While investigating material from *Golconda Patrika*, I came across articles that were published in conversation with the government, pleas and open letters to the government and sometimes responses to the government policies which were in reference to articles published by the state run monthly journal. This made me look for the perspective of the Hyderabad state and its journal, which I thought would make for an interesting case of engagement of state in public discourse, as opposed to the more formalised bureaucratic documents and gazettes that are not then easily available for public access. Through my archival research I have understood that the Hyderabad state and its bureaucrats went to great lengths to defend their educational policy, stay in conversation with the dissenting dominant communities and deal with criticisms but also harshly rejecting them in most cases to continue to support for vernacular education in official language of the state-Urdu.

Mentioned below are a select few articles, published in *Golconda Patrika* between 1930 and 1945, a period of reform in modern education system during the twentieth century, that highlight the anxieties of the regional elite. The section also describes the Hyderabad state's responses to the opposition from dominant Telugu speakers through the articles published in the state journal *Hyderabad Samacharamu*. Hence the attempt of this chapter is also to engage with newspaper/journal as spaces for public dialogue and capture the views of the dominant communities mainly related to themes around public education, religious and moral

concerns around education, modernization of education system, tensions around possible employment opportunities in the new bureaucracy and cross border influences from the presidencies that defined the education system of the twentieth century. Therefore I choose to present the archival material in conversation with each other based on the differing concerns expressed by these articles rather than the timeline of their publication.

హైదరాబాదు రాజ్యములో విద్యావిధానము

అసత్యాపవాదములు ఖండింపబడుట

ఉర్దూ బోధన భాషగానుంచుటను సమర్థించుట

శ్రీ నిజాం ప్రభుత్వము వారి విద్యావిధానమును గుఱించియు, ప్రత్యేకముగ ఉర్దూ బోధన భాషగ నుంచుటను గుఱించియు కొన్నియెడల వ్యాపించియున్న అసత్యాపవాదములను ఖండించుచు ఈ మధ్య అధికారరీత్యా ప్రభుత్వము వారిక ప్రకటనమును వెలిబుచ్చిరి. ప్రజలలో ఇప్పుడు వ్యాపించియున్న తప్పుభిప్రాయములను దిద్దుటకును, అసత్యాపవాదములను ఖండించుటకును, ప్రభుత్వవిధానము ప్రజలకు స్పష్టముగ తెలియుటకును ఈ ప్రకటన హర్తిపాఠమీద ఇవ్వబడుచున్నది.

Figure 3.10: Introduction of the article titled *Hyderabad Rajyamulo Vidyavidhaanam, Hyderabad Samacharamu*, February 1942

Hyderabad Samacharamu in its February 1942 issue, published an article titled *Hyderabad Rajyamulo Vidyavidhaanam* (*Education system in the state of Hyderabad- Condemning the false accusations- Supporting Urdu as medium of Instruction*). As the title says, this announcement by the government was to counter the ‘false accusations and clear the misunderstandings’ surrounding the education system in the state. The article goes on to address each of the major criticisms raised by the people (here mainly the Telugu literary intellectuals who were working in tandem with the Congress’s moderate ideologies). The article lays special and extensive emphasis on medium of instruction at school level and gives detailed description of practices followed by the then school education system, state’s attempts to support higher education in the vernaculars with MA courses; and procuring most difficult manuscripts. I mainly use parts of this article in the following pages and a few other follow up articles, to understand the state’s engagement with concerns raised by Telugu

regional elite in *Golconda Patrika*. This section is further divided thematically, where language as a mode of being and practice are discussed at intersections with traditional education systems, medium of instruction, communalism and reform of the vernaculars. Though this section is divided thematically, these are all interconnected concerns as represented in the periodicals.

3.3.1. Language, Education and Communalism

On 17th May 1930, *Golconda Patrika* published an article criticising the speeches delivered by the guests who spoke at the state organised Hyderabad education conference. According to the article since most of the speakers were government employees it is difficult to assume that the meeting would have been democratic due to such attendance. Following up this article, *Golconda Patrika* published another article titled '*Prabhutva Vidya Mahasabha*', in its next issue on 24th May 1930. This time the criticism was not only about government employees or that bureaucrats being speakers at the conference, but also brings in the debate around medium of instruction in Osmania University being Urdu instead of English. Excerpt reads as follows, 'in the name of *Desa Bhasha* (vernacular/regional language), the education in Osmania University is in Urdu. But Urdu is not *Desa bhasha*. There have been comments about English being better than Urdu for this purpose. But seems our Professor (Osmania University Principal) is blind to such debates or is worried that importance to their mother tongue would grow faint by addressing these issues.' This article ends with a request to the government to form a special committee to review the status of education in Hyderabad state.

In 1930, Suravaram published an article titled 'Hasmie's "Urdu" History of India – The seed of communal hatred', in the Deccan Chronicle, criticising the Urdu edition of Indian History written by Moulvi Syed Hashimie and published by Osmania University. The University also seems to have prescribed it as a textbook for high schools and colleges in the state and also

for matriculation examination. In the article, Suravaram criticises the book for being communal and humiliating to its ‘Hindu’ readers and quotes excerpts from it to elaborate. He ends the article by pointing at the failure of the University’s Text Book Committee and its discriminatory stance and calls for revision of such material keeping in view the Hindu-Muslim unity (Reddy, Hasmi’s Urdu History of India, 2010).

Suravaram in one of his editorials writes, ‘unfortunately there are a lot of leaders in Hyderabad who link language to religion. But we strongly believe that such an association is not a fair one. But we request Hyderabad state to encourage *mulki* languages by establishing and oriental manuscript libraries and promote them as well³⁹ (Suravaram, 1989). Towards the 1930s, despite their repeated declarations against communal associations with languages, a tense political atmosphere of communalism reflected in the articles that the regional elite wrote in their periodicals.

The Hyderabad state government noted the dissent against the use of Urdu as a medium of instruction and repeatedly published articles in support of its engagement with Urdu from primary education in schools to establishment of Osmania University. They pushed for the vernacular(Urdu) being the medium of instruction as opposed to the universities set up in British Presidencies where English was the medium of instruction. The state responded to multiple criticisms received against Urdu, higher education at Osmania University and Nizam college, employment opportunities for speakers of dominant vernaculars other than Urdu, through the state run monthly *Hyderabad Samacharamu*. Excerpt from one such articles reads, ‘the rumours we hear these days against Urdu, come from socio-religious conflicts. People who revere the ideals of unity of India would like to believe that these *vivadamulu* (disagreements) are temporary. Only among debates of such kind, will replacing English with Urdu would be seen as replacing one foreign language with the other. Urdu has never negated

³⁹ Promoting *Mulki* Languages (*Mulki Bhashala Poshana*), *Golconda Patrika*, 17th September 1942

the existence of other vernaculars in India it has only pushed away the usage of a foreign language like English and the former official language of Persian⁴⁰.

Most language debates were shifting to the idea of using modern languages, getting rid of the baggage of the classical languages and the weight that those languages brought on the practices of learning. It was argued that it would be an additional burden on the students to learn Urdu and also their mother tongue. Kavita Datla, in her work dedicates an entire chapter to address the important student political movement - the Vandemataram movement at Osmania University; and tries to understand this moment in history beyond the immediate secular or communal associations made, more as an expression of anxieties of students in opposition with the state. She comments on the state policies that tried universalising one language in education without considering its relationship with other vernaculars like Telugu, Kannada and Marathi in Hyderabad (Datla K. S., 2013)

3.3.2. Education in the vernacular or education in the mother tongue?

In an article published in *Hyderabad Samacharamu* in its October 1942 issue, The Princely State calls for education as a means for cross cultural unity. The article reports the inaugural address made by temporary (in-terim) director of Education department Syed Ali Akbar at the radio station. He comments on having parallel classes in school (combination of Urdu plus one vernacular) and the importance of linguistic unity for India. ‘It is more beneficial to have Urdu over English. It is important to learn languages of each other for forging unity among Hindus and Muslims. Medium of instruction and mandatory second language – at high school: This system shall soon become a part of education system.’

*Urdu Bhaashabivruddhi: Khaja Nizami*⁴¹ (The growth of Urdu: Speech by Khaja Nizami) with a by-line *Swakeeya Vilekhari* (independent journalist/contributor) in *Golconda Patrika*

⁴⁰ *Hyderabad Samacharamu*, October 1942

elaborates on the speech given at Nizam college about the use of mother tongue and importance of Urdu. Excerpt of the speech is as follows,

.. Many assume that Urdu is the language of Muslims and it does not have a status to be a spoken language in India Some others say that Hindi should be the language of the Hindu Desa and point at the disadvantages of Urdu and vice versa. Both these groups seem to be engaging in futile debates and it would do good to the languages if only these people worked for bettering their own languages... Hindi and Urdu are not very different but the gap seems to be increasing of late and I would want to stand by Gandhiji's principle of using native languages. Influence of English on regional languages is a reason to worry not just in India but also in many other countries. While it is fine to use some English words for ease of communication, we should not let it influence us too much and at the same time not complicate the communication by bringing in words from classical Arabic or Persian.

On 3rd January 1935, there was an article titled *Vidyavicharanapu Committee* (Education Evaluation Committee) in *Golconda Patrika*. This article (seems like an editorial/opinion piece) is a commentary on the speech delivered by Mackenzie, at a Teachers' meeting on education in the vernacular. 'The *Andhras* of British India study just *Andhramu* (Telugu) and English, only two whereas the Hyderabad *Andhras* should be proficient in *Andhramu* (Telugu), English, Urdu and sometimes even in Persian. Around 12 lakh people speak Urdu in our state; that is only 8 out of every 100. So how is it fair for 92 people to learn a language spoken by the 8? We are not against Urdu, Urdu is the language of the state (*raja bhaasha*), language of governance (*sarkaari bhaasha*), language of the court (*kachheri bhaasha*). It should have its place and grow! We are just requesting for formal teaching in mother tongue for the welfare of people.'

⁴¹ *Golconda Patrika*, 13th August 1932

This article becomes interesting as it elaborates on the descriptions of vernacular and mother tongue and whether those can be used synonymously - meaning if education in vernacular for Telugu speaking population can be understood as education in their mother tongue or education in the official vernacular Urdu – a conflict that has been brewing among the literary intellectuals of the state. Vernacular, in British colonial regions is placed in opposition with English and colonial knowledge but in the Princely state of Hyderabad the official (Urdu) and the opposing (Telugu) are both vernaculars and these tensions seem to reflect in the educational, printing, administrative structures and cultural and literary institutions.

Kooiman's contribution is significant to the understanding of communal problem, as he historically contextualises the conditions that led to its emergence. Drawing from the socio political and economic conditions in the princely states of Hyderabad, Travancore and Baroda, Kooiman examines the conditions under which Indians were placed against Indians during the early decades of the twentieth century, where education, economic status, employment opportunities configured at the intersections of language, region and religion. 'Many Princely States were known to have employed quite a number of outsiders, in running their bureaucracy. The demand for participation and later responsible government placed Indians against Indians.' (Kooiman, 2002, p. 27)

Suravaram in yet another editorial reiterates, 'we are not propagating against Urdu and we believe that religion should be kept away in the discussions around language concerns. Despite majority of Muslims having Urdu as their mother tongue, it is not the language of Muslims alone. It is the mother tongue of some Hindus as well. Similarly there are also

Muslims who do not have Urdu as their mother tongue. We firmly believe education should happen in mother tongue that is accepted across',⁴² (Suravaram,1989)

The government of Hyderabad over multiple articles mentions its promises that Urdu education would only be beneficial to the people of Hyderabad and never cause harm and that the state would take responsibility of providing opportunities for all. One of the articles in Hyderabad Samacharamu reads, 'if Urdu is seen as the official language and if the government wants its operations in Urdu, it is important and necessary that state provides free opportunities to learn and improve their Urdu proficiency. It is not right to suggest that students who do not have Urdu as their mother tongue would lose out on opportunities. Even Hindu students have gained from the language and have cleared several exams.

3.3.3. Language in Public life

Golconda Patrika also published articles reflecting on the public use of languages, for instance, in an article titled '*Janabha Lekkalu :Andhrula Kartavyamu*' (Census and the responsibility of Andhras) appearing in *Golconda Patrika*, which again is written under the anonymous byline '*Oka Andhrudu*', the author warns the readers to be careful while answering the questions related to religion, caste and mother tongue. He writes, 'there is a question which reads do you know Urdu and this question should be answered in accordance in one's mother tongue because it is possible that this question might have been added keeping in mind the policy of Osmania University'.⁴³ In another article the paper criticises the Hyderabad state government for conducting a meeting for the farmers of the Telangana region and having the proceedings in Urdu. The article reads,

⁴² *Paathashala loni Bhasha Samasya*(The problem of languages in Schoools), *Golconda Patrika*, 12th June 1936

⁴³ *Golconda Patrika*, 28th January 1931

Government organised a public meeting in Medak intending to educate the farmers and create awareness around healthcare. But the proceedings of the meeting were in Urdu, in a language that is not accessible to them. Not even one speech was organised in Telugu.⁴⁴

While these are the concerns in *Golconda Patrika*, the multilingual nature of public announcements is noted by Asma Rasheed, where she cites several instances from government orders where multiple languages were used in the announcements – it was ordered that a notice about toll taxes on the road to Gulbarga was to be in Persian and Marathi and pasted at every check post. Similarly, in an examination, though the questions would be in Urdu but had an option to respond in Talangi, Mahratti or English. But those responding in a language other than Urdu were required to appear for a proficiency exam in Urdu on the 5th day of the exams. (Rasheed, 2017, p. 74)

3.3.4. *Golconda Patrika* and dissent on traditional education

Apart from countering the Hyderabad State's attempts at what they saw as 'Urdu imposition' over a Telugu speaking population, the regional educated elite also directed their efforts in criticising the traditional forms of education, which they felt did not promote scientific learning and therefore needed to be reformed. They called for embracing newer modes of learning that goes beyond traditional religious mode of education promoted by the Brahmin priestly class. The article titled *Palleturi Ballu* (Village Schools) – *Chithraguptudu : Suddha Swadeshi* (Chithraguptudu: A pure Swadeshi)⁴⁵

“... we should wait and see what kind of prayers would be said in our Osmania University”.

⁴⁴, *Raithulaku Teliyani bhasha lo saharopanyasamu* (Public meeting for farmers in an inaccessible language) *Golconda Patrika*, November 11th 1935

⁴⁵ *Golconda Patrika*, 11th February 1932

“... this is the history of schools of our time, the above mentioned practices seem quite common in the villages and also in Hyderabad and I urge my village brothers to give up on such practices and adopt newer methods of teaching for the better”.

The article written in the name of *Chitraguptudu* and spread over two pages of the periodical elaborates on the pre-modern education practices in Indian context, where Brahmin priests were teachers; understanding of ‘time’; prayers at schools; things that were taught and punishments meted out; ends with the note that such practices seem surprisingly common in both villages and even in the city of Hyderabad and it is high time that such practices are given up for better thinkers to evolve.

Satirical piece on the non relevance of Sanskrit for religious rituals by Chithraguptudu Shuddha Desi. There is a need to translate Sanskrit mantras into vernacular languages. Sanskrit has lost its significance and is now a dead language. We have gradually shifted from using different languages for different purposes to one language performing all the functions. Therefore it is necessary to develop conceptual categories and have vocabulary in the vernaculars for religious rituals, modern and scientific education, law and order, bureaucracy, print medium, history and literature.⁴⁶

Article titled “*Balika Pathashaala Dusthithi – Prabhutvamu vaaru cheyuchunna Saayamu*” (*Oka Naarimani*⁴⁷) appears to be an open letter written anonymously and talks about education for girls and the efforts of the government and a concern over lack of education among women in the region and also the importance of primary education in one’s mother tongue.

⁴⁶ *Tenugu Manthramulu* (Hymns in Telugu), *Golconda Patrika*, 10th January 1931

⁴⁷ *Golconda Patrika*, 17th January 1931

‘...it is advisable to have compulsory primary education in one's mother tongue. *Swabhaasha Swamaatha vantidi* (One's own language is like one's mother). A mother always looks for physical and mental growth of her children, desires for their prosperity and takes care of their meals; similarly one's own language (*swabhaasha*) would help express oneself easily, hence there have been many requests to have a law towards compulsory education in the mother tongue, but it has been of no use.’

Following are the excerpts from the article published in *Hyderabad Samacharamu*,

Improving capacities: It is fair to ask the government to include one of the dominant vernaculars in some places of government employment (some branches- udyoga shakhalu), the state would also benefit from this. This concern is under consideration now. Government is thinking about considering the possibility of including vernacular proficiencies in various departments in future recruitments.

Secondary education: An attempt to get rid of the existing dual entrance system and instead have a single exam at the end of schooling for all students, with an option to choose between joining the Nizam college or the Osmania university. – This would be called University system of education. The system shall come into place gradually. The point of this exercise is to prove that in cases where English has been a medium of instruction, the introduction of Urdu would not create problems and Nizam college shall be open to students with different language competencies or implying who have had diverse mediums of instruction. The point is to prove that Nizam college exists just like it had always existed and introduction of Urdu has not caused any hassles for entering Nizam college.

Not compromising the quality of education: It is unfair to say that the burden is more on students whose mother tongue is not Urdu. According to the current system, even students

who have Urdu as mother tongue are expected to choose any one of the other vernaculars as additional languages, hence the burden seems equal among all students.

‘The experience of Osmania University shall be a valuable lesson for others’⁴⁸ - This article cites Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan’s inaugural speech, “by accepting a vernacular as a medium of instruction, Osmania University has done a lot of service to the Indian languages. He said “This University has made Urdu medium of instruction, has conducted exams and also arranged all the materials required for university education in Urdu and has finally erased the distinction between the educated elite and the commons. The experience of this university shall be a valuable lesson to others.

Hindustani Language of commons: “There are many attempts to make Hindustani a common language of India, in that context this experiment of Osmania University becomes useful. Have there been enough facilities provided for learning mother tongue, language of commons Hindustani (Saamany bhaasha) and foreign language like English? It is important to learn if such facilities are available. It is also important to learn if specialised education like medicine, engineering and other technical knowledge can be imparted in Urdu.

3.3.5. *Khangi* Schools: Urdu was the language of the textbooks and was taught at graduation in Osmania University. In the early twentieth century, the Telugu speaking population in various villages also had *Khangi* schools which taught in Telugu and Marathi. After a few years, the number of Marathi schools decreased and few schools remained which continued teaching in Telugu. *Khangi* means *ghair sarkari* or unofficial in Urdu, here the *Khangi* schools referred to those schools that were not officially recognised by the government. ‘In 1931, Hyderabad had about 4300 educational institutions apart from a number of private

⁴⁸ *Hyderabad Samacharamu*, January 1944

schools, many of them managed by Hindus and receiving government aid.’ (Kooiman, 2002, p. 49)

These schools were typically run by a single teacher and received patronage from the Telugu speakers. ‘But the Nizam saw these schools as a threat as they increased in numbers and started spreading anti-state notions. The government then launched “*Khangi Paathashaalala Niyamaavali* (1934)” (A rulebook for Khangi schools) to control their operations. According to this any schools that were found teaching anti-Nizam and anti-government ideas would be shut down with help of Police officials’ (Madapati H. , Telangana Andhrodyamamu, 1995). Though Madapati’s claim that 4000 Khangi schools were shut down by the Hyderabad state, cannot be substantiated with evidence, the claim is reflective of the anxiety shown by the Telugu cultural elite towards state’s attitude with the vernaculars. Golconda Patrika also published several notes on shutting down of several *Khangi* schools in the districts⁴⁹.

The Hyderabad state published an article clarifying its stance on *khangi* schools and said that it was not against them but would expect such schools to follow certain norms of the government. The article read, *khangi* schools are allowed to have a curriculum of their own. But (a) they are not allowed to hurt the sentiments of students from other religious backgrounds; (b) They cannot speak against the state and its ruler. Only those schools that have been recognised and permitted by the state are allowed to follow the state curriculum, as this curriculum is designed keeping in mind students of all religions.

3.3.6. Education and Employment: *Mulkis* and *Ghair Mulkis*

This section mostly drawing from the secondary materials available, describes how the employment opportunities in the modernising bureaucracy of Hyderabad state were a major

⁴⁹ Government Order to *Khangi* Telugu schools: The brief piece describes government’s attempts to close a Telugu Khangi school and encourage an Urdu government school in a village in Bhuvanagiri.

cause of debates in the periodicals and also in the *mulki* cultural movement of the twentieth century. It provides a brief overview of how this concern for employment opportunities was read in the tense communal context of the times. Discussing the relationship of languages with the identity and status of the cultural elites in the Princely Hyderabad Asma Rasheed notes that ‘Persian, was both a classical language and also an essential part of identity of the cultural elites and the nobility that marked the older nobility’s stature and political domination in the state. By 1888 all the government offices were functioning in Urdu. This shift from Persian to Urdu had implications for administrative recruitment and also on consolidating the political power in urban Hyderabad with ‘Urdu-speaking and educated, Muslim as well as Hindu, *urban ghair mulkis*’. (Rasheed, 2017, pp. 71-72)

‘Many Princely States were known to have employed quite a number of outsiders, in running their bureaucracy. The demand for participation and later responsible government placed Indians against Indians.’ (Kooiman, 2002, p. 27). The major point of debate was the civil list which reflected the number of employees in Hyderabad’s bureaucracy. The 1894 civil list showed no more than 63 Hindus among the 680 gazetted officers. Among these 680, non *mulkis* were 447 and *mulkis* were 233. Among the 63 Hindus, only 20 were *mulki* (Kooiman, 2002, p. 80). “In the view of a large majority of Hindus in the state population, this numerical disproportion presented aspiring leaders with a welcome opportunity to arouse Hindu consciousness of justified neglect” (Kooiman, 2002, p. 80).

“Hyderabad attracted many qualified people from North India, especially Aligarh, to staff its administrative departments. These outsiders not only reinforced the Muslim element in the state but also brought with them many ties to religious and political movements of north India which were increasingly divided along communal lines.” (Kooiman, 2002, p. 80)

All the articles discussed in the previous sections deal with the question of respect to mother tongue, burden of older forms of education, burden of classical languages and the anxieties shared by the literary communities over the communal associations made with languages and the discussions and gaps as predicted only deepen over the years. The concerns of education in *jaagirs*, educational and interrelated social reforms and the discourse around competing status of languages (Urdu and Telugu) in educational institutions and policies are discussed in detail.

3.4. Regional Elite and the disdain for the spoken Telugu

Public education systems were dealing with the question of “what should be the language of the textbooks” across British India and the Princely state of Hyderabad was also dealing with this question in the early decades of the 20th century.

Discussing the difference in education system of British India and the Princely State of Hyderabad, Madapati in his book *Telangana Andhrodyamamu*, writes that “There is a problem that is absent in British India that the people of Princely state of Hyderabad face, that is - there it is sufficient to learn English and Vernacular (*Desa Bhaasha*), but here along with those it is also necessary to learn Urdu. Hence the students of this place need to spend time learning their mother tongue, some time learning Urdu and some more time for English (Madapati H. , *Telangana Andhrodyamamu*, 1995, p. 5).

Nobody can stop the force of the language flow. It will continue to flow despite the obstacles. We should not criticise its changing nature, instead support this intensity. There are a lot of debates happening in British Andhra around several variants of Telugu – *Gramya*, *Vyavaharika* and *Shista Vyavaharika*. The language used at our homes in our regular speech is *Neecha Gramya* or *Ashista Gramya*. A large number of the *Kakatiya Andhras* (Telugu speakers of the Princely Hyderabad) have concluded that the language that is readily given by

the Telugu speakers from British Andhra to be ‘pure’. It is evident from the writings of the *Kakatiya Andhras* that they seem to consider their own spoken Telugu variant to be *Neecha Gramya* or *Ashista Gramya*. Therefore I request the *Kakatiya Andhras* to see that there are *Shistulu* (Literary elite) here as well and therefore the language of the learned/polite elite of this region should be considered as *Shista Vyavaharika* and not be discarded. Finally, the words from *Shista Gramya* should be included in the upcoming Telugu literature as well.⁵⁰

Elaborating on the confluence of languages and the influence of Urdu and Kannada and Marathi on Telugu of the Princely state, Madapati mentions the distinctions in idioms and phrases used between Telugu of Telangana and the *Saadharana Telugu* (Normal/ Standard Telugu). “*Ika Urdu thodi kalayika valana Telugu bhaashaku kaligina duravastha ittidani chepputa kashtamu*” (Madapati, 1995, p. 6) Citing from his earlier article published in Andhra Patrika’s yearly issue, in the year 1914, he comments ‘The great distress caused to Telugu with the confluence of Urdu is difficult to describe’, making his stance against the Telugu spoken in Princely state of Hyderabad and deeming it uncivilised.

People’s language is like a great river. Newer waters always replacing the older ones. The language of our people living in the borders is destroyed. Telangana language is polluted (sarvasankaramu ga unnadi). There are Boyis in Karimnagar whose language is the worst of all. Since Urdu is the official language and the language of courts in Telangana, all these words have entered Telugu usage. This way, the Telugu of Telangana is polluted by the words from Marathi and Kannada in the bordering districts and also by the court language of Urdu. This lopamu can be largely resolved with propagation of *Mulki* language education.⁵¹

Suravaram Pratapa Reddy, Editor of *Golconda Patrika* and the author of the book “*Andhrula Sanghika Charithra*” (The Social History of the Andhras) writes in its preface about the

⁵⁰ *Vyavaharika bhasha*, Author: Vividha prantha vyavaharika bhasha sevakudu, *Golconda Patrika*, November 21st 1935

⁵¹ *Telangana Telugu*, *Golconda Patrika*, 2nd April 1943

Vyavaharika literary sources that he consciously chooses to use as they were more closer to the Telugu spoken in the British colonial Madras Presidency, as he considers that to be fit to be a part of textbooks and be taught at schools as opposed to the pedantic Granthika style. He lists out the literary sources that he would be using to write the social history and clearly states that the ones written in *Granthika*, would be of no use for this purpose and chooses certain works from *prabandha* literature that is more closer to Telugu than to Sanskrit and criticises all the *granthika* texts that were otherwise being referred to for writing histories (Suravaram, 1949). But at the same time in his engagements with Nizamrashtra Andhra Saraswata Parishat (a literary organisation he was instrumental in setting up) criticises the Telugu spoken in parts of Telangana of the Princely state of Hyderabad as misfit even for formal or written communication because of its influence from Urdu and Persian.

3.5. Parishat Exams: Academy of the Future

The efforts of Parishat towards institutionalisation of Telugu language and its orientations towards language and history are discussed in detail in the final chapter of the dissertation. This section describes Parishat's efforts in generating Telugu proficiency among the Telugu speakers of the Princely State of Hyderabad by conducting certificate exams which would familiarise them with Telugu history and literature and equip them in imparting Telugu language education in the future.

Parishat formally announced the call for conducting exams and issuing certificates in Telugu proficiency at various levels of specialisations (*prathamika*, *maadhyamika*, *unnata*- primary, secondary and higher) along with the detailed syllabus in areas of literature (*saahityamu*), history (*itihaasamu*) and general knowledge (*lokagnyanamu*)⁵². It promptly made arrangements for proficiency exams in Telugu and gave regular announcements about exam

⁵² *Golconda Patrika*, 29th July 1943

dates, syllabus to be followed, application procedure and encouraged Telugu men and women across all ages to appear for these. One of the announcements in *Golconda Patrika* read ‘all Telugu people in the state who share their affections for their mother tongue Telugu, can apply for these proficiency exams and improve their knowledge’,⁵³

After persistent efforts, the Hyderabad government approved the entrance exams of the Parishat with certain restrictions. Because of which, the people who cleared these entry level exams in Telugu could be appointed as language teachers in Primary schools. Parishat’s foresight made Telugu teachers available immediately for the Primary schools established with Telugu as the medium of instruction after the annexation of Hyderabad into Indian union (Gadiyaramu, 1973)

3.6. Conclusion:

The regional elite and the princely state were engaging in debates over what should be the medium of instruction in the educational institutions of the state and were also responding to the language modernisation projects happening in the neighbouring presidencies. By the turn of twentieth century, languages were in a competing linguistic environment with strong communal affiliations. These debates had several actors – the state, regional elite, non-*mulki* bureaucrats who were vying to seal their positions in the emerging bureaucracy with newer employment opportunities. The discourse around language therefore was both affective in terms of religion and region but was also for the command in employment opportunities. The nature of these debates continue take such directions even in the contemporary moment, though there has been a change in the description of the actors involved.

⁵³ *Nizamrashtra Andhra Saraswata Parishattu – Parikshaniyamavali* (Examination schedule of Nizamrashtra Andhra Saraswata Parishattu), *Golconda Patrika*, 25th January 1945

4. Fashioning Political and Linguistic Identities through Print: Reading the activities of Nizamrashtrandhra Maha Sabha

‘The activity of constructing a region, whether overtly political or not, is an activity of domination.’ (Palshikar S. , 2006, p. 254)

4.1. Introduction

The early twentieth century marks an important historical trajectory with the nationalist movement and the events that unfolded during this period having set the precedent for the eventual making of the Indian nation. This context brings together the conflicts and conversations between nation, region, language and caste. Scholars have commented on the rise of public institutions by the nineteenth century itself, but early decades of the twentieth century saw a qualitative expansion in literary and political spheres, where there was a leap in expansion of literary and political actors and institutions and expansion of a print market (Orsini, 2002, p. 16) With the rise of politics based on liberal ideas of public reason, region emerges as ‘a site of distinct political dynamics’ at the turn of 20th century (Mantena, 2014, p. 338).

The early twentieth century Hyderabad, saw rise of civil societal organisations which were in continuous debates with the Hyderabad state. The state could not contain within itself the growing numbers of such organisations and also the nature of the debates they were engaging in. At the turn of twentieth century Hyderabad state already had voluntary associations established along the lines of religion, language and also independent caste groups which were vying for positions in the Hyderabad administration and also mark their presence in the public life of the city. ‘Voluntary associations were first deployed to forge internal links between intellectuals and during the late nineteenth century they proved useful as provincial sabhas which could influence the course of colonial policy.’ (Naregal, 2001, p. 208)

Hindu Maha Sabha, Hyderabad State Congress, Andhra Jana Sangham, Karnataka Parishat, Andhra Maha Sabha, etc., form the larger network of voluntary organisations operating out of the Hyderabad city during the early decades of twentieth century. Each of these organisations worked with linguistic and religious impetus, aimed at countering the ruling monarchy. Andhra Jana Sangham, later Nizamrashtrandhra Maha Sabha (here after NAMS) is described as of the important voluntary organisations in the public life of Telugu speakers of Hyderabad during the 20th century in various historical and biographical works. Regional conferences since the 1930s promoted Telugu and Marathi languages and culture in the multilingual space of the Hyderabad region. These conferences looked for support among fellow speakers in the neighbouring British provinces. Though the wider solidarities they envisaged did not extend beyond the cultural region, but what they did was to expose the artificiality of state boundaries. (Kooiman, 2002, p. 211)

In the previous chapters, I have discussed the interconnectedness of print with a network of institutions like schools, hostels and education policies of the state. This chapter therefore foregrounds the relationship of print, particularly periodicals with voluntary political associations, to understand- how print spaces aided voluntary associations through publicity of their activities and generating a discourse and how voluntary associations in turn contributed towards the growth of periodicals and their circulation. I also dwell on the multiple imaginations of the nation and region, their changing affinities and definitions within the civil societal organisations.

The chapter reads activities of Nizamrashtra Andhra Maha Sabha through the archives of *Golconda Patrika*, to locate the interconnectedness of the periodical with the civil societal organisations and thereby to the larger ideas of public gathering, ideas of region, language and social reform. It locates the political environment of the Princely State of Hyderabad by tracing the activities of Nizamrashtrandhra Maha Sabha primarily during the 1930s.

The chapter locates the emergence of NAMS, important shifts that occur within the organisation over a period of two decades and also look at the discourse around NAMS in *Golconda Patrika* and other secondary materials to understand internal (in)coherences, attempts of the Telugu elite of Princely State of Hyderabad to distinguish themselves and the organisation from the existing Andhra Maha Sabha of the British India. The regional elite's negotiations with the Hyderabad state for modern forms of public life like annual sabhas and gatherings and how *Golconda Patrika* becomes a space for political negotiations of that time are also the ideas that this chapter engages with.

The importance of NAMS in the context of *Telangana Sayudha Poratam* (Telangana armed struggle), nature of the political committees and the leadership has been described and analysed in works of several scholars⁵⁴, this chapter therefore does not engage with that period but instead looks at the emergence of a voluntary organisation based on linguistic solidarities and its initial efforts towards institutionalising language, ideas of social reform and the eventual confrontations with other primordial solidarities like caste, which it cannot eventually escape. The chapter understands the dynamics of these operations by analysing the organisation's connections with political periodicals.

While describing the goals of voluntary linguistic and political organisations in Princely Hyderabad, their interconnectedness with periodicals and newspapers and conversations with the ruling monarchy, Mantena writes, 'newspapers at this point carried the heavy burden(of a liberal public sphere) in the absence of formal and legitimate political parties as well as press censorship'. Hyderabad's lesser-known local organisations were seeking political change through demands for freedom to congregate and freedom of speech. Question of civil liberties was used as a rhetorical strategy to enter into political negotiations with the princely states' (Mantena, 2019, p. 1258).

⁵⁴ For instance refer to (I, The Political Pragmatism of Communists in Telangana, 1938-48, 1996)

4.2. Beginnings of Nizamrashtra Andhra Maha Sabha (NAMS)

The meetings of NAMS happen between 1930-1945, during the mature phase of nationalist movement and also literary and social reform movements happening alongside, and the rise of communist party in India, making it an important venue to understand both political and cultural history of Telangana region. The chief objectives of NAMS were to bring together “*Andhras*⁵⁵”, organise meetings for establishing libraries and reading spaces, schools and encourage students and scholars and work towards propagating ‘*Andhra Bhasha*’⁵⁶. The term Andhra was interchangeably used with Telugu speakers. From the review of literature available (Madapati, 1995; Ogeti, 1985), the use of this word was also a mark of protest where the Nizam countered any attempt of the Telugu speaking population of Telangana to associate themselves with British Andhra counterparts and thereby the Indian union. The word Andhra did not only imply the territorial region (as it is construed under current political circumstances) but it was extended as a term that would refer to Telugu speaking population across territories and therefore was a dominant parlance.

4.2.1. Nizamrashtra Andhra Jana Sangham

Before reorganising itself as Nizamrashtra Andhra Maha Sabha, it was initially formed as Nizamrashtra Andhra Jana Sangham (Nizam State Telugu People’s Association) in the year

⁵⁵ Yamada Keiko historically traces and analyses the use of the term Andhra to refer to Telugu speakers and the region from the 19th century. Giving the name ‘*Andhra*’ to the Telugu region in the 20th century was arbitrary and was due to the intervention of a new historical consciousness emerging among Telugu intellectuals. From the end of the 19th century, describing Telugu people as *Andhras* and Telugu region as Andhra was not a simple matter of naming. It was an example of a particular historical interpretation that was rooted in colonialism and modernisation. She analyses how the Niyogi Brahmins of the Godavari and Krishna basin in the 19th and 20th centuries engaged with colonial learning, modern scholarship and history writing and engaged in generating a narrative of unified linguistic imaginary and historical past of the Telugu speaking populations, which the Niyogi Brahmins of the region imagined, to negotiate their position in the modernising presidencies.” (Keiko, 2010)

⁵⁶ For instance the permission to publish the newspaper Andhra Maatha was denied by the British Resident as the name implied connections with the ongoing nationalist movement. (Ogeti, 1985, p. 59)

1922 and held its first meeting at the Reddy hostel⁵⁷. The organisation welcomed anybody from the Nizam state who could read and write and were above 18 years of age as its members.

The primary objective of the Sangham was to promote mutual respect among Telugus of the Hyderabad state by working towards their welfare, having local units/offices and hold meetings and create spaces for discussions. (Madapati, 1995, pp. 9-10). This meant that only literate population could be members of the Sangham initially, but later with the transformation of the Sangham into Nizamrashtra Andhra Maha Sabha (here after referred to as NAMS), it was open to all Telugu speakers of Hyderabad beyond their levels of literacy. One of the key works that describes the nature of voluntary organisations in the context of nationalism in Hyderabad State is John Roosa's thesis entitled 'Quandry of the Quam'. He uses various records of Andhra Maha Sabha, describes the organisation, its members, their educational and political orientations and the choices they made and the influences they had. He writes,

Andhra Jana Sangham was a forum for Andhra teachers, lawyers and merchants and landed men of Hyderabad. Literacy was required for the membership and main focus of its work was promotion of libraries, schools and Telugu literature. Some of the Andhra leaders in the Sangham felt that it was limited in its scope and membership. They wanted an organisation that would do more than discuss language and educational issues and would involve more people than literate. They formed NAMS in 1930 and subsumed the Sangham under it. (Roosa, 1998, pp. 434-437).

Describing the nature of civil society in the colonial context, Partha Chatterjee writes how these institutions were largely inspired by the ideas of Western modernity and held within

⁵⁷ The support that the Reddy hostel received and the nature of caste networks that were significant in its inception and functioning were discussed in the second chapter of this dissertation

themselves the ideas of generating a ‘proper public’. The ‘public’ which what was ‘rational’ and ‘scientific’ and the existing masses definitely did not fit these descriptions and hence needed to be reformed. This project of reform then became the project of these organisations.

Civil society in countries like India can be best used to describe those institutions of modern associational life set up by nationalist elites in the era of colonial modernity, though often as a part of their anti-colonial struggle. These institutions embody the desire of this elite to replicate in its own society the forms as well as the substance of Western modernity. It is well recognized that this new domain of civil society will long remain an exclusive domain of the elite, that the actual ‘public’ will not match up to the standards required by the civil society and that the function of civil societal institutions in relation to the public at large will be one of pedagogy rather than of free association. Countries with long histories of colonial modernization and nationalist movements often have quite an extensive and impressive network of civil societal institutions of this kind which take upon themselves the project of cultural modernization (Chatterjee, 2002, p. 174)

4.2.2. The State, Civil Society and rationale of the ‘political public’

To curb the spread of communalism, the Hyderabad state in the year 1929 passed *Gashti 53*⁵⁸ that put restrictions on political gatherings. In this scenario, the propagators of the NAMS repeatedly clarified their ‘non-political’ character and pushed for ‘only linguistic fervour’ and at the same time criticised the government restrictions on freedom to congregate and express by publishing announcements opposing the continued imposition of *Gashti 53*, beyond the three months period that was it initially announced⁵⁹. Suravaram in one of the editorials in *Golconda Patrika*, notes the continuing imposition of the rule and writes, ‘It was decided

⁵⁸ *Gashti 53* is the constitutional ruling of the Nizam State that was brought into place to prohibit political public gatherings that would speak against the Nizam and the British.

⁵⁹ *Golconda Patrika* 18th May 1932

initially that this Gashti was limited/applicable only to political meetings. But is now extended to meetings related to social issues, elections, science, temple meetings, gatherings in masjids and annual celebrations of organisations as well. Now these gatherings are also being restricted.⁶⁰ (Suravaram, 1989)

Noting the nature of restrictions posed by the Nizam government, Mantena in her article cites the notes by the Information Bureau of the H.E.H.Nizam Dominions, where she says that the state was not in opposition to *Golconda Patrika* when it came to questions of social reform, but posed restrictions on gatherings and publications that were seemingly questioning the policies of the state. '*Golconda Patrika* is being read out to *harijans*. The pamphlets published by Andhra Maha Sabha on *vetti* (bonded labour) and other subjects are being read out to *harijans* as well.' (Mantena, 2019, p. 1262). The restrictions imposed by the state therefore seemed to be directed more towards the imagined political future of Hyderabad and its association with British Presidencies which were imagining a future with the emerging Indian union, rather than any active curbing of the public life itself.

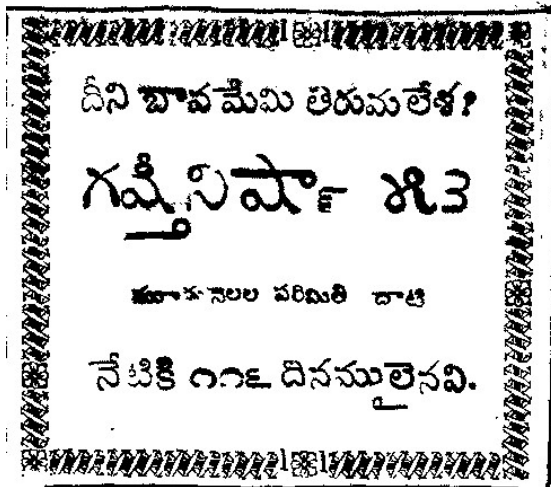


Figure 4.11: *Golconda Patrika*'s announcement in the year 1932, counting the number of days since the imposition of Gashti 53

⁶⁰ Gashti 53, *Golconda Patrika*, 26th April 1937

Golconda Patrika published the proceedings of the meetings along with the resolutions passed and dismissed; and also acted as a space of negotiation between NAMS and the princely state, and later published the conflicts that arose within the organisation as well. Voluntary associations are seen as confined to urban educated populations who seem more or less attuned to the modern political culture. But NAMS though started in Hyderabad city, set up its regional offices across the districts of Telangana, held regular visits and meetings and survived with support from landed elite of the hinterlands. Though language and linguistic aspirations were also political in nature, both NAMS and *Golconda Patrika* positioned themselves as organisations that were ‘not-political’ and only interested in upholding linguistic unity to avoid further restrictions on their activities.

Discussing the nature of civil society in the nineteenth century colonial Bengal, Partha Chatterjee dwells on the differing conceptions that literary and political figures had on what it means to be a ‘proper public’ in the modernising Bengal. He draws from the conflicts between Nabinachandra who was a Hindu revivalist and Rabindranath Tagore who was a reformist and describes how traditionalists and modernists were engaging in debates regarding what it means to be a ‘proper public’ (Chatterjee, 2002). Encounters with western modernity called for a rethinking knowledge structures, authorities of power and also reform of the society at large to become modern. The limitations of this desire of modernity at some level were also exposed by the traditionalists who wanted to counter the colonial modernity’s homogenising nature. While the reformists aspired to adapt to the changing structures of power and mark their dominating presence in the newly emerging nation, the traditionalists wished to keep intact the more traditional forms of hierarchies and thereby countered colonial modernity. Elaborating on the rationale of civil society of the 19th century Bengal, Partha Chatterjee describes

‘Civil Society’ as a term that can define the characteristic institutions of modern associational life originating in the Western societies which are based on equality, autonomy, freedom of entry and exit, contract, deliberative procedures of decision making, recognized rights and duties of members, and other such principles. Obviously this is not to deny that the history of modernity in non-Western societies contains numerous examples of the emergence of what could be called civil societal institutions which nevertheless do not always conform to these principles. Rather, it is precisely to identify these marks of difference, to understand their significance, to appreciate how by the continued invocation of the ‘pure’ model of origin – the institutions of modernity as they were meant to be- a normative discourse can still continue to energize and shape the evolving forms of social institutions in the non-Western world, that I would prefer to retain the more classical sense of civil society rather than any of its recent revised versions.’ (Chatterjee, 2002, p. 172)

While using the term civil society in this chapter and also my dissertation at large, I intend in the above mentioned sense where social institutions were designed or imagined somewhat based on the western understanding of modern institutions while at the same time negotiated with their contingent conditions.

4.2.3. Civil Society and the idea of social reform

The logic of reform pervaded the activities of NAMS during the 1930s which reflected in the petitions and the draft resolutions that the meetings submitted to the state. The initial resolutions (*teermanamulu*) taken at the Nizam Andhra Mahasabhas were mainly around compulsory primary education, education for women, abolition of child marriages, widow remarriages, education in mother tongue, prominence to Telugu, etc., which were extensively discussed in *Golconda Patrika* at various occasions. These discussions seem to set a stage for

a discourse on the said issues allowing for resolutions to be passed eventually in the *mahasabhas*. ‘Social reform was the one great concern of the 19th century and the reformist tendencies were common to all movements. The difference lay only in the selection and degree of emphasis.’ (Dalmia, 2010, p. 7).

Telanganavasulagu andhrulandari samishti vanchalanu prakatinchutakunu, vaari ververu prayatnamulanu kendrikarinchutakunu cheyabadina mottamodati krushiyokka parinamamu Jogipetalo jarigina ee mahasabhaye - Jogipeta Mahasabha is a result of efforts to present the collective desires of *Andhras* (Telugu speaking population) of Telangana and an attempt to consolidate the diverse efforts of the people of the region (Madapati, 1995, p. 73). *Ee mahasabhanu jayapradamuga jaripina gouravam mottamumeeda Jogipeta varthakulaku, mukhyamuga vyshyulaku chenduchunnadi* (The success of Jogipet Mahasabha can only be attributed to the local businessmen of Jogipet, more importantly the members from Vyshya community) (Madapati, 1995, p. 75)

The articles that appeared in *Golconda Patrika*, till the dates of the *sabhas*, spoke about the efforts of the organising committee in obtaining permissions from the Nizam government at the *taluk* level⁶¹; appointment of the chairperson of the organising committee and their details; visits of the members to different regions to garner public support and invite representatives⁶². Beyond the annual *sabhas*, the leaders of NAMS also toured villages on different occasions and these visits were linked to mobilization for revival of local libraries⁶³ in the district, stating the interconnectedness of library movement with other social movements and also *Golconda Patrika*.

⁶¹ *Golconda Patrika* 4th February 1931

⁶² *Golconda Patrika* 4th February 1931

⁶³ *Golconda Patrika* 4th April 1931

ద్వితీయ
ఆంధ్రమహాసభ

ద్వితీయ (నల్లగొండజిల్లా)
(ప్రకటన ౧)

1 ద్వితీయాంధ్రమహా సభాసమావేశము నల్లగొండ జిల్లా ద్వితీయకాండకుండు 1340 ఫ ఫర్వర్దీ నెల 29 30, 31 (3 4, 5 మార్చి 1932) ప్రమాదూత సంగీ ఛాటూ ము 14, 15 బి 1 బు మంగళ బుధ నెలనారములలో జరుపుటకు నిశ్చయింపబడింది

2 ప్రతినిధులుగా మండగోరువారు రు 1.00.0 రుకు య చేర్చింపవలసియుండును

3 ప్రతినిధులుగా చేరగోరువారు రుకుమున్ను తీర్మానములుగాని సూచనలుగాని చేయగోరువారు ప్రతినిధి 20 ఫర్వర్దీ 1340 ఫనీలివరకు నాకు రు నటు పంప ప్రార్థితులు

4 అవశ్యసంఘము - రిచే వర ఫారివలకు భోజనాది సమర్థాయములు తీర్చిముగా చేయవలెను

5 ద్వితీయకాండ ప్రాచారకు ధువనగిరి బమ్మరి ముట్టు రె శ్వేనేనులనుండియు సూర్యపేట మిర్యాలగూడె ములనుండియు నల్లగొండ మిగుగా మోటారుపర్వములు గలవు పులిజాల చేరుట రంగారావు ఎంబు మోకోర అవశ్యసంఘాధ్యక్షులు. పగిడి చుక్రి యిల్లయ్య వేటెలు అవశ్యసంఘ కార్యదర్శి.

Figure 4.12: *Golconda Patrika* 4th February 1932: Announcement of Second NAMS Meeting containing details of venue, dates, call for registration of representatives and arrangements made

The proceedings of the meetings were published as a booklet the following year, aimed at popularising the sabhas for those who did not attend. These books typically contained the negotiations of the organising committee with the Nizam for permission to conduct the meetings; opening remarks and speeches made by the leaders of the NAMS and its organising committee members and a critical review of committee's organising capacities for that year⁶⁴. This booklet was made available for people at 2anas per copy and free copies were distributed to public libraries and social organisations⁶⁵.

⁶⁴ *Golconda Patrika* 3rd January 1931

⁶⁵ *Golconda Patrika* 28th May 1932

The term civil society is a historically complex/contested idea drawn largely from western political thought to understand the interactions between modern state and its publics. ‘With the arrival of European colonialism, the state became an undeniable and unavoidable part of the business of social living; and the institutional organisation of the modern state invites the discourse in terms of a state/civil society distinction.’ (Kaviraj & Khilnani, 2002, p. 4). Drawing from principles of equality, autonomy and belonging, civil society is used as a heuristic device to understand the space beyond the state. This idea though borrowed from Western political thought has been interpreted and practiced in non-Western societies, contributing to its ever changing and expanding definitions and configurations. The idea of the civil society in the west has not been singular as well. Drawing from Partha Chatterjee’s theorisation of the civil society during the nationalist period, I understand the functioning of nationalist elite in the princely state of Hyderabad who were negotiating their position with the ruling state, traditional caste hierarchies and at the same time drawing solidarities based on linguistic unity from the Telugu intelligentsia of the Madras Presidency. Like mentioned earlier, NAMS though set up in the similar spirit of Andhra Maha Sabha which was already functioning from Madras Presidency and seeking territorial autonomy on the basis of distinct linguistic unity was harnessing different representative goals.

4.3. Third Nizamrashtra Andhra Maha Sabha – The conflict between *Sanatanulu*⁶⁶ (traditionalists) and *Samskara Vaadulu* (reformists)

In the foregoing sections, it is illustrated how the civil society organisations were vying to project a notion of territoriality based on a unified linguistic identity, over a physical geographical territory. These imaginaries, that sought to foreground linguistic identity over

⁶⁶ In the context of *Sanatana dharma sabhas*, instead of using the term ‘revivalist’ to refer to the supporters of *sanatana dharma*, Vasudha Dalmia uses the term ‘traditionalist’. She does this to bring to focus the stress on ‘*sanatana*’ or constancy of tradition rather than breach with original, pristine past, which the more radical reform movements were claimed to do. (Dalmia, 2010, p. 7) Therefore for this chapter wherever the original newspaper articles have used the word ‘*sanatanulu*’, I translate the term as traditionalists instead of revivalists.

any other modes of belonging, were deeply fissured. They were forced to confront the fault lines along caste hierarchies and also had to deal with the multiple linguistic identities that inhabited the geographical region/space.

The third NAMS meeting faced difficulties starting from continuous rejection of permissions from the administration of the Princely State to the dissent from local orthodoxies (*sanatanulu*) stating that the *sabha* would dismantle and hurt the caste hierarchies. While the second NAMS meeting happened in the year 1931, the third one could finally happen only by 1934. The three year gap between the two *maha sabhas* saw multiple requests sent by the organising committee to the Hyderabad State seeking permissions to organise the annual meeting.

Golconda Patrika regularly published the conversations that were happening between the State and the committee. Initial decision to organise the *sabha* in Jataprolu⁶⁷ was rejected by the Hyderabad State. The government demanded a security deposit of Rs. 2000/- from the organising committee and also stated that permission would be granted if the proceedings remained non-political (i.e., The government's policy and orders- educational, political and other matters should not be discussed in the meeting as it was always open to any person or association to represent the Government what it regards as grievance under the above heads without convening a public meeting – This was noted in official response of the State to Madapati Hanumantha Rao (Madapati, 1995)

⁶⁷ *Golconda Patrika* 24th August 1932

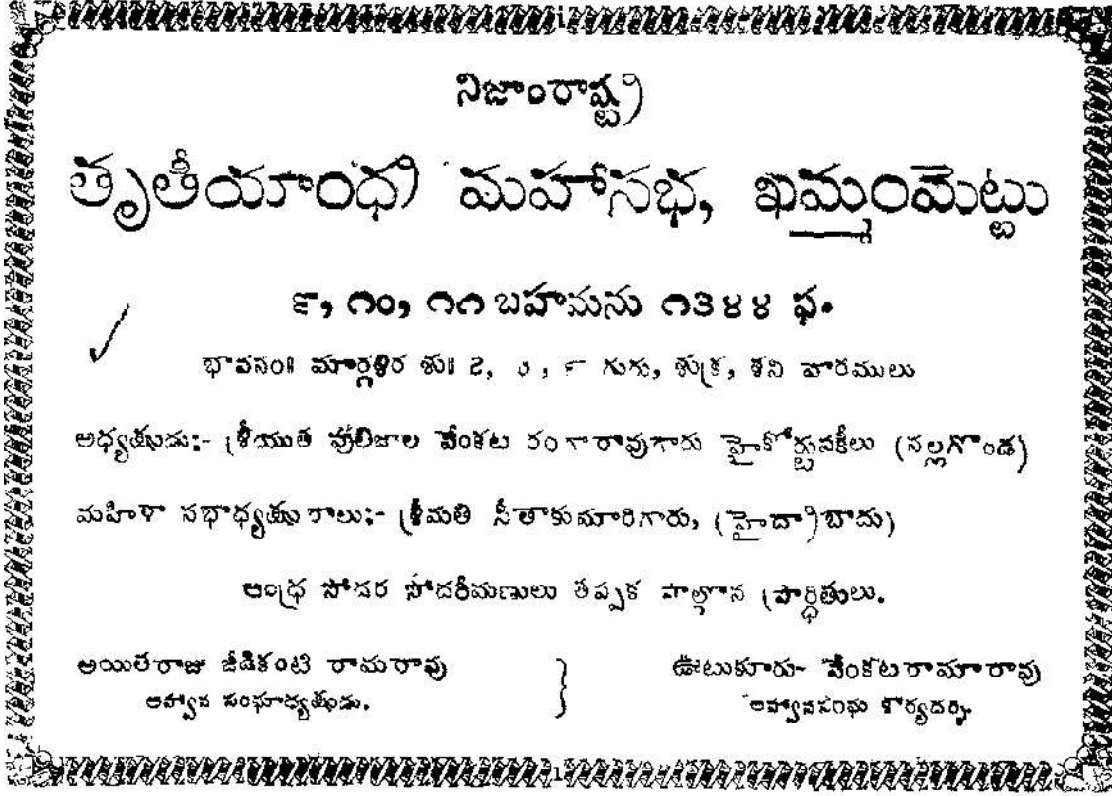


Figure 4.13: Invitation of third NAMS in *Golconda Patrika* on 12th November 1934

4.3.1. Varnashrama Dharma

When the committee finally managed to get permissions to organise the meeting in Khammammettu, there was repeated opposition from the local traditionalists (*sthanika sanatanulu*) who believed that the *sabha* would destroy caste order and hurt the sentiments of the upper castes.

....Ee sabha Purvachaarapadhatulaku virudhamu, sanghika viplavamu kalugacheyunu, varna sankaryamu kalugacheyunu.⁶⁸ (This sabha is against the traditional norms, will cause social unrest/radicalisation and cause caste pollution)

⁶⁸ *Golconda Patrika*, 4th November 1934

Golconda Patrika carried responses of both the organising committee and the reformists⁶⁹ who were in support of the *mahasabha*. It published articles of people who wrote to the newspaper requesting the organising committee of NAMS to arrange separate dining halls⁷⁰.

On 4th October 1934, the organising committee published a note declaring that the cooking for the meeting will only be done by the Brahmins and the Vyshyas, to not hurt the religious sentiments; separate halls for dining shall be available to different communities to not hurt the caste sentiments; the discussions of the meeting would remain non-political and would not be against the Nizam rule or any government policy. Parts of the note read - it has come to our notice that there are baseless rumours that there would be events like temple entry for *Harijans* and inter-caste dining as a part of the sabha meetings. We would like to clarify that there are no such events planned from our end. We have no intentions of hurting the sentiments of those who are particulare about untouchability or inter-caste dining. We received permissions from the government to conduct this meeting, that itself reflects that we are not going to engage in any discussions against the state. So we request both the traditionalists and also government officials to comfortably attend the meeting and make it a success. The article clearly does not menmtion who these *Sanatanas* or traditionalists were, but it implies that they were essentially people who wanted to keep intact the heirarchies of caste and were against the ideas of reform that were borrowed from the colonisers or simply put were against the western modernity and were inclined towards preserving caste-Hindu traditions. If we were to draw from Vasudha Dalmia's work on the working of Sanatana Sanatana Dharma Sabhas and their social composition,

⁶⁹People who were for social reform and wrote to *Golconda Patrika* against the *Sanatanulu* and in support of the NAMS. The articles seemed to have appeared from various contributors, who were said to be the readers of *Golconda Patrika* and not necessarily dominant political or literary figures

⁷⁰ From the letter published in *Golconda Patrika* by Madiraju Ramakoteswararao Vakil of Hanumakonda on 3rd December 1934

The organising committee responded to the concerns of the traditionalists and by publishing articles like the ones mentioned above, tried to mitigate the opposition from the *sanatana dharma* followers. ‘We noted the dissatisfaction of *Sanatanas* (Traditionalists) and are making arrangements to accommodate their concerns. Therefore we request them to go through the already published draft of the Andhra Sabha meeting in *Golconda Patrika* and give their productive suggestions and not cause any further difficulties in the arrangements.’⁷¹

The secretary of the NAMS organising committee, Vemugunta Ramakrishna Rao Vakil, wrote an article titled *Sanatanulaku Samskaravaadulaku Sukshma Bedhame, Mooloddesamulu Okate*⁷² (There is only a marginal difference between the traditionalists and the reformists: Their core objectives are the same) requesting both the groups to come together in organising the NAMS meeting. He writes, ‘while the traditionalists are working towards protecting the *Varnashrama Dharma* (hierarchies of caste/ caste order), the reformists are working towards protecting nationalism. But at the core of their ideologies, both are the working towards nation building and integration. Despite ruptures and continued tensions between traditionalists and reformists, we believe that the essential differences between them are minor. Therefore we request them to come together for this meeting’. While the distinctions that the article makes between traditionalists and reformists are not critical on its own, it does provide us with the vocabulary to understand how the ideas of tradition and reform were construed in the civil society that worked well within the hierarchies of caste order. While the article may not be intended as a critique of the modernists/reformers, it unintentionally collapses these binary categories of tradition and modernity while engaging with the nation at making. ‘While the more nationalist oriented reformists placed the authority in the Vedas, the traditionalists also included in the list the *itihasas* and the *puranas*’. (Dalmia, 2010, p. 6)

⁷¹ Third Andhra Maha Sabha: An arrangement accommodating the concerns of Sanatanas/Traditionalists, *Golconda Patrika*, 6th December 1934

⁷² *Golconda Patrika*, 6th December 1934

As discussed earlier, the NAMS was organising itself from the patronage received by the Trade organisations (*Vartaka Sangamulu*) led by the businessmen from the Vyshya community and also by the local rulers (*Samsthanadhipathulu* who belonged to Velama and Reddy communities. Describing the nature of leadership of NAMS, John Roosa in his thesis writes,

The bulk of membership was drawn from the Deshmukhs, Watandars and landed village families. A typical Andhra Maha Sabha leader in the districts was the son of a landed family that had paid for his education in the Hyderabad city. While in the Capitol city, perhaps staying at the Reddy hostel itself, he would have met with AMS leaders and learned about nationalism. When he returned to his small town or village he would have mobilised his network of family, friends and neighbours to join the AMS. Thus, the organisation grew with regular circulation of students in and out of capitol city. The network of lawyers in small towns also provided a steady base for the Mahasabha. (Roosa, 1998, pp. 441-442).

This accommodation of the interests of the powerful orthodoxy by the NAMS also shows its mode of political affiliation that does not question the immediate structures of oppression (considering the dominant caste support required for “larger” nationalist movement) instead moderately negotiates without questioning the existing status quo. Using *Golconda Patrika* as a space for announcements, the organising committee repeatedly published negotiations and clarifications regarding the sabha. One such note read that the upcoming sabha (happening in Khammammettu) is a very important one, keeping in mind the progress of the nation, as it is organised to promote independent thought which was not related to politics. The tradition of such sabhas is to be reflective of all opinions and be respectful of the diversity. Therefore the organising committee requests participation from all Andhras, whether they are

purvaachaara parayanas (orthodox/traditional) or the *naveenas* (modernists) and contribute to the growth of the nation⁷³.

A month ahead of the sabha, the periodical also published a series of articles from the local elite, like the Deshmukhs and the Deshpandyas⁷⁴, who were in support of the sabhas, reassuring that the sabha is not intended to disrupt any existing social order, particularly the caste order, therefore everyone should come in to support and not disrupt the event that is prestigious for the Telugus⁷⁵. Thus during the initial years, NAMS functioned as an organisation that received support from the local landed elite both in monetary terms and also reassurances in its functionality whenever required. This mode of negotiation also caused an eventual rift in the conception of region by different members of the NAMS and its explicit division into Congress and Communists.

⁷³ *Golconda Patrika*, 12th November 1934

⁷⁴ Deshmukhs and Deshpandyas were the local chiefs who were revenue collectors of *paraganas* (large group of villages). 'Deshmukhs drew their power from landlordism, enforcement of ritual and symbolic practices that reinforced "servility" of the lower castes and "authority" of the superior castes. They were in a constant process of adjustment and adaptation to the changing socio-political and economic structures and maintained their power over prolonged periods based on caste-based inequality.' (I, Dora and Gadi: Manifestation of Landlord Domination in Telangana, 1992, p. 477)

⁷⁵ *Golconda Patrika*, 15th November 1934

The bi-weekly also published draft resolutions of the *sabha* and sought public approval before taking the matters for discussion. The proceedings of the meeting under various heads were published and a peaceful closure of the meeting was announced⁷⁶.

But the story was not over yet, the orthodoxy from Khammammettu went on to organise meetings against the proceedings and functioning of NAMS and protect the Hindu religious practices. They organised *Sanatana Mahasabhas*⁷⁷, which were attended by the local upper caste groups that believed in maintaining the ‘puritanic’ order. These meetings did have an immediate impact on the proceedings of NAMS, where it had to continuously defend itself as a progressive, pro-nationalist organisation and not lose the support of local elite in their larger goal of associating Hyderabad with the Indian union. The organisation of such *dharma sabhas* were a common sight by the twentieth century, as there were similar *sabhas* happening across several regions⁷⁸ from 19th century onwards, which can be seen as ‘slow adjustment of traditional Hinduism to challenge the modern age’. (Dalmia, 2010, p. 4)

Golconda Patrika thus became a space for negotiation between the State and *sabha* and also between the Hindu orthodoxy and the *sabha*. Thus as Ulrike Stark notes in her work, print technology was not necessarily used by modernists alone but was equally exploited by the traditional orthodoxy who wanted use newer technologies and modes of communication for maintaining the existing order (Stark, 2008, pp. 22-23). Though *Golconda Patrika* and NAMS were both not communal or religious orthodox, they were functioning with support from local landed elite and were in need of support from other dominant castes like the Brahmins and Vyshyas. The pages of the newspaper and the space of the *sabha* were both

⁷⁶ *Golconda Patrika*, 17th December 1934

⁷⁷ *Golconda Patrika*, 10th January 1935

⁷⁸ For a detailed analysis on some of the early confrontations between organisations which were led by Hindu orthodoxy in the context of Maharashtra, their concerns with *varnasankar* (confusion of caste) *varnashramadharma* (orthopraxis) and *dharmashastra* (Sanskrit legal and philosophical classics) and confrontations with the organisations/units led by the reformists functioning around the logic of western rationality and religious practices and nationalist impetus refer to Tucker (Tucker, 1976)

accommodative of announcing such interests. Thus even while they made repeated declarations about their motive of social reform and unity based on language for evolving a 'political public' that would come together based on linguistic solidarities rather than other primordial associations like caste, they were forced to address these tensions eventually. The tense political climate that the Telugu regional elite was inhabiting led to the fissures in NAMS exposing the concerns around language, class and caste in their meetings eventually.

Prior to the Shadnagar Andhra Maha Sabha meeting, Suravaram notes the difference between the previous annual sabhas of NAMS and the one that they were about to witness. He writes, 'Shadnagar Andhra Maha Sabha is being organised at the time when the issues of *ryots* and *harijans* are vociferously battled like never before in our state. The previous Andhra Maha Sabhas discussed issues related to child marriages, animal sacrifices, etc., but now the issue of caste seemed to have evolved as an important concern'⁷⁹ (Suravaram, 1989). This note which was released prior to the sabha, reflects how the rising the social movements in the Telangana region against caste and class oppression forced the regional elite into evaluating their ideas of sociality.

4.4. Territorial boundaries and Regional imagination: Contestations over language and geographical region

Early 20th century saw more consolidated efforts in expression of regional anxieties and these efforts became more political, with different groups conceiving the idea of region differently. The case of the Princely state of Hyderabad shows the conflict between political (territorial) region and the cultural (linguistic) region. These binary notions of territorial and cultural region appear in the literature around that time where the new elite literati of the Hyderabad State wanted to align themselves with cultural conception of region, which according to them

⁷⁹ *Shadnagar Andhra Maha Sabha Pratyekata* (Peculiarities of Shadnagar Andhra Maha Sabha), *Golconda Patrika*, 15th December 1936

was not political in its demand for popularising and patronising the Telugu language. These debates are evident in the articles published in *Golconda Patrika* and the works of Madapati Hanumantha Rao and Suravaram Pratapa Reddy who were nationalist moderates and proponents of the Telugu linguistic and cultural fervour in then Hyderabad.

The questions around region, language and territorial boundaries have been continuously under contestation and have not yet arrived at a point of resolution. I would be examining these contestations that appear in *Golconda Patrika*, when it publishes various resolutions of the NAMS through the 1930s.

Boundaries exist, but they merge, shade off and graduate in a way that is different from modern ways of organising (Kaviraj, 2009, p. 327)

Region has the flexibility and indeterminacy with regard to its physical boundaries and can bypass territoriality and convey a broader and more fluid element of space. It would refer to non-physical, non-territorial sphere just as it would refer to a physical territory (Palshikar S. , 2006, p. 272)

With the arrival of territorial cartographic imagination of a region, the ideas of drawing boundaries that consolidate the political imaginations of the land occur in the 20th century. This debate comes up in the resolutions passed in the 4th NAMS (*Telangana Sarihaddulu*- from the report published in *Golconda Patrika* on 31.01.1937) that mentions bringing in the issue of drawing territorial boundaries of Telangana - based on the spread of the Telugu speaking population in the Hyderabad State. This resolution though passed, is not discussed in the later issues of the periodicals, owing to the amorphous nature of the region, the multilingual dynamic of the princely state and also the spread of linguistic population that is essentially not defined by geographic boundaries.

According to the article published in *Golconda Patrika* as a part of the proceedings of the 4th NAMS, it was approved that the proceedings of the meetings shall happen in *Andhra Bhasha (Telugu)*. In his work “*Nizamrashtrandhra Mahasabhalu-Part 2*”, K. Jitendra Babu compiles an incident during the sixth NAMS meeting, where there was a conflict over using Urdu as a part of the proceedings of the meetings. Kasinatha Rao Mukhpalkar (Marathi/Urdu speaker and Lawyer of the High court) and Maulvi Ghulam Ahmedshah (Urdu speaker and High Court Lawyer) were part of the Committee for organising the 6th NAMS and they could not speak in Telugu, which required them to use Urdu to speak and help with Telugu translation (Jitendrababu, 2007). This raised a furore among the members of the NAMS as using Urdu would mean hurting the very ground on which the language fervour and linguistic aspirations were built. Then the organising committee tried resolving the issue by saying that the essence of these meetings were to cater to the needs, aspirations and desires of all the people who belong to the “Andhra region” and not “Andhra speakers” alone. The committee famously said that ‘*Andhra Mahasabha, Andhra Bhasha Mahasabha Kaadu (Andhra Maha Sabha is not the Maha Sabha exclusively for Language issues (of Telugu))*. This declaration hurt the sentiments of some members who organised themselves and stayed true to the linguistic concerns.

Around this time there were also conflicts brewing between the moderate Congress nationalists and the Communists which also result in the eventual split of NAMS into Congress and Communists cohorts. Where questions related to economy, oppression in the *Jagirs*, organising against the zamindaars, get discussed that gave NAMS a more open political colour.

The conflict of territorial concerns over cultural ones and also brings out the diverse cultural and territorial concerns of this region which are very different from the British Andhra counterparts, where the language question had a different tone. The language debates during

this period have been taking different forms in different regions, the dominant linguistic imaginations were – 1. Aesthetic imagination of language; 2. Political imagination of language. We can broadly posit the arguments around language in the British Andhra region as the ones around the aesthetics of language, as the language debates were directed at arriving at “what Telugu to use” for knowledge production, whether it should be ‘*vyavaharika*’ (the spoken language) or ‘*granthika*’ (language of the classical texts). Though the political conception of language also appears during the linguistic reorganisation of states in the later period, the debates around aesthetical conception of Telugu happen in the colonial Andhra, which does not even surface in the knowledge production in the princely state of Hyderabad. The scenario is different from the language debates that are happening in the Hyderabad state, where the political aspect is played more dominantly, which has more immediate and direct relation with the ruling state and positing a particular language as the language of command⁸⁰.

Region is fundamentally an amorphous mental construct, as opposed to regionalism, which is more systematic expression of regional consciousness. Region has always been defined with reference to context and if the context changes, the boundaries or the definition of the region can change drastically. Regionalist ideology though initially was based on some vague ideas, the growing power of the regional elites produced defined set of arguments and justifications. (Vora & Feldhaus, 2006, p. 8). This argument stays true in the case of Hyderabad State, where the language of command was Urdu, which had generated anxieties among the Telugu speaking literary elites, who had access to education in Telugu, who were influenced by the idea of “natural mother tongue” and also had only limited employment opportunities in the newly emergent bureaucracy. They perceived literary consciousness as a way to negotiate with the ruling elite.

⁸⁰I use this term Language of Command from Bernard Cohn’s work “Language of Command and Command of Language

According to the popular narrative that describes the setting up of the Andhra Jana Sangham (which later became a part of Andhra Maha Sabha), the Telugu speakers of the Hindu Maha Sabha meeting that happened in 1921, were stopped from speaking in Telugu by the Marathi speakers, who did not have a problem with the Urdu and Marathi speaking representatives. This opposition and perceived humiliation by the Telugu speaking members led to the formation of Andhra Jana Sangham where they wanted to work towards a self respect project that would unite the Telugu speakers of Telangana and foster an environment that would accept the desires and aspirations of the speakers. Connecting this incident with the resolution of conflict over speaking Urdu in the 6th NAMS, the dilemmas of the organising members of NAMS (who are the Telugu elite literati) become more established where in the conception of language as a sole marker of cultural identity gets questioned.

Multiple articles that were published in *Golconda Patrika* after the 7th NAMS which was led by Raavi Narayana Reddy, reveal the discontents and conflicts of affiliation among the members associated with the NAMS. By the tenth NAMS meeting in the year 1943, *Golconda Patrika* is seen publishing articles that would make evident the discontent of the moderates over the then leadership of NAMS (with the 7th NAMS, the leadership was taken over by the members who were influenced by the Communist ideology) which deviated from the primary concern of NAMS, which was formed with the idea of forwarding Telugu linguistic fervour. This had led to the setting up of *Nizamrashtrandhra Saraswata Parishat* by the moderates (Suravaram Pratapa Reddy, Madapati Hanumantha Rao, Burgula Ramakrishmna Rao etc.,)⁸¹ Beginning this year (1943), the discussions of NAMS are always been seen in relation with the Parishat (Nizamrashtra Andhra Saraswata Parishat) which were then led by two conflicting political groups. “Andhra Mahasabha Emi Chesinda! – oka

⁸¹The article published in *Golkonda Patrika* on 13th May 1943, mentions a brief list of members who were influential in formation of *Nizamrashtrandhra Saraswata Parishat*.

Andhrudu”⁸² – This article supports the usage and expanse of the word “*Andhra*” (Urdu vs Telugu) and justifies the political activities of NAMS and its amorphous nature.

Review of *Golconda Patrika* gives insights into some of the concerns of then Telugu speaking population of the region. The newspaper seemed to have influence from its contemporaries in the Andhra region in both style and text, with the standard language being evident. The affiliation of a newspaper with a moment of linguistic identity in the Princely State of Hyderabad is similar to the one that is happening in British Andhra where *Andhra Patrika* which was led by Kasinadhuni Nageswara Rao, was working towards positing a distinct Telugu identity in the Madras Presidency. Both the newspapers were led and managed by nationalist moderates who worked towards positing region as a smaller part of the nation that was then taking shape and saw affiliation with nation as a resolution of immediate conflict that would momentarily disrupt associations with various other modes of identity.

Newspapers/Periodicals were seen as an important space for expression, by the players of then ongoing civil society movements. Since *Golconda Patrika*, begins its journey when the literary movements were beginning to take shape in the Telugu public sphere, the periodical is reflective of this stage in the nature of its publication. Initial issues of the *Golconda Patrika*, did not have many advertisements and most of the items were limited to announcements. By 1930s, with literary, reform and nationalist movements, the layout of the periodical is seen accommodative of the announcements from the civil society organisations like the NAMS. Just like the NAMS, *Golconda Patrika* also takes a moderate line and primarily focuses on forwarding the linguistic fervour, by publishing advertisements about libraries being set up (as a part of Grandhalayodyamamu), setting up of publishing houses

⁸² *Golconda Patrika*, 27th November 1943

and books available there, extensive articles on the issue of teaching in mother tongue (Telugu), etc.,

4.5 Conclusion

To conclude, this chapter deals with the representations of political and cultural imaginations of the Princely Hyderabad of the Telugu speaking elite literati that are reflected in the *Golconda Patrika*. In this pursuit, the chapter explores the conversations that occur in the early twentieth century among various political and cultural groups that shape the broader imagination of language and region of that time. The regional elite established voluntary civil societal organisations (largely modelled on western ideas of public and rationality) to mark their distinct cultural presence in the Princely State based on linguistic unity. This mode of unification or distinction repressed the questions of class and caste and placed language as a form of belonging over them. But the political climate that these individuals and institutions were inhabiting exposed the fissures of such an imaginary. While the landed elite wanted to predominantly negotiate a cultural space that was till then an exclusive domain of the Brahmins, they did not and could not work against the Brahminical *Varnashramadharma* in organising themselves. They worked well within the caste-based hierarchies of the Hindu society and tried to reiterate their moderate position. They made repeated declarations in their newspapers that they a desire for a ‘reform’ of the society but at the same time are not going to disturb the caste structures or cause caste pollution in the process of organising themselves based on linguistic unity. These conflicting desires and dispositions point at the unresolved nature of what constitutes the regional elite’s imaginary of Telangana identity at the turn of the twentieth century.

5. Language, Literature and Historiography: Study of Saraswata Parishat and its Publishing efforts

5.1. Introduction

On 11th January 1945, *Golconda Patrika* in what seems like an editorial/opinion piece, affiliated to no author in particular, published an article titled *Andhra Saraswata Parishattu*, excerpts from which read as follows:

...since the *Telanganandhras* (Telugu speakers of Telangana) are far behind (in comparison to *British Andhras*) in terms of scientific knowledge and linguistic fervour, there is a need for such sabhas to happen. Our Telugu language has deteriorated. The Andhras from the British India mistake the Telugu of our *Bhoys* and *Harijans* (untouchable castes) to be something other than Telugu! When our educated upper class, i.e., the *Reddys* and the *Golconda Vyaparis* (*Niyogi Brahmins*) talk, more than half of their words are in Urdu, Persian and Arabic and the essence of rest of the Telugu used is also very crude. If these bad influences (*avalakshanamu*) have to be wiped out, such a Saraswata Parishat is necessary....they have clearly stated that this Parishat is beyond political affiliations. Hence Government employees can also fearlessly be a part of this. Even if the people who want to associate with this (Parishat) have any political affiliations, they cannot have political discussions during their participation with Parishat....by extending their monetary support to this organisation the government would make *Telanganandhras* happy. Just like patronising the Urdu language, the government would also be seen as patronising Telugu.

This article resonates the concerns that key figures behind *Nizamrashtrandhra Saraswata Parishat* had in connection to Telugu linguistic fervour in Princely state of Hyderabad. They were concerned with the public use of language and felt that the concern of language to be a

sole unifying factor that should go beyond caste lines but seemed troubled with the lack of it; they also were deeply influenced and at the same time anxious by the language reform and modernization projects that were happening in British Andhra; more importantly they saw linguistic concern to be ‘non-political’ in the tensed political climate they were in, seeking reforms towards representative democracy in the 1940s; the multilingual nature of the Princely state of Hyderabad and their discontent with the state’s lack of patronage towards Telugu.

Jacques Derrida and Eric Prenowitz discuss how an archive needs to be understood as existing in a substrate (Derrida & Prenowitz, 1995). While discussing linguistic solidarities it is important to read it in relation to the nature of state structures, civil society, influences and imaginations of nationalism and late colonialism, literary and educational institutions (schools, publishing houses, newspapers) and importantly other forms of associations/solidarities of class, caste, etc., and also the coexistence of multiple languages. This is the substrate in which Nizamrashtrandra Saraswata Parishat emerged in the 1940s and sought to establish itself as an independent nationalist literary organisation that would engage with forwarding Telugu linguistic fervour through its activities. The language question that the Parishat was interested in therefore existed in relation to the princely state of Hyderabad, language debates happening in British India, conflict with the existing civil societal organisations and also the nationalist discourse.

Nizamrashtrandra Saraswata Parishat was set up in the year 1943, with a sense of dissatisfaction with Nizamrashtra Andhra Maha Sabha (NAMS) by a certain group of nationalist moderates who believed in forwarding Telugu linguistic fervour, by systematically improving the status of the language through publishing books and conducting exams for improving Telugu language proficiency among people. Their efforts were directed towards improving the status of the language and thereby its people. They started publishing books in

history and literature, which were later used as textbooks for the exams they conducted in Telugu language proficiency.

The chapter explores the emergence of a Telugu literary organisation, much like the ones that emerged in the British Andhra during the early twentieth century⁸³, the reasons for the emergence of such an organisation in 1940s (the late nationalist period) its idea behind identifying itself as solely a literary organisation formed based on the nationalist ideals; its distaste towards ‘being political’ – a distaste that was explicitly directed towards the communist affiliated organisation-NAMS and not so much the Princely State owing to the restrictions on print and public activity.

Through this chapter I examine the conditions under which a need for an independent literary and cultural organisation for Telugu was felt during the 1940s, the nature of books published by such organisation by looking at the archives of *Golconda Patrika* and select books published by Parishat between 1943 and 1949 to understand the aspirations and attempts of the Telugu elite in establishing Telugu as a language of power in Hyderabad state and in the emerging independent nation through generating literature and history for Telugu.

The Princely State of Hyderabad was also experiencing the rise of nationalist discourse and language movements desiring official recognition as *Mulki* languages⁸⁴ by the Nizam state. The local literati realised the importance of cultural power through language and were anxious about the imposition of Urdu as the official language of the state and non-patronage of Telugu.

⁸³ Nizamrashtra Andhra Saraswata Parishat shared similar goals with Andhra Sahitya Parishat that was functioning from Madras Presidency. Essential difference between these two organisations could be their differing sentiments on standardisation of Telugu language. While Saraswata Parishat mostly composed of the Telugu and Urdu educated elite of the Hyderabad state who were inclined more towards the *Vyavaharika*, the Sahitya Parishat composed of English educated graduates who were negotiating with colonial modernity and propagating the classical *Granthika* style of Telugu for print. For a more detailed analysis on Andhra Sahitya Parishat refer to Gautham Reddy’s work (Reddy, 2019)

⁸⁴ *Mulki* is the word used to denote natives, here the vernacular languages spoken in the Hyderabad region, i.e., Telugu, Marathi and Kannada were referred to as *Mulki* languages

The conception of ‘region’ in the Princely state of Hyderabad during this period shows the conflict between political (territorial) region and the cultural (linguistic) region. These binary notions of territorial and cultural region appear in the literature around that time where the new Telugu elite literati of the Hyderabad State wanted to align themselves with cultural conception of the region, which according to them was not political in its demand for popularising and patronising the Telugu language. These debates are evident in the articles published in *Golconda Patrika* and the works of Madapati Hanumantha Rao and Suravaram Pratapa Reddy who were nationalist moderates and proponents of the Telugu linguistic and cultural fervour in then Hyderabad region.

5.2. Beginnings of Parishat and its Conflicts with Nizamrashtra Andhra Maha Sabha

On 13th May 1943, *Golconda Patrika* published an article titled “*Hyderabadu Rashtrandhra Saraswata Sevakulaku Vignyapti- Bhasha Sevaku Pilupu- Reddy Hostel lo samavesaniki pilupu*”(A request for literary enthusiasts of the Hyderabad State- Call for serving the language - Invitation for a meeting at Reddy Hostel), which is an open call for people to participate and contribute in discussion (at Reddy Hostel) about setting up an organisation, to strengthen the Telugu literary scenario. The invitation was undersigned by Burgula Ramakrishna Rao, Mandumala Ramachandra Rao, Yallapragada Seetha Kumari, Madapati Ramachandra Rao, RaavadaSathyanarayana, Illindula Seetharama Rao, Shankaranarayana Rao, Kodati Narayana Rao, Pasumarthi Venkatalakshmaiah and Suravaram Pratapa Reddy. It discussed the need for establishing an independent literary organisation that is solely dedicated to the cause of Telugu language and literature, by quoting the failure of existing NAMS in addressing these questions and also pointing at the lack of support from government and interest from people.

Golconda Patrika anchored the activities of Parishat and published articles that spoke about the importance of promoting Telugu, promoting activities of Parishat, calling for funds and announcing the activities of Parishat. Detailed analysis of articles in *Golconda Patrika* during 1943-45 is done, to understand the connection of this popular bi-weekly with the questions of language and the concerns of civil society.

5.2.1. Notes and Open Letters

Golconda Patrika carried several articles concerning the ideas of education in mother tongue, political nature of NAMS that has diluted its efforts towards serving Telugu, worrying concern of official language status of Urdu and lack of patronage from the state towards Telugu. Most of these articles were published under the section *Jaabulu* (Letters to the editor) or anonymous open letters (with the byline *oka andhrudu* at the end of article instead of name of the author) and also sometimes carry names of people who have contributed without any particular affiliation. Through these open letters, *Golconda Patrika* also criticised NAMS heavily for its political engagement and wastage of funds. The articles published between 1943-45 around the issues of linguistic identity and in relation to Parishat, have to be read as parallel opposing voices i.e., NAMS (vs) Parishat as political and literary organisations respectively. In an article titled “*Andhra Saraswata Parishattu*”⁸⁵, in what seemed like an editorial/opinion column without any mention of the author, *Golconda Patrika* talks about the beginnings of *Andhra Jana Sangham* (that later became NAMS) and its efforts to serve *Andhra bhasha* by setting up libraries and also research units (*parishodhakamandali*). But with the rifts caused in the Nizamabad NAMS, there were re-articulations about language and its use by civil society organisations (Urdu vs Telugu). Later, Parishat emerged as a literary organisation and it is only fair that NAMS shares its funds for literary cause.

⁸⁵ *Golconda Patrika*, 31st May 1943

*'Andhra Mahasabha Emi Chesinda! – Oka Andhrudu'*⁸⁶ (22.11.1943) – Criticising an article published in *Golconda Patrika* earlier which was against NAMS and its activities, the current article supports the usage and expanse of the word “*Andhra*” (referring to the conflict during 6th NAMS where the committee famously said that “*Andhra Maha Sabha, Andhra Bhasha Maha Sabha Kaadu (Andhra Maha Sabha is not the Maha Sabha exclusively for the Telugu speakers)*”) and justifies the political activities of NAMS and its amorphous nature.

*'Jeelakarraku Jeelagabendu Samadhaanam'*⁸⁷, runs in response to the above mentioned article and sets out to question the “bravery” of NAMS. The author of the article (Mallikarjuna Sharma) questions the integrity of activities of NAMS and accuses them as an organisation for mere political agitation without working for the cause of language or people.

These activities in *Golconda Patrika*'s can be read as attempts to generate a dominant public opinion that such concerns indeed were prevalent among people from different communities. Hyderabad's voluntary associations were seeking political change through demands for freedom to assemble and freedom of speech. Linguistic commitment therefore was an affective attachment as much as it was connected to political representation and power.

The reasons why Parishat wanted to remain literary and not political is because it felt that NAMS which initially started out with questions around linguistic fervour branched out to address the question of 'class' and some felt that the original language question was sidelined. Parishat wanted to maintain linguistic purity in its organisational activities but keeping the discussions around immediate troublesome questions like *vetti* (practice of bonded labour) in the zamindaris, political representation and the state's future in the upcoming Indian nation and expected the question of language to bring all its speakers together – a non-political unifying linguistic affiliation was imagined.

⁸⁶ Golconda Patrika, 22nd November 1943

⁸⁷ Golconda Patrika, 25th November 1943

Parishat conducted regular meetings and its members extended their purview to other districts of the Hyderabad state where they tried setting up regional offices to bring attention and encourage the literature produced from those regions. Since the members were earlier involved with the popular library movement and also the NAMS, they conducted visits and meetings in Alampur (a book titled '*Alampurushilalu*' was later published by the Alampur regional office), Khammam, Nalgonda⁸⁸, etc., to establish regional offices.

5.3. Parishat and its Ideological moorings

In the book *Andhra Saraswata Parishat Charithra (1943-1973)*, Gadiyaramu Ramakrishna Sharma describes Parishat as 'a cultural organisation that was started with influence from nationalist ideals' (...*annitikannamukhyamuga Parishatthu jaateyabhaavalache prerepitamaina saamskrutika samstha*) (Gadiyaramu, 1973). This sentence captures the essence of the organisation and its activities and the nature of books that were published under *Parishat*.

In its first meeting Parishat laid out the following objectives, with a stern desire to remain as a solely nationalist literary organisation distinct from the NAMS, which has extended its purview to questions beyond language. The objectives and tools they identified are as follows.

1. To fight towards generating respect for mother tongue among the Andhras (Telugu speakers) of the state and spreading this consciousness
2. To work towards improving the status of Andhra bhasha in all possible ways

Tools

1. By organising meetings with focus on various branches of literature across the state and generating awareness.
2. Design curriculum and conduct exams

⁸⁸ Golconda Patrika - 30.08.43; 25.10.43; 06.12.43

3. Encourage literary organisations and literary figures
4. Honour good books through monetary awards; honour and encourage writers in various meetings; take up writing and publishing of books on Literature, Science, Social sciences, etc.,

5.4. Affective turn in the Language Discourse

There is no worry of politics in this Saraswata Mahasabha. Professors, as in people designated as *Acharya*, pundits, employees, rich, *patel* and *patwaaris*, socialists (saamyavadulu), atheists, nationalists, theists, orthodox, traditionalists can all participate fearlessly.⁸⁹

The above sentence marks Parishat's idea of language as a homogenous unifying factor, across communities and ideologies. Against the open affiliation of the Communists with NAMS leadership, Parishat seemed to have wanted to establish itself as a literary organisation beyond political affiliations.

This imagination that linguistic unity would blur the boundaries of class, caste, community, and oppressive structures of power and hierarchy was indeed problematic. In an attempt to prove its loyalties to the Telugu linguistic fervour, Parishat tried neatly separating itself from the conflicted society it was in but members of Parishat and its publications did not exist in a world where language existed independently and linguistic solidarities were an immediate unifying concern for the masses.

The key members of Parishat themselves were closely associated with the Hyderabad State Congress which was formed in the 1938. Suravaram Pratapa Reddy and Madapati Hanumantha Rao, wanted to separate themselves from political discussions in their activities in relation to Parishat, but were strongly nationalist Congressmen when it came to setting up a separate wing called '*Jaateeya Paksham*' (nationalist cohort) to oppose what they saw as a

⁸⁹ Golconda Patrika, 31st May 1943

Communist intervention in the Nizamrashtra Andhra Maha Sabha (NAMS). And in identifying itself as a nationalist organisation, Parishat was imagining its association with then INC.

The language was expected to perform a very complex role of unification which it could not due to the limitations of such a unified imagination. Linguistic practices differed with communities and the discussions around modernization of Telugu that happened during the 19th century were limited predominantly to the Brahmins in British India. The Gidugu-Kandukuri Veerasalingam duo worked towards modernizing Telugu and wanted to use what they call as *Sishta Vyavaharika* (dialect of the educated classes) in the textbooks. But this needs to be seen as a non-sudhra non-dalit reform where language in the delta region was standardised as a new cannon (Purushottam, 2014)

Criticising the status of public use of Telugu by its speakers, Golconda Patrika published an article titled '*Nizamrastrandhra Parishattu Sankranti Samaveshamu*'⁹⁰ where proceedings of Parishat's meeting were published, in which Sri. Dasu Trivikrama Rao calls for contributions and warned that it would be a betrayal from the Andhras if they do not fund the literary spirit of Parishat.

Eeparishattunu andhrulelladunu shraddhatho sevinchanicho ,deeniki lopamu kaligena andhrulu saraswatabhrashtulai Mathrubhashaku drohamu chesina vaarugudurani hecharinchiri ('If the Andhras do not serve the cause of Parishat and not be responsible for its growth, the Andhras shall ruin their own literary prowess and would be betraying their own mother tongue')

Both *Golconda Patrika* and the Parishat were extremely critical of what they saw as "apathy" of the Telugu speakers towards their language and published several articles and also poetry (later as a part of their anthology of poems – *Tholi sanja*). They criticised the speakers for

⁹⁰ Golconda Patrika, 21st January 1944

being ashamed of using Telugu publicly and not taking pride in one's own mother tongue and not patronising their newspapers unlike the Telugus of British India. They felt that Telugu speakers read Telugu newspapers and magazines for free and took pride in reading Urdu periodicals instead⁹¹. They also suggested some practices for the Telugu speakers for respecting and popularising their language in everyday use.

The Hyderabad State Library does not have Telugu newspapers, books and magazines. They have not subscribed to Golconda Patrika.... The apathy from the state is also possible because the Andhras do not show enough respect and love towards their mother tongue... Andhras should visit the library at least occasionally. Sign in Telugu in the visitors' register, ask for Telugu magazines and newspapers and should request the librarian to subscribe to them – Dr. C. R. Ramakrishna Reddy.

Even with the influence from British India, the activists of Hyderabad state wanted to establish themselves as distinct and hence their concern was both confrontation with Urdu and also contextual distinctness from Telugu of British India.

5.5. Inscribing the Region in a new language: Parishat and its Publishing Efforts

It was decided that the Parishat shall publish books under three broad categories –

- a. People's literature (*Praja Saraswatamu*)
- b. Children's Literature (*Baala Saraswatamu*)
- c. Scholarly Literature (*Pandita Saraswatamu*).

Parishat placed an open call for contributions from Andhra speakers of the Hyderabad state, to identify the existing literary works and writers in their respective areas and help *Parishat* in publishing and encouraging those unidentified works and create a repository of Telugu literature from Hyderabad state.

⁹¹ Golconda Patrika, 21st February 1944

Suravaram was responding to the criticisms against Telugu regional elite of Hyderabad state from the neighbouring Madras Presidency. Prior to Parishat, in the year 1934, Suravaram Pratapa Reddy published *Golconda Kavula Sanchika*, an anthology of poems written by the Telugu poets of the then Hyderabad state, to counter the prevalent criticism against the Telugu speakers of Hyderabad state, “*Nizamrashtramundu Andhra Kavulu Pujiyamu*” (There are no Andhra(Telugu) Poets in the Nizam State). The relevant excerpt reads as follows:

“.....*patrika pracharamuleni maarumulalanunnaveeru.. aadhunika paddhatulanu anusarinchi prasaramu chesukonutayu, cheyinchukonutayu, nerugaru. Anducheta nizamrashtramandu Andhra kavulupujiyamu ani paluvuru bhrama pramadamlaku lonagutalo aascharyamemi kaladu?*”

In the preface of *Golconda Kavula Sanchika*, Suravaram says that this misconception is prevalent because the efforts of the Telugu poets do not see light due to limited resources, non-availability of technology and patronage (Reddy, 1934). For this compilation, Suravaram published an announcement in *Golconda Patrika*, inviting contributions from the Telugu writers across then Hyderabad state in either Sanskrit or Andhramu (Telugu) and published the anthology with contributions from 354 poets under 11 thematic sections.

This effort is similar to Kandukuri Viresalingam’s *Andhra Kavula Caritramu* in spirit, as it also attempts to map biographies of Telugu poets. During the end of nineteenth century, Kandukuri published a 3 volume history of Andhra poets, spanning over 1000 pages which was ‘praised for its historical correctness and chronologically linear presentation of Telugu poets’ (Frese, 2010, p. 88) Though *Golconda Kavula Sanchika* does not carry biographical sketches of poets, this work comes as a response against the criticism from the Telugu speakers of Madras Presidency and also places ‘Telugu writers’(not only who wrote in Telugu but who had Telugu) as an exclusive feature of the literary work produced.

Golconda Kavula Sanchika, has notes of praise for the samsthana nobility who supported the compiled volume. These notes which have traces of genealogies of the samsthana elite document their family origins, ‘service’ to the Telugu society, language and its people. Appadurai writes,

Praise is the sign of permanent rather than temporary relations of power and subordination between the giver and the receiver. Praise can take either the highly formalised and standardised form of euology and panegyric, as it does in poetry and inscriptions, or it can appear in ordinary forms of ordinary speech where debt to benefactor is usually acknowledged. (Appadurai, 1985, p. 242)

As many scholars have argued that the modern writing of history in India by the colonial officials during the 19th century was pointing towards the lack of positivist historiography as Indian historiographical tradition relied heavily on religious and mythological sources. These ideas of modernity influenced the reforms of the 19th and 20th centuries leading to rejection of pre-modern forms of literature and history as weighing down on the society from its attempt to become modern.

Similar concerns were reflective in the works published by the *Parishat*. But in the case of Princely state of Hyderabad, the concern was twofold –

1. Create institutions of knowledge to prepare people to perform different tasks in Telugu
2. Generate literature through which language had to compete for literary and political power both with then official language of the state (Urdu) and the “modernized” Telugu of the colonial Andhra Pradesh.

These concerns were reflected in the publications produced by Parishat through the 1940s and are discussed elaborately in the further sections of this chapter. The initial publications were mostly for popular reading and focussed on literature and history. The books *Andhrula*

Charithra and *Andhrula Sanghika Charithra* (republished 5 times later on), attempt to write a detailed chronological narrative of the social history of *Andhras*, from the period of Eastern *Chalukyas* of the 11th century till the rise of the Indian Nationalist movement in early 20th century.

Table 1⁹²

Year of Publication	Title	Author	Nature of Publication	Status at Parishat
1944	Andhrula Charithra	Khandavalli Balendu Sekharamu	History	Second edition available- Published in Rajamundry
1944	Kavyalankaara Sangrahamu	Sannidhanamu Suryanarayana Sastry	Alankaara Shastramu	Not Available
1946 (from the regional office of Alampuru)	Alampuru Sithilamulu	NA	Sthala Puranamu	Not Available

⁹² This table is made from the books listed in *Andhra Saraswata Charithra*, published by Parishat commemorating 30 years of Parishat. The table of books published by *Parishat* between 1943-1973 is listed in *Andhra Saraswata Charithra(1943-1973)* . The list also includes books published from the regional offices of *Parishat*.

1946 (from regional office of Neelagiri, Nalgonda)	Tholi Sanja	Collection of poetry	Anthology of Poems	Available
1946 (from regional office of Warangal)	Abhignyana Shakunthala	Chilukuri Sriramulu	Translated play	Available
1949	Andhrula Sanghika Charithra	Suravaram Pratapa Reddy	History	Second edition available

The regional offices of *Parishat* that started in Neelagiri (Nalgonda) and Warangal were the first ones to publish. Interestingly they were also the places from where first Telugu newspapers/periodicals – Neelagiri and Tenugu Patrika started functioning, which also points at the patronage received from the local landed gentry towards promoting the Telugu linguistic fervour against the official vernacular of the state -Urdu. The anthology of poems *TholiSanja*(Parishat, 1946), majorly reflects *Parishat's* dissatisfaction over lack of importance of Telugu in the public life of its speakers.

Abhignana Shakunthala is a translation of a popular Sanskrit play of Kalidasa for the Telugu population and seems like one of the initial translated works published by Parishat. 500 copies of this book were published from Sri Ramalingeswara Mudranalayamu, Warangal. The author Chilukuri Srirama Kavi in the preface mentions that the play is translated into English by William Jones and by several others in multiple foreign languages, which reflects

the nature of translations in the Hindu desa (India). In the introductory remarks of the book, Biduru Venkata Sessaiah comments that the book is published as a part of Parishat's efforts to encourage existing literature and anyone who wants to use this work and perform the play would have to seek permission from Parishat's central committee (Sriramulu, 1946).

As discussed earlier, *Parishat* took up popularising Telugu in public life as one of its major agendas and was publishing literature with the similar goal. Majority of the poems published in the book describe the perceived apathy of the people and the state towards the once glorious Telugu language and are extremely critical towards non usage of Telugu by its speakers. Some of the excerpts from the anthology are as follows.

“Jagatiniveliginchavoy Andhrini Thirigi Uddharinchavoy” (Light the world and revive the glory of Andhrini (Telugu) – from the poem *Prabodhamu* by Dharanikota Sreenivasulu

Telugu patrika neevu tilakinchabovu, Tuluva Patrikalo kulukuchuntavu (You are ashamed of looking at the Telugu newspaper and you bask in the glory of the other language newspapers) – *Telugu naadamu* by Vamaraju Chandrasekhara Rao

MelukomelukoTeluganna, MelukoniyedirinchuTeluganna (Rise! Rise! My dear Telugu brother. Rise and Resist, my dear Telugu brother) – *Melukolupu* by Kanchenapalli Venkata Ramarao.

According to Bourdieu in his work 'Language as symbolic power', official language has benefitted from the institutional conditions; language within territorial limits imposes itself on population as the only legitimate language in formal situations. This creation of official language, make one language legitimate at the expense of the others and strives to integrate a single linguistic identity based on political domination. Bourdieu suggests that, regionalist discourse is performative, which aims to impose a new definition of frontiers, in order for people to recognise, legitimise and acknowledge the new region, which is in opposition to the

existing dominant (Bourdieu, 1991). This case can be attributed to the linguistic debates and affiliations happening in India, especially to the case of South India. The effectiveness of such discourse according to him is directly proportional to authority of the person asserting and the common economic and cultural properties of such groups.

5.6. Parishat: Language, Literary history and Historiography

‘The west has started to recognise the importance of social histories and this seems to be the path to follow in writing historiographies’ (Reddy, *Andhrula Sanghika Charithra*, 1949, p. i)

In the preface of his book *Andhrula Sanghika Charithra*, Suravaram establishes his politics behind taking up an exercise of writing the Social history of *Andhras*. He starts off by pointing at the European writing of Indian history, where the European scholars criticise ancient *Hindus* for being lost in spirituality and not caring for the worldly affairs and not having a tradition of writing histories.

“poorvakalamandu Hinduvulu aadhyatmika chintha saagaramuna thalamunakaluveyuchu ihaloka vishayalapai spruha tappinavaarai, charithralu raasipettu aacharamu lenivaarai yundirani Europe khanda panditulu vraayuta paripaatiyappoinadi.” (It has become a norm for the European historians to criticise Hindus as people with no practice of writing history and as a community which is lost in spiritual affairs and did not bother to document their worldly lives)

This book though published in the year 1949, is a result of series of articles published by the author in different periodicals and newspapers, expressing his concern over a need for a social history of the region that is different from the western narratives of kings, conquests and their warfare. He attempts to write what he calls a social history (*Sanghika Charithra*) that is about people, their customs and traditions, cultural and religious practices, modes of survival, etc., and not the history of “great men”. Scientific history and other conceptions of

the past exist in a dynamic tension in modern society where scientific history (institutionalised as academic history) tries to rein in other conceptions of the past but often is unsuccessful. What is curious about the ascendance of the science of history was how vigorously it was advocated in colonial India by British administrators, viewed as an absence of historical consciousness.” (Mantena, 2012, pp. 8-9)

Though the author does not completely go for writing a secular social history, his attempt to write a social history, to rewrite the histories of people and bring in the social movements and acts of rebellion/resistance, which were otherwise filled with linear narratives of great kings and grand warfare. Suravaram also picks up an anthropological narrative of history following the style of Edgar Thurston’s *Castes and Tribes of South India*.

Suravaram cites earlier attempts at writing social history of Andhras, but their eventual failure as there have been no such histories written and his attempt at it, is going to be one of a kind (Reddy, 1949, p. vii)

He lists out the literary sources that he would be using to write the social history and clearly states that the ones written in *granthika*, would be of no use for this purpose and chooses certain works from *prabandha* literature that are more closer to Telugu than to Sanskrit and criticises all the *granthika* texts that were otherwise being referred to for writing histories.

*Amrutanjanamunu, Amrutadhaaranu, Bahu nighantuvulanu, Vedam Vaarini*⁹³, *chuttupettukoni chadavadaginanaishadhamu* , *Raghava Paandeyamu, Harischandra Nalopakhyanamulaku* , *rendava moodava sthanamichinaru* (The difficult texts that require you to have a pain relief balm, multiple dictionaries and sometimes the authors themselves around you to read them have unfortunately received a higher order of classification. Examining the practices of history during the late 18th and early 19th centuries, Mantena

⁹³ Vedam Venkataraya Sastri was a key member of Andhra Sahitya Parishat operating out of the Madras Presidency and was one among the chief proponents for institutionalisation of *Granthika* style of Telugu.

argues that Colonial antiquitarianism and Philology brought into focus pre-colonial modes of historiography where texts and traditions of textual practices were assessed and some practices of history and historical texts were elevated over others. (Mantena, 2012, p. 9).

Table 2⁹⁴

<i>Prabandhamu</i>	<i>Class (Taragati)</i>
<i>PalkurikiPanditaaradhyaCharithra</i>	5
<i>PalkurikiBasavapuramu</i>	5
<i>Dvatriamsastsalabhanjikalu</i>	4
<i>Amuktamalyada</i>	4
<i>Vyjayantivilasamu</i>	5
<i>Sukasaptati</i>	5

There have been earlier attempts at writing the history of *Andhras*, Khandavalli BalenduSekharamu's '*Andhrula Charithra*' published in the year 1944 by the *Parishat*, was one of the initial attempts to write a consolidated chronological history of the *Andhras* in Telugu, apart from other works quoted by Suravaram – Chilukuru Veerabhadra Rao's '*Andhrula Charithra*'; *Nelaturu Venkataramanaiah Sastry*'s article in the Historical Research Society journal; Mallampalli SomasekharaSarma's "*Reddy Rajya Charithra*", etc., Under the

⁹⁴ This table is a classification provided by Suravaram in *AndhrulaSanghikaCharithra* to show the unfair classification provided by SabdaratnakaraNighantuvu, to define the classical nature of the texts keeping in context the nature of language used. According to him the mentioned texts in the table are more closer to Telugu but were classified into the lower strata and ones that were difficult to understand and were closer to granthika, such as Kavikarnarasayanamu (class 3), Raghava Pandaveyamu (class 2), etc., were in the higher order of classification. The author does not want to use such difficult texts for social history as they are not closer to the lives of the Telugu speakers.

book review section titled ‘Golconda Granthalayamu’, Golconda Patrika published the review of Khandavalli’s book and praised it for being more comprehensive than the ‘Andhrula Charithra’ published by Chilukuri Veerabhadra Rao. The current book traces the genealogy of Andhras from ‘*Aitareya Brahmana*’ and describes the details of several historical epochs till the decline of aristocracy⁹⁵.

In the preface of the second edition⁹⁶ K. Balendu Sekharamu describes different purposes of history writing and reading and says that “when an ancient civilization sees its downfall over a period of time, it is important to bring back self reliance, determination and self confidence among the people. So that they learn and understand the greatness of their past, look at the mistakes committed by their ancestors and work towards bettering the civilization” (Sekharamu, 1955). This he states as an important impetus behind his writing of history. On the other hand, Suravaram attempts a social history stating and elaborating his politics very clearly.

Suravaram’s attempt to write social history becomes interesting with the kind of material he uses to substantiate his arguments and his choice in using particular material and rejecting certain others to create what according to him forms a more “authentic” historical representation of the social life of Telugu speakers historically. Such ‘position’ also seems to provide authorial agency and the possibility of ‘re-writing’ and ‘re-interpreting’ history, probably even to meet immediate political necessities. ‘The framework of unearthing of heritage, the unchaining of traditional capital, its assortment in linguistic categories, and its realignment on a new scale or projecting on to a new canvas, is nationalist in origin and

⁹⁵ Golconda Patrika, 8th February 1945

⁹⁶Khandavalli Balendu Sekharamu’s “AndhrulaCharithra” was published by Parishat in the year 1944. And the second edition with additional material that included the post-independent Indian context, was republished by Viswasahitya Maala- Rajamundry in the year 1955. Currently the second edition is the only available one from the Parishat library.

structure, even if literary historians do not necessarily hold explicitly nationalist views' (Harder, 2010, p. 12)

As discussed earlier, he chooses to use certain *prabandha* literary texts that are more close to Telugu than to Sanskrit. Apart from that, following are the sources that he cites as what would be useful and what could have been useful but are unavailable. Notes of explorers, travellers and messengers according to him can be seen as important sources but one has to be cautious in completely believing such narratives.

While writing about the history of Eastern Chalukyas, he suggests that the rulers might not have been Kshatriyas but they were patronising the Brahmins to write about them as the descendants of *Suryavamsa* or *Chandravamsa*. And the rulers who did not sufficiently patronise the Brahmins, were written off as *Satshudrulu* (loosely translates to Shudra with higher order qualities).

Suravaram's book of history divided into 8 major chapters (by its second edition) talks about status of Telugu language, structures of governance, cultural and religious practices, kinship bonds, festivals, sports and entertainment, etc., in the majority identified Telugu speaking regions. This book was later introduced as a part of the curriculum for F. A. students of the Osmania University and also for the entrance exams conducted by Parishat.

Suravaram in his preface writes there are no Social histories in Telugu. Most of the *Kavya Prabandhas* of the medieval period such as *Manu Charithra*, *Suka Saptasati*, *Kavikarna Rasayanamu*, etc., are not useful for writing social histories as the language used cannot be deciphered, making such texts irrelevant for the purpose of writing history. Instead, the texts that were influenced by the *JaanuTenugu* movement which was a shift towards using relatively simpler prose, are the ones that he refers to.

“Most of the makers of the dictionaries (*Nighantuvulu*) restricted themselves to making meaning of the *granthika* texts and such efforts seem futile as the words are far from public use. Even though the makers of *Suryarayandhra Nighantuvu* have been struggling for over two generations to write a concise dictionary, since they looked down upon *vyavaharika*, their efforts haven’t borne fruit. Any dictionary that does not collect the words and their meanings from *vyavaharika*, remains an incomplete one”.⁹⁷ (pp xiv)

5.7. Conclusion

While discussing the need for a shift in methodology of Text reconstruction, Sanjay Subramaniam discusses the importance of viewing texts in relation to where they exist

Texts have communities which use them, which have an active role in making and remaking them... However, when the communities which use the texts are distributed over a wider area, are complex, and practice more than one kind of text culture, the text changes to suit the need of the community which uses it. Texts not only have histories, they have cultures and communities. Texts are not only isolated artefacts, they are members of societies. They also reflect and reproduce the practices of the society they belong to. (Subramaniam, 2016)

In case of Princely State of Hyderabad, textual reconstructions as discussed earlier were primarily conceived for institutionalising Telugu language and also equipping Telugu language and its speakers to compete in a multilingual region and also with their colonial counterparts. Literature and history had to be produced for the region to establish itself as the one that has a tradition of literary culture. Suravaram starts the 2nd edition by implying literary history is equal to regional history. “*Mana Vangmaya charithra Nannayabhattutho prarambhamaguchunnadi*”. The choices of the authors of the 20th century also direct us towards reading the Telugu print culture of Hyderabad state as the one that exists in a

⁹⁷ Preface Andhrula Sanghika Charithra

multilingual milieu and also has cross border interactions and influences with the British Andhra region owing to shared commonalities of language.

Parishat that was set up in this context attempted to create a unified linguistic identity that would help the Telugu speakers have a secular affiliation with the upcoming Indian union, where they can compete for positions of power, but this unified imagination tried clearly demarcating itself from questions of political representation, immediate questions of power and hierarchy. Thus such distinctions could not consolidate the Telugu speakers to come together, making the project of Parishat not a very successful one.

6. Conclusion

‘Any figures we encounter in the archive are ghosts, mere shadows of the past. Their actions are complete, and their original significance will remain undetermined, open to interpretation.’ (Freshwater, 2007, p. 13)

The above lines broadly describe the methodological and theoretical moves that the thesis concerns itself with. While not dismissing the significance of facts, this approach allows one to be cautious in the process of recontextualisation and reconstruction of narratives around historical artefacts, individuals and institutions and marks the presence of researcher who is seen interpreting these.

The thesis explores the discursive and imagined networks of public life that the Telugu speaking regional elite of the princely state of Hyderabad circulated in during the early twentieth century. In this process it engages with their ideas of modernity which were in conversation with the modernisation processes of the princely state and also the neighbouring Madras presidency. It discusses print efforts as instrumental to elite politics and draws attention to the modern associational life of regional elite – the institutions they engaged in, an active public life which they imagined in terms of actively cultivating cultural resources that could provide them with a dominant presence in both in the state machinery (in their bureaucracy) and the civil society’s literary and political spheres. This approach was arrived at due to the nature of the available archival sources and the perspectives that these sources could offer.

Chapter 1 of the thesis discusses the theoretical framework and methodology and locates the thesis in the context of scholarship around princely states. Chapter 2 discusses in detail the working of newspaper and allied networks that the regional elite circulated in during the

twentieth century by foregrounding the scholarship around print and the elite public sphere. Chapter 3 focuses on the politics of education in the vernaculars by placing the regional elite and the administration of the princely state in conversation with each other, through their respective publications, to understand the competing linguistic claims and efforts towards institutionalising the vernaculars. Chapter 4 and 5 are somewhat in conversation with each other in discussing the contestations between linguistic and political imaginaries of the region. While chapter 4 discusses the conversations around what it meant to be political and the fissures within the imaginary, chapter 5 details the conversations among regional elite around keeping linguistic claims distinct from political, through their efforts in setting up exclusive linguistic organisation and their publication efforts.

Linguistic identity like other forms of identities is historical, and is a cultivated process. Languages themselves have to go through a process of social engineering for them to become functional for administrative and educational purposes when they have to become resources for a large population and fulfil the functions of providing the masses with an access to modern educational and governance structures. Therefore linguistic identities and regional identities are interconnected and also cultivated.

The regional elite in the Princely state of Hyderabad were interested in a 'self-respect project' based on linguistic unity where cross-border solidarities were drawn based on ethno-linguistic identities. This reflects in the instances that are cited as precursors for establishment of organisations like Nizamrastra Andhra Jana Sangham, an organisation that was formed to represent the concerns of the Telugu speakers, reportedly when Marathi speakers did not allow Telugu speakers to speak at a public gathering. In a yet another instance Suravaram Pratapa Reddy, editor of Golconda Patrika, author of Andhrula Sanghika Charithra, Reddy Kula Nirnaya Chandrika (book describing the Caste origins of the Reddys and inferring that they are Kshatriyas) and compiler of the book Golconda Kavula Sanchika (Anthology of

Poems by poets of Golconda/Telangana region) mentions in its preface about how Telugu intellectuals from Madras Presidency mocked intelligentsia of Telangana for not having any poets from the region. This concern also reflected in several articles of Golconda Patrika in its cautionary warnings to the Telugu speakers to subscribe to Telugu periodicals, to identify mother tongue during the census. All of these reflect the efforts of the elites in generating newer discursive spaces that would reflect their continuing authority. They negotiated with ideas of modernity, where they sought language, literature, history to become important markers of identity in the climate of political upheaval and imagination of a nation and region based on newer rationalities of representative governance.

The regional elite in their biographies and literary works often cite these perceived moments of ‘disrespect’ towards language and there by its speakers as events that necessitated the need for establishment of literary and cultural organisations and produce literature and history for negotiating a dominating presence. The above mentioned instances of quest for ‘self-respect’ are not exclusive to Telangana Telugu speakers alone. This was also the larger argument that was being invoked by several public intellectuals from different regions during the twentieth century which eventually supported drawing of federal boundaries based on linguistic lines in post-independent India. Scholars like Sumathi Ramaswamy (1997), Lisa Mitchell (2010), in their works discuss in elaboration how linguistic and regional solidarities were constructed in Southern India by analysing the historical processes involved in creating artefacts that would then be seen as a part of the identity of language and its speakers. Contributing to this careful critique on linguistically and geographically bound identitarianism, in the process of the making of the Indian union, Ramya Putcha invokes the discussion around identification of the dance form Kuchipudi as a dance form to be associated with pride and ethos of the Telugu speakers. Telugu speakers who were pushing for Kuchipudi to be identified as a classical dance form during the mid-twentieth century, shared a sentiment that if Kuchipudi was not

considered as a classical dance form, then the Telugu-speaking population would not be considered as representative citizens of the emerging Indian nation (Putcha, 2013).

The regional elite presented themselves in a representative position, where they felt they were representing the concerns of the Telugu speakers of Telangana. But as discussed across the chapters of the dissertation, there were limitations to this representative leadership. Firstly, most of the institutions (periodicals, civil societal organisations) were run with support and patronage from the local rulers and landed elite and thereby were limited in their criticism against them, which for instance reflects in the fissures caused in Nizamrashtra Andhra Maha Sabhas. Secondly, while engaging in activities of reform by opposing child marriages and supporting caste reforms in the Hindu society, they continued to work well within the hierarchies of caste, by writing books specific to the Reddy community, to confer them a Kshatriya status to compete with the Brahmin dominance.

Golconda Patrika in one of the articles praises the efforts of Domakonda Samsthana and their contributions towards Telugu language and literature. ‘The current ruler of Domakonda Samsthana, Raja Rajesvara Rao Bahadur who is proficient in both Persian and Urdu along with Telugu wrote and published books like *Shatt Chakravarthi Charithra* and *Shiva Dharmottharamu*. He is investing thousands of rupees and collecting inscriptions from Telugu regions and aiding in the publishing of a book that would prove that Reddy community indeed belonged to the Kshatriya clan.’⁹⁸

Thirdly, even while the regional elite considered themselves as proponents of Telugu language of Telangana, intellectuals like Suravaram and Madapati considered it unfit for any literary production due to the influences it had from Urdu, Persian, Marathi and Kannada and felt that the influences of other languages has made the Telugu of Telangana

⁹⁸ Golconda Patrika, 4th June 1927

‘impure/polluted’. Despite repeated declarations in Golconda Patrika, of keeping language and religion as distinct entities and not engaging in communal debates around language in the editorials and articles, Suravaram did write articles which made communal associations to language. In one of his editorials he writes,

Telangana Telugu is polluted (*sarvasankaramu ga unnadi*). Since Urdu is the official language and the language of courts in Telangana, all these words have entered Telugu usage. Telugu of Telangana is polluted by the words from Marathi and Kannada in the bordering districts and also by the court language of Urdu. This *lopamu* (deficiency/impurity) can be largely resolved with propagation of Mulki language education.⁹⁹ (Suravaram, 1989)

In promoting a sense of belongingness based on language, the regional elite of Telangana failed to make space for the diverse linguistic space that Hyderabad state was in their imagination of the region and thereby nation. This reflected in the eventual Telangana movement that demanded a separate state based on distinctness of culture and language of Telugu along with demand for more representation in allocation resources and presence in government jobs in the united state of Andhra Pradesh. As argued by several authors (Leonard, 1978; Kooiman, 2002), if Hyderabad state had failed to capitalise on the home grown cultural movement of the mulkis for substantive inclusion in the state structures, the regional elite failed to understand the sentiments around the distinctness of Telangana Telugu and did not work towards its standardisation either in print or in educational institutions or public use. The strategic essentialism to associate themselves with the Telugu speaking elite of the Madras Presidency based on linguistic lines led to dissatisfactions which reflected in the sentiments around the Telangana movement.

⁹⁹ Telangana Telugu, Golconda Patrika, 2nd April 1943

The regional elite were at the same time complimentary and contradictory in their efforts in modernising Telugu language and the larger public life of Telugu speaking population. The strained relationship of the regional elite with the language policy of the princely state, their discomfort with the status of Telugu and its institutional use, distaste towards the spoken Telugu variant with the influence of language modernisation processes happening in colonial British India, simultaneous patronage of the local ruling elite for periodicals and publishing houses and allied organisations, limited engagements of the civil society with ideas of class and caste, forms the complex narrative of region, nation, language and print at the turn of the twentieth century.

6.1. Limitations and Possibilities for further research

There was limited material available on the operations of Golconda Patrika and the sale of books produced from the regional elite, because of which a more nuanced reading of their commercial operations was not possible. Apart from the evidence from Golconda Patrika in the form of editorials and open letters, there was also no evidence to gauge the nature of reading public of that time, to understand the reception of the periodicals and books. The thesis analyses Hyderabad state as a multilingual region and acknowledges the presence of a vibrant Urdu press, but has not been able to draw a comparative or complimentary analysis.

The thesis foregrounds discourse analysis of the periodicals and close reading of the prefaces, editor notes and contents of books. But a linguistic and semantic analysis is possible to understand the question of language and / in print where one can explore the nature of language in early Telugu periodicals of princely state and madras presidency.

Some of the institutions continued functioning beyond annexation of the Princely state into the Indian union. Parishat though does not publish, but continues to operate even now, through its library and book sale counters and also uses its space for performing plays.

Parishat briefly published Telugu textbooks for schools, before 1956, after which these functions shifted to Telugu Akademi.

Golconda Patrika continued its operations till 1965 and was a daily unlike the bi-weekly that it was in its initial years. A reading of the functioning of Golconda Patrika in the post-independent India would give insights into the changing mode of affiliation of the elite with print spaces and making of region and nation. And also an understanding of the print markets and the rise of vernacular press during the later half of the twentieth century, as the periodical shut down shortly after becoming a daily. This could give insights into understanding of market dynamics and shifts in patronage, subscription and advertising models, because of which some periodicals could no longer survive in the print markets.

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