

SRI VENKATESWARA UNIVERSITY
ORIENTAL JOURNAL
TIRUPATI

EDITOR

Dr. D. SRIDHARA BABU

Director-in-Charge

S. V. U. Oriental Research Institute, Tirupati

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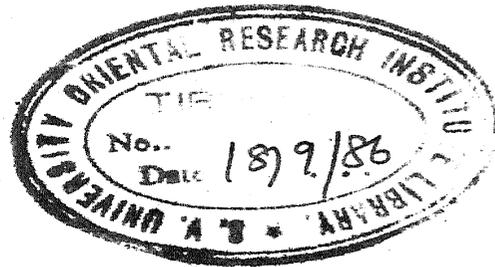
Dr. S. R. Matha



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P R E F A C E

I am happy to write the following lines as the Director in-Charge of Sri Venkateswara University Oriental Research Institute, Tirupati and Editor of the Oriental Journal of our Institute.

This XXIV Volume of the Journal was given to the press while Prof. S. Sankaranarayanan was the Director of Sri Venkateswara University Oriental Research Institute, in the year 1985. Prof. S. Sankaranarayanan retired from service on 31. 5. 1986. We are very thankful to him for his valuable services rendered to the Journal.

It is a great pleasure, to bring out this issue of Sri Venkateswara University Oriental Journal Vol. XXIV of 1981. One sees here clearly that we are lagging much behind in publishing our Journal regularly. We have a strong desire to make it upto date. So many factors contributed for this gap. With the help of the University authorities and contributors we are desirous to over come this difficulty in the near future. The press copies of the future Journals also are getting ready to make the Journal upto date.

I express my deep gratitude and thankful sentiments to the contributors to our Journal.

My thanks are due to the Research Staff of Sri Venkateswara University Oriental Research Institute for their cooperation to shape this volume of the Journal in number of ways.

Our respectful thanks are accorded to the Vice-Chancellor and the Registrar and other authorities of Sri Venkateswara University for helping us.

I also thank Sri Maniyavan, Proprietor, Elango Achukoodam, Madras and his press staff for printing this volume of the Journal nicely.

Tirupati,
15-7-1986.

Dr. D. SRIDHARA BABU,
Director-In-charge and Editor.

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Dr. K. V. SARMA

THE CAPTION KUMĀRASAMBHAVA GIVEN BY KĀLIDĀSA TO HIS POEM

The Title of the Poem—

Kālidāsa's works, be they plays or poems, have been given by the poet meaningful titles which are indicative of the contents thereof. Thus, titles of his dramas *Mālavikāgnimitra* and *Vikramorvaṣiya* carry the names of the respective hero and heroine, while his *Abhijñāna-Śākuntala*, the name of the heroine and the mention of the motif crucial to the drama. Similarly, his poems *Raghuvamśa*, *Meghadūta* and *Rtusamhāra* have titles which indicate the theme of these works. However, the title of his poem *Kumārasambhava* seems to present an enigma. Naturally, one expects the *sambhava* of Kumāra, or the birth of the War God and His exploits to form the main theme of the narrative. That, however, is not so, and the poem stops with the eighth canto, describing the love-sports of the parents of the God. One cannot expect Kālidāsa to have left things thus. This would mean that either the poet has left the poem incomplete or has meant it to be complete in eight cantos,¹ the title *Kumārasambhava* having been justified therewith.

Completeness of the Poem in Eight Cantos

A careful reading of the poem would show that to view the work as incomplete is untenable. Though it is not impossible that under extraordinary circumstances a writer might have to leave his work incomplete, it is not normal. Anyway an understanding of the intent of Kālidāsa, in the present poem, which is the delineation, on a high plane, of the failure of physical beauty and the ultimate victory of true love, a theme which is dear to his heart, will show that the poem in eight cantos is a compact and cohesive whole.

1. That the later cantos 9-17, included in some editions of the work, including the one by Surya Kantha (Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi, 1982), form a later addition is vouched by their inferiority compared to the poetic excellence of the earlier cantos, chasteness of expression and style, and by the non-citation of verses from these later cantos as illustration in standard works on rhetoric, while verses from the earlier cantos are freely cited.

It is noteworthy that the life-line that runs through the entire work and mentioned as the key motif in all the cantos is the chastening of the love of Pārvatī for Śiva and her wedlock, ending with its consummation to which the whole of the canto eight is devoted. Thus, in the first canto the world — trotting sage Nārada makes the prophetic observation to Pārvatī's father Himavān that his daughter was bound to be the bride of Śiva, which puts such an aspiration in the mind of Himavān.² In the second canto God Brahmā directs the other gods to wean away Śiva from penance to conjugal life with Pārvatī.³ In the next canto, Indra, the King of Gods, desires Kāma, the God of love, to make Śiva attracted to Pārvatī who was attending on Him.⁴ In canto four, words from the heavens console Rati, waiting over the body of her husband Kāma, that he would be resurrected when Śiva eventually would take Pārvatī in wedlock.⁵ In canto five, Pārvatī disdains her physical charms and resolves to attain Śiva as her lord through penance,⁶ and makes Śiva declare that he was her slave.⁷ The sixth canto contains her suggestion to Śiva that she might be sought for wedlock by approaching her father (VI. 1), Śiva acceding to the suggestion (VI. 3) and sending the sages as his messengers (VI. 25-29) to Himavān acceding to the request (VI. 89) and the sages informing Śiva of the success of their mission (VI. 94). Canto seven is devoted to the marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī and canto eight to the consummation thereof. The poem ending with the eighth canto is thus a perfect piece.

2. Cf. तां नारदः कामचरः कदाचित् कन्यां किल प्रेक्ष्य पितुः समीपे ।
समादिदेशैकवधूं भवित्तीं प्रेम्णा शरीराद्यंहरां हरस्य ॥
गुरुः प्रगल्भेऽपि वयस्यतोऽस्यास्तस्थी निवृत्तान्यवराभिलाषः ।
ऋते कृशानोर्न हि मन्त्रपूतमर्हन्ति तेजांस्यपराणि हव्यम् ॥ (I. 50-51)

The references are from the edition of *Kumārasambhava* by S R. Sehgal Delhi, 1959.

3. Cf. उमारूपेण ते यूयं संयमस्तिमितं मनः ।
शम्भोर्यंतद्वमाऋट्टमयस्कान्तेन लोहवत् ॥ (II. 59)
4. Cf. तस्मै हिमाद्रेः प्रयतां तनूजां यतात्मने रोचयितुं यतस्व । (III. 16)
5. Cf. परिषेष्यति पार्वतीं यदा तपसा तत्प्रवणीकृतो हरः ।
उपबन्धसुखस्तदा स्मरं वपुषा स्वेन समप्रयिष्यति ॥ (IV. 42)
6. Cf. तथा समक्षं दहता मनोभवं पिनाकिना भ्रममनोरथा सती ।
निनिन्द रूपं हृदयेन पार्वती प्रियेषु सौभाग्यफला हि चारुता ॥
इयेषा सा कर्तुमवन्ध्यरूपतां समाधिमास्थाम् तपोभिरात्मनः ।
अवाप्यते वा कथमन्यथा द्वयं तथाविधं प्रेम पतिश्च तादृशः ॥ (V. 1-2)
7. Cf. अथप्रभृत्यवनताङ्गि तवास्मिदासः क्रीतस्तपोभिः - - - - - (V. 86)

The Caption Kumārasambhava—

If alone the poem had been given a purely subjective title, like, for instance, '*Pārvatīparinaya*' no one would have any second thought. Since, however, Kālidāsa has chosen, instead, to call his poem *Kumārasambhava*, it has to be seen whether he has subtly suggested this as the key motif and whether this title is not more poetic.

In fact, Kālidāsa has made it clear, more than once, that his intent did not stop short with the wedlock of Śiva and Pārvatī, but extended to the birth of a valiant son to them. Towards the beginning of the poem when Brahmā wants to the Gods to wean away Śiva from penance, He does so for the ultimate purpose of the birth of a warrior to lead the Gods to victory.⁸ Even when Śiva seeks the hand of Pārvatī and sends the message to that effect through the sages, Kālidāsa takes care to put straight the real purpose in view. Thus, Śiva tells the sages that He desires to wed Pārvatī so as to beget a son.⁹ It is, again, significant that Mallīnātha introduces his commentary on canto eight as narrating the sequences which resulted in the birth of a son :

अथ सम्भोगशृङ्गारमनयोः समरागयोः ।

कुमारसम्भवफलं सर्गोऽस्मिन्नाह सम्प्रति ॥

The birth of Kumāra Skanda, the result of the union of Śiva and Pārvatī, has been amply suggested. To be sure, to Kālidāsa a purely subjective title like *Pārvatīparinaya* would have looked prosaic and inane. His choice of a highly suggestive caption *Kumārasambhava* to the poem but shows his poetic acumen.¹⁰

Clue for the term 'Kumārasambhava'

It is interesting to note here that the poet seems to have taken the expression *Kumārasambhava* from Vālmiki. It is well known that Kālidāsa

8. Cf. the words of Brahmā stating as to who could confront the demon Tāraka :

संयुगे सम्मुखीनं तमुद्यतं प्रसहेत कः ।

अंशादृते निषिक्तस्य नीललोहितरेतसः ॥

(II. 57)

तस्यात्मा शितिकण्ठस्य सैनापत्यमुपेत्य वः ।

मोक्षयते सुखन्दीनां वेणीवीर्यविभूतिभिः ॥

(II. 61)

9. Cf. Śiva's words :

अत आहर्तुमिच्छामि पार्वतीमात्मजन्मने ।

उत्पत्तये हविर्भोक्तुर्यजमान इवारणम् ॥

(VI. 28)

10. A few striking parallels have been collected by S. R. Seghal in the introduction (pp. iv-vi) to his edition of *Kumārasambhava*. Delhi, 1959.

was a close student of Vālmīki's *Rāmāyana* and had been fascinated by its imageries and expressions, which he has at places adopted for embellishing his works.¹¹ Herein, in the *Bālakānda*, sage Viśvāmītra is presented as narrating to the young princes Rāma and Lakshmaṇa the story of Gaṅgā and Umā (Pārvatī) (*Bāla*, cantos 35 to 37) and says, towards the close of the narration :

एष ते राम गङ्गाया विस्तरोऽभिहितो मया ।

कुमारसंभवश्चैव धन्यः पुण्यस्तथैव च ॥ (Bāla., 37. 31)

Though the story of the birth of Kumāra as narrated in the *Rāmāyana* is entirely different from the narration of Kālidāsa, and the expression 'Kumārasambhava' had been used there in its literal sense of the birth of a son, the poet seems to have been charmed by the expression, even as to adopt it as the suggestive poetic title of his work.¹²

The Place of the Work in the Chronology of the Poet's Poems—

A word might advantageously be said here on the position that the *Kumārasambhava* occupies in the chronology of Kālidāsa's compositions. While some scholars prefer to take it as an early work of the poet, the astute text-critic and connoisseur Aurabindo is of the firm opinion that the *Kumārasambhava* presents the acme of Sanskrit poetry and that there is no poetical composition in Sanskrit nor even in world poetry to equal the *Kumārasambhava* in poetic charm and suggestive psychological expression. In the latest study on the subject, Dhananjay Chakrabarty, writing on the comparative chronology of the *Raghuvamśa* and *Kumārasambhava*, shows that while in the *Raghuvamśa* the 'poet is seen improving himself in the art of beautification, in the *Kumārasambhava* he is seen more as an artist than a poet. A poet is born while an artist is made by means of the incessant exercise of his natural propensities. Through an examination of parallel expressions, ideas and imagery, Chakrabarty has shown how the poet of the *Raghuvamśa* has evolved into the artist of *Kumārasambhava*.¹³

11. For a *sāstraic* affirmation of the views set out above, see Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita's exposition of the *Kumārasambhava* I.1 (ed. by T. Ganapati Sastri, Trivandrum, 1913).

12. It is worth mentioning that the title of the other longer poem of Kālidāsa, viz. *Raghuvamśa*, too has been adopted from a similar expression, when it is stated in the *Bālakānda* that after listening to the description given by Nārada, sage Vālmīki composed Rāma's story. *Raghuvamśa-carita* :

रघुवंशस्य चरितं चकार भगवान् ऋषिः ।

(Bāla, 3.9)

13. Cf also the words of Rāma, अहं च रघुवंशश्च (Yuddha, 1.11)

13. For a summary of this yet unpublished paper see Dhananjay Chakrabarty, 'Kumārasambhava and Raghuvamśam - which one is earlier and why?' *Summaries of Papers, XXXI All-India Oriental Conference, Jaipur, 1982, pp. 100-01.*

BASIC CONCEPT OF SŪRYA AND SAVITR IN THE RĠVEDA

All the Rġvedic deities are believed to be mere personifications of different phenomena of the nature which seems to be multiform owing to her everchanging power and capacity. The divine beauty and the attractiveness of the heavenly maiden, Uṣas (the Dawn),¹ the dreadful appearance of the Maruts (the fierce wind)² and Parjanya (the stormy cloud),³ are mere personifications of the different manifestations of the nature which according to the Indian belief, is regarded as the limitless and the eternal power of the Almighty.

The mind of the vedic seers seems to be fully occupied with an irresistible desire for knowledge. The quest for nature, which still seems to be behind the curtain of mystery, was haunting the mind of the Vedic Aryanas. With the whole power and might the Vedic mind was trying to unravel the mysterious aspects of the nature. The Vedic pantheon is supposed to be composed of personifications of various phases of the nature;⁴ Aditi, the mother of the Purāṇic pantheon.

Foreign thinkers suggest that almost all the worldly objects which could produce either good or bad influence on the human mind or which seemed to be awfully strange to man were conceived as being presided over by deities in the Vedic literature.⁵ Among the Indian scholars, we find three groups differently dealing with this case. One group of scholars says that all the gods actually represent the Supreme Being. Yāska explains this matter thus: *Māhābhāgyād devatāyā eka ātmā bahūdā stūyate.* (The Vedic seers have praised one and the same soul of the gods which, in fact, equally manifests everywhere yet seems to be different and many in character).⁶ The second group recognises only three gods invoked in

1. *RV.* I, 92, 123, 124 etc.

2. *RV.* I, 85 etc. The references in the following notes are from the *Rġveda* unless otherwise stated.

3. *V.* 83.

4. *VM.* para.2.

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Nir.* vii. 1, 5.

the *Rgveda*, viz. Surya (the sun), Indra (lightning) or Vāyu (the wind) and Agni (the fire), who are related to the heaven, the air and the earth respectively.² The third group of the scholars suggests that all these gods though are related to the ones, have their independent entities.³

It does not seem to be correct that the Vedic gods owed their origin to the awful surprise of the primitive mind. It is possible that such peculiar aspects and qualities of the nature as seemed to be full of mystery or beyond comprehension of the human mind were conceived as gods. But the awfulness cannot be taken as the basic factor. Otherwise the presence of Uṣas, the most beautiful personification of the dawn, would not have possibly been existed in the most ancient record of the Indian religion. Besides this, such gods are also found in the Vedas as are praised for their qualities other than awfulness. For instance, Rudra is conceived as a remover of untoward happenings, Indra as a benefactor of mankind, Varuṇa as the sustainer of universal truth and Savitr as an agency which gives the power of discrimination between good and evil and so on.

The Sun-gods represent the aspect of the nature by which the days and the nights alternately appear and disappear. It is the Sun which is responsible for this phenomenon. The words Surya and Savitr might have, at first, been used as attributes of the Sun-god and afterwards upgraded as substantives.⁴ But this must have taken place much before the Rgvedic age. In the Vedas excepting some rare cases, these gods are treated as independent deities. But the solar traits laying behind them peep out from within their character.

(i) *Sūrya*

Sūrya is the most concrete of the solar deities.⁵ This god represents the burning solar orb. According to Yāska, Surya denotes a certain position of the solar orb at a particular time. 'When it rises full in the sky it is called Surya.'⁶ Yāska has conceived all the members of the celestial family in a particular form of chain of which the first link is made up of Aśvins. Then follows Uṣas. She forms the next four links. Tvastṛ, Savitr and Bhaga form the last three links. Thus Surya comes as the ninth in the series. Yāska in support of his theory quotes *RV*, I, 50, 1, and I, 115, 1. They may be rendered as—

1. III. 6, 9; *AV*. xx. 13, 4.
2. *Nir*. vii. 2.
3. *Ibid*.
4. *HSL*, p. 54.
5. *Ibid*, p. 63.
6. *Nir* xii. 2.

The all-knowing god Surya is being carried by the rays, so that the world can see.¹ Oh! that mass of rays has risen up. The eye of Mitra, Varuṇa and Agni has filled the earth, the sky and the heaven; and the Sun that is the spirit of all that move or stay.²

But by a thorough examination of the Rgvedic hymns dedicated to Surya, we find this appellation (i.e. Surya) directly signifying the solar orb without any specification of the time and position. The *Rgveda* says that "there is a wheel of twelve rims, three naves and three hundred and sixty bars which are both, moving and un-moving by nature"³ Here the wheel clearly denotes the sun. The twelve large circles mean twelve months. The three naves indicate the three different points of the solar track, situated on the lines of the Cancer, the Equator and the Capricorn. The bars signify the days of a year. These days (including nights) are moving in character. These regularly come and go. Besides, these are un-moving also, because the day and night cannot in anyway be substituted by anything, not even the one by the other.

Some scholars think that all the celestial gods, were conceived as original Sun-gods by different tribes.⁴ But in fact, none of these deities represents the Sun-god as perfectly as Sūrya does. "Sūrya is the excellently brilliant big orb", says the *Rgveda*, "which shines in many ways".⁵ "He sees all⁶ from far away⁷ and thus knows everything which exists in this universe.⁸ That is a boat gliding in the sky.⁹ He separates days from nights."¹⁰ In addition to this, Sūrya is described as a purifier.¹¹ These attributes perfectly correspond to those of the sun. Though these qualities are, at times also noticed in other deities of this range, yet these are very peculiar to Sūrya. He is described as:

The handsome, the all-witnessing Sūrya, who is common to all, is rising; who rolls away the darkness like a piece of skin.¹² The visible orb rises up at that corner of the sky and the swift galloping

1. I. 50, 1.
2. I. 115, 1.
3. I. 164, 48.
4. Kaegi: *Rgveda*, New Delhi, 1972, note-208.
5. X. 170, 1.
6. I. 50, 6; vii. 35, 8.
7. X. 37, 1.
8. I. 50, 1.
9. I. 50, 4.
10. I. 50, 7.
11. I. 50, 6.
12. VII. 63, 1.

horse Etaśa carries it so that all can see.¹ He rises above the mountain in the east, lightening the world, destroying the darkness and dispelling the evil spirits and demons away.² "He resting upon a heap of flames³ passes through the sky,⁴ the space between the earth and heaven."⁵

Though it is observed that no special importance is attached to the setting sun,⁶ yet it cannot be said that the dusk is entirely lost sight of the Vedic seers. The sage Kutsa says:

"This is the godliness and the greatness of Surya that he withdraws his stretched rays from amidst the work; and the night spreads her web everywhere when he unyokes his horses."⁷

Now it is clear that Surya represents the sun, in all its positions, whether annual, periodical or daily. In the post-Vedic literature, the sun is chiefly known as Sūrya.

(ii) *Savitṛ*

Savitṛ stands second in importance in the Rgvedic celestial family. Savitṛ's character is so similar to that of Surya that it, at times, seems difficult to differentiate the two. Savitṛ associates himself with Surya,⁸ and probably for this reason he is sometimes, called Sūrya.⁹ Similarly, Sūrya is also, sometimes, invoked as Savitṛ.¹⁰ Almost all the qualities and functions of Surya are shared by this god. He sees men working,¹¹ bears far-reaching rays and uncovers the universe wrapped in darkness.¹² He regularly comes (and goes) before the days and nights,¹³ appears with seasons,¹⁴ and traverses between the heaven and the earth.¹⁵ He makes skilful persons move homeward leaving behind their works unfinished¹⁶

1. VII 66, 14.
2. I. 191, 8-9
3. VII. 62, 1
4. VII 62, 1
5. I 50 7; 160, 1.
6. VM. Para-21.
7. I 115, 4 etc.
8. I. 35, 9.
9. I. 35, 7.
10. VII 63, 3.
11. I. 22, 7 &c.
12. IV. 53, 4.
13. V 82, 8.
14. IV. 53, 7.
15. I. 53, 9.
16. II. 38, 4.

and so on. Savitr̥ is also the master of both the species of this creation, viz. the mobile and the stationary.¹

All these descriptions suggest that Savitr̥ represents the sun almost in all its aspects. Possibly, both these gods were originally conceived as independent sun-gods by different families living in the pre-Vedic age.² But since the R̥gvedic period, these tended to become identical.

Yāska says that Savitr̥, is the seventh manifestation of the series of the sun-gods appearing in the morning. According to him, this god comes before Sūrya.³ Yāska quotes R V in support of his view.

“The intelligent God frees all manifestations. He has released the bliss for both, men and animals; the revered Savitr̥ has witnessed the heaven and shines after Uṣas”.⁴

Further, Yāska remarks, when the sky is filled with light (but the earth lies with in darkness) that is the time of Savitr̥.⁵ Here it appears that Yāska takes only morning deliberately ignoring the evening. This may be due to the influence of a R̥gvedic stanza of the seer Bhauma Atri according to which the morning commands greater importance than the dusk with regard to worship.⁶

We should know that in the *Nighantū*, Savitr̥ is also enumerated with the deities of the atmospheric region.⁷ But Yāska treats this god as an aerial deity.⁸ He reminds us that the sun is also called Savitr̥.⁹ The reason of this concept seems to be that Savitr̥ is a god of fertilisation and reproduction. This power of productivity is also chiefly noticed in the clouds,¹⁰ which quicken fertility. And, therefore, this god might have been included among the deities of the aerial region. Savitr̥ is also called Tvaṣṭr̥, the divine artificer.¹¹

Does this god represent the rising sun only? Perhaps not. In several R̥gvedic stanzas this deity is described as the setting sun. For instance:

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1. IV. 53, 6.
 2. Kaegi's *R̥gveda*, note 208.
 3. *Nir.* xii. 2.
 4. V. 81, 2
 5. *Nir.*, xii. 2.
 6. V. 77, 2.
 7. *Nigh.* Ch. V.
 8. *Nir.*, x. 3.
 9. *Ibid.*
 10. V. 83, 1; 4-5; 10.
 11. III. 55, 19.

'Wearied with swift courses, he will now unyoke them; they glide like serpents; and the speeding chariot has already been checked. The night has set in by the command of Savitṛ. The lady weaver rolls her out-stretched web together. The skilled person lays down his work in midst of toiling. The birds move towards their nests and the cattle towards their sheds. Savitṛ disperses everyone to his lodge.'¹

Besides this, we should keep it in our minds that this god, sometimes, represents the sun at night, hidden beneath the earth.² Scholars think that this god represents primarily the rising sun and secondarily the setting sun.³ But the fact is that the Ṛgvedic Savitṛ seems to represent the sun in all the positions.

The Ṛgvedic Savitṛ actually represents the innermost aspect of the sun. This concept runs throughout the post-Vedic literature. The position of this deity during the pre-Vedic period is totally unknown. Yet, it may be treated as fact that he has originally been conceived as the Sungod. The basic concept of this god can only be judged by his name, Savitṛ a derivative of *sū* 'to produce' or 'to generate', or of *su* 'to squeeze'.⁴ It means that this god might have been conceived as the representative of the fertilising and the generating power of the sun.⁵

A. A. Macdonell, explaining this god, says that he represents the quickening activity of the sun.⁶ Luis Renou thinks that Savitṛ incites men to be busy in their work, and the life to resume its course.⁷ In the Purāṇas Savitṛ relates to the particular solar faculty which rules over the world of mind and intellect. The spiritual field of the Brāhmaṇic religion comes under his jurisdiction. The *Sāvitrī mantra* in Gāyatrī metre is believed as the most sacred and the most dynamic stanza in the Indo-Aryan tradition.

ABBREVIATIONS

1. HSL : A History of Sanskrit Literature, by A. A. Macdonell, Delhi, 1965.
2. *Nigh* : *Nighaṇṭu*, as attached to Nirukta (see below).
3. *Nir* : *Nirukta* (with commentary of Dūrgācārya) Delhi, 1965.
4. RV : *Ṛg-Veda* (with comms. of Skanda, Udgītha, Veṅkaṭa and Sāyaṇa) vols. 1-8, Hoshiarpur, 1943-66.
5. VM : 'The Vedic Mythology', by A. A. Macdonell, Varanasi, 1963.

1. II. 38, 4.

2. I. 35, 7.

3. Renou : VI., p. 66.

4. *Vaiyākaraṇa-Siddhānta-Kaumudī*, classes ii iii v and vi.

5. VII, 45, 4.

6. VM. para. 15. See also HSL, p. 84.

7. VI, p. 66.

Dr. D. SRIDHARA BABU

MOMENTS OF TOLERANCE IN ANDHRA HISTORY*

The purpose of this paper is to highlight the moments of religious tolerance in Andhra history. Religion, as other human institutions, reflects human glories and follies of psychological nature. It means that a ruler or a religious leader as a human being possesses the strength as well as the weakness of the human mind. He may be a great lover of his own religion, but at the same time he may be tolerant to other forms of faith. Another may possess an intolerant view towards groups of people belonging to faiths other than of his own and try to persecute them by applying inhuman measures. Here the internal evolution of an individual is an important factor. This counts much in interpreting the relevant events of history. Situational and environmental influences in a particular historical circumstance may also be a contributing condition for making an individual to have this or that attitude towards religion, language, etc., in specific historical period.

Dogmatic religious belief without giving any room to the faiths and opinions of an individual or a group of individuals breeds intolerance whereas tolerance presupposes human consideration and understanding. Sometimes tolerance may also mean an act of diplomatic gesture of a ruler from an administrative point of view for winning around appreciation and support of subjects.

Where we start in Andhra history to analyse relevant examples for our purpose? The 13th rock edict of Aśoka¹ states that the Andhra country was within the imperial dominions of the Mauryan empire. After the death of Aśoka, the Andhras became independent under the leadership of Sātavāhanas. There we start our story. Simuka or Śrīmukha is the ruler-founder of the Sātavāhana dynasty according to the Purānic list. According to a Jain legend the first king, Sātavāhana by name, evidently Simuka, built Jain temples and Cetiya. But in closing years he became a wicked king and was overthrown in a popular revolution.² His successor,

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1. *Edicts of Aśoka*, transl by S Srinivasamurti and A. N Krishna Aiyangar, The Adyar Library, Madras, 1951, p. 47.
2. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. X, p. 134; Cf. K Gopalachari, *Early History of the Andhra Country*, Madras, 1976, p. 35.

Kaṇha or Kṛṣṇa appears to have had Buddhist leanings according to a Nāsik inscription.¹ The Nāsik inscription of his time mentions the construction of a cave by a religious officer *Mahāmātra*, in-charge of monks at Nāsik. It is wellknown that the *Mahāmātras* are a class of officials mentioned in the Aśokan inscriptions. Afterwards, during the time of Śātakarṇi I (184 B. C. to 128 B. C.) there seems to have been a change in the religious policy of the Sātavāhanas in favour of the Vedic religion. Śātakarṇi I and his wife Nāgaṇikā were great champions of the Brahmanical faith with its rituals and austerities. The Nānāghāṭ inscription of Nāgaṇikā² gives a long list of Vedic sacrifices performed by her husband in the early decades of the second century B. C. Following the same spirit of the Vedic dharma, Gautamī Balaśrī, in the Nāsik inscription of Puḷumāvi's time, describes the religious policy of her late son Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, who flourished in the last quarter of the first century³ (A. D. 72-95). He took the title *Ekabrāhmaṇa*⁴ by promoting Vedic learning, patronising brahmin families and stopping the mixture of castes.⁵ One of the later Sātavāhanas called Yajñaśrī is also credited with the performance of a Yajña.⁶ There is a tradition that the great Buddhist Ācārya Nāgārjuna succeeded in persuading Yajñaśrī to be tolerant to Buddhism by patronising it.⁷ His *Suhrillekha* is generally believed to have been addressed to Yajñaśrī. Nāgārjuna's *Ratnāvali*, was addressed to the same king to allow the old Buddhist practices to continue. This may be an indication that there was an atmosphere of stress on the part of the Buddhists and there was a move for the prohibition of the Buddhist practices.⁸ Nāgārjuna's personality might have influenced the later Sātavāhanas. One of the last Sātavāhanas, Vijaya visited Śrīparvata on Vaiśākha purnimā day which happens to be auspicious for the Buddhists.⁹

1. *Archaeological Survey of Western India*, IV, p. 98 and *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 93. On the upper sill of the right window in Cave No. 19. "Sādavāhanakula (I) Kaṇhe rajini Nāsikakena samanena mahāmāteṇa leṇa kārīta.
2. *A. S. W. I.*, V, p. 60 ff.
3. *E. I.* VIII. Nāsik. Ins. No. 2. Nāsik inscription of Puḷumāvi's time and *E. H. I.* II. p. 312.
4. The Prakrit word used in the epigraph is *Ekabrāhmaṇa* E. Senart, who edited this epigraph translates it as the 'Unique Brāhmaṇa'.
5. *Doijavarakuṭumba vivardhana and Vinivartitacāturvarṇa saṅkarasya*.
6. *Chinnaganjām Inscription*, Luder's list No. 1035 and *E. I.* Vol. I., pp. 95-96.
7. M. Rama Rao, *Nāgārjunakoṇḍa Souvenir*, pp. 73-75.
8. Gnesappa Tocchi, *The Ratnāvali of Nāgārjuna*, J. R. A. S., 1934, pp. 308-325.
9. *E. I.* XXXVI, p. 273 ff.

The above-mentioned facts tell us that the Sātavāhana rulers patronised both the Vedic religion and Buddhism. Generally the religion of the rulers seems to be the Vedic religion. But they were not intolerant to the then existing religion Buddhism. We have about twenty inscriptions of the Sātavāhana times. With the exception of the Nānāghaṭ inscription of Nāgaṇikā, almost all are Buddhist records. Only four of them were issued by the regnal years of the Sātavāhana kings. This gives an impression that although certain rulers were stout upholders of Vedic religion, a tolerant attitude was towards Buddhism by allowing it patronage from different strata of society. An interesting phenomenon of Buddhism in Andhra is that to a large extent it progressed and survived without direct royal patronage proper. The royal donations to the Buddhist church were rare. Many of the Buddhist monuments were the results of pious endowments of private persons whether they may be merchants or artisans and also sometimes donations were made by queens and other ladies of the harem. The liberality of the kings of the age in allowing the members of their families to patronise Buddhist institutions in the land led one of the Sātavāhana queens and many of the Ikṣvāku ladies in the later period to be free in their religious choice and preference. Some of the Sātavāhana kings made some donations to the Buddhist church under the influence of ladies benevolent to the Buddhist religion. For example, Gautamī Bālaśrī exercised great influence on her son Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi and grandson Puḷumāvi. The Nāsik inscription of Puḷumāvi¹ gives an interesting information about them. Puḷumāvi states in the inscription that his father caused a cave to be excavated on the Triranhu mountain, which cave was donated by his grandmother Bālaśrī to the Bhadrāyānika school of monks. He adds that for the embellishment of this cave he himself granted a village. There are also some independent donations to the Buddhists by Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi² and Puḷumāvi.³ The epigraphical evidence supports the view that the services of the artisan and the merchant communities were more important and significant than those of the royal ladies in sustaining and maintaining the Buddhist institutions of those days. For example, most of the inscriptions of Amarāvati record the gifts by merchants,⁴ artisans,⁵ townfolk headed by the merchants,⁶ Upāsakas and Upāsikās.⁷

1. *E. I.* VIII., pp. 60-65.

2. Nāsik inscriptions *E. I.* VIII, p. 71. No. 4.

3. Karle inscriptions *E. I.* VII. p. 71, No. 200 A. S. W. I., IV, p. 112.

4. Lueders list No. 1229.

5. *ibid* No. 1973.

6. *ibid* No. 1247.

7. *ibid* No. 1303.

Then we turn to the Ikṣvākus, the successors of the Śātavāhanas in the Krishna - Guntur region. From the inscriptions of the Ikṣvākus, we learn that Cāntamūla was a champion of the Vedic religion with Saivait leanings, being a devotee of Mahāsena Virūpākṣa and also a performer of Vedic sacrifices including *asvamedha*, *agniṣṭoma* and *vājapeya*.¹ The claim of Cāntamūla's performance of *asvamedha* is proved by the discovery of *Asvamedhavedikā* in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa valley.² It is interpreted that Cāntamūla led a Brahminical reaction against the pro-Buddhist later Śātavāhanas³ and the performance of *asvamedha* by him under the shade of the Mahācaitya is interpreted as the symbol of vengeance towards Buddhism.⁴ But the performance of *asvamedha* is more a gesture of political supremacy than an exhibition of religious vengeance against non-Brahminical faiths, particularly Buddhism. It is true that there is a rapid move for the Brahminical revivalism, but at this stage there was no drive to cut at the roots of the Buddhist faith with a full-fledged intolerant antagonistic attitude. The acts of Cāntamūla's successors and the ladies of their harem and others show that a kind of co-existence between Brahminism and Buddhism prevailed in the Ikṣvāku period. Different sects of Theravada and Mahāsāṅghika schools had their establishment in Krishna valley. Śrīparvata attracted pilgrims even from foreign countries.⁵ The principal donatrix was Cāntisiri, the sister of Cāntamūla I. She repaired, extended and reconstructed the Mahācaitya at Śrīparvata.⁶ She would even seem to have been responsible for the Buddhist leanings of Rudradhara-Bhaṭṭārikā, Cāntisiri, Cula-Cāntisirinikā and Bāpisirinikā.⁶ The half sister of Ehuvalu Cāntamūla, the son of Virapurusaḍatta got constructed a vihāra in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. The Rāmaredipalli inscription of Virapurusaḍatta's time registers the consecration of a pillar by a merchant.⁷ The Chinnagañjām (near Uppugunḍur) inscription of the region of the same ruler mentions a gift by a merchant to a Buddhist Tirtha of the place.⁸ The Reṇ'āla inscription of Ehuvala's time speaks of a gift by a merchant to a Buddhist settlement.⁹ Apart from this patronage to the Buddhist Church, during the reign of Ehuvala, there was a vigorous tem-

1. *E. I.* XX. Nos. B2, C2 etc.
2. *Indian Archaeology - A Review*, 1956-57, plates LVI A and LV
3. B. S. L. Hanumanta Rao, *Downfall of the Andhra Śātavāhanas*, a paper in I. H. C. 1955. pp 61-64.
4. B. S. L. Hanumanta Rao, *Religion in Andhradeśa*, Guntur, 1973, p. 62.
5. *E. I.* XX, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscriptions, No. C1, C3, D2, D4.
6. *ibid.* No. B4, B5, C2 and C4.
7. Luder's list No 1261.
8. *E. I.* XXXIII, p. 189 ff.
9. *A. R. S. I. E.* No. 349 of 1936-37.

ple-building activity at Vijayapuri, the capital of the Ikṣvākus¹ During his time, many temples of Śiva were built. Thus Śrīparvata-Vijayapuri (Nāgārjunakoṇḍa surroundings) became the meeting place of Buddhism and Hinduism.

The Pallava kings had sway over Andhra, South of the Krishna river. North of the river Krishna, the Bṛhatpalāyanas ruled for a short time and were overpowered by the Śālaṅkāyanas. The rulers of all these dynasties were Brahminical and most of their members took titles like *paramabhāgavata* and *paramamāheśvara* which reveal growth of devotional theism with Viṣṇu and Śiva leanings as a branch of Vedic religion.

Since the time of Aśoka, Buddhism flourished in Andhra side by side with Hinduism and co-existed with the trends of Brahminical revival. It reached the climax of its glory in the Ikṣvāku period, i. e., about the middle of the third century A. D. Since then the decline of Buddhism started in Andhra due to lack of proper care and patronage and also due to degeneracy with the influences of Tāntric Vajrayāna practices entered in its fold. It lingered with its struggle for existence before it completely vanished from this area with the onslaught of Vīraśaivism.

The Pallavas, the successors of the Ikṣvākus in the Śrīparvata region were the followers of the Brahminical faith and had their titles like *dharmamahārājādhirāja*, *āśrayodharmasya Kaliyuga-doṣāvasanna-dharmodधारana-nītya-sannaddhaḥ*, *anekāśvamedhāvabṛthasnātānām* and *Śatakratukalpaḥ*. The Pallava king Siṅhavarma of Mañcikallu inscription is believed to have destroyed city of Vijayapuri together with its Buddhist establishments.³ The absence of any important Buddhist record from almost about the fourth century at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa is a marked factor. Another Pallava king who is alleged to have destroyed Buddhism in Krishna valley is Trilocana Pallava of the second half of the fifth century A. D.⁴ [Appendix — quoted from the village kaifiyats of the Guntur and Kurnool districts and other records are unanimous in describing Trilocana as the destroyer of Buddhism and Jainism and as the upholder of the Vedic faith] Thus, two Pallava kings, Siṅhavarma and Trilocana seem to be responsible for causing damage to Buddhism at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and Dhānyakaṭaka respectively. It is not out of place to quote the first excavator of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. Longhurst who says "The ruthless manner in which all the buildings at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa have been destroyed is simply appalling and can-

1. For an account of these temples - See *Indian Archeology - A Review - 1956-57, 1957-58 and 1958-59.*
2. D. C. Sircar, 'Two inscriptions from Guntur District' in *E. I.* XXXII, p. 87 ff.
3. B S L. Hanmantha Rao, *Religion in Andhra*, p. 115. See also *E. I.* Vol. X. p. 58. fn. 2.
4. N. Venkataramanayya, *Trilocana Pallava and Karicala Cola.*

not represent the work of treasure-seekers alone as so many pillars, statues, and sculptures have been wantonly smashed to pieces. Had there been a town close as at Amarāvati, one can understand the site being used as a quarry by modern builders as was so often done in India. But this never occurred at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa as there are no towns and no cart roads in or out of the valley".¹ Some suppose that the Hindus robbed the neglected and languishing Buddhist structures and utilised the materials in their own constructions. The recent excavations at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa revealed that the Hindu temple building activity continued into the medieval times. Some of them yielded stones, slabs and pillars, that originally belonged to the Buddhist structures.² The strong evidence for a kind of iconoclasm is not there. When Fa-Hien visited India during the fourth century A.D. the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa hill, Buddhist institutions were flourishing there. According to the Chinese pilgrim a monastery was on a great rock spread into five stories the lowest was in the form of an elephant having 500 stone chambers, the second, third, fourth and fifth were provided with 400, 300, 300 and 100 chambers respectively.³ This evidence shows that when the early Pallavas succeeded the Ikṣvākus as rulers in that part of the country the Buddhist Church was a living institution. For the commencement of the decline of Buddhism in Andhra was most probably due to the lack of patronage and encouragement to Buddhism because they were ardent supporters of orthodox Brahminism. At that time, the Buddhist Saṅghārāma was still alive in a great state of grandeur as it enjoyed till the time Ikṣvākus with a great liberal and tolerant attitude.

Scholars like Dr. C. Minakshi are of the opinion that it would be wrong to present the religious history of Pallavas as one of intolerance towards religious sects opposed to the royal religion. According to her that it is a notable feature of the Pallava period that people belonging to different religious denominations such as Śaivas, Vaiṣṇavs, Buddhists and Jainas were found living together in the capital of the Pallava kingdom. Alongside of Devadāna and Brahmadeya gifts to the temples and Brahmins there were Palliccandam endowments and gifts of land to Jaina religious heads also.⁴

There is one interesting example of conversion of one faith to another faith with regard to Mahendravarman I. He gave up Jainism and embraced Śaivism under the influence of a Śaiva saint Appar. It is generally held that Mahendravarman I, when he was a follower of Jain faith persecuted the Śaivism in the support of which some of Appar's Padi-

1. A. H. Longhust, M.A., *S I*. No. 54.
2. Notes by Prof. R. Subrahmanyam who excavated the site.
3. Giles, *The travels of "Fa-Hien"* and Legge, *Travels of "Fa-Hien"* P. 97.
4. See Pallavankovil copper-plates, *Thirty Pallava Copper plates*, p. 1 ff. C. Minakshi, *Administration and social life under the Pallavas*, University of Madras, 1977, p. 206 ff.

gans are cited. The evidence of the Udayendiram grant¹ regarding the forcible seizure of the property from the Jains and the transfer of it to Brahmins is interpreted as an act of intolerance and religious persecution by the king. Some say that this act of Nandivarman Pallavamalla could only be justified as a matter of punishment for the offence of the owners involving themselves in undesirable activities hostile to the state at that time.² However, this is not a good example of co-existence of different faiths in any way, but only indicates a kind of religious confrontation. On the whole the Pallavas seem to be the upholders of the Vedic faith with an encouragement of its off-shoots both Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism. Some of the early temples of Viṣṇu and Śiva owe their construction to the members of the Siṃhaviṣṇu family.

The Viṣṇukuṇḍis, the most powerful rulers in Āndhradeśa during the post-Sātavāhana period rose to prominence in Śrīparvata region. The triumph of the Vedic religion over Buddhism during this period is clear from the records. Mādhavarman II claims to have performed number of Vedic sacrifices. In spite of their strong allegiance to the Vedic religion, some of their records are in fact Buddhistic in nature and stand witness to the liberal policy of religious tolerance of the kings.³ For examples, the Tummalagūḍem set I was issued by a king called Govindavarman, granting two villages in favour of the Buddhist monks of the Vihāra built by his queen Paramamahādevi. And the Tummalagūḍem set II is a charter issued by the Viṣṇukuṇḍi king Vikramendravarman II (A.D. 566-67) granting a village in favour of the Buddhist clergy of a Vihāra built by Paramabhāṭṭārikāmahādevi, the queen of Govindavarman⁴ who was a Buddhist to begin with and later embraced Hinduism. As already mentioned the Pallava King Mahendravarman I of the subsequent age, who, originally a Jaina, converted to Hinduism with Śaiva leanings. These examples of the change of religion speak regarding the positive atmosphere in favour of the widespread influence of revival of the Vedic religion. The Viṣṇukuṇḍis were Śaivas by conviction and the family deity was called Śrīparvatasvāmin, to be identified with God Mallikārjuna Śiva of the modern Śrīśailam. The fact that Viṣṇukuṇḍi rulers were named after Mādhava and Govinda and the various Viṣṇu-names referred to in the records tell us that there is no rift between Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism.

The disappearance of the Viṣṇukuṇḍis by about the beginning of the seventh century A.D. was followed by the conquest of Āndhra by

1. *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII, p. 281.
2. G. Minakshi, *Administration and social life under the Pallavas Madras*, 1977, p. 207.
3. S. Sankaranarayanan, *the Viṣṇukuṇḍis and their times*, Delhi, 1977, p. 141 ff.
4. *ibid.* Prolegomena, p. 9 ff.

Pulakasi II, the Western Cālukyan emperor. He constituted the coastal Āndhra excluding Nellore into the kingdom of Veṅgi and conferred it upon his brother Kubja Viṣṇu Vardhana, the founder of an independent line of the Eastern Cālukyas by A.D. 624. At that time Āndhra area was practically reduced to an arena of conflicting imperialistic ambitions of Western Cālukyas, Rāṣtrakūṭas, Later Cālukyas, Pallavas and Coḷas. Many a time the kings of Veṅgi were subjected to much humiliation. The subordinate ruling families sprang up in different areas of Āndhra, not only fought among themselves but also took sides with the invading powers to multiply the conflicts. One of such family fights was of the Palnāḍu rulers, which has a great political and religious significance. The *Palnāḍivīracaritra*¹ composed in Telugu by Śrīnātha of the fifteenth century records a conflict in Palnāḍu particularly between the Vīraśaiva attempting an overthrow of the caste system and the orthodox sections represented by the persons with the Vaiṣṇava leanings who tried to uphold the Hindu social structure. This Palnāḍu battle is an important event in the socio-religious life of Āndhra during the twelfth century A. D. At the time the Vīravaiṣṇava policies of Brahmanāyudu led the terrible battle of Palnāḍu against Nāgama, representing the Vīraśaiva side. We need not picturise that this battle was fought purely on religious grounds, because there are political and other reasons also for this conflict. But this is one of the rare examples of sectarian fanaticism and conflict with rivalry in history of Āndhra. An aggressive intolerant attitude of Vīraśaivas to others could be illustrated with the view of Pāṅḍitārādhyacaritra (a Telugu poet who wrote a work called *Pāṅḍitārādhyacaritra*) who took the pious vow that he should neither see nor touch nor talk to a non-Śaiva who, according to him was a sinner² (*bhavi*). From the twelfth century onwards, Vīraśaivism propagated more and more sectarianism. This was also due to the influence of Basava, the founder of Vīraśaivism and the Prime Minister of Bijjala of Kalyāṇī (A. D. 1156). The Pāṅḍitatraya—Śrīpati, Mañcana and Mallikārjuna—were disciples of Basava in Āndhradeśa.

As the Later Cālukyas declined, the Kākatīyas rose to prominence at Hanumakoṇḍa. The conquests of Kākatī Rudra and Gaṇapati Deva brought most of the Telugu speaking areas under the rule of the Kākatīyas and Warangal became their capital. From then the Śaivaite movement received a fillip but not with fanatic tinge of it. The already mentioned battle of Palnāḍu weakened the feudatory families and paved the way for the establishment of the Kākatīya empire under Kākatī Rudra. No doubt Rudra was a Śaiva and took the title Paramamāheśvara, but his religious attitude was much influenced by smārta syncretism. He built a temple and installed in it Śiva in his name as Rudreśvara. But at the

1: Śrīnātha, *The Palnāḍivīracaritra*, (ed) Pandita Umakantavidyasekharulu, Madras, (Kali 5040), 1938.

2. *The Pāṅḍitārādhyacaritra*, I. p. 15.

same temple, he installed the images of Vāsudeva and Sūryadeva and gifted land at Maddiceruvu for conducting the worship of three gods there. One of Kākati Rudra's officers, Gaṅgādharamantri built numerous temples at different places for both Śiva and Viṣṇu.¹ Most of the inscriptions of the time of the Kākatiyas contain invocations to both Śiva and Viṣṇu.² Another example, which is a landmark in the growth of syncretism is the honour done by Gaṇapatideva to Tikkana Somayāji, a famous Telugu poet and one of the trio of the Mahābhārata writers in Telugu. Tikkana played an important role in the religious life of Āndhras. He tried to establish the essential unity of God and popularised the concept of Hariharanātha. He was the minister of Manumasiddhi of Nellore and lived during A. D. 1200-80. But it was to Lord Harihara that he dedicated his *Āndhra Mahābhārata*. Tikkana did a great service by popularising the compromising concept of Hariharanātha to bring a harmony between conflicting sects.

The Kākatiya empire reached its zenith under Rudramadevi and her grandson Pratāparudra, in whose time started the Muslim attacks on Warangal. Finally Pratāparudra was defeated and taken as captive (A.D. 1323-24). The Muslim authority in the country was encountered by patriotic spirit revolting against Muslim tyranny. In a short time the Muslim authority was ended and Warangal was recaptured by Kāpayanāyaka of the Musunūru family. The pitiable condition of the country consequent on the adverse effects of the Muslim rule is described vividly in the contemporary account in the Vilasa grant of the already mentioned Musunūri Kāpayanāyaka.³ According to this account, the Brahmins were disallowed to perform their religious rites and rituals and temples were destroyed and idols were disfigured and broken. The oppressive nature of the Muslim rule was the consequence of the religious fanaticism and intolerance of the conquerors. The iconoclastic zeal made them to destroy Hindu temples whereas their Islamic faith turned them into builders of mosques on their ruins. For example, a mosque was built in A. D. 1324 at Rajahmundry by Muhammad Tuglak Shah on the ruins of the temple there massacring some of the officiating Brahmins. Hindu epigraphs at Ellore and Bikkavole attest that the mosques there were originally Hindu temples. As the Vilasa great of Kāpayanāyaka says, it is a natural reaction that the Muslims who suffered reverses as many as seven times in the hands of the Hindus, adopted the methods of ruthlessness, oppression and vengeance. Violence breeds violence.

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1. *Karimnagar Inscription*. Tel. Ins. I. pp. 12-17.
 2. *Kondiparti Ins.* Ibid, pp. 19-26; *Jalapuram Ins.* Ibid. II, pp. 103-107 & PP. 115-121; *Katukuru Ins.* Ibid. pp. 127-135 etc.
 3. *E. I.* Vol. 32. pp. 239-268

The Muslim invasions and occupation of different areas of South India in the early decades of the fourteenth century were something of a regular *Jehed*. The accounts of Ibn-Batuta stand as an evidence for this from Muslim side with regard to the plight of Hindus. This created a great horror among the Hindus. They felt the necessity for united action to stem the tide of Muslim aggression which raised its threatening finger to cut at the roots of the Hinduism itself. The desire to have a powerful kingdom to safeguard the interests of the Hindu population was materialised in the form of the Vijayanagar kingdom, established by the two brothers Harihara and Bukka I under the spiritual guidance of Vidyāraṇya, one of the greatest Advaitins. The Vedāntic spirit and also a kind of smārta line of thinking influenced the Vijayanagar rulers to be tolerant and liberal to different religious denominations within the fold of Vedic religion and also non-Vedic religions like Jainism and Buddhism. The preference of early Vijayanagar kings is Śaivism whereas the later kings adopted much Vaiṣṇavism. The first few kings of the Saṅgama dynasty were followers of Kālāmukha school of Śaivism, though they were tolerant to and patrons of other religious systems also. Kriyāśakti Paṇḍita of the Kālāmukha school was the royal *guru*. The Viraśaivas also received the patronage of the Vijayanagar kings as may be seen from the title *Viraśaivāgamasampanna* assumed by Devarāya II. In the time of the later Vijayanagara Rulers Vaiṣṇavism started to spread itself. The three important schools of Vedānta : Advaita, Viśiṣṭādvaita and Dvaita got encouragement from the Vijayanagar rulers. The most eminent of the Dvaita teachers Vyāsarāya was a contemporary of Kṛṣṇadevarāya and also was honoured by him. According to the *Sampradāya Kuladīpikā* a work of the sixteenth century, Vyāsarāya presided over a meeting held at the court of Kṛṣṇadevarāya in which Vallabhācārya, one of the exponents of Vedānta and founder of the school of Puṣṭimārga defeated his opponents in a dispute.¹

One of the important charters of Bukkarāya I has to be mentioned here for his extraordinary benevolent attitude towards non-Vedic religion Jainism. When in 1368 there arose quarrels between the Jains and the Śrīvaiṣṇavas. Bukka I settled their matters of dispute and brought harmony and reconciliation between the two quarreling sects. Jaina-Vaiṣṇava compact is an important landmark in the religious history. The king summoned the leaders of the two sects and declared that there was no essential difference between the two sects and they should remain as friends. It is said that he took the hands of the Jains and placing them in the hands of the Śrīvaiṣṇavas of the eighteen *nāḍus* including the Ācāryas of Śrīraṅgam, Tirupati, Kāñci, Melkoṭai etc. The decree in the record is as follows :

1. M. Seshagiri Sastri, *Report on the Search for Sanskrit and Tamil Mss.* Vol. I, p. 16.

"The Jaina creed is, as before entitled to the five great musical instruments and the *Kalasa* or vase. If loss of advancement should be caused to the Jaina creed through the Vaiṣṇavas, the latter will kindly deem it as loss of advancement caused to their own creed. The Śrī Vaiṣṇavas will to this effect kindly set up a *śāśana* or inscription in all the bastis of the kingdom. For as long as the sun and the moon endure, the Vaiṣṇava Creed will continue to protect the Jain creed. Vaiṣṇavas and Jains are one body; they must not be viewed as different. Tattayya of Tirupati, will, out of the money levied from every Jaina house throughout the kingdom, appoint twenty servants as a body-guards for the God at Belgola and repair the ruined Jaina temples. He who transgresses this decree shall be a traitor to the king, a traitor to the Saṅgha and the Samudāya.¹

Irugappa Dandanātha the minister of Harihara II was a Jain and built the Kunthujinālaya at Vijayanagara, the present Ganigitti temple at Hampi² and a basti for Pārśvajinanātha at Gooty. One of the important events is that Devaraya II built a stone temple for Pārśvanātha in a street of the Tamulapākula Veedhi (pansupari Bazar) at Vijayanagar.³ Kṛṣṇadevarāya and his successors also patronised Jainism (528 of 1928-29). The tolerant attitude reflected also in the policies of taxation. During the days of Narasiṃharāya lands belonging to a few Jain temples like the Virarājendra Śolapperumpalli fell into disuse on account of heavy taxation. Hence Kṛṣṇadevarāya after his accession to the throne remitted the taxes on all *devadāna* lands including the Jaina, Buddhist temples in the Paḍaiviḍu and Chandragiri rājyas (144 of 1939-40). The generosity of the Vijayanagar kings extended even to the Muslims. Devarāya II set the example by allowing the Muslims to settle in the Vijayanagara empire with security which policy appears to have been followed by his successors. He, according to Ferishta, effected some reforms in his army organizations; entertained Muslims in his service, allotted them Jagirs, erected a mosque for their use in his capital and commanded that no one should molest them in the exercise of their religion.⁴ It is appropriate here to quote the words of T. V. Mahalingam⁵ with regard to the religious policy of Vijayanagar kings. He says: "The Vijayanagar Sovereigns found religious toleration not only a sound policy but also a political necessity".

1. *E. C. II./New Edn., Sb. 475 (344); Old Edn., Sb. 136; E. C. IX, Mg. 181.*
2. *S.II., I. p. 156.*
3. *S.II., I. p. 82.*
4. Scott, Ferishta, I. p. 118.
5. *Administration and Social Life under Vijayanagar. Part II: Social Life, University of Madras, 1975: Madras University Historical Series No. 158: p. 203.*

The spirit of the same policy extended to Christianity also. According to a few records, a Christian was the Diwan of Vijayanagar in 1445 under Devaraya II.¹ But it was only with the arrival of the Portuguese to India that Christianity began to spread in Southern region. The Jesuite fathers were patronised by the Vijayanagar Emperor Veṅkata II who summoned very often to his presence to honour them and heard philosophical disputes that were held in his presence between them and the leaders of the rival Hindu faiths. Veṅkata II also made a settlement by giving them an annual income of 1000 gold pieces.²

1. Mysore Gazetteers, Vol. I. p. 3411.

2. See Heras, op. cit., pp. 464-65.

S. SRIPATHI NAIDU*

MAIN TRENDS IN THE EVOLUTION OF COLA ARCHITECTURE

Ground Plans

During the Seventh Century A. D., the early Cālukyas, and the Pallavas arrived at a more or less complete Plan of a Hindu temple generally in accordance with the Āgamas. In addition to the *garbhagrha*, *pradakṣiṇa* and *maṇḍapa*, subshrines around the main shrine and a row of cells along the *prākārā* were built to the shrines dedicated to *dikpālakas*, *parivāra devatās* and *Vāstupadadevatās* and thus an entire *Vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala* was sought to be erected. The best surviving example is the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñcīpuram built by the Pallava Rājasiṃha. The early Coḷa temples were quite modest structures and very nearly resembled the temples of the closing phase of the Pallava architecture and were content with only the main shrine, *antarāla* and *maṇḍapa* but there were quite a few, which were more ambitious. The Vijayālaya-Coḷeśvara temple at Nārttāmalai (Pudukkottai District) though one of the earliest, is yet unique in that it has a circular *garbhagrha* set in a square *pradakṣiṇa*. Extant examples of the ground plan of the Hindu texts on architecture are rare though the excavations at Nāgārjunakonda have revealed all possible plans : square, rectangular, octagonal, apsidal and circular. Its only well known parallel is the shrine of Raṅganātha in Śrīraṅgam. Around the main shrine of Vijayālaya-Coḷeśvara and in the open courtyard are seven small subshrines, all free standing and facing the main shrine. S. R. Balasubramanyam assigns the twin temples at Kīlaiyur (thirty miles from Tiruchirapalli), the Agastyeśvara and Coḷeśvara, to Āditya, I. This has five subshrines. There is a Śiva temple at Melappaḷuvūr (a mile from Kīlaiyur). This is assigned to the time of Parāntaka I (907-955) The Śiva Temple at Tirukkaṭṭalai (Pudukkottai district), belonging to the period of Āditya I, has seven subshrines built against the *prākāra* wall and they are dedicated to Gaṇapati, Subrahmaṇya, the Sapatmātrkās, Surya, Candra, Jyeṣṭhādevī and Candikeśvara. It has as small *gopura*.

The Muvarakoil (Temple of the Three) at Koḍumbāḷur (Pudukkottai district) belonging to the period of Parāntaka II Sundara Coḷa (956-73) has a slightly different and extended plan. It has three shrines

* We are sorry to announce the sad demise of Sri Sripathi Naidu in July, 1984-Ed.

n a row, facing west, each 21' square and having an *antarāla* 18' square. The common *mukhamandapa* in front is a fairly large pillared hall 91' x 41', detached from the *antarāla* by a distance of about 8'. This feature of an independent *mandapa* also occurs in the Coḷeśvara shrine at Kīlaiyūr. In continuation along the axis are a Nandi shrine, *balipīṭha* and a *gopura* (gateway). Around these and abutting on the massively built *prākāra* wall are fifteen subshrines. The latest in the series, this temple, it may be observed, reveals a more ambitious plan than the earlier ones. The subshrines in these cases were dedicated to Gaṇapati, Subrahmaṇya, Sūrya, the Saptamātrkāś, Caṇdeśvara, Devī, etc.

While the early temples of Rāja Rāja I (985-1016) continued the scheme on a modest, note the Bṛhadīśvara temple at Thanjāvūr (finished in 1009-10 A. D. after a labour of seven years) truly reflected the might and richness of the vast empire, which he ruled. Its size and dimension were several times bigger than those of any temple raised earlier in the south. The base of the shrine is 99' square. The interior of the *garbhagrha* is 45' wide and the *pradakṣiṇa* is 9' wide. The shrine is *caturmukha* but only the eastern *dvāra* is functional, the rest being barred. Along the axis are *antarāla* and *mukhamandapa*. Three lesser *mandapas* (*stūpāna*, *nṛtya* and *vādyā*) were added in further continuation later. There are shrines for Gaṇapati and Subrahmaṇya in the south-western and north-western corners of the main courtyard (500' x 250'). This is enclosed by a mighty *prākāra* wall along side of which are thirty-six cells dedicated to the *dikpālakaś* and Nandis. In the outer court lies the Devī shrine and the Nandi *mandapa*. Two *gopuras* command the entry into these two courtyards. The Devī shrine was probably added in the late *Coḷa* period while the rest seem to be contemporary with the main shrine. In the 17th century the Subrahmaṇya shrine appears to have been renovated and so too the Nandi *mandapa*. In fact renovations were being carried out throughout by the rulers of Thanjāvūr, the latest one recorded in inscriptions being that carried out by the Maratha rulers in 1708, 1801 and 1802.

The Bṛhadīśvara temple at Gaṅgaikoṇḍacoḷapuram (Udaiyarpalyam taluk, Tiruchirapalli district) erected by Rajendra I (10-12-1044) was meant to excel the Thanjāvūr temple and was hence planned on a more ambitious scale. The base of the main shrine is 100' square. The temple itself, i. e., from the backwall of the *pradakṣiṇa* to the *gopura* in the east through the *antarāla* and two *mandapas*, all in a row, measures 340' x 110'. The inner *mandapa*, for the first time is a multiple pillared hall, having more than 150 pillars, thus anticipating the thousand-pillared halls of the Vijayanagara period. The main entrance lay in the east through a *gopura*. This together with the *prākāra* walls is lined with a series of subshrines, which enclose a vast courtyard, were all pulled down and their stones used in the recent period for the constructions of an irrigation dam nearby. As in the Thanjāvūr temple there was an outer court with its own *gopura*

gateway but the walls and structures have all disappeared. To the north of the main shrine is a shrine for Caṇḍikeśvara which is contemporary, and to its north-east a shrine for Devī, probably belonging to the late Coḷa period. The Airāvateśvara temple built during the time of Rājarāja II (1146-1173) at Dārāśuram and the Kampahareśvara temple built by Kulottuṅga III (1178-1218) at Tribhuvanam, both in the Thanjāvur district, followed in the main the plan of the two Bhadīśvara temples noticed above. Instead of reproducing the multiple pillared hall, like the *mukhamanṭapas* of the temple of Rājendra I, which is after all unimpressive owing to its low elevation and sombre and plain pillars, these temples have one more *manṭapa* along the axis, whose components consequently are *garbhagrha* with *pradakṣiṇa*, *antarāla*, *mukha-manṭapa*, *mahā-manṭapa* and an open porch. One or more of these are shaped like wheeled chariot drawn by elephants or horses. This practice seems to have been first conceived during the time of Kulottuṅga I (1070-1120) as is evidenced by the Amṛtaghaṭeśvara temple at Melakkdambur (South Arcot district), planned like a chariot with four wheels, two on each side, and drawn by a pair of horses. S R. Balasubramanyam thinks that this shrine must have been erected between 1100 and 1113. He also assigns a *ṛṣṭi-sabhā* in the Chidambaram temple, apposite to the shrine of Naṭarāja near the wall of the Second enclosure to the period of Kulottuṅga I. One of the porches of the Kampahareśvara temple of Kulottuṅga III is in the form of a multi-wheeled chariot with two elephants in front of the steps.

Prākāra cells and an outer court with its own *gopura* are features common to all these temples. In the case of the Dārāśuram and Tribhuvanam temples the Devī shrines, built next to the main shrine, and not in the outer court, were contemporary. It is probable that during this period the Devī shrines built next to the main shrine, and not in the outer court. Perhaps during this period the Devī shrines were added to the temples of Rājarāja I and Rājendra I.

II. BASES

In the early Coḷa temples the mouldings of the *adhiṣṭhāna* are very few but are in bolder relief than those in the Pallava temples. In the Muvarkoil of Koḍumbāḷur the deep cut member above the *upāna* and elegant *tripaṭṭa*, whose upper and lower bands reveal graceful slopes, is a contrast to the blunt and heavy *tripaṭṭa* moulding of the earlier temples. The next and top moulding is lines with pairs of growing lions.

As the size of the temples increased in the imperial period the *adhiṣṭhāna* grew loftier. In the Thanjāvur temple it rises upto 12' in two stages, the lower one being wider. The latter consists of a wide *grīva* between a band and *cymareversa* and this shows plain pilasters at intervals. In the upper stage are, from below, a narrow *paṭṭa* and the heavy semi-

circular *kumuda* moulding, both filled with inscriptions, and crowning all, and just beneath the wall niches, a frieze of *vyālas* with riders in high relief. They are larger in size than those below, and are represented as springing out of stone in a rampant attitude. This *adhiṣṭhāna* became the standard and was closely followed in the later Coḷa temples in its main features. But in the Dārāsūram temple decorative sculptures were introduced in the lower stage, *yālis*, couchant or rearing, in pairs or single, women dancing to the accompaniment of music, dwarf *gaṇas* in queer dancing poses, playing drum, blowing conch, carrying the *chauri* or holding their hands in wonder, often in the company of a bull. In the upper stage of the *adhiṣṭhāna* of the main shrine, beneath the niches and above the row of rearing *vyālas*, is a row of the niches and above the row of rearing scenes from the stories of the Śaiva saints. Some of these have labels in Tamil.

III. WALL DECORATIONS

After a period of crowded and ornate disposition of the figurework adorning the walls of temples in the heyday of the Pallava architecture, e.g., the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñcīpuram, a more sedate approach is recognisable in the late Pallava style, typified by the Virāṭṭāneśvara temple at Tiruttāṇi built by Aparājita (885-903). One explanation of this might be the fall in the resources of a kingdom, which was shrinking in its power and extent. The austere disposition of deity-niches in the walls of this temple set the model, as it were, for the early Coḷa temples. Here each wall has only one niche between pilasters and the rest of the wall is plain. There are neither subsidiary niches and sculptures nor screen windows, whose variety is a highly pleasing feature of the temples of the Cālukyas of Vātāpi. The walls of the *garbhagṛha* of the Tiruttāṇi temple have Viṣṇu in the western niche and Brahmā and Dakṣiṇāmūrti in the northern and southern niches respectively. The niches in the northern and southern walls of the *antarāla* have Durgā and Gaṇeśa respectively. Each figure is about 3' in height and is in deep relief. The niches in the walls of the *garbhagṛha* are adorned by *makaratorāṇas* while those in the walls of the *antarāla* are adorned by *citra* and *patratorāṇas*. In the *makaratorāṇas* the foliated tail portions do not flow down the sides of the niche but provide only a little beyond the architecture assuming more or less a semicircular form, which is a feature of the Coḷa style. The *citratorāṇa* above the Durgā niche shows two pea-hens pecking at a coconut placed on a lotus like vessel at the centre of the architrave. The same disposition of deity niches is found on the walls of the Korāṅganātha temple at Śrīnivāsanallūr (Tiruchirapalli district) belonging to the period of Parāntaka I. Here each wall has a central deity-niche in a projection and two more niches in recesses on either side having portrait sculptures of men and women, which represent perhaps, the donors. The niches in the walls of the *antarāla* are now empty. It is quite possible that they contained originally the images of Durgā and Gaṇapati. The Nāgeśvara

temple at Kumbhakoṇam, also an early Coḷa temple, has similar deity and portrait sculptures in its central and adjoining niches of each wall but for one difference. The western central niche here has Ardhanārī instead of Viṣṇu. Here are more portrait sculptures of donors, both men and women in very graceful attitudes. The two shrines of Kīḷaiyūr, which face west, introduce Subramaṇya in the backwall and have Brahmā in the north and Śiva as Dakṣiṇāmūrti in the south.

In these and other early Coḷa temples the wall surfaces, except for the niches and pilasters, are severally plain. Only the deity-niches are topped by semi-circular *makaratoraṇas* i.e. scrolls emanating from the mouths of the *makaras* and forming an arch like canopy over the deity. Within the arch is some seated deity figure or some scroll design. In a majority of cases the deity figure alone is found while a few like the southern niche of the Koraṅganātha temple, have a few subsidiary figures arranged on the two sides to make the story complete.

The wall of the Brhadīśvara temple rises to a height of nearly 40' and the wall is divided into two equal horizontal parts uniformly decorated with niches and pilasters, recalling to our minds the *talajāṅgha* and *uparijāṅgha* of the northern temples, e.g. the Liṅgarāj temple at Bhuvanēśvar (c. 1000), older only by a decade. This was done by means of a massive *kapota* running right across the middle of the wall and decorated with *kīḍus* of scroll designs, crowned by *śiṃhamukhas* and enclosing miniature deity-reliefs. This double-storeyed elevation curiously resembles that of the Koraṅganātha temple, in which the top story is the *vimāna* and not *uparijāṅgha*. Each wall of the *garbhagṛha* has five bays, the central one being not only wider but more projected. As the shrine is *caturmukha*, each central bay contains a *dvāra*, flanked by *dvārapīlakas*, only the eastern *dvāra* being functional from the outset, which is obvious from the absence of any provision to reach the other. The deep niche in each bay is enclosed by a split pilaster on either side and within appears a deity, standing in most cases on a lotus pedestal. The two terminating sides of the projecting bay are full pilasters and in the interspaces between the full and half pilasters, i.e., on either side of the deity, are a few associated figures in miniature carved on the wall. The latter do not appear in all cases. The walls reveal on the whole much plain space and this feature coupled with their seeping expanse gives to the great temples of the imperial Coḷas a new and refreshing appearance.

The niche top is decorated with a new type of *makaratoraṇa*. The two *makaras* throw out from their mouth scrolls, which join at the crown, which is decorated with what looks like a fiery head of a lion (*vyālamukha*). On either side of this design are just indicated two *makara* heads in miniature, facing the *makaras* below and sending out scrolls in their turn to meet the scrolls below. Beneath the arch formed by these scrolls are circles.

containing some floral designs or miniature deity sculptures. The foliated tails of the lower *makaras* flow to some length beyond the architrave, placed on two beam heads at the two ends. This type of ornament decorating the niche top received further development in the following periods.

In each of the recesses between the projecting bays is a design, which is actually the beginning of a florid type of pilaster, familiarly known as the *kumbha-pañjara*, introduced for the first time. Its shaft rests on a pot base, more quadrangular than round, with bands suggesting foliage flowing from the lower part of the shaft, on either side. The wall space on either side of the shaft shows two pairs one below the other, of exultant *gandharvas*. The pot base became a true *pūrṇakumbha* with overflowing foliage, and the top canopy became a true *pañjara* (a shrine miniature) only later, i.e. in the Vijayanagara period.

The wall decorations of the Bṛhadīśvara temple, Gaṅgaikōṇḍacolapuram, correspond with those of the Thaṅjāvur temple but it is not a *caturmukha* shrine. The Airāvateśvara temple at Dārāśuram has on its wall only one row of niches and its decorations are somewhat simpler. As in the Gaṅgaikōṇḍacolapuram temple, the central bay is wider but has only one niche. On either side are two bays, the niches occurring only in the extreme bays of each wall while the intervening bays are faced with two pilasters at the two ends, the wall space between them being plain. Above the niche in the wide bay is the oblong *sālā* top and above the two niches in the extreme bays are the semi-circular *makaratorana* motifs. The recesses between all the bays contain *kumbha-pañjaras*. The deity-niches show, as in the other temples of the period, subsidiary figures on the two sides, which do not at all obscure the purely architectural scheme.

One point is of great interest here. Above the cornice the wall is continued as a parapet of the series *kūṭa*, *pañjarasālā*, *pañjara* and *kūṭa* from end to end. The *kūṭas* appear over the corner bays in the walls, whose two sides clearly simulate a square shrine motif in the corner (*karna-kūṭa*). The *pañjaras* appear over the plain bays and the *sālās* over the wide central bays, so that vertically the corner block from the *adhiṣṭhāna* to the *kūṭa* in the parapet through the two wall niches at right angles to one another simulates a square shrine. Again the central bay similarly viewed from base to top represents a recentangular shrine and the intervening bay by virtue of its *gajaprṣṭha śikhara* of the *pañjara*, though not fully shown, stands for an apsidal shrine. Against these *kūṭas*, *sālās* and *pañjaras* of the parapet, above the cornice are deity sculptures as in the two earlier temples of Rājaraṅga I and Rājendra I. The only difference is that the upper row here appears in the miniature shrines above the cornice and not in the wall itself. This kind of parapet over the cornice and not in the wall appears in both the earlier temples and is as old as the *rathas* at Mahābalipuram. What is significant in the

Dārāśuram temple is that there is a closer and more immediate association between the shrines of the parapet and the niches of the wall than in the other two temples. The same applies to the Kāmpahareśvara temple at Tribhuvanam.

IV. CORNICES AND PARAPETS

As in the case of the *adhiṣṭhāna*, a set form of *kapota* or cornice had taken shape in the period of the early Cālukyas and the Pallavas and this did not undergo many changes later. While in the case of the *adhiṣṭhāna* there was a greater scope for variety in the mouldings or height or decorations, such a scope in the case of the *kapota* was very much restricted. Its purpose was to extend over the wall and protect it from exposure. The wall was continued above as a short parapet enclosing the *vimāna*. These two parts, viz., the *kapota* and the parapet essentially structural in character, came to be decorated with a few motifs. A row of *haṃsas* terminating the wall portion, the quarter circular projection of the roof i.e., the actual cornice, decorated with a series of gables, semi-circular or three quarters circular in shape, containing *gandharva-mukhas* or faces of celestial beings, and a frieze of pairs of growing *vyālas* on top were already well known mouldings of the *kapota* and these were continued in the Coḷa period. The gables or *kūḍus* were invariably topped by *simhamukhas*. In the hands of the Coḷa sculptors the simple gable design became an elaborate motif of scrolls showing much variety. Some have circles in the middle showing royal faces or horse-riders but many are wholly scrolls, eliminating the central figures as well as the lions face above and having a serrated outline as is the case in the *kapotas* of the Thaṅjāvur temple. *Gaṇa*-faced gargoyles are introduced here and there to drain off the rain water.

The parapet of *kūṭas*, *sālās* and *pañjaras*, projecting above the wall and enclosing the *vimāna* is quite clearly seen in the *rathas* of Mahābali-puram and the structural temples of the Pallavas and the Early Cālukyas. This feature continued in the Coḷa temples and was raised in a wider and bolder fashion over the walls of the *pradakṣiṇa* so as to form an enclosure wall around the lowest *tala* of the *vimāna*. This is best seen in the elevation of the Vijayālaya Coḷeśvara shrine at Nārttāmalai where the parapet of miniature shrine runs round the first roof of the *maṅṭapa* and the *ekatala-vimāna*, very much resembling that of the Malegutti-Śivālaya of Bādāmi. The parapet invariably is raised over the wall of the *pradakṣiṇa* while the *vimāna* is raised over the wall of the sanctum thus providing space for circumambulation round the lowest *tala* of the *vimāna*. This becomes impossible if the parapet, and the *tala* are in close juxtaposition and this happens when both are raised over the wall of the sanctum in the absence of a *pradakṣiṇa* as in the case of the two extant shrines of the Mūvarkoil at Koḍumbāḷur etc. In some cases a simple wall, which

barely rises above the cornice, takes the place of the parapet of pavilion ornaments.

The parapet appears over the wall of the great temple at Thaṅjāvūr on an ornate and glorified scale with a grand display of their gables bearing a serrated outline. The *pañjara* undergoes a transformation. It is no longer a miniature version of the *sālā*. It now presents the form of a gable with a *kalāsa* finial borne by a pair of pilasters simulating the facade of an apsidal shrine as already indicated. The central *sālā* of the parapet on each side is heightened by the addition of a *pañjara* above its gable faced central portion.

In the parapet of the Gaṅgaikoṇḍacoḷapuram temple we find a four faced miniature shrine (*kuṭa*) above the *sālā*. Such a feature is not found in the case of the parapets of the Dārāśuram and Tribhuvanam temples. The parapets of the Gaṅgaikoṇḍacoḷapuram and Dārāśuram temples carry deity figures against the walls of their pavillion ornaments thus providing another gallery of deities in addition to those appearing in the niches of the walls of the shrine.

V. VIMĀNAS

The term *vimāna* refers to the tower or superstructure of a shrine and often consists of one or more tiers or *talas* of shrine miniatures crowned by the *sikhara* and *kalāsa* raised over a *grīva*. As the Coḷas were ardent Śaivas they erected temples to house the *Śiva-līnga* and these were all square, small or big and the *sikhara* on top was either square or round, the latter occuring in most cases.

Among the early temples, the Vijayālaya Coḷeśvara at Nārttāmalaī and the Agastyeśvara at Melappaḷuvūr have both round *grīvas* and *sikharas*. The former has a square *tala* of pavillion ornaments or shrine miniature of the series *kūṭa*, *pañjara*, *sālā*, *pañjara* and *kūṭa* on each side raised over a lofty platform, whose sides are decorated with simple pilasters. The latter has a *tala* consisting of a square platform only. Several temples have a square *sikhara* e.g., the temples at Panānguḍi and Enādi (Pudukkottai district), the Agastyeśvara at Kīlaiyūr the Nāgeśvara at Kumbhakoṇam, the two shrines of Mūvarkoil at Koḍumbālūr, the Korāṅganātha at Śrīnivāsanallūr etc. Among these only the Kīlaiyūr temple has a *tala* of *kūṭas*, *sālās* and *pañjaras* and the rest have their crowning members raised on high platforms. In the Nāgeśvara temple the *prastara* and *grīva* as well as the intervening *kapota* are decorated with deity figures. A considerable part of this is, however, of modern workmanship.

The *vimāna* of the Bṛhadīśvara temple at Thaṅjāvūr marks the climax both in size and shape in the evolution of superstructures of the horizontal type. It has thirteen *talas* of pavillion ornaments rising close

upon one another without leaving any interspace except the lowest *tala*, which has a covered *pradakṣiṇa* besides the ambulatory provided by the parapet. The walls of the central *sālā* on each side provide a *dvāra* to this *pradakṣiṇa*, whose inner walls display 81 sculptured dance poses of Śiva each on a slab, out of the 108 originally planned. Each *tala* follows the scheme of bays and recesses of the ground plan.

On the top of the last *tala* rests the monolithic *phalaka* or abacus "estimated to weigh about 80 tons". The total height of the *vimāna* is more than 200'. Like the *vimāna* of the shore temple (Mahābalipuram) the Thaṅjāvūr *vimāna* too maintains a high angle of elevation and has an arresting scaring grace. Its upward sweep is emphasised by the absence of interspaces between the *talas*, a feature occurring in the other *vimāna*. The projecting cornices above the walls of the pavilion ornaments line with *kūḍus* and the friezes of *vyālas* above them, however, provide as many horizontal lines as there are *talas*. The straight slopes of the sides and the vertical arrangement of the pavilions give us an insight into the rectilinear perfection which must have been aimed at by the master architect of the Thaṅjāvūr temple, whose *vimāna* has that "mathematical exactness and mechanical precision", the lack of which was bemoaned by Fergusson while referring to the Halebīd temple.

The *grīva* and *sikhara* rise from the middle of the *phalaka*. Both are octagonal. The *grīva*, about 10' in height, has deity niches in the four cardinal directions topped by florid gables appearing against the sides of the *sikhara*, which is about 22' in height. There are lesser gables between these. As the sides gradually curve upward, the *sikhara* assumes almost a domical character and is fittingly crowned by a gilded *kalāṣa*, 12.5' in height.

The *vimāna* is not without sculptures. There is a large semicircular sculptured frontispiece covering almost the first five *talas* of the eastern wing of the *vimāna* portraying Śiva, Pārvatī and attendant deities. In the niches between pilasters of the central *sālās* are deity figures. On the northern side of the *vimāna* a gable forming the top shows the head of a European with a hat. Corresponding *pañjara* top of the lower *talas* show the heads with the respective headgears of a Maratha chief, a Nāyaka and Coḷa.

The solid and soaring character of the Thaṅjāvūr *vimāna* has impressed many art critics. Referring to its pyramidal form Percy Brown says: "In erecting this *vimāna* on the principle of a pyramid its builders were on safe ground, for such a form not only conveys the impression of solid strength and stability but is in reality the most permanent structural shape yet devised and men unconsciously tend to produce handiwork that will last. But there is much more than a desire for its qualities of power. Fully adjusted volume there is at the same time a sense of feasible balance

so that when seen either close to or from far its upward sweep is such that it appears to hang in the air. Unquestionably the fine single erection of the Dravidian craftsman, the Thaṅjāvūr *vimāna* is also a touchstone of Indian architecture as a whole”.

The Thaṅjāvūr *vimāna* forming the upper limit in the strictly pyramidal form, the architect of the Gaṅgaikoṇḍacoḷapuram temple introduced two kinds of curves in its *vimāna* in the place of the universal straight slope. At the corners the *vimāna* exhibits a gentle concave line running through the tops of the *karṇakūṭas* of its *tala*, while on the sides is a gentle curve line going along the central *sālās*. This is obtained by setting forward the *sālās* of the central *talas* in somewhat greater projections than in the rest. Though the lowest *tala* is much wider than its counterpart of the Thaṅjāvūr temple, the height of the *vimāna* is much less than 200'. But for the introduction of the curves and more statuary in the pavilions this *vimāna* resembles the earlier one in all other respects. Compared with it, it looks somewhat stunted though the soaring character is not absent. Drawing a comparison Percy Brown says: “such curves (in the later temple) give the mass an increased richness but detract from its power. There is a voluptuousness in the latter structure, the beauty of ripe femininity, in contrast to the masculine strength of the earlier type Stately and formal as an epic may epitomise the Thaṅjāvūr *vimāna*, while the later example has all the sensuous passion of an eastern lyric.... Each is the final and absolute vision of its creator made manifest through the medium of structural form, the one symbolizing conscious might, the other subconscious grace, but both dictated by that divinity which has seized the soul”.

The *vimāna* of the Airāvateśvara temple at Dārāśuram has four *talas* of pavilion ornaments rising above the corresponding ornaments of the parapet above the cornice, while the *vimāna* of the Tribhuvanam temple has six *talas*. The latter maintains a greater angle of elevation and resembles the Thaṅjāvūr *vimāna* in miniature. Both are flooded with figures and have been subjected to renovations in the later periods.

VI. GOPURAS

The *gopura*, gateway became, for the first time in the Coḷa period, a loftier and more dignified structure than when it was earlier, say in the Pallava period, when it was no more than a mere *dvāra* with a barrel-vaulted roof raised over two or three steps. Such are the *gopuras* of the Shore Temple and the Kailāsanātha temple (Kāñcīpuram). This tradition continued even in the Coḷa period as is evidenced by the *gopura* of an early Coḷa temple at Laddigam in the Chittoor district. But this is definitely an exception. The *gopura* of the twin temples at Kīlaiyur built by Āditya has a stone base and a pyramidal superstructure in brick of three *talas*. Each of the two lower *talas* has the series *kūṭa*, *pañjara*, *sālā*, *pañjara*, and *kūṭa*, the

central *sālā* having a plain niche. The third *tala* is actually the *gala* below the *sikhara* and has a central flanked by a *pañjara* on either side. The absence of *dvāras* in the *talas* makes it quite antiquated though it cannot be altogether ruled out that the brick superstructure might be a later replacement of an original masonry structure. Other early temples too had their *prākāra* walls and *gopuras*, e.g., the Mūvarkoil, but they have not survived.

Both the *gopuras* of the Thaṅjāvūr temple giving access to the outer and inner courtyards, the *Keralāntakan-tiruvāśal* and the *Rājarājan-tiruvāśal* respectively, were erected by Rājarāja I. Both are completely of stone and have three *talas* each. The central *sālās* of the *talas* have *dvāras*. This feature of a *dvāra* in the central *sālā* of the *tala* guarded by *dvārapālakas*, becomes characteristic of a *gopura*, which distinguishes it from a *vimāna*. Among these two *gopuras* the inner, though smaller, is better decorated not only with *dvārapālas*, but with forms of Śiva and also carvings from Vaiṣṇava mythology, which might have been introduced during repairs undertaken in the Nāyak period. The outer *gopura* too has figures of the same type.

Of the two *gopuras* of the Gaṅgaikoṇḍacolapuram temple the outer one is lost while the inner is in ruins. So far as the *gopuras* of the Dārāśūram temple are concerned the outer one is in ruins while the inner is intact and is well preserved. It has only one *tala* of pavilion ornaments raised over a high platform, both decorated with deity figures between pilasters. Over a raised *grīva*, rises the *āyatāsra-sikhara* with gable ends containing *kūṭa* designs. The *gopura* of the Kampahareśvara temple at Tribhuvanam has four *talas* of pavilion ornaments; but the elevation is not commensurate with the size of the basement and hence it has a stunted appearance. Obviously it was never the intention of the Coḷa architects to build *gopuras* which would even remotely render the *vimānas* obscure. Two other *gopuras* of this temple have lost their superstructures.

It is known from an inscription of Hoysaḷa Someśvara (1235-54) that he built the sevenstoreyed eastern *gopura* of the great Śiva temple at Jambukeśvaram. The symbols of a pair of fish and *aikūśa* on its ceiling jamb suggest that the stone base was erected earlier by a Pāṇḍya, most probably Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I (1216 - 1238) and the superstructure by the Hoysaḷa. This shows that building of lofty *gopuras* started in the late Coḷa period, received further momentum under the contemporary Hoysaḷas, ruling from Kaṅṅanūr (5 miles north of Śrīraṅgam) and the Pāṇḍyas and reached its culmination in the period of the Vijayanagara rulers.

VII. PILLARS, CORBELS AND CEILINGS

In the earlier Pallava and Cālukyan period slender and elegant as well as heavy types of pillars with base, shaft and capital components and

bearing corbels of an ornate type were wellknown, but the Colas did not adopt this type. Only in a few early Cola temples some Pallava features were continued. The pillars in the *antarāla* of the Vijayālaya-Coleśvara temple, e g., have the *tarāṅga* decoration in their corbels while the Agastyeśvara temple at Melappaluvūr have the lion based pillars and capital components of the "Māmalla style". In the fully evolved Cola pillar of the eleventh century the lion base and the roll corbel with the gentle curved profile were both rejected though the capital components were continued with the introduction of an additional member. This is what is known as the *padmabandha* beneath the *kalāṣa*, which is really a miniature of the *kumbha* and *idal* combined without the intervening *tadī*, but both very much flattered. The real and significant change was introduced in the corbel. A colourless looking corbel of a rectangular block bevelled at both ends so as to yield angular profiles leaving a tenon like projection at either end and took the place of the corbel with the *tarāṅga* ornament. This feature has to be read along with the Cola rejection of many other motifs like overornamentation, crowded sculptures figure brackets against corbels, representation of *mithunas*, etc., which characterised the earlier Cālukyan pillars and art in general. The process of ornamentation has been started by the Pallavas themselves and the Colas carried forward the new trend. This applies to the early and middle Cola periods while in the late Cola period there was a return to decorative motifs.

Dr. N. SUBBU REDDIAR

VALUE OF WEEPING IN SPIRITUAL LIFE

Weeping is one of the methods invariably resorted to by the weak and the impotent for the attainment of their heart's desired objects. Weeping excites sympathy, disarms opposition, and goes a long way in securing the desired object from the hands of the unwilling giver. It is also designed by nature to indicate pain and the existence of suffering. Instinctively a man in distress weeps, and it is only by the greatest restraint imposed on oneself on considerations of the vulgarity involved in the exhibition of emotions, that weeping is stifled where the individuality is strong and unbending. Weeping also comes as a solace to the man in disparate circumstances. A person finds relief in shedding tears and sobbing away his woes. He takes to weeping instinctively as it were. In his overstrung state it suggests itself as a relief and remedy. No wonder then that the seekers after God also weep and wail a great deal. They feel incomplete without God Who is the object of their love; they feel desolate and forlorn when they think that they have been abandoned by their God in a wilderness of suffering and sorrow; they feel further that they are deeply distressed at their helpless plight; they are daily in mortal dread of the temptations and allurements of the material world which threaten to drag them away from their spiritual path. Experiencing all these and seeing by introspection several other kindred sensations of fear and insecurity, they wring out their hearts in grief and break out into rhapsodies of melancholic strain which are as beautiful in their melody as they are striking in their disconsolateness. The songs and hymns of the devout men of yore are nothing but a musical record of the wailing of their souls in their longing and the poignancy of their yearning for a God Whom they loved, worshipped and sought after. Intense dissatisfaction at their present state, and a keen aspiration to true spiritual greatness shook these devotees to the very foundation of their beings, and the result is a series of sobbing songs sung out of sheer agony of the soul.

It is a matter of common knowledge that only the materially minded and sordid man-of-the-world, not feeling the existence of a spirit behind and beyond the visible matter who can be satisfied with his present state, and be content with mere animal existence. He may be troubled by his unfulfilled desires, and thwarted ambitions in material life; but he is not concerned with spiritual wants and longings of which he knows

nothing. On the other hand, there are a few others who out of their faith in God, have made it their pleasure to love Him, their duty to obey His behest, and their purpose to reach Him. These men of God are not satisfied with their present existence. Their noble soul clamours for a beatific union with God, and they will know no satisfaction, till they attain their ultimate goal, viz. the God. It is these devotees, and disquieted seekers that have specialised in the art of weeping and they have left to us a large legacy of laments, portraying their divine discontent. The loudness of their lament is in direct proportion to the intensity of their longing that prompts us to weep.

In the course of a man's spiritual progress, a certain amount of sick-mindedness is a necessary stage. A dispassionate contemplation of the futility of the human endeavour is an absolute pre-requisite for spiritual stability. In other words, as soon as a discriminating self-analysis of one's ways of life discloses to one what one really is and has been, and what one really ought to be, a sense of remorse is an invariable sensation that results out of the introspection. This feeling of remorse causes the first weeping. When one takes stock of one's past life, nothing is left to one but to exclaim: *ūmanār kaṇṭa kaṇṭavilum paḷutāy oḷintāra kaḷinta annāṭkal!*¹— 'the days that are past have gone away like the dreams of a dumb man, useless and unexpressed'. Like the water that has flown down a river, those days are no more to be, and there is no possibility of redeeming them from the lap of the past. This feeling of the lost chances is so bitter that Poygaiyālvār cries out: 'I wept in sheer dread that all the several days that are past have been spent to no purpose'—*paḷutē paḷa paḷalum poṇina enru aṇṇi aludēn.*² Nammālvār regrets that he has wasted all his past days without any feeling for God.³ After one has wept out his feeling and risen chastened out of it, one makes a big effort to be pure in future, and to learn to pine for God, Whom one has so long forgotten.

In this context the feeling of one's smallness and His greatness may oppress and depress one. Here is the second lament, on the unworthiness of the individual soul laden with past sins, on the potentiality for future sins and on the failure to realise the pure and blemishless God. The failure to qualify for true spiritual greatness in the past was the first cause for grief; the incapacity to qualify for it in the present is the second cause, and perhaps a more disquieting one. This feeling is also in turn wept out. Wide reading and deep reflection on the Lord's abounding *saḷabhya* (accessibility) and abiding Grace, dispel all fears born out of inequality, and it is realised that with all His greatness, God is not quite

1. *Periya-tirumoli* - I. i:3

2. *Mutal-tiruvantādi* - 16

3. *Periya-tiruvandṭi* - 82

approachable. As Nammālvār says: *pattutai aṭiyavarkku eliyavan*¹—'He is always amenable to love or *bhakti* 'of his devotees'. The stages in the growth of love in the case of Nammālvār are traceable in his work, *Tiruvāymoli*. In the same work one can see how the venerable saint waited and wept through over the thousand verses with emotion and fervour.

Nammālvār's songs, especially those of the *Tiruvāymoli* are the best example of this cult of weeping as a method of God-attainment. The Ālvār says in a verse: *ceṭiyār ākkai aṭiyāraic cērtal tirkkum tirumālai aṭiyer kānpān alarruvān*²: 'He that can redeem me from mortality characteristic of the jungle of *samsāra*, Him I would bewail for to enjoy *darśan* of'. In another verse he cries: *kūvik kūvik koṣuvirait tūṟṟul niṉṟu, pāvīyēn palakālam valī tikaittu alamarkinṟēn*³: 'Embroided as I am in the inextricable tangle of *samsāra* for long years without knowing how to extricate myself, I shout and shout for redemption'. In another place his God-hunger finds expression thus: "Thou art my very life; Thou art the very precious nectar; Thou hast enslaved me; Thou that hast Garuḍa for Thy chariot and the resplendent discus for Thy weapon; Thou, most handsome of visage. I am a sinner; I yearn with a poignant heart in my appeal to Thee, but it has not been given to me to enjoy the experience of Thy *darśan*."⁴ In another verse of the same hymn he pathetically exclaims: "How long can I mourn interminably? Thou hast uprooted the twin *maruta* trees by the mere act of Thy crawling between them. My great Lord, mine is the longing to enjoy the *darśan* of Thy Feet. In my utter futility I became woe-begone and through my garland of verses I still make appeal to Thee"⁵. In the attitude of confession of sins the Ālvār prays for divine presence:

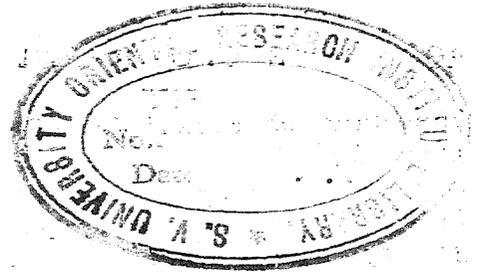
*Tāvi vaiyam koṭa entāy tāmotarā enṟu enṟu
kūvik kūvi neṅcurukik kaṇṇani cora niṉṟāl
pāvi nī enṟu onṟu collāy pāvīyēn kāṇa vantē*⁶

— 'Thy Feet covered the whole world in conquest; Thou shrank into a meek being for cords'. In this way I shout for long. My heart melts, my eyes overflow. I may be a sinner. But if Thou appeared before me to condemn me even as a sinner, I can enjoy Thy divine presence.' In another place the saint cries: "Great God, Thou hast installed Thyself at *Kuṭantai* (Kumbakonam) for worshippers of my calibre. My lot has been to look up the heavens to enjoy Thy divine *darśan*. I cry hoarse and I worship Thee. In my ecstasy I trepidate; I put down my head in shame,

1. *Tiruvāymoli* - I. 3:1
2. *ibid* 1.5:7
3. *ibid*. 3.2:9
4. *ibid*. 3.8:7
5. *ibid*. 3.8:10
6. *ibid*. 4. 7: 3

sinner as I am. Though I am most loathsome I sing Thy praises."¹ Here is the struggle of the Ālvār as Nāyaki; the struggle has found expression in the words of the maid-companion: "At the first sight the Ālvār-nāyaki talks of the beautiful white conch and blazing discus, and of the lotus-eyes of the Lord. Her eyes overflow and she stands breathless and speechless."² "She stands paralysed. As soon as she hears the holy name of 'tēvapirān', she softens herself, her lips seem to utter, betimes her eyes overflow."³ She is in a divine trance; she mutters the *vyūha* state of the Lord in the milky ocean, of the three strides of the Lord to conquer the world, and of His role as a cowherd.⁴ All her utterances are inclined towards the blue-complexioned Lord Kāṇṇapirān. Her coyness has given place to an inward joy and an inner ecstasy.⁵ The Ālvār's words could possibly melt away the hearts of listeners even. In a verse he pathetically cries: *Tāvi vaiyam koṇṭa taṣam tāmaraikaṣku, kūvikkollum kālam innum kurukāto*⁶ — 'The God's handsome but gigantic Feet have subjugated the world. When will it be given to me to repose in Them?'. The Ālvār-nāyaki deplures: "He has enjoined me to describe Him by the names of Māl, Hari, Nāraṇan, Śrī Mātavan, Govindan, Vaikuntan; but He never once cared to show Himself up or even to give a semblance of His coming".⁷ The intensity of his feeling of woe reaches its peak in one *Tiruvāymoli*. He has deeply yearned to have his *darśan* in full, His handsome appearance, His vision like the clouds, His majesty like the rising sun, all these have been great expectations: "Alas! I met my bitterest disappointment; I am on the point of frustration. Will it end in my death?"⁸ Finally the God-enveloping love was vochsafed to the Ālvār. Such is the potency of weeping for God that a small child under a tamarind tree at Ālvārtirunakari was able to outgrow in love the big *Brahman* by the sheer strength of his loud lamentations in the ecstasy of an unfulfilled love felt for the lotus Feet of the Lord, Who was made to feel that, even a remote Paramapada is not secure from the reach of the loud notes of a languishing and agonising soul pining away in love and crying aloud for the fulfilment of that love. Among the Śaivite saints Māṇikkavācakar has won the distinctive title of *Alutu Alutu Aṣiyatāinta Aṣa*⁹ — 'one who reached God by the strength of his weeping'. This noble saint has prescribed weeping as a means for attaining God: "*alutal unaiṣ peralāmē*"¹⁰ — 'I can attain Thee, if wept'.

1. *ibid.* 5. 8: 4, 5
2. *ibid.* 6. 5: 1
3. *ibid.* 6. 5: 2
4. *ibid.* 6. 5: 3
5. *ibid.* 6. 5: 4
6. *ibid.* 6 9:9
7. *ibid.* 8.2:7
8. *ibid.* 8.5
9. Parañcotiyār - *Tiruvilaiyātal* : Maturaik-kāṇṭam, 21.
10. *Tiruvācakam* - 94.



Dr. C. POORNACHAND

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE VIJAYANAGARA PAINTINGS

The Vijayanagara empire represents the last great phase in the history and culture of South India. Kriṣṇadevarāya (A.D. 1509-1529), Achyutadevarāya (A.D. 1530-1542), Sadāśivarāya (A.D. 1542-1576) etc., were great builders and patrons. The Vijayanagara style of architecture and art are sprinkled throughout the length and breadth of South India. During that period some of the temples are adorned with paintings. In this present paper an attempt is being made to study the characteristics of the Vijayanagara paintings found at Lepākṣi, Hampi, Sompālem, Ānegondi, Kāñchī, etc.

The Vijayanagara paintings are generally arranged in square, oblong and rectangular panels. The ceiling of the Virupākṣa temple at Hampi is divided into compartments of various sizes and different figures and episodes are painted inside these compartments. At Lepākṣi and Sompālem several themes are painted in panels decorated with beautiful borders. A series of circular medallions, lozenge patterns, floral designs like palmates and rosettes, birds in different postures, musicians, etc. are some of the decorative devices that are noticed in the borders.¹ These panels remind us of those found in the illustrated manuscripts (both palm leaf and paper) of Western India, the illustrations taking the form of square panels applied to the page. The borders of these square panels are decorated with diapers, guilloche, palmates, floral marauders, lozenges in combination with springs, rosettes, *hanṣa*-heads pecking at floral pearls, circles filled with arabesque, etc.² It is probable that the Vijayanagara painters followed very closely the Western Indian miniatures in arranging the paintings in square, rectangular and long horizontal panels and in decorating the borders of these panels with various ornamental motifs and designs.

The representation of human figures in "profile perdue" angularity of drawing and the depiction of pointed noses and chins are some of the

1. C. Sivaramamurti, *South Indian Paintings*, New Delhi, 1968, Figs. 61-74
2. Moti Chandra, *Studies in Early Indian Paintings*, London, 1970, p. 113 and Figs. 95, 96, 97, 98, 100 and 142 to 146.

important characteristics of the Vijayanagara paintings. Besides, the shrinking of the farther cheek and the consequent protrusion of farther eye into the space are predominately shown in the paintings that are found in the ceilings of the *Nāṭya-maṇḍapa* and the *pradakṣiṇāpātha* round the *garbhagṛha* of the Vīrabhadrasvāmin temple at Lepākṣi. But it may be stated here that these were not the innovations of the Vijayanagara painters. A careful examination of the early Indian wall paintings and the Western Indian Jain miniatures will give us an idea to know the source from which the Vijayanagara painters drew inspiration and guidance.

These features are noticed for the first time in an embryonic stage in some of paintings at Ajanta and then at Ellora.¹ Though the rockcut Kailāsa temple built belongs to the 8th century A.D., several layers of paintings that are found in the temple belong to different periods. The angularity in drawing does not appear in the earlier layers but it is noticed in the middle layers. "A remarkable change in figure drawing", observes Moti Chandra, "may be marked in the angularity of drawing seen in the pointed nose of the Garuḍa, the Gandharvas and Lakṣmī". It could be said without any reservation that these paintings are the harbingers of new conventions in Indian Art, which became stereotyped in Western Indian miniatures² Further these features are represented in a pronounced manner in the paintings that are noticed in the western porch of the Kailāsa temple at Ellora. They depict some battle scenes and they are assigned to the 12th or 13th Century A.D.³

Traces of mediaeval paintings depicting *Pañcatantra* stories are found on the ceiling of the *maṇḍapa* of a Viṣṇu temple at Madanpur in U.P. It was constructed during the reign of Madana Varman (A.D. 1130-1165); but the paintings might have been added after the completion of the building. Their chief interest lies in the angularity of drawing, pointed nose and the protrusion of farther eye into space.⁴

The south Indian wall paintings that are noticed in the Digambara Jain temple at Tirumalai, Bṛhadīśvara temple at Thanjavur and the Vijayālaya Coḷeśvara temple at Nārṭtāmalai which belong to the 10th and 11th centuries A.D., also exhibit the linear quality of the drawing, the protruberance of the farther eye into space and pointedness of the nose and chin.⁵

1. *Ibid.* p. 18; H Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia*, New York, 1955, Vol. 2, Pls. 151, 152; R.S. Gupte & B.D. Mahajan, *Ajanta Ellora and Aurangabad Caves*, Bombay 1962, Pls. XVIII, XIX, XX, XXI.

2. Moti Chandra, *Op Cit.* p. 12, Figs. 4, 5.

3. *Ibid.*; R.S. Gupte & B.D. Mahajan, *Op.Cit.* Pl. CXIX.

4. *Ibid.* p. 13.

5. *Ibid.* C. Sivaramamurti, *Op.Cit.* Figs. 36, 38, pp. 80 ff.

It is not out of place here to discuss in brief the Jain miniature paintings of western India, for they throw some welcome light upon the Vijayanagara paintings. The Western Indian palm-leaf manuscripts are divided on stylistic grounds into two groups. The first group comprises the manuscripts executed between 1100 A.D. and 1350, A.D., whereas the second group between 1350 A.D. and 1450 A.D. The best examples of the first period are the illustrated manuscripts of *Nisītacūrṇi*, *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama*, *Daśavaikalika*, *Laghuvṛtti*, *Mahāvīracarita*, *Nemīnāthacarita*, etc. In these miniatures the western Indian technique has crystallised itself. The drawing is angular, the physical peculiarities, such as the pointed nose and chin and the farther eye protruding into space are very prominently noticed.¹ The illustrated palm-leaf manuscripts of *Kalpasūtra*, *Siddhahaima Vyākaraṇa*, etc are the best examples of the second period. These miniatures also depict pinching of the farther cheek, pointed nose and chin and protrusion of farther eye into space.² The illustrated paper manuscripts also continued the above referred features.³

It is thus evident from the above discussion that the representation of human figures in three-quarter profile, angularity in drawing, pinching of the farther cheek, the protrusion of the farther eye into the empty space and the pointed noses and chins which are prominently found in the Vijayanagara paintings at Lepākṣi, Hampi and Sompālem are also noticed in the paintings at Ajanta, Ellora, Madanpur, Tirumalai, Thaṅjāvūr, Nārttāmalai, etc. They are also found predominantly in the illustrated palm-leaf and paper illustrated manuscripts in Western India. Regarding the origin and antiquity of the above features Moti Chandra states: "But if sculpture be the index of the art conventions of these times, then the angularity of the treatment of the human figures may be counted as the distinguishing features of the Western Indian Art of Bundelkhand, Malwa, Rajaputana, and Gujarat. It would have been an interesting study to take the migration of the art conventions of the old western school to the Deccan and the South, but unfortunately no wall paintings of the 7th or 8th century have survived from western India".⁴ He further states: "This paucity of documents of the Western Indian school of painting in Gujarat and Rajaputana may be attributed to the destruction of the artistic monuments by the onslaught of the Muslims who wreaked vengeance of their iconoclastic zeal on Hindu temples and palaces. In these centuries of storm and stress, precious documents of Western Indian school of painting on palm-leaf and cloth were irretrievably lost".⁵ If this theory of Moti Chandra is accepted then it follows that the Vijaya-

1. *Ibid.* pp. 28 ff. Figs. 17 to 49.

2. *Ibid.* Figs. 58 to 84.

3. *Ibid.* pp. 37 ff. Figs. 87, 90, 99, 108, 131, 136.

4. Moti Chandra, *Op.Cit.* p. 18.

5. *Ibid.* Intro. p. 2.

nagara painters drew inspiration and guidance either directly from the Western Indian miniatures or from the paintings that are found at Tirumalai, Thaṅjāvūr, Nārttāmalai, etc. It may be pointed out here that though the angularity in drawing and the representation of 'profile perdue' are profusely found in the paintings at Ānegondi and Hampi, but the protrusion of farther eye into empty space is completely absent there. The Nāyaka paintings, noticed at Tirupparuttikunram, Thaṅjāvūr, Chidambaram and Tiruvārūr (17th century A.D.) also continued the tradition of the early Vijayanagara paintings of Hampi and Ānegondi.¹

It is of some interest to state here that the paintings on the ceiling of the *ardha-maṇḍapa* of the Vīrabhadrasvāmin temple at Lepākṣi, as stated earlier, are superior in technique and style when compared to the paintings that are noticed in the *Nāṭya-maṇḍapa* of the same temple. In these paintings frontal and three-quarter-profile views are represented in a pleasing manner. The rounded face, expressive eyes, arched eye-brows and the delicate finger-nails undoubtedly show the mastery over modelling and linear conception by the Vijayanagara painters. Besides, the long and lustrous eyes, the graceful lips, the lovely chin and the fully developed cheeks, arched brows, the beautiful curved ears, singularly attractive neck, charming head-dress and the graceful stance of the body while sitting or standing that are prominently found in the above paintings are reminiscent of the Coḷa paintings noticed in the earlier layers of the Bṛhadīśvara temple at Thaṅjāvūr.² The paintings that are found on the ceiling of the *Kapardīśvara* temple at Tiruvalaṅjuli bear a very close resemblance to the paintings in the *ardha-maṇḍapa* at Lepākṣi. The painting which depicts Śiva as *Vṛṣabhārūḍhamūrti*, noticed at Tiruvalaṅjuli, is akin to the Lepākṣi painting illustrating Śiva blessing Manuṅticolā.³ Further in the representation of flying Gandharvas, clouds, trees, border decorations, etc. the Lepākṣi and the Tiruvalaṅjuli paintings bear a very close resemblance. In the paintings at Tiruvalaṅjuli, like those at Lepākṣi, the frontal views, rounded faces, charming and bold eyes, prominently drawn eye-brows, etc. are very interestingly represented. But Sivaramamurti assigns the Tiruvalaṅjuli paintings to the Nāyaka period of the 17th century A.D.⁴ It is likely that they belonged to the 16th century A.D. and are contemporary to the paintings that are noticed in the *ardha-maṇḍapa* of the Vīrabhadrasvāmin temple at Lepākṣi.

In sculpture and painting, produced in any age and in any country; the human figure always occupied a position of paramount importance and interest. The ideal physical features of a male figure are very often

1. C. Sivaramamurti, *Op Cit.* Figs. 61-62, 63, 64.

2. *Ibid.* p. 87, Fig. 42.

3. *Ibid.* Figs. 67, 84.

4. *Ibid.* Figs. 80 to 85.

described in the ancient Indian literature and represented in the classical Indian paintings. An elegant profile, large shoulders, robust waist and the lion-like stature, constitute the idealised canon of physical beauty. The female figure is characterised by its full sensuous development. The nestling rounded breasts, proportionately modelled haunches, slender waist, eyes comparable to the lotus petal or fish and the majestic gait of an elephant are some of the physical features of an idealised woman. Let us examine whether the Vijayanagara painters represented the human figure in an idealised manner or with a realistic touch. In the paintings at Lepākṣi the human figures are arranged inside the beautifully bordered panels and shown mostly in standing posture with a slight slant stance. But this does not mean that the human figures are not represented in other postures. Thus Śiva is shown, in some cases, riding Nandin, seated on a hillock under the sacred tree, in the warrior's *ālīdha* attitude while destroying the Tripuras and in an appeasing posture as *Gaurīprasādana*. The standing human figures are represented in different ways, i.e., keeping their hands in reverential *añjali*, locking their hands near the chest, and raising their hands above the head apparently in an act of adoration. Many of the human figures, including the gods, are shown with broad shoulders and slightly thick and bloated abdomens. Slim waists for men are conspicuously absent. It appears that the Vijayanagara painters were inspired more by the persons with whom they were moving in the day today life rather than by the idealised canons of physical beauty enunciated in the classical literary works. The full visibility can be realised when the human figure is represented in full-view. But this type of representations are very few in the Vijayanagara paintings. Since the profile representations are prolific, the human figures in the Vijayanagara paintings have an air of detachment and concealed in their poses. They have a doll-like appearance. The women are represented in the Lepākṣi paintings in a captivating and graceful manner. They are shown normally standing and very rarely sitting. They are tall, slim, charming and beautifully attired. Their well formed and rounded breasts are indicated by full and half circles. The frontal eye which is shown very prominently is narrow and eyebrows are arched and long. The pupil is indicated by a circular black point. The nose juts out pointedly beyond the farther cheek and reminds us of a parrot's beak. In the delineation of the human body, Vijayanagara painters, laid emphasis on all the parts of the body.

The representation of animal life occupies an important place in the Indian paintings and sculptures. A number of animals are represented in the wall paintings at Ajanta. The variety and the spontaneous execution of the animal figures are extremely natural and it is likely that the Ajanta painters were inspired directly from the living models and not from the animal chart or memory drawing. The Vijayanagara painters also showed their liking in the representation of animals. The elephant,

camel, horse, stag, *makara*, ram, buffalo, etc. are noticed in the painting Hampi.¹ The elephant is majestically drawn and painted in red ochre. The long and curved trunk, protruding tusks, prominent eyes, fan shaped ears, shapely legs and beautifully caparisoned body are very pleasingly drawn.² The elephants and horses, are represented with a touch of realism. A lovely representation of a camel with a rider is shown in the procession scene of Vidyāraṇya. The element of movement and physical features dominate in all these representation of animals. In the paintings at Lepākshi the bull, cow and calf, boar, dog, monkey, etc. are shown. Special emphasis is laid in the representation of the muscular features of these animals. The short and stout horns, erect ears, beautifully and boldly drawn eyes, hoofs, and curved hump of the bull are very pleasingly drawn.³ The calf is smaller in size than the cow which is depicted under the belly of the cow. It is very important to note that the lower portion, below the neck of the bull, cow and calf is decorated with wavy lines. It may be stated here that this feature is also noticed in some of the Jain miniature paintings of Western India.⁴ The representation of birds shows that the Vijayanagara painters closely observed their habits and mastered their physical features. A pair of *hamsas*, as an ornamental device, is painted on either side top corners of the square panels in the Virūpākṣa temple at Hampi.⁵ The long and slender necks, graceful beaks, outstretched wings, and fan-like tails are drawn in a natural manner. In the painting that illustrates Śiva as *Madanāntaka* two parrots are shown in an extremely pleasing style. The long and narrow tails, and short and curved beaks are singularly graceful. Their eyes are represented with prominent black points.⁶ A row of geese, as a border decoration, is noticed on the ceiling of the *ardha-maṇḍapa* in the Virabhadrasvāmin temple at Lepākṣi. About these geese C. Sivaramamurti observes: "The skill of the painter in design can be judged by the numerous drawings of scrolls and patterns, and particularly from the scroll of geese, a whole length of which is represented with unerring draftsmanship in the *ardha-maṇḍapa*".⁷ The doves in various postures and positions are shown in the paintings at Sompālem.⁸ Thus it is evident from the careful examination of the representation of various animals and birds in the paintings under our consideration that realism triumphed over conventionalism.

1. C. Sivaramamurti, *Op. Cit.* Figs. 54, 55, 61, 63, 64.

2. *Ibid.* Fig. 55.

3. *Ibid.* Fig. 67.

4. Moti Chandra, *Op. Cit.* Figs. 51, 52.

5. C. Sivaramamurti, *Op. Cit.* Fig. 59.

6. *Ibid.* Fig. 63.

7. *Ibid.* p. 120, Fig. 60.

8. *Ibid.* Fig. 74.

Another important feature of the Vijayanagara paintings is the linear draftsmanship. The linearism is the distinguishing trait of the mediaeval painting and this feature received due recognition and importance at the hands of the Vijayanagara painters. It is on account of this linearism that the Vijayanagara paintings lack depth and appear flat. A. Gopal Rao rightly observes: "The painting at Lepākṣi is mostly descriptive and where it is not, it is decorative, and rendered completely in flat pattern suggesting only a single plain, with the artist never attempting to suggest depth. The design is entirely by line, even the details which are mainly decorative are suggested only in appropriate lines, so that the entire painting presents and appears of coloured drawings and rather free painting."¹

"Any study of Indian art, based solely on the analytical principles" Moti Chandra observes, "is bound to remain incomplete if the basic principles which give it permanent values are ignored. Once the analysis is over the synthesis of all the consistent elements remain to be treated. In other words, this synthesis resolves itself in the study of the means employed by the Indian artists to realise unity in their works".² Thus we are brought into the problems of composition and colour scheme. A careful examination of the grouping and compositional techniques employed by the Vijayanagara painters will enable us to state that the element of verticality dominate is the paintings at Lepākṣi, Hampi, Sompālem, etc. In most of the cases the figures are represented individually and very often in rows. The height of the figures is governed by the position of objects in space, the real dimension of the subjects depicted and the importance of the figures in the composition. In the paintings on the ceiling of the Virūpākṣa temple at Hampi, the camels and elephants are shown greater in height than men.³ In the procession scene of Vidyāranya, the realistic representation of a palanquin is a noteworthy feature.⁴ The figures of gods and goddesses are shown higher than the sages and the other human beings, perhaps to emphasise their supernatural element. Similarly, Śiva as Bhikṣātanamūrti and Harihara, Manunīcoḷa, Virūpaṇṇa and Viraṇṇa are represented taller than the other figures in the paintings at Lepākṣi, with the intention of showing their divinity, dignity and high status.

The other important feature of the composition which deserves our attention is the treatment of the background. Different types of backgrounds are observed in the Vijayanagara paintings. In the first instance trees are represented as the objects of background. They are treated con-

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1. A. Gopal Rao, *Lepākṣi*, p. 75.
 2. Moti Chandra, *Op.Cit.* p. 110.
 3. C. Sivaramamurti, *Op.Cit.* Figs. 54, 55.
 4. *Ibid.* Fig. 55.

ventionally. Their foliage is often composed with a series of circles and bouquets. Such trees will give the impression of an umbrella. The trunks are covered with fine sinuous lines, perhaps simulating their barks.¹ Similar type of tree-representations are profusely found in the Nāyaka paintings at Tirupparuttikkunram.² It is not out of place here to state that in the Jain miniature paintings of Western India the conventional and stereotyped representation of trees are found in plenty.³ Perhaps the Vijayanagara painters might have been influenced by the Western Indian miniatures in this respect. The trees that are found represented in the paintings at Lepākṣi are of conventional type. The trunks of the trees are shown emerging in between the human figures and the foliage at the top is represented prominently in a stylised manner. It should be noted that in one of the paintings at Lepākṣi (Śiva blessing the devotees) a banian tree is shown in an extremely natural way.⁴ In the second type, the background is decorated with ornamental hangings, flying *apsaras*, clouds, hills, flowers etc. Semicircular, rectangular, multi-curved and bell-shaped ornamental hangings are found on the top section of the painted panels. Sometimes they are provided floral festoons and lotus petal motifs. They are profusely found in the Vijayanagara paintings at Lepākṣi, Sompālem, Tiruvalanjuli, etc.⁵ In some cases the panels are canopied by multicurved ornamental *toranas*. They are found mostly in the paintings at Hampi but not at Lepākṣi and Sompālem.⁶ The paintings at Tiruvalanjuli give us some unique information in this connection. Here the individual figures of gods and goddesses are canopied by intricately and pleasingly designed floral *toranas*.⁷ Mention may be made here that the gods and goddesses carved on the exterior of the Hoyasālēśvara temple at Halebīd are canopied by triforium floral arches.⁸ Similar type of triforium floral *toranas* are found on the exterior of the Gennakeśava temple at Puṣpagiri.⁹ It is thus clear that the Vijayanagara painters and sculptors were influenced by the Hoyasala sculptors in the representation of triforium floral *toranas* over the heads of the gods and goddesses in sculpture and painting.

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1. *Ibid.* Figs. 59, 74.
 2. *Ibid.* Fig. 75.
 3. S.M. Nivas. *The Oldest Rajasthāni Paintings from Jain Bhandras* Ahmedabad, 1959, Figs. 22, 24, 60, 64, 65, 72, 73, 77, 78, 79, 82, 140, 145.
 4. C. Sivaramamurti, *Op.Cit.* Fig. 71.
 5. *Ibid.* Figs. 66, 67, 71, 83, 86.
 6. *Ibid.* Figs. 59, 61, 64.
 7. *Ibid.* Figs. 80, 81.
 8. *Marg.* Vol. XXXI, No. I, December, 1977, Pls. 19, 20, 24.
 9. V. Kameswara Rao; *Select Vijayanagara Temples of Rājyalaseema*, Pl. XVI, Fig. 2, pp. 51 ff.

The introduction of architectural details in the paintings may be considered as another important feature of the composition. In the Ajanta paintings the architecture dominates the scene. "The architectural details are introduced to bring coherence in the groupings, and at Ajanta they may be called 'architectural landscape'. All these architectural details are represented, as if they were to be seen by a person from the house top. This point of view in perspective gave liberty to the artists even to present the details which, according to the laws of ordinary perspective, should be hidden from view."¹ The Vijayanagara painters did not pay much attention in decorating the panels with architectural additions. But they did not totally discard them. In the paintings at Hampi, pavilions with storeyed pyramidal superstructures are found on the top of the panels. In between these structures are painted trees having wavy trunks and clearly defined leaves.² In one of the paintings at Lepākṣi, illustrating Śiva blessing the devotees, a part of the pavilion or palace is beautifully delineated.³ In a painting at Sompālem which depicts Rāma bidding good-bye to Daśaratha and Kaikēyī, a part of the palace is shown on the left extreme corner.⁴

The colour scheme adopted by the Vijayanagara painters is another interesting subject. The painter normally, before the application of colours, draws the outline of the subject first. "These outline sketches", states V. Kameswara Rao, "seem to have been drawn first in flat brown lines, the colour used being red ochre. No attempt seems to have been made to give to the lines a modelling quality, but a second line presumably in *Kajjal* black drawn very close to the first line gives to the outline a rounded form. At the next stage, the outlines were filled in by appropriate colours"⁵ Red ochre is predominately used as a background colour in the paintings as Hampi. Light grey, white, black, light green, purple, etc. are used for colouring the body and costumes in the paintings at Hampi. In the paintings at Lepākṣi a harmonious compromise between the thick and light colours has been attempted. It should be noted here that there is a difference in the use of colours between the paintings in the *ardha-maṇḍapa* and those in the *nāṭya-maṇḍapa*. In the former the colour scheme appears to be balanced and pleasing and it is also done with great care and caution by the master craftsmen, and these features are conspicuously absent in the latter case. But much of the painting is damaged and many colours are faded due to the impact of climatic conditions and also due to the inferior quality of colours. However, thick and light backgrounds are visible. Normally red ochre, yellow, light orange and indigo are used for the backgrounds. Dark green, bronze blue, blue-

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1. Moti Chandra, *Op. Cit.* p. 107.
 2. C. Sivaramamurti, *Op. Cit.* Figs. 54, 59.
 3. *Ibid.* Fig. 74.
 4. *Ibid.*
 5. V. Kameswara Rao, *The Lepākṣi Temple*, p. 37.

black, light red, sky blue, white, yellow and grey of different shades are used for colouring the body of the divine and earthly figures. Gold colour is used for the decoration of borders of the *sāris*, *dhotis*, *uttariyas*, *prabhāman-dalas*, etc. The Vijayanagara painters exhibited their supreme skill and knowledge in matching colours while representing various types of costumes worn by men and women in the paintings at Lepākṣi.

Dr. BANAMALI RATH

GĪTASĪTĀVALLABHAM OF ŚĪTIKANṬHA KAVIUTTAMA—A STUDY

The *Gitagovinda* of Jayadeva¹ is a unique work in the History of Sanskrit Literature. The poem describes the love of *Rādhā* and *Kṛṣṇa* with the excellent ideational subtleties. This work has become a perennial source of inspiration and joy to the thinkers, literators, devotees and poets all alike. The sweetness of diction, the musical beauty of lyrics, the softness of word-pictures and, above all, the artistic expression of the universal human feelings, depicted in the *Gitagovinda* (GG) have a captivating effect on its readers. In appreciation of these qualities of the GG a host of Indian writers, highly inspired by its universal appeal have attempted at different times, to compose poems in imitation of this masterpiece. The scholars from all parts of India in general and the poets of Orissa² in particular being born and brought up in that glorious tradition³ of Sanskrit culture, have composed, in Sanskrit, more than one hundred and thirty imitative works exhibiting their poetic ingenuity and erotic-devotional ecstasy.

Apart from a few works of this type available in print, a bulk of such imitative works, continue to be discovered in manuscripts and a number of them must also have been lost by the passage of time. But many interesting stray verses and fragmentary songs and, in some cases, the names only, of such *Gitakāvya*s have been preserved in the later commentaries, rhetorical works, anthologies and works on musicology.

one such work is *Gītasītāvallabham* (GS), a *mahākāvya* of poet Śitikanṭha. The present paper tries to study some aspects of this work.

1. "Orissa, the home land of Jayadeva" - by the present writer. The paper is contributed to the proceedings of the International Sanskrit Conference, New Delhi 1972, and is published in the *Mysore Orientalist* Vol. IX & X 1976 & 1977.
2. "Contribution of Orissa to Indian Lyrics" by the present writer. Vide *Proceedings of the International Sanskrit Conference*, Vol. I. Part I, 1975 pp. 382-400.
3. Vide the paper of the present writer—*A family of post-cum-rhetoricians in Orissa: Jhankār*, February 1958, Vol. IX No. 12 pp. 1084-90.

Recently the first and second cantos of GS have appeared in two issues of the *manoramā*,¹ a monthly Sanskrit magazine, published from Berhampur. The editor of the magazine records that the first two cantos of this beautiful *Gītakāvya* have been procured from Sri Vasudevananda, the Principal of the S.S Sanskrit College, Pūrī and the rest of the work is not available at present either in manuscript or in print. From a perusal of these two *sargas* it appears to be a work of paramount importance from many points of view. It would help immensely in settling a long standing dispute in the field, if and when the complete work will be discovered.

The GS opens with an invocatory verse² in adoration of Sītā and Rāghava and in the succeeding verses he gives the subject matter of his work and praises the beauty of his own composition.³ Like the GG the present work also gives a detailed description of the Ten Incarnations, in the first song which concludes with the statement that it is Sītāpati who is the source of all the incarnations.⁴

Then the poet commences the actual story. The gods in the heaven, with the leadership of Brahmā, approached Viṣṇu related to Him their untold sufferings at the hands of the powerful demon Rāvaṇa and they sought a permanent remedy for this. In compliance of their request Keśava (Jagannātha) took his birth in the house of Daśaratha as 'fourfold Daśarathi', whose beautiful countenance is depicted in a song. The king Daśaratha was highly rejoiced. For his clan has been blessed with four sons. But the venerable Viśvāmitra appeared before the king and requested him to send Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa to his penance-grove to destroy the demons who were the sources of hindrance to his sacrifices.

In the second canto we find Daśaratha being very much perturbed. But reluctantly he agreed to the proposal of Viśvāmitra, since the request of the sage could not be ignored. Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa delightfully followed the sage who initiated both of them in the protective *mantras*. They all started for the forest. On their way as a reply to the enquiry of Rāma the sage narrated the story connected with Anaṅgāśrama. There

1. Vide *Manoramā* Vol. V, 1965, No. 2 ff., edited by Pt. Ananta Tripathi Sharma.

2. सीताराघवयोः पवित्रयतु मे चित्रं चरित्रं तयोः ।

3. श्रीरामचन्द्रचरितामृतसान्द्रगर्भं
एवं करोति शिथिकण्ठकविः प्रबन्धम् ।

4. इति शिथिकण्ठकवेः.....

व्याकृतिरिति तन्नोमि सीतापतिम् ।

they spent a night and enjoyed the hearty hospitality of the inmates of that hermitage. Thus the second canto comes to an end!

From a careful scrutiny of the two extant cantos of this work we understand that the poet Śitikanṭha closely follows, in his GS, the GG. In constructing the structure of his work and determining the characteristic features of the cantos he has utilized Jayadeva's mode of description and manner of expressions very closely. Hence the GS, it is interesting to note, contains the exact number of verses and songs, the specific metres of the verses and the particular times as well as the musical notes in the songs serially from the start to finish in both the cantos. The GS follows the GG so closely that almost all the verses in the former begin with those letters with which the verses in the GG also commence.

However the content of the GS is quite different. While the GG describes only the romantic love of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, the GS tries to give the entire story of Sītā and Rāma.

Here it is interesting to note the following: Eventhough Śitikanṭha closely follows Jayadeva in GS in respect of its external technicalities, verse by verse, yet he leaves unnoticed the twelfth and the thirteenth verse of the available text of the first canto of the GG². Likewise in the second canto also the outward mode of the GG has been faithfully followed in the GS from the beginning to the end, but the last verse³ i.e. ten of the same is ignored. This feature of the GS reminds us of the fact that Nārāyaṇadāsa (c. 1300 A.D) the author of the *Sarvāṅgasundari*, the earliest available commentary on the GG did not also comment upon some eighteen verses of the GG while they are found commented upon by Rāṇā Kumbha (1460 A.D.) and other subsequent commentators. As such it is believed that these eighteen verses might have been interpolated into the GG from an unknown gīta kāvya of a king by name Puruṣottama⁴ sometime in between 1300 and 1460 A.D.

The fact that Śitikanṭha too ignored the first three verses of these eighteen interpolated verses of the GG⁵ seems to suggest that he had with

1. इति श्रीगीतसीतावल्लभमहाकाव्ये शितिकण्ठकृतौ
अनङ्गाश्रमनिवासो नाम द्वितीयः सर्गः
2. The verses of the GG in question are
नित्योत्सङ्ग etc. (verses No. 12) and रासोल्लासभरेण etc. (verses
No. 13).
3. I. e. साकूतस्मित etc.
4. Vide 'The First Imitation of the Gītagovinda' by the present writer in
the *V. Indological journal* Vol. XIII (1975).
5. These verses of GG in question are : 12, 13, 18, 26, 33, 40, 44, 54, 56,
57, 60, 68, 78, 79, 80, 85, 87 and 93.

him the GG text which was the same as the one commented upon by Nārāyaṇadāsa. Maybe both these authors were contemporaries. If this suggestion is accepted, then the GS will be the first work of those which imitate the GG. This fact may corroborate the existence of an uninterrupted tradition of musical compositions in Orissa which was started by Jayadeva and followed subsequently by different writers at different times in Orissa till today. This uninterrupted tradition in Orissa may be considered as one of the most important factors to prove Jayadeva's Orissan origin.

We saw earlier that Śitikanṭha describes Rāghava (Rāma) as the main spring of all Ten Incarnations. Yet he also describes Rāma as one of the incarnations in his 'Daśāvātāra stuti' and he excludes Kṛṣṇa from the list as Jayadeva does in the GG. In other context also Śitikanṭha describes that Keśava, Kṛṣṇa or Jagannātha descended on the earth as 'fourfold Dāśarathi'.¹ This reminds us the Orissan tradition according to which Jagannātha or Kṛṣṇa is the composite form of four namely Jagannātha, Balabhadra, Subhadrā and Sudarśana.² Moreover the story of Rāmāyaṇa as depicted in the GS is found in vogue in the peculiar Purāṇic tradition of Orissa. All these may suggest that Śitikanṭha too might have been a native of Orissa.

We saw earlier that the GS has been modelled after the GG to a great extent. Hence it is highly probable that the GS too contained the same number of songs and verses (minus the interpolated eighteen verses noted above) and cantos twelve in number as in the GG. It is also probable that in these twelve cantos Śitikanṭha planned to give us the entire Rāmāyaṇa story i.e. upto the slaying of Rāvaṇa by Rāma.³ In spite of the fact that Śitikanṭha imitates Jayadeva to a considerable extent, yet he appears to be a poet of great merit. This is clear from the GS, though the available text is a fragmentary one. Śitikanṭha indeed adores his work with arresting pictorial richness, verbal harmony and lyrical splendour of narratives, songs and descriptions. A careful reader of the available published text will certainly underline the above statement.

1. चतुर्विधं दाशरथित्वमाप सः

2. श्रीनीलाचलकन्दरोदरभुवि व्यक्तं चतुर्धा स्थितम् ।

तं वन्देमहि नन्दनन्दनतनुं राधाधवं माधवम् ॥

This verse is found in a MS in the Orissa State Museum, BBSR.

3. Cf. the following invocatory verse, where Śitikanṭha has given the gist of his work :

पद्मासनेस्य रतये मुनिवर्यदीक्षा रक्षाथंमाधिदलनाय च मथिलस्य ।

सुग्रीववायुजविभीषणभूतयेऽभूत् भो वाल्मीरिवणवधाय च सोऽवतानः ॥

PRAMOD SANGAR

INDIGO TRADE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

“Of exports, Indigo which formed the chief leading of the hope in 1615 maintained its importance throughout this period, owing no doubt to the great demand for it in Europe for dyeing purposes. The Biana Indigo in spite of its high price and the distance it had to be brought was much preferred to that of Sarkhej and in 1624 the Company ordered that no more than two thirds of Indigo shipped should be of latter type¹.”

In Sir Thomas Roe’s phrase, Indigo was the “Prime Commodity” Chiefly sought by the European buyers in India².

The report sent by William Finch (1608-11) in 1609 gives Indigo the most important place in the exports. The Dutch who reached Surat in 1611, wrote of it as the most important commodity³.

The Indigo produced in India at that time was in great demand in all the countries of the Western Europe for supplying the blue dye required by the Woolen Industry. It was thus the commodity chiefly sought by the English and the Dutch merchants on their first arrival at Surat and for many years it retained an important place in their exports to Europe.

Though there were a number of varieties of Indigo, the present author has confined himself only to the two important types, Sarkhej and Biana.

The famous village of Sarkhej, near Ahmadabad, was the most astonishing example of Indigo production in the 17th century.

The other important place for its manufacture was Biana, near Agra. It was the only place in the Mughal Empire that could compete with the Sarkhej variety for the excellence of the commodity manufactured

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1. *The English Factories in India*, Ed. W. Foster, Vol. I, 1618-21, p.
 2. *English Factories, 1624-29*, Ed. William Foster, Vol. II, p. 36, *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, Ed. William Foster, p. 61
 3. *Early Travels in India - William Foster, William Finch 1608-11* (Supplemented by the letters received by the Servants of East India Company for the East), p. 155.

there. The result was a large export trade which must have been of great advantage to those engaged in the industry. The East India Company's servants at one time attempted to manufacture indigo themselves in their factory at Ahmadabad but abandoned the effort in view of the high cost of production. As both the English and the Dutch factors were competing with one another for the monopoly of this commodity, the local manufacturers of the produce at Sarkhej deemed it fit to make the fullest use of their monopoly. They even began to adulterate it, or to 'basely sophisticate' it, by the admixture of oil and sand. The English merchants did not fail to bring this fact to the notice of Azam Khan, the Governor of Gujarat.¹

W. H. Moreland is of the view that the Dutch and the English purchases must have increased the income of the Indigo producers by about three lakhs of rupees. Moreover, this increase was more than equivalent in purchasing power to the amount mentioned.²

SARKHEJ

"Sarkhej was situated at a distance of about 5 miles from Ahmadabad. The town, though not very populous, was considered an ideal place for the production of Indigo because of the fatness of the soil. Here Indigo was prepared by water while in other parts by fire. It was the cheapest and the best of any other type found in any other place in India. The article produced at Sarkhej was made up in the form of cakes and was flat as distinguished from the variety produced at Biana which was purer and was designated as round from the fact that it was made up in balls."³

A Dutch factor Phillip Baldeus has given a detailed account of the manner of making Sarkhej Indigo. He says that the Indigo shrub had small twigs like those of the black berry. The Indigo grew for three years successively after its first sowing. In the first year they cut the leaves when the plant reached a foot's height. The leaves thus plucked were dried in the sun for twentyfour hours and later put into barrels full of salt water. The water was to be stirred continuously for four or five days till the water thickened and the Indigo settled at the bottom. The sediment was then separated from the water and was spread on the ground to dry.

Indigo was regarded as good if it was light and gave a feeling of dryness when put between fingers. It floated upon water and when thrown upon coals it gave violet coloured smoke and thus left little ashes behind.⁴

1. *Dodsworth's Journal*, p. 161.
2. W. H. Moreland, *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, p. 120.
3. *The English Factories in India, 1630-33*, p. 325.
4. *Ibid.*

Another interesting account is given by Tavernier, about the process of its manufacture adopted at Gujarat. He says that the plant was sown after the rains and was cut three times a year. The first cutting took place when the plant was two to three feet in height. The colour of the dye made from first crop was a violet blue and it was more brilliant than the dye made from the second crop. After the plant was cut, it was thrown into huge *vats faced* with chunam or lime, that would often give the marble-like surface. These vats were generally 80 to 90 paces in circuit and were filled with water. Then it was mixed and stirred up with water until the leaf was reduced to slime or greasy earth. The vats then remained untouched. It was seen that all the slime had sunk to the bottom thus leaving the water above very clear, the holes made at round the tank were opened to allow the water to go outside. The next step was taken after the water had been drawn out. It was to fill up baskets with the slime and the man-in-charge of each basket carried it to a plain, where taking the paste in fingers steeped in oil, he moulded it into pieces and then exposed them to the sun to be dried. These pieces were made into different shapes by the markers. The Indigo-makers had to be very careful while shifting Indigo. This method of preparing Indigo as described by Tavernier was most popular in many other parts of the country and was considered as more economical.¹

BIANA INDIGO

Biana was two days' journey from Agra. It was the chief centre of Indigo trade. The best and the richest quality was known as Biana Indigo. There always remained a big competition among the European nations for the purchase of Biana quality. It grew on small bushes and its seed was like that of cabbage. After it was cut down it remained in heaps for half a year and then it was trodden out.

MANNER OF MAKING

Peter Mundy² remarked that grounds were ploughed and made in order in the beginning of rainy season. When the rains stopped they sowed the seeds and when the plant attained a good height they would pluck the leaves which were thrown in big plastered tanks having the capacity in five to six tons of water. They were allowed to remain in water for 48 hours and then stirred vigorously till the water changed its colour. After that the water was thrown out through various holes and the rest was brought out and dried till it became very hard like paste which was further converted into lumps by human hands and again put to dry.

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1. *The travels of John Baptise Tavernier* (Edited by V. Ball,) Vol. II, p. 128.
 2. *The Travels of Peter Mundy in Asia and Europe*, Vol. II, pp. 221-223. Moreland and Geyl, the *Remonstrantie of F. Falsaert*, Ed. Moreland, pp. 10-13.

TYPES

The Indigo made from the first year's crop was known as nauti (naudha a young plant), from the second year's crop jari and for the third year khutiya. Jari was better than naudha and khutiya was the worst in kind. After three years the plant becomes useless to produce any more fruit. So the first year's crop was the best.¹

The trade in Indigo suffered from the vagaries of nature. The Gujarat famine of 1630 proved disastrous for it. The excessive rains of 1621 turned Biana Indigo fields into floating ponds. There was complete destruction of the crop in 1625 and 1646 as a result of attack by the locusts. These proved so ruinous to the industry that it never revived afterwards.²

(a) Mughal Interference and attempts to Monopolise in 1633

In 1618, the Governor of Ahmadabad demanded a bribe of one lakh of rupees before he allowed free trade in the commodity. In 1633, Shah Jahan made it a royal monopoly just as the Shah of Persia had the royal monopoly in silk in Persia. In the autumn of 1633, a royal edict confirmed the sale of Indigo throughout the Mughal dominions for three years to a Hindu named Manohar Das. He was to be assisted by a loan from the Government which was to share the profit that might result. The Strong Dutch and English protests proved of no avail as Manohar Das had the bearing of the influential noble Mir Jumla.³

To break this monopoly a solemn agreement was entered into at Surat on 19th November 1633, by the Dutch and the English. No party was to purchase Indigo for one year, save at its own price and the purchase of Indigo was to be a joint venture. The Dutch and the English solemnly pledged themselves not to accept indigo as freight. This combination compelled Shah Jahan to dissolve his partnership with Manohar Das and Mir Jumla on 14th April, 1635.⁴

ADULTERATION

It was another important feature in Indigo trade. The Indigo was mixed with sand and dirt in order to increase its weight. This adulteration

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1. The words used by Mundy and his contemporaries for the three Indigo crops are not to be found in the modern works and therefore appear to have gone out of use. They are however, generic terms for various sorts of crops grown from seed. Naudha is the Indigo sown at the beginning of the rains. Jar is the second crop taken afterwards; Khunti, the crop cut from the second year.
 2. *English Factories 1630-33.* Foster.
 3. *Commercial policy of the Mughals*, by D. Pant, p. 141 and p. 195.
 4. *The English Factories, 1634-36*, p. XI.

ater on killed the Indigo industry. European travellers would often complain against this malpractice to which Tavernier has made a reference. According to him there was a common practice of adulterating it in order to increase its weight. Thus after removing the paste from the baskets with their hands dripped in oil they placed in the sand which was later on allowed to be mixed up with the Indigo.¹

The Mughal government did all they could to stop this fraud, though always not with success. The merchants who purchased the Indigo took precautions to ascertain whether there was any mixture of sand by burning some of the pieces. When so tested the Indigo became cinder and the sand remained entire. The English and the Dutch merchants were thus careful not to pay customs duty on useless weight. Those employed for this purpose had to take great precautions to prevent themselves from inhaling the poison dust. The nose and mouth were carefully closed and a cloth was tied up in front of the face leaving only the small holes for the eyes to follow the operations. Moreover, both those who sifted the Indigo and the servants of the Company who watched them in the work had to drink milk every hour to guard their health against the dust in the Indigo. Tavernier further remarks, "I have indeed on more than one occasion observed that if an egg is placed in the morning near one of these sifters, in the evening when one breaks it, it is altogether blue inside; so penetrating is the dust of Indigo."²

In a letter written in 1637, the Company's servants informed the President and Council at Surat that two bales of flat Indigo were found to contain nothing but black earth. They feared that more would be discovered when the rest of the bales were opened.³ Another characteristic of Indigo trade was a keen sense of competition between the Dutch and the English for its monopoly. In 1637, the Dutch were found paying more money for Indigo at Ahmedabad in order to frustrate all the attempts of the English.⁴

A letter written in 1638 by an English factor reads thus: "The high price of Indigo is entirely due to the competition between the English and the Dutch and to their allowing their ships to be used by the native merchants for its transportation; for although it was not very usual to send Biana overland to Persia *via* Lahore, no one would dream of following the same route. Hence arose the scheme which was greatly helped by a

1. *The Travels of John Baptise Tavernier in Asia*, Ed. V. Ball, Vol. II, pp. 9-12.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *English Factories, 1637-41*, p. 58.

4. *Ibid.* 1634-36, p. 142.

foolish bargain made by the factors. Had both nations abstained this year from buying or transporting the commodity, its price would have come down to 20 rupees a maund." Many a time caravans consisting of Indigo were attacked and robbed by natives and against this proper guard was kept in for the protection of the caravan.¹

Funds were also provided for investing in Indigo trade by remittance of bills of exchange from the central factory at Surat to subordinate factories like that in Agra or Ahmadabad (May 29, 1619). In 1669, the Agra factories invested their entire cash in Indigo trade.² Sometimes the cash remittance of the East India Company proved inadequate and they had to utilise the proceeds of some imported articles like quick silver and broad cloth. The absorption of the entire funds of the company at Agra for Anglo-Dutch purchase of Indigo compelled the Surat authorities to stop the investment at Ahmadabad and other places in the absence of remittance.³ Besides cash payment for the purchase of Indigo, barter was also resorted to. In 1618, the Agra factors sent 951 bundles of Indigo to Surat after procuring the same by barter in cloth of which they had overstock.⁴ Usually, the money was given in advance before the arrival of the Indigo season.⁵

MANNER OF PURCHASING

Purchase of Indigo could be made either in cash or barter. Sometimes cash was sent directly from England on ships or funds were obtained by exchange of bills into rupees.

In 1618, John Browne at Ahmadabad tried to procure a good quality of Indigo before the ship's arrival. But the matter was delayed as he had to await a supply of money from fleet (Ahmadabad to Company, Feb. 10, 1618).

1. *Ibid.* 1637-41, p. 287

2. *English Factories, 1618-21*, pp. 7-8, 100, 84

3. *Ibid.* 1634-36, pp. 70-71

4. *Ibid.* p. 142

5. *Studies in Economic life in Mughal India* by Jagdish Narayan Sarkar, pp. 152-154.

Dr. SHIV KUMAR

NATURE OF PERCEPTION IN SĀMĀKHYA-YOGA

In the arena of epistemological investigations perception precedes all other means of knowledge because it is accepted by all the systems of thought, and because it is most fundamental and the root of all the other means. Every system of philosophy has put forth its own concept of perception in accordance with its metaphysical and epistemological presuppositions. Looking at the earliest stage of definition of perception found mostly in the earliest works of the philosophical systems it becomes clear that the perception is generally defined in terms of resultant knowledge. They have qualified this knowledge with certain characteristics in accordance with their metaphysical presuppositions. These qualifications variously spoken with it are immediate or direct, unerring and pertaining to the unique particular, arising from sense-object contact, or Etymologically the term *pratyakṣa* 'perception' means near or before (*prati*) the eye (*akṣi*) or some other cognitive organ (*akṣa*) and hence, the direct knowledge in contrast to the other means which do not give the knowledge directly. The process through which such a knowledge arises or the instrument of that is also called *pratyakṣa*. That is why it is sometimes defined in terms of the process as well as the instrument therein. From the study of the Sāṁkhya-Yoga texts it becomes clear that the Sāṁkhya-Yoga also had put forth its own definitions of perception which have undergone various change during the development of these systems. The present paper attempts to study various definitions of perception offered by Sāṁkhya-Yoga in historical perspective and in the light of the objections raised by its critics.

The oldest Sāṁkhya-Yoga definition of perception was forwarded by Vindhyavāsin as the function of the cognitive organs, ear and the rest, and free from imagination. Jayantabhaṭṭa records it simply as the opponents' view.¹ It is ascribed to the Sāṁkhya teacher Vindhyavāsin by *Sanmatitārkaṭīkā*.² A similar and more popular definition of perception as 'the operation of the cognitive organs, ear and the rest' is ascribed to the

1. *Nyāyamañjarī* (:NM), p. 93, (Varanasi, 1936).

2. Quoted by P. B. Chakravarti, *Origin and Development of the Sāṁkhya System of Thought*, p. 145, (Delhi, 1975, Reprint).

followers of Vārṣagaṇya.¹ Sukhalal Sanghavi seems to overlook the difference between these two definitions in remarking that Vācaspati Miśra quotes Vindhyavāsin's definition under the name of Vārṣagaṇya.² Pulinbihari Chakravarti thinks that Vindhyavāsin revised the definition given by Vārṣagaṇya by embodying the epithet *avikalpika*.³ At the present state of our knowledge there is no substantial historical fact to support this view. On the basis of Paramārtha's account of Sāṅkhya, Takakusu holds that Vārṣagaṇya was a teacher of Vindhyavāsin.⁴ Yet the present definition is not forwarded by Vārṣagaṇya himself but is ascribed to some follower of Vārṣagaṇya who may not be earlier to Vindhyavāsin. Rather, it is more probable that Vindhyavāsin forwarded his definition earlier and it was revised by some follower of Vārṣagaṇya. The condition of being free from imagination was particularly laid down by the Buddhists in their definition of perception. But it was later on given up by the followers of Vārṣagaṇya as the Buddhists could not satisfactorily defend it in their encounter with the other systems of philosophy. Judging from the Sāṅkhya point of view also it becomes clear that the condition *avikalpika* (free from imagination) serves no purpose in the definition. It may be supposed to restrict the definition to indeterminate perception but the purpose is served without the mention of this word here. If the perception is defined as the function of the cognitive organ only, it would apply to indeterminate perception only because upto this stage the perception is indeterminate only.⁵ It is turned into determinate with the addition of characteristics, etc. afterwards at the stage of the Manas.⁶ According to the process of perception in Sāṅkhya-Yoga the cognitive organ comes in contact with the object and gets the form of the object cognised. This form is submitted to the Manas by them. Manas submits the form to the Abahīkāra which submits it to the Buddhi which finally ascertains the form of the object.⁷ Thus, the perceptive knowledge upto the stage of the cognitive organs is indeterminate but it is turned into determinate through

1. *Yuktidīpikā* (YD), p. 5, (Delhi, 1967).
2. *Advanced Study in Indian Logic and Metaphysics*, p. 77, (Calcutta, 1961).
3. *Op cit*, p. 137
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Sāṅkhyakārikā* (SK) verse 27, and *Sāṅkhyatattvakaumudī* (STK) thereon (Benaras, 1931).
6. *Ibid.* verse 28. The credit of introducing two stages in perception in Sāṅkhya-Yoga is given to Vācaspati Miśra. J. B. Bhattacharya (Sri Venkateswara University Oriental Journal', Vol. 8, nos. 1-2, 1965) feels that Vācaspati is wrong here because there is no scope for indeterminate perception in Sāṅkhya. But J. B. Bhattacharya overlooks the fact that Īśvarakṛṣṇa also attributes *ālocana* to the senses and if some name is to be given to the knowledge at that stage, it can be indeterminate.
7. *S T K* under verse 30

the Manas. Hence, there is no need of expressly terming it 'free from imagination' at the stage of the cognitive organs. This further corroborates the hypothesis that the followers of Vārṣagaṇya purposely dropped the qualification 'free from imagination' from the definition.

As suggested above, another old Sāṁkhya definition of perception which is ascribed to the followers of Vārṣagaṇya runs as 'perception is the function of the cognitive organs, ear and the rest'. Uddyotakara quotes the definition as some opponents' view.¹ Vācaspati Miśra ascribes the definition to Vārṣagaṇya, an old Sāṁkhya teacher, and remarks that the function of the cognitive organ signifies merely the primary abstract apprehension (*ālocanamūtra*) through the five cognitive organs modified into the form of the object.² On the authority of the *Yuktiḍīpikā*,³ an ancient commentary on the *Sāṁkhyakārikā*, it is more reasonable to ascribe the definition to some follower of Vārṣagaṇya. The *Yuktiḍīpikā* does not record the definition of Vindhyavāsin. It further supports our hypotheses that the present definition is the revised form of Vindhyavāsin's definition. That is why the *Yuktiḍīpikā* does not bother about the old and outdated definition. As we have pointed out earlier Sukhalal Sanghavi ignores the difference between the earlier and the revised definitions while remarking that Vācaspati wrongly ascribes Vindhyavāsin's definition to Vārṣagaṇya.⁴ In fact, Vācaspati ascribes the definition to Vārṣagaṇya, though it was offered by some follower of Vārṣagaṇya. The definition became more popular than the one offered by Vindhyavāsin.

As regards the classical sources of Sāṁkhya-Yoga, Patañjali does not define perception. Hence, the *Sāṁkhyakārikā* of Īśvarakṛṣṇa is the earliest classical source about the definition of perception. Īśvarakṛṣṇa defines perception as 'ascertainment of individual object.'⁵ The definition when interpreted independently of the commentaries reveals that there is no reference to sense-object contact. Further, unlike Vārṣagaṇya Īśvarakṛṣṇa defines perception in terms of knowledge. This knowledge is qualified by 'pertaining to individual object.' Such a definition also is unique in the arena of Indian Philosophy. Knowledge of all kinds according to Īśvarakṛṣṇa, is the function or attribute of Buddhi.⁶ Buddhi is taken in the sense of both-the actual agent of knowing and the means of knowledge.⁷ Thus, the question naturally arises as to what is the factor

1. *Nyāyavārttika (N V)*, p. 43, Benaras, 1916.
2. *Nyāyavārttikātātparyāṅikā (NVTT)*, p. 155, Varanasi, 1882.
3. श्रौतान्तरिकवृत्तिरिति वाचस्पत्यः, *YD*, 5.
4. P. B. Chakravarti, *Op. Cit. Ibid.*
5. प्रतिविषयाध्यवसायो दृष्टम्, *SK*, 5.
6. *SK* verse 23.
7. अध्यवसायो बुद्धिः, क्रियान्रियावतोरभेदविवक्षया - *STK*, 23.

which differentiates perception from sources of non-valid knowledge as also the other means of valid knowledge accepted by the Sāṅkhyas. The expression 'ascertainment' differentiates it from the doubtful knowledge, the word 'object' from perverted knowledge and the word *prati* from inference, memory, etc.¹ The Sāṅkhyas accept three means of knowledge—perception, inference and verbal testimony. The distinction of verbal testimony from the rest is obviously brought out by the facts that unlike other two it gives the knowledge of absolutely non-perceptible (*parokṣa*) objects,² that its validity depends upon the authority of the speaker and that it depends upon the operation through words.³ The distinction between the perception and the rest is brought about by the qualification 'pertaining to individual objects'. Inference, on the other hand, confers the knowledge of generic of objects. Hence, Īśvarakṛṣṇa offers the definition of perception even without a reference to the sense-object contact. Though he does not deny sense-object contact, as he explicitly mentions it in explaining the process in perception,⁴ yet he does not consider it as the only differentiating factor of perception.

The commentators of the *Sāṅkhyakārikā*, however, struggle hard to interpret the definition in a way yielding sense-object contact. The *Yuktidhikā* states that the term *prativīṣaya* in definition literally means that which bears upon every object, i.e., the cognitive organ.⁵ The ascertainment through that is denoted by the complete definition.⁶ Thus, the entire definition comes to mean that perception is the light without Rajas and Tamas and it results from the exuberance of Sattva which in turn follows (or is caused by) the function of the senses in contact with their object.⁷ According to Vācaspati Miśra *prativīṣaya* means 'the sense in contact with the object.'⁸ Perception, thus, means the function of Buddhi or the dominance of Sattva over Tamas in Buddhi which follows (or takes place after) the function of the senses which have in turn come into contact with the objects.⁸ Here, the function of the senses or Buddhi means attaining the form of the object to be cognised. The *Sāṅkhyacandrikā* however, takes the whole expression *prativīṣayādhyavasāya* in the

1. *Ibid.* under verse, 5.

2. *SK*, 6.

3. *Ibid.* 5.

4. *Ibid.* 28, 30, 31 and 34.

5. विषयं विषय प्रतिवर्तते इति प्रतिविषयम् । किं तत्? इन्द्रियम् - *YD*, 5.

6. तस्मिन् योऽध्यवसायः स प्रतिविषयाध्यवसायः - *Ibid.*

7. उपात्तविषयाणामिन्द्रियाणां वृत्त्युपनिपाति सत्त्वोद्रेकात् अरजस्तमस्कं यत्प्रकाशरूपं तत् दृष्टमिति यावत् - *Ibid.*

8. अर्थसंनिष्ठा इन्द्रियमित्यर्थः * *STK*, 5.

sense of cognitive organ. The definition according to it is that through which a definite object is cognised. Each of the cognitive organs can cognise only a particular object.¹ Thus, the *Sāmkhyacandrikā* states that Īśvarakṛṣṇa defines perception in terms of *karana* which is the cognitive organ. The *Sāmkhyacandrikā* further realises that in Sāmkhya system *pramāna* as *karana* of knowledge in general is the function of Buddhi. In the case of perception the above function follows or is brought about by, the function of the cognitive organs.² Thus the *Sāmkhyacandrikā* seems to realise that the cognitive organ etc., are *pramāna* indirectly or in the secondary sense in case of knowledge, though the cognitive organ is a must for perceptive knowledge.

There is a set of scholars who do not interpret *pratiṣṭhā* as cognitive organ. However, they introduce sense-object contact through importation. Māthara³ followed by Gauḍapāda⁴ interprets the definition offered by the *Sāmkhyakārikā* as perception is the knowledge (arising in the cognitive organs) with reference to particular object. Here, Māthara seems to define perception in terms of indeterminate (*nirvikalpa*) perception as the determinative knowledge cannot arise in the cognitive organs. Thus, Māthara and Gauḍapāda import *indriyāṇām* in the above definition given by the *Sāmkhyakārikā*. Māthara and Gauḍapāda do not ascribe *adhyavasāya* to Buddhi and thus, they subscribe to the view of Vārṣaganya.⁵ The *Jayamaṅgalā*, however, imports *indriyadvāreṇa* and explains the above definition as perception is the knowledge of the objects like sound, etc., through the cognitive organs like ear, etc.⁶

The *Yuktidīpikā* and the *Tattvakaumudī* show the propriety of each word used in the definition with a view to prove that the wording is enough to make the definition faultless it distinguishes perception from similar (i.e., other *pramāṇas*) and dissimilar (non-*pramāṇas*) things. The *Yuktidīpikā* holds that the word *adhyavasāya* means the function of the Buddhi and is said to be Buddhi itself in the *kārikā* through maintaining

1. प्रतिविषयो नियतविषयः, अद्यवसायते निश्चीयते, अनेनेति प्रतिविषयाद्यवसाय इन्द्रियम् । चक्षुरादीनां रूपादिविषयकत्वनियमात् नियत.....विषयकत्वम् - *Sāmkhyacandrikā*, 5. (Varanasi, 1953).
2. Ibid.
3. विषयं विषयं प्रति योऽद्यवसायो नेत्रादीनामिन्द्रियाणां पञ्चानां रूपादिपञ्चसु, तत् प्रत्यक्षं प्रतिपत्तिरूपं दृष्टाद्यम् - *Mātharavṛtti*, 5. (Varanasi, 1970).
4. प्रतिविषयेषु श्रोत्रादीनां शब्दादिविषयेषु अद्यवसायो दृष्टं प्रत्यक्षमित्यर्थः - *Gauḍapādabhāṣya*, 5. (Poona, 1972).
5. J.B. Bhattacharya, *op.cit.*
6. *Jayamaṅgalā* 5, Varanasi, 1970.

the non-difference between the function and the agent.¹ So the term *adhyavasāya* is to exclude things other than the function of the Buddhi. If the definition would be *prativīṣayam* (related to the objects), it would apply to everything related to the object as rendering favour to it or as its destroyer. With the mention of *adhyavasāya* it is restricted to Buddhi only.² While admitting that all things involved in the process of knowing, viz., one of the external cognitive organ and the three internal organs, are denoted by the term *prativīṣaya*, to explain the definition of perception in such a way as to make it a definition of the *pratyakṣa-karāṇa*, would make it applicable to the cognitive organs also. If the senses would be considered as the *karāṇa* in perception, the definition would not apply to the perception of internal objects like pleasure and also to the perception by the *yojinis* which do not stand in need of sense-object contact. Through the term *adhyavasāya* the definition is restricted to Buddhi and thus only the operation of the cognitive organs does not become perception. According to Vācaspati, however, the term *adhyavasāya* denoting definite cognition excludes doubtful knowledge because the latter is of the nature of uncertainty.³

The *Yuktid-pikā* further shows the significance of the word *prativīṣaya* in the definition. It states that the expression excludes the application of the definition to the knowledge of absolutely non-existent objects like mirage, the circle of fire-brand and the city-of-the-gandharvas. If the definition would have been worded as *adhyavasāyo dr̥ṣṭam* (perception is the determinative knowledge), it could apply to the aforesaid non-existent objects also because we certainly get determinate knowledge of these objects.⁴ However, the *Yuktid-pikā* further admits that the word *viśaya* could be enough for excluding knowledge of the above non-existent objects from domain of perception as these are mental concepts only and not the objects in reality. Hence, it further suggests that the word *prati* serves the purpose of excluding inferential knowledge from perception. *prati* means near and thus denotes sense-object contact which is not found in case of inference.

However, after analysing different possibilities of the purpose it is finally concluded that the term *prati* is meant to exclude the understanding of the mutual intention by the cognitive organs.⁵ In the theory of the Sāṅkhyas when one sense cognises its object the other understands its

1. *YD*, 23.

2. *YD*, 5.

3. ब्रह्माध्यवसायग्रहणेन संशयं व्यवच्छिन्नमिति - *STK*, 5.

4. प्रतिविषयग्रहणमसद्व्युदासार्थम् - *YD*, 5.

5. इन्द्रियाकूतविषये तु प्रसङ्गः - *YD*, 5.

intention and takes action. For example, when the colour of a ripe mango is observed by the eyes, the organ of taste attains eagerness for that, after understanding the decision of the eyes. After understanding this intention of the organ of taste, the organ of walking and that of handing start their activities of walking towards and seizing the mango, and carry out their activities till the fruit is brought within the reach of the organ of taste.¹ Thus, the understanding of mutual intention arises in the organs through their mutual contact and not through the contact of the organs with the object cognised. Therefore, the term *prati* indicating sense-object contact excludes the understanding of the mutual intention by the senses.

The *Yuktidīpikā* further realises the difficulty involved in the above interpretation. If the interpretation makes the sense-object contact necessary in perception, the definition fails to apply to the perceptive knowledge of internal objects like pleasure, etc., as well as to the perceptive knowledge by the Yogins which do not require the sense-object contact. However, the problem is solved by maintaining that the word *prativīśayādhyavasāya* we have a case of *āvṛitti*. Accordingly the expression is repeated again so that the definition of perception may be complete. The first or existing expression would be interpreted as ascertainment arising of sense-object contact. Here, *prati* is taken with *viśaya*. It will thus be applicable to external perception. The second the repeated expression covers the perception of the internal objects like pleasure etc., as also the perception of the Yogins which do not need sense-object contact.² In this case the term *prati* should be related with *adhyavasāya* and thus the expression *prativīśayādhyavasāya* will mean 'knowledge of the object in contact with internal organ (*Buddhi*)'. Thus, it will cover the internal perception and the perceptive knowledge of the Yogins.

Vācaspati Miśra follows the *Yuktidīpikā* maintaining that the term *viśaya* serves the purpose of excluding absolutely non-existent objects from the domain of perception because these are conceptual only without having objective existence while the perception is the ascertainment of the real object.³ However, unlike the *Yuktidīpikā* Vācaspati holds that the term *prati* conveying sense-object contact excludes inference and remembrance

1. *YD*, 31.

2. *YD*, 5.

3. विषयग्रहणेन चासद्विषयमपाकरोति - *STK*, 5.

from perception.¹ As regards the application of the above definition to the perception of the Yogins, Vācaspati states that the term *viśaya* is enough to bring that also under perception. He maintains that the senses of the Yogins can come into contact of objects existing in their causal form like subtle form of elements which are beyond the reach of the ordinary human beings.²

After Iśvarakṛṣṇa we come across the definition of perception in the *Yogabhāṣya* of Vyāsa. Vyāsa defines it as the function of Citta with reference to ascertaining the specific nature of an object possessing both the generic and the specific nature after being coloured with the form of the external object through the medium of the senses.³ Vācaspati brings out the following implications of the definition. Since the perception is the knowledge of a real object, it is free from all real mental imaginations imposed upon it. Since the function is with reference to an object, it cognises the object and not the knowledge in its form. It means that what is cognised is a real object and not a mental image of it. The object exists of its own right independently of its knowledge. In other words the object cognised is real and not a mental image as the Vijñānavādins hold. The statement that Citta is coloured by the form of the object implies that the knowledge existing in Citta comes in contact with the external object. Though there is no direct contact of the Citta with the object known, yet the cognitive organ serves as the medium.⁴ As such the perception requires the function of the cognitive organs as well. The expression *sāmānyaviśeṣāimānah* in Vyāsa's definition mentioned above suggests that the object of perception is neither the generic qualities as

1. प्रतिग्रहणेन चेन्द्रियार्थसन्निकर्षसूचनादनुमानस्मृत्यादयश्च पराकृता भवन्ति - *STK*, 5.
2. अस्मदादीनामविषयास्तन्मात्रलक्षणा योगिनामूर्ध्वस्त्रोतसां च विषयाः - *Ibid*.
3. इन्द्रियप्रणालिकया चित्तस्य बाह्यवस्तुपरागात् सामान्यविशेषात्मनोऽर्थस्य विशेषावधारणप्रधाना वृत्तिः प्रत्यक्षं प्रमाणम् । - *The Yoga-Bhāṣya (YB)* I, 7: *Pātañjala-yogadarśana* with *Tattoavaiśāradi (TV)* and *Yogavārttika (YV)*, (Varanasi, 1971).
4. Cf. अर्थस्येति समारोपितत्वं निषेधति । तद्विषयेति बाह्यगोचरतया ज्ञानकारगोचरत्वं निवारयति । चित्तवृत्तिनो ज्ञानाकारस्य बाह्यज्ञेयसंबन्धं दर्शयति-बाह्यवस्तुपरा-मादिति । व्यवहितस्य तदुपरागे हेतुमाह - इन्द्रियप्रणालिकयेति । *TV*, I, 7.

held by the Mīmāṃsakas nor the special qualities as held by the Bauddhas nor that possessed of both the generic and the specific qualities as held by the Naiyāyikas. The object is in fact identical with the generic and the special qualities.¹ The perception apprehends chiefly the specific nature of an object. It implies that although the generic nature also is apprehended in perception, yet it is subordinate to the specific nature. This is suggestive of direct and discriminative knowledge.²

Vijñānabhikṣu observes that the expression 'after its being coloured with the (form of) external through the cognitive organs' should not be considered a part of the definition. It speaks of merely the cause of perception. Otherwise the definition will not be applicable to the perceptive knowledge of the soul, etc., as also the perception by Īśvara; for the former does not stand in need of colouring of the Citta by the external object, and Īśvara has no cognitive organs. Vijñānabhikṣu also brings out the following additional implications of the above definition. Since the perception is of a real object, the mental imagination attributed upon the object is denied in perception and, hence, the definition is not applicable to the perverted knowledge.³ Since the object cognised is stated to be object of senses, it distinguishes perception from remembrance.⁴ The object is said to be the nature of generic and specific properties and hence, it is refuted that the object is different from its generic and specific properties. The characteristic that the perception apprehends chiefly the specific nature of an object, distinguishes perception from inference and verbal testimony which apprehend chiefly the generic nature of an object.⁵ *The Bhāṣya*

1. Ibid.

2. यद्यपि सामान्यमपि प्रत्यक्षे प्रतिभासते । तथापि विशेषं प्रत्युपसर्जनीभूतमित्यर्थः । एतच्च साक्षात्कारोपलक्षणपरम्, तथा विवेकख्यातिरपि लक्षिता भवति, *TV, I, 7.*

3. अत्रोपरागादित्यन्तेन बाह्यवृत्तेः कारणमात्रं दर्शितम्, न तु तत् लक्षणे प्रवेक्षनीयम् । आत्मादिप्रत्यक्षाव्यापनात् ईश्वरप्रत्यक्षाव्यापनाच्च; तस्याजन्यत्वात् । अर्थस्येत्यनेन समारोपितत्वप्रतिषेधात् न विपर्ययेऽतिव्याप्तिः । *TV, I, 7.*

4. स्मृतिव्यावर्तनाय तद्विषयेति । Ibid.

5. विशेषावधारणप्रधानेतिविशेषणात् अनुमानागमयोर्व्यावृत्तिः.....सामान्यविशेषाभ्यामत्यन्ताभिन्न एवार्थः इत्येतन्निरासायोक्तं सामान्यविशेषात्मन इति । Ibid.

refers to the process in perception that the *citta* is coloured with the form of the object through the senses. Vijñānabhikṣu interprets it as the Citta along with the respective cognitive organ travels to the object.¹ The interpretation, however, does not accord to the view of the other Sāṅkhya teachers according to whom only the cognitive organ goes to the object cognised and submits its impression to the Citta through Manas and Ahaṅkāra. In this context, Vijñānabhikṣu understands the *Yogabhāṣya* in the light of Advaita Vedānta.

The *Sāṅkhyasūtra* defines perception as the knowledge which portrays the form of the object after coming in contact with it.² Here, the knowledge, according to Vijñānabhikṣu, stands for *Buddhivṛtti*. The Buddhi goes to the object with the respective cognitive organ and gets the form of that object. This is perception.³ The essence of the definition is that perception is the *vṛtti* of the Citta followed by its contact with the object and through the cognitive organ.⁴ The definition, according to Jwalaprasad has two special features: (i) that the knowledge called *pratyakṣa* is regarded more as an act than as a product, and (ii) that it is the form of the object (*tadākāra*) which is cognised, and not the object itself.⁵ Here, it may be observed that the knowledge in Sāṅkhya is itself an act as well as a result in the form of a particular modification or state of Buddhi. As to the second observation, it should be noted that which submitted to the Buddhi, a determining principle, is a form which is not imaginary but real and thus, what is cognised is the object only and not the form created with mental imagination as supposed by the Buddhists. If Vijñānabhikṣu's view about the process of perception is accepted, then the Buddhi may have to be accepted as directly coming into the contact of the object and as such it would turn the above quoted observation into pieces. The *Sāṅkhyasūtra* also realises that the above definition cannot apply to the perceptive knowledge of the Yogins as also to the perception

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1. Ibid.
 2. यत्संबद्धं सत्तदाकारोल्लेखि विज्ञानं तत् प्रत्यक्षम् — *Sāṅkhyasūtra* (SS) I, 89. (with *Sāṅkhyaprasādanabhāṣya* (SPB) (Delhi, 1977).
 3. *SPB*, I, 89.
 4. तथा च स्वार्थसन्निकर्षजन्याकाराश्रया वृत्तिः प्रत्यक्षं प्रमाणमिति निष्कर्षः । Ibid.
 5. *History of Indian Epistemology*, p. 195 (Delhi, 1958).

of Īśvara. As to the first, it maintains that the perception defined here is the external perception while the perceptive knowledge of the Yogins does not come under purview of it.¹ The *Sūtras* also supply an alternate solution. Due to the exaltation, the Citta of the Yogins can come in contact with the objects lying in their cause in the past and the future state also.² As to the defect of its non-applicability to Īśvara's perception the Sutra states that the existence of Īśvara is not proved.³ There arises, therefore, no question of its application to Īśvara.

For a critical estimate of the Sāṅkhya-Yoga position it will be worthwhile to consider the critique of these definitions at the hands of their critics. Among the definitions of perception discussed above, the one offered by Vindhyavāsin is criticised by Jayantabhaṭṭa and Hemacandra; the other given by Vārṣaganya is criticised by Akalaṅka, Diṅnāga, Uddyotakāra and Vācaspati Miśra; and the third one offered by Īśvarakṛṣṇa is criticised by Jayantabhaṭṭa and Hemacandra. The definition given by the *Sāṅkhyasūtras* is not criticised by the critics of Sāṅkhya. This is, opines C. D. Bijalwan,⁴ due to the fact that it escaped notice or it was knowingly spared due to its obscurity. However, it seems more likely that the *Sāṅkhyasūtra* is a later composition and, hence, could not draw the attention of the eminent old logicians.

Criticising Vindhyavāsin's definition Jayantabhaṭṭa states that it has much in common with the Buddhist definition and hence he refutes it along with the Buddhist definition.⁵ Here, the similarity with the Buddhist definition is with reference to the condition of being 'free from imagination.' In other words, according to the Buddhists, to relate with imagination means to turn the perceptive knowledge determinate by joining the universal (*jāti*), attribute (*guṇa*), action (*karma*), word (*nāma*) or substance (*dravya*). Jayantabhaṭṭa's main objection is that the joining with these does not lead to mistake. Hence, the qualification 'free from imagination' does not serve any purpose.

1. योगिनामबाह्यप्रत्यक्षत्वान्न दोषः—SS, I, 90.

2. लीनवस्तुलब्धातिशयसंबन्धाद्वा अदोषः—SS, I, 91.

3. ईश्वरासिद्धेः—SS, I, 92.

4. *Indian Theories of Knowledge*, p. 92 (Delhi, 1977).

5. श्रोत्रादिवृत्तिरपरैरविकल्पकेति प्रत्यक्षलक्षणमवणि तदप्यपास्तम्—NM, p. 93.

Hemacandra criticises the definition mainly from Jaina point of view. He presupposes that the means of knowledge must be conscious only. The senses are unconscious and consequently their function will also be unconscious. As such they cannot be the means of knowledge. If it is argued that they become conscious due to their association with the soul which is conscious, it will be better to consider the conscious only as the means of knowledge and there is no need of postulating the transference of consciousness to the senses for the purpose.¹ Hemacandra raises his voice against the use of the characteristic 'indeterminate' with reference to such a means. There is no evidence to prove the indeterminate nature of the means of knowledge.²

The definition offered by the followers of Vārsaganya as the function of the (cognitive organs) ear and the rest has invited severe criticism from Diñnāga, Akalaṅka, Uddyotakara and Vācaspati Miśra. The points of their criticism are given below.

Diñnāga finds the following faults in the definition. The Sāṅkhyas hold that perception is the function of the cognitive organs to apprehend a specific object. The object of apprehension is composed of the Three Guṇas. They further hold that internal distinctions among the objects of the same class are also caused by the different proportion of the Three Guṇas. However, if a particular cognitive organ cognises a particular proportion of the Guṇas, there will arise the contingency of accepting many cognitive organs. For, there would be many auditory senses to cognise different types of sound. If the above difficulty is overcome on the ground that the auditory senses apprehend all sounds because sounds are equally composed of the Three Guṇas, it will lead to the other absurdity of cognition of all the objects by one single sense as all the objects are composed of the same Three Guṇas. Here, the Sāṅkhyas may argue that the auditory sense apprehends the sound class only as all the sounds are a particular configuration of the Three Guṇas which is different from that found in other objects. This, objects-Diñnāga, cannot determine the

1. अत्र श्रोत्रादीनामचेतनत्वात् तद्वृत्तेः सूत्ररामचेतन्यमिति कथं प्रमाणत्वम्? चेतन-
संसर्गतिच्चैतन्याभ्युपगमे वरं चित एव प्रामाण्यमभ्युपगन्तुम् - the *Pramāṇamī-*
mānsā, p 28 (Varanasi, 1970).

2. न चाविकल्पकत्वं प्रामाण्यमस्तीति यत्किञ्चिदेतत् - Ibid.

definite adjustment of objects of all cognitive senses as it cannot provide satisfactory explanation of apprehension of a same object as long or short by tactile as well as the visual senses. Moreover, if the objects are supposed to be configuration, they will not be apprehended by auditory, gustatory and olfactory senses as these do not apprehend a configuration.

Diñnāga quotes the theory of Mādhava, an old Sāmkhya teacher, that the tangible objects are different from the Three Guṇas and it is the combination of atoms which determines the nature of an object. The above objections apply to this theory as well. It also equally implies inapprehensibility of the Guṇas, infinite number of the senses or the one sense cognising all the objects.

The definition, Diñnāga thinks, is insufficient as it is not applicable to mental perception. It does not mention *manovṛtti* (function of the Manas) as a means of direct cognition. The Sāmkhyas may argue that the mind recollects the functioning of the senses; but it would not be proper because the Manas has not previously experienced the functioning, while recollection does require the previous experience. If such a recollection is insisted upon on the ground that the apprehension through senses and Manas is simultaneous, it will lead to the absurdity of recollection without earlier experience. Or, the Sāmkhya theory that two senses cannot serve the same purpose will be violated.¹

Akalaṅka rejects the above definition on the ground that it would apply even to the erroneous knowledge. The perceptive knowledge caused by the defective cognitive organs is allways erroneous. Consequently, it would lead to the absurdity of considering the knowledge arising from the eyes affected by jaundice also as perceptive and right. Similar would be the case with the knowledge of two moons arising through the defective eyes. The *vṛtti* of the ear, etc., in fact is to attain the form of the object and this condition cannot be denied in these cases as well. The final ascertainment of the object (*adhyavasāya*) will also be in accordance with the form of the object submitting by the cognitive organ. There is no reason to suppose that the erroneous attainment of the form of non-existent object by the cognitive organ is not the *vṛtti* of the cognitive organs. Otherwise, the knowledge arising of it would not correspond to the defect

1. Diñnāga on Perception (*Pramāṇasamuccaya*) pp. 52-61 (Hardward Univ. press, 1968.)

of the respective sense.¹ Vāḍidevasūri reconciles the above definition with the one given by Īśvarakṛṣṇa. He states that ascertainment is the *vr̥tti* or function of the Buddhi which takes place through the function of cognitive organs.² The mode of such a statement reveals that Vāḍidevasūri does not find the material difference between the two definitions. Such an effort, however, ignores the historical development in a particular system and is based upon the desire of not allowing the internal differences in a single system.

Uddyotakara rejects the definition on the ground that the Nyāya position is the only correct one and that different from it is unacceptable and incorrect.³ Vācaspati Miśra adds that the above definition is wrong because it is equally applicable to doubtful knowledge, etc.⁴

Jayantabhaṭṭa followed by Hemacandra expresses his dissatisfaction over Īśvarakṛṣṇa's definition of perception. Īśvarakṛṣṇa defines perception as the determinative knowledge of the objects. Jayantabhaṭṭa states that the above definition is not correct as it does not mention sense-object contact as a necessary condition in perception. Consequently, it becomes too wide as it is applicable to the other *pramāṇas*, like inference, which are also the means of definite knowledge.⁵ Jayantabhaṭṭa further states that a writer called Rājā tried to limit the scope of the definition by explaining *prati* as proximity (*ābhimukhya*) and, thus, in the light of this, the definition comes to mean definite knowledge derived through proximity, and this applies only to perception. This interpretation also, states Jayantabhaṭṭa, fails to exclude inferenere, etc., from the scope of the definition in so far as the proximity is found also in the case of inference, etc. There is no difference in the knowledge arising in terms 'this is pot' and 'this mountain

1. श्रोत्रादिवृत्तिः प्रत्यक्षं यदि तैमिरकादिषु। प्रसङ्गः किमतद्वृत्तिस्तद्विकारानुकारिणी ॥
Nyāyaviniścaya, with *Nyāyaviniścayavivarana* (Kasi, 1949), p. 168-9.

2. Ibid.

3. *NV*, I, 4.

4. सा च संशयादिव्यापकत्वादलक्षणमिति - *NVTT*, I, 4.

5. अनुमानादिज्ञानानामपि विषयाध्यवसायस्वभावत्वेनातिव्याप्तेः—*NM*, p. 100;
PN, p. 28.

is fiery.¹ The Sāṃkhya may further argue that the qualifications used to define the other Pramāṇas will differentiate perception from them; inference arises through the knowledge of probans (as qualified by invariable concomitance) and verbal testimony requires word. This is also unsatisfactory. In this case, there is no need of giving a definition of perception because the proposed definition will be known through the difference of perception from inference and verbal testimony.²

Jayantabhaṭṭa's presentation of Īśvarakṛṣṇa's definition of perception is based upon the explanation of the *Sāṃkhyakārikā* by Rājā. We do not have any authentic source of information regarding the identity of the latter though Jayantabhaṭṭa's statement makes it certain that he is some commentator of the *Sāṃkhyakārikā*. A similar interpretation of *prati* as given by Rājā is also forwarded by the *Yuktidīpikā*.³ That is why R. C. Pandeya⁴ thinks that Rājā is the author of the *Yuktidīpikā* which is also known as *Rājavārttika*. However, it does not seem to be plausible that Jayantabhaṭṭa takes into consideration the interpretation offered by the *Yuktidīpikā*. For, it explicitly states that the term *prati* is used in the definition to give the sense of sense-object contact and not merely the proximity.⁵

Jayantabhaṭṭa's examination of Īśvarakṛṣṇa's definition of perception further corroborates the conclusion that the latter does not make explicit statement of the sense-object contact in his definition of perception. It is, however, a point worth to be independently considered as to why Īśvarakṛṣṇa does so. The awareness of the importance of this contact in the process of perception is to be noticed in very early works such as the *Jaiminīsūtras*,⁶ the *Nyāyasūtras*,⁷ and the like. So, we cannot say that the early teachers of the Sāṃkhya school did not know this concept or that

1. यत्तु राजा व्याख्यातवान् प्रतिराभिमुख्ये वर्तते, तेन आभिमुख्येन विषयाव्यवसायः प्रत्यक्षमिति; तदप्यनुमानादावस्त्येव । घटोऽप्रमितिर्वदग्निमान् पर्वत इत्याभिमुख्ये-
नेव प्रतीतेः । *NM*, p. 100.
2. यद्यपि, प्रत्यक्षलक्षणमिदानीमव्याकरणीयमेव, शब्दलिङ्गग्रहणे वर्णिते सति तद्वैलक्ष्या-
देव प्रत्यक्षं ज्ञास्यत इति - *Ibid*; also *PV*, p. 28.
3. *YD*, 5.
4. R. C. Pandeya's Introduction to his edition of the *YD*, pp. xiii-xiv.
5. प्रतिग्रहणं संनिकषार्थम्, *YD*, 5.
6. I, i, 4.
7. I, i, 4.

they could not phrase the phenomena properly. The omission, may be intentional, though it is a matter of deep probing and a question yet unsolved. The commentators of the *Sāṅkhyakārikā* take the term *prativīṣaya* occurring in the beginning of the definition in the sense of 'sense-object contact'. When the latter Sāṅkhya teachers explain the earlier definition with the help of such a reference to the contact, they are definitely adding something of their own in view of the necessity to maintain their realists' position against the Buddhist idealism of the school of Dinnāga.

As regards the evaluation of the above criticism it may be observed that the Sāṅkhyas themselves have realised the limitations of their theories and have rejected the earlier definition in favour of the new in course of development. The definition of Vindhyavāsin was rejected by the followers of Vārṣaganya. The characteristic of indetermination was discarded mainly because it was considered unnecessary and because its upholders, viz., the Buddhists, also could not defend it.

The definition of Vārṣaganya is criticised by Akalaṅka mainly because it is, in his view, of equally applicable to the erroneous knowledge. The objection, however, could be easily alleviated by the Sāṅkhyas. The fact that the discussion relates to the means of valid knowledge is enough to distinguish it from means of invalid knowledge and the stress upon the sense-object contact serves as a distinguishing factor from the rest of the means of valid knowledge. This alleviates the objection raised by Vācaspati Miśra also that it is undesirably applicable to doubtful knowledge too.

Dinnāga's objection that the definition implies infinite number of the cognitive organs or one cognitive organ only is not very serious. The Sāṅkhyas may argue in reply that a particular sense cognises a particular configuration of the Three Guṇas. This does not imply the infinite number of the senses because this configuration consists of so many objects of the same kind apprehended by a single cognitive organ. Nor does it lead to the acceptance of a single sense because each configuration requires a separate cognitive organ. Nor does it violate the definite adjustment of organs to particular object on the ground that the idea of long or short can be apprehended by two senses. Length or shortness are not the objects but the different arrangement of size of objects which can be apprehended by two senses. The objection based upon the alternative of apprehending the object or its qualities of pleasure, pain, etc., can be easily alleviated by the Sāṅkhyas. The senses apprehend the object and the characteristic

features of pleasure, pain and indifference connected with the object are scrutinised by the internal organs, and in this way such a nature of an object is ascertained when the similar Guṇa in the object and the internal organ coincide. Here the criterion is that like manifests like. The Sattva, Rajas and Tamas of the internal organ comes to dominate in accordance with the Guṇa dominant in the object and the feeling of pleasure, etc., arises in the cogniser. Thus, the object is apprehended with its particular characteristic. The distinction of the objects of one class from the objects of other class is determined by the fact of giving rise to the particular feeling. The theory of Māihava that the objects are essentially different from the Guṇas is not held by the other Sāmkhya teachers.

The objection that the above definition is not applicable to the internal perception is valid. The later Sāmkhyas also reject the above definition because of its inapplicability to the internal perception as also to the extraordinary perception of the Yogins.¹

Jayantabhaṭṭa rejects Īśvarakṛṣṇa's definition of perception on the ground that it does not mention sense-object contact and, hence, is equally applicable to the other means of knowledge. Such an objection, however, does not stand. Though Īśvarakṛṣṇa does not mention sense-object contact as a peculiar characteristic of perception, yet he does not deny it. He gives another peculiar feature of perception as cognising individual objects which distinguishes perception from other means of knowledge.

The above discussion leads to the following conclusions. The Sāmkhya-Yoga had its own tradition of defining perception which was not originally influenced by other systems. It has undergone various changes during its development down the ages. The earliest available definition was offered by Vindhyavāsini which was revised by the followers of Vārṣaganya. The condition of 'being free from imagination' was dropped mainly because it was not necessary from Sāmkhya point of view and because it could not stand the critique also. The definition of Vārṣaganya was rejected by the later Sāmkhyas because it is not applicable to the internal perception as also to the extraordinary perception of the Yogins. Īśvarakṛṣṇa defines perception in terms of determining an individual object. However, the

1. *YD*, 5.

commentators struggle hard to introduce a reference to the sense-object contact in it. The logicians of other schools have criticised these definitions on various grounds, but most of the objections can be easily alleviated by the Sāṃkhya-Yoga. The definitions of perception offered by Vyāsa and the *Sāṃkhyasūtras* are also important in the development of Sāṃkhya-Yoga epistemology, but are not discussed by the critics of Sāṃkhya-Yoga.

SIGNIFICANCE OF TERMINOLOGY OF CHAPTER DIVISIONS IN SANSKRIT TRADITION

The generally accepted divisions in the literary works are the chapters for narrative type of works, and acts or scenes for dramatic compositions. But the Sanskritists have coined a rich variety of terms to specify the chapter divisions for different types of works and also to suit particular types of subject-matter. Such a system of terminology has been carried to a very great extent. Thus, very often these terms indicate the nature of particular types of compositions. The practice of designating a work of certain genre by the name of its chapter divisions (e. g., *sargabandha*) is also found in Sanskrit literary tradition.

The terms - *Adhyāya*, *Adhikaraṇa*, *Prakaraṇa* and *Pariccheda* are the names of chapter divisions in the case of Śāstra texts. Even among the Śāstra treatises, the works on poetics display a great variety of terminology.¹ The terms *Ānana*, *Āhnika*, *Uddyota*, *Unmeṣa*, *Ullāsa*, *Khaṇḍa*, *Stabaka*, *Prakāśa*, *Pariccheda*, *Vilāsa* and *Taraṅga* are a few such instances in point.

With regard to different specimens of literary works, a *Mahākāvya* is always bound in *Sargas* and the very title of the *Sargabandha*, evidently owes to this feature. Similarly, *Aṅka* is the chapter division for all types of dramatic compositions. *Kāṇḍa* and *Parvan* are the chapter divisions found in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* respectively. The *Bhāgavata* is divided into *Skandhas*. Based on these chapter divisions only, *Bhoja* in his *Śṛīgāraprakāśa* coins such peculiar names to certain types of *Kāvya*s as *parvabandha*, *kāṇḍabandha*, *āśvāsabandha*, *sandhibandha* and *avaskandhabandha* in addition to the popular *sargabandha*.¹ All these are evidently the names which have bearing on their respective chapter divisions. In like manner, *Āśvāsa* and *Ucchvāsa* are the divisions found in the types of compositions

1. *Śṛīgāraprakāśa*: ed. G. R. Josyer (Mysore, 1963) Vol II, Ch. XI, p. 641.

like *kathā* and *ākhyāyikā*. The *Kathāsaritsāgara* makes use of a new term—*Lambaka*.

Regarding the chapter divisions in different types of compositions, Śaradātanaya in his *Bhāvaprakāśa* records some interesting information. The works in Prākṛt language have the divisions called Lambas. In the works like *kośa*, the divisions are Paddhatis. The technical treatises make use of the term *Pariccheda*; and often the term *Adhikāra* is seen in such works, which, because of their complex subject-matter, demand a commentary. In the *Purāṇas*, the divisions are *Adhyāyas*. Further Śaradātanaya holds that in the case of *yamaka kāvyas* and the like, the divisions are *Ucchvāsa* and *Āśvāsa*, and the dramatic compositions have, an exclusive term of their own, namely, *aṅka*. In this context, the author uses a term *Paṭala* denoting the division of the tantric work.¹ Thus the vital relation of these formal divisions to the subject-matter was not lost sight of by the Sanskrit writers. And the credit goes to Śaradātanaya for his attempt in analysing even such minute details, so as to achieve a harmony in a work of art as a whole.

Thus it would appear that the terminology of chapter divisions in a Sanskrit work is mainly determined by two factors, viz., the nature of subject-matter and the type of literary composition chosen. Therefore, the terms for the chapter divisions selected by the poet should satisfy the demands of *aucitya*, either relating to the theme of the work or to the literary genre at hand; these two are, of course, complementary but not contradictory to each other. Therefore, the chapter divisions should also be suggestive and contribute to the paramount beauty of the work.

The *Aṅka* (Act) for dramatic compositions, *Sarga* for the *mahākāvya*; *adhyāya pariccheda* and the like for the Śāstra texts furnish good illustrations to explain the choice of chapter divisions satisfying the demands of *aucitya* relating to the literary genre (i.e. *Viśaya-aucitya*). The works of Kṣemendra may be mentioned here as fine specimens to illustrate the point. It would be of interest to note that almost all the terms selected for the chapter divisions in his works are figurative and have bearing on the subject-matter dealt with therein. To mention only a few of his works:

1. The *Swṛttatilaka* is a work on Metrics and as such it deals with the rhythmical cadence of various metres. Hence the chapter divisions are artistically designed as *Vinyāsa* to suit the theme.

1. *Mantrārthagumphanaprāye sandarbhe paṭalam bhavet*; See the *Bhāvaprakāśa*, G. O. S. edn., XLV (Baroda, 1968), p. 283.

2. The *Darṣadālana* is a didactic and satirical poem. It probes into several types of human frailty and classify human pride. The chapter division here is termed Vicāra, befitting the content.

3. The *Samayamātrkā* is also didactic in nature, and in this work the poet makes use of the peculiar term Samaya which at once throws light on the subject-matter.

4. The *Narmamālā* is a humorous piece of composition replete with jokes and satires. The very term Parihāsa itself for the chapter divisions is captivating and it gives us an idea of the entire theme.

5. The *Desopadeśa* is a result of the author's investigations into the various customs and ways of the world. As the purpose intended by the poet is to educate people in the form of instruction, the naming of chapter divisions as Upadeśa is perfectly justified.

Both the poets and the writers on poetics in Sanskrit have been thus fully conscious of the vital relation of these formal divisions to the inner content. As Śāradātanaya rightly remarks, whatever the chapter divisions may be, whether already established in the tradition or invented by the poet himself, the poet should make use of them according to the principle of *aucitya*. Thus they too along with other constituent elements of *kāvya* should pave the way smooth for the *sahṛdayas*, so as to make them respond to the literary art with empathy.

.....
 ityātibhedā drśyante vicchedasya kvacit kvacit |
 kecid darśanasiddhaśca kecit sāmāyikā api |
 ityādi sarvamavadhārya kavīḥ prabandham
 kuryād yathā budhajanaḥ śṛṇuyāt sukhena' ||

All the foregoing instances go to prove the fact, how the literary theorists are very particular about these subtle linguistic technicalities in order to secure the unitary effect of a work of art as a whole i.e., *prabandha-ekārthibhāva*, or *prabandharasavyaṅjakatā*. For, the great secret of *rasa* lies in paying due attention to the demands of the principle of *aucitya* relating to every element of the *kāvya*. Therefore, the important function of the poet lies in directing all his efforts to satisfy the demands of *rasa*-

aucitya in devising various elements of the *kāvya*. For the master-critic Ānanda vardhana rightly lays down—

anaucityād ṛte nānyad rasabhāṅgasya kīraṇam |
prasiddhaucityabandhas tu rasasyopaniṣat parā ||¹

1. See the *Dhvanyāloka* (Ed. K. Krishnamoorthy, Dharvar 1974 p. 138) in the *Vṛtti* under the *kārikās* 10-14 of Ch. III.

Dr. B SOBHANAN

KĀVAL SYSTEM AND THE POLIGAR CHIEFTAINS

The Kāval system was one of the predominant defensive organisations popular in South India before the introduction of the modern system of police force. The Vijayanagar rulers who were not familiar with a separate state department of police authorised the poligar chieftains to look after the law and order situation in their respective villages. The poligar chieftains in turn depended on the Kāvalkārs. The disintegration of the Vijayanagar kingdom gave additional impetus to the Kāval system. The poligars who gathered momentum from the ruins of the Vijayanagar kingdom further nurtured the Kāval system which became the real bulwark of their strength. In this paper an attempt is made to trace the relationship between the Kāvalkārs and Poligars.

The word *Kāval* means watch and the person who looked after the function was known as Kāvalkār. The Kāval system is regarded as the South Indian counterpart of the 'hue and cry' in the Anglo-Saxon England.¹ Prof. T. V. Mahalingam considered that the Kāval system was in substance based upon the principle, 'set a thief to catch a thief'.² But originally the Kāval system was an arrangement adopted for policing the sacred places in the outskirts of (jungles and in) the villages built within the forest clearings. To ensure the safety of such places, poligars or adventures of great daring and courage were stationed at the important pilgrim centres like Tirupati with a considerable body of Kāvalkārs and Talayārs. On those days journey along the public roads were risky and insecure. The forest regions became the haunts of bandits who not only plundered the travellers and neighbouring villages but

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1. K Rajayyan, 'Poligari System in South India', Prof. A. P. Ibrahim Kunju Felicitation Volume, Calicut, 1981, p. 1-3.
 2. T. V. Mahalingam, *Administration and Social Life under Vijayanagar*, Madras, 1935, p. 253.

thereby caused considerable alarm to the State.¹ In order to protect the subjects and especially the pilgrims from such marauders, Vijayanagar rulers introduced the Kāval system. The communities who assumed the status of the Kṣatriyas during the medieval period mostly associated themselves with the Kāval system. Usually the services of the Kāvalkārs were rewarded by a fee called *Sthalam Kāval*. They were also paid by *inām* lands.

The principal functions of the Kāvalkārs are as follows: to watch and protect the villages at night, to protect the baggages of travellers and merchants, to trace the footsteps of the thieves and murderers, to obtain information of suspicious characters, to collect the government dues from the inhabitants, to guard the grain while it was being cut and beaten out, to watch the bank of the tanks during storms or any sudden influx of water and to assist in providing supplies for detachment and travellers.² As police officers, they protected the life and property of the villagers and watched the movements of the vagabonds, wandering bands of players and dancers. But they essentially functioned the auxiliary agencies of the poligars.

Unlike the zamindar and jagirdar, the poligars exercised the power to collect the revenues as well as to maintain military force. He was the virtual administrator of his territory, renter to his sovereign, commander of forces, guardian of public welfare and a ryot among his people. Further, in normal times they looked after the charitable activities, cleared forests, executed irrigation works and built villages.³ Mostly the poligars also served as the feudal subordinate chiefs to the local rulers. They took advantage of the weakness of their masters and erected castles like the baronical chiefs of Europe in the feudal ages. Gradually they became the virtual feudatories paying tribute to the overlords and became proprietors of lands. They valued themselves highly on their ancient descent and esteem and considered themselves the first of Hindus

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1. N. Venkata Ramanayya, *Studies in the History of the Third dynasty of Vijayanagar*, Madras, 1935, p. 253.
 2. *Bellary District Records*, Vol. 384, pp. 55.58.
 3. R. G. Temple and Dr. Bhandarkar (ed.); *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 43, Bombay, 1914, p. 114.

next to the Brahmins and equal to the Rajputs.¹ As per one of the inscriptions of A. D. 1516, Kṛṣṇadevarāya granted to Kūnapuli Peddi Nāyaḍu the right of policing the Mallela *Samutu*. The Talāris of all the villages in the *Samutu* (small territorial division) were his subordinates and they were placed under his supervision.² Sadāśivarāya made another grant to *Mahipati* Yarrama Nāyaḍu conferring on him the right of policing the *Samutus* of Yādaki, Tāḍapatri, Vellaṭūr, Siṅgamala, Śiyyēḍu-*ceṟuvu*, Pāmiḍi, Konakoṇḍla, etc., with the territory of Gaṇḍikoṭa.³ In the beginning the poligars were exclusively concerned with the military and police functions.

The poligars assisted their respective masters with armed men and money. They were regulated by the major condition viz., the duty to perform military service to the sovereign. Other than the *Kāvalkārs*, their military establishment contained three categories of soldiers, the *amaram* peons, the *kaṭṭubaḍi* and the mercenary peons; the first two groups were paid chiefly in land and the last one in cash and grain. The *amaram* peons exercised the right on the land on hereditary basis and always remained prepared to execute the orders of the kings.⁴ The *kaṭṭubaḍi* peons, the virtual ryots extended military service and paid by assignments of waste lands in lieu of pecuniary wages. They served the poligars with pikes or matchlocks at their expense and made restitution of any property plundered within the villages, entrusted to their care. The mercenary peons were recruited only in times of emergency. During times of military operation the armed men received subsistence in money and grain, exclusive of the traditional privileges. These peons were left at the complete disposal of the concerned poligars. They received orders directly from the poligars. They executed his orders implicitly and they considered murder and robbery as mere matters of duty.⁵

1. Thomas Pennant, *The View of Hindustan*, Vol. II, London, MDCGXC VIII, p. 134.

2. *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy*, Madras, 1917, No. 13.

3. *Mackenzie Manuscripts*, p. 23.

4. *Revenue Consultations*, Vol. 118, pp. 2688-90.

5. *Ibid.*

The weapons in common use included the bow and arrow, cannon, muskets, wall pieces, shields, pikes and match lock.¹ Target, spear, dagger and sling were also familiar to them. Clay pellets, prepared by mixing the white of the egg with clay, served the purpose of bullets. They engaged in regular battles for all silly matters. When a superior force threatened them, they assumed defensive positions in their thick jungles. Their number varied from 200 to 3000 depending on the capacity of the poligars.² In order to assemble their troops they fired *sarabogis* park guns of a certain variety.³ If the cavalry of the enemy launched a surprise attack, the pike-men of the poligars formed themselves into a close ring encircling the match-lockmen, pointing the pikes against the invading cavalry. The match-lockmen taking their position on the elevated part of the fort, fired at the approaching enemy. The pike-men, meanwhile wielded the sharp pikes from the sheltered enclaves in the walls. The assailants advancing towards a breach on the wall could never reach the pikemen and could seldom know whence the blow was struck.⁴ The poligars were a type of mountaineers ever with an axe, like the butchers blades and bows and poisoned arrows for protection.⁵

For a stranger it was very difficult to scale the heights of a poligar hill, there was no clear pathway and if there was one it might lead the unwary to a wild jungle or end in an ambush. The regular pathway was known only to the chief and to the members. The slopes of the hills were covered with scrubs and huge trees providing a safe retreat for wild animals. The poligar chieftains built each one fort in the most difficult part of the country, intended as the last retreat of the poligars and their relatives. Usually it was situated in the centre of the mountainous forest and accessible only by a narrow winding path of the width capable of receiving only three men abreast and five miles in length and every turning

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1. *Military Country Correspondence*, Vol. 15, p. 139.
 2. *Board of Revenue, Circuit Committee Records Reports*, 1788, Vol. 173, pp. 306-7.
 3. *Military Consultations*, Vol. 288, p. 6934.
 4. J. Welsh, *Military Reminiscences*, Vol. I, p. 67-78.
 5. Meyrick, *Illustration of Ancient Arms and Armour*, p.472.

guarded by works.¹ The ceremonies and functions in their families were conducted with lavish expenditure of money.² The paraphernalia of their dress included among other things turban, turban band of golden colour, laurel adorning the head, war bracelets, gold chains, bangles, golden bells tied around the waist, white fleece, sticks, flags, umbrella, torch and parasols. Horses, camels, elephants and palanquins were some of the conveyance used by them.³ The Kāval system originated from the ruins of the Vijayanagar empire gathered further momentum from the political turmoil of the period and it finally began to collapse following the establishment of the British hegemony.

For instance the pagoda of Tirumala-Tirupati, the famous religious centre visited throughout the year by pilgrims from the farthest limits of Hindu religion is situated in an elevated basin in a valley surrounded by a crest of hills. The sacred precincts used to be guarded by four Kāvalkārs who remained its hereditary watchmen during the successive revolutions of the country.⁴ Until 12 July 1810, the Kāvalkārs were employed in collecting the inhabitants and artificers to drag the temple car and to promote the happy conclusion of the ceremonies.⁵ But on 12 July 1810 the Board of Revenue recommended the discontinuance of Kāvalkārs and replacement of the entire superintendence of the police in the hands of the Collector. Further the Board resolved to annex the hereditary lands controlled by the Kāvalkārs.

They authorised the police at Tirupati to protect the pilgrims and to guard the offerings to the deity. The general rules for maintaining the

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1. Thomas Pennant, *op. cit.*, p. 123.
 2. Henry Moris, *Descriptive and Historical Accounts of the Presidency of Madras*, London, 1875, p. 123.
 3. T.B. Pandyan, *The Ancient Heroes of South Indian Peninsula*, 1895, p. 16.
 4. P. B. Ramachandra Rao, *Poligars of Mysore and their Civilization*. Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Vol. XXIX, Bangalore, p. 152.
 5. *Proceedings of the Board of Revenue*, 12 July 1810.

police elsewhere would not apply to Tirupati. The Collector was empowered to make personal interference in the first instance so as to promote the security of the pilgrims.¹ Thus the policy of the Government in regard to the resumption of *inām* lands of the Kāvalkārs and the abolition of the Poligari system marked the end of the Kāval system.

1. *North Arcot Records*, Bundle 183. Police Jurisdiction, pp. 1-22.

Dr. V. SRI RAMACHANDRA MURTY

THE GOLAKĪ MAṬHA AT MANDADAM

During the time of the Kākatiyas, we hear about several Śaivite Maṭhas. The Goḷakī Maṭha became the most influential under the patronage of the Kākati Gaṇapatideva.

Malkāpuram inscription¹ of the Rudramadevī speaks of the pontifical succession of the Goḷakī Maṭha. A Śaiva pontiff named Ṣaḍbhāva Śambhu, who belonged to the spiritual lineage of Dūrvāsa was the founder of the 'Śrī-Goḷakī-Maṭha', originally situated in between the rivers Gaṅgā and Narmadā, in the Dāhalamaṇḍala. He received a 'bhikṣā' of three lacs of villages from the Kaḷachuri king Yuvarājadeva (I) and gave it away as the 'vṛitti' for the Maṭha. He was succeeded by the pontiff Soma Śambhu. His successor was Vāma Śambhu, who was also the 'Guru' of a Kaḷachuri King. Later, in the same line came the two pontiffs called Śakti Śambu and Kīrti Śambhu. After them, came the pontiff Vimala Śiva, who was also honoured by the Kaḷachuri Kings. His disciple was Dharma Śambhu.

Viśveśvara Śambhu, the founder of the Goḷakī Maṭha at Mandaram i.e. the present Mandadam (Maṅgaḷagiri Taluk, A.P.) was a disciple of Dharma Śambhu. He was also known as Viśveśvara Śiva or Viśveśvara Deśika. He hailed from the Pūrvagrāma in the Rādhā province of Gauḍa country and hence simply referred to as as *Gauḍa Cūdāmaṇi*. He was the 'guru' of the Kalacuri, Mālava and the Coḷa Kings. The Kākati Gaṇapatideva took initiation from Viśveśvara and revered him as his *dikṣā-guru*. The King styled himself as the '*dharma-tanaya*' or the spiritual son of Viśveśvara. Thus the prominence of Goḷakī Maṭha was recognised even in the royal court. Gaṇapatideva honoured his spiritual teacher as the

1. *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. X, No. 395.

Rājagurudeva The records¹ from Bhaṭṭiprolu (Repalle Taluk), dated in A.D. 1243 and A.D. 1271 refer to Paripūrṇa Śiva Mahāmuni and Uttama Śivagurudeva, stated to be the sons of the pontiff Viśveśvara.

In some records the Goḷakī Maṭha is referred to as the Goḷagiri Maṭha. So, it is conjectured that the original Goḷakī Maṭha founded at first in the Dāhalamaṇḍala might have been situated on a round hillock i. e., Goḷagiri and in due course, the name Goḷagiri Maṭha was corrupted as Goḷagi Maṭha or Goḷakī Maṭha.

The pontiffs of Goḷakī Maṭha were noted for their scholarship. The disciples were regarded for their pious nature. The followers of Goḷakī Maṭha gained popularity among the masses and established their branches at different places like Bhaṭṭiprolu, Taḍikalapūḍi, Śrīśailam, Tripurāntakam and Malkāpuram. Viśveśvara Deśika founded one *Upala maṭha* (a monastery built with stones) at Kāḷeśvaram and another *maṭha* at Eliśvaram. Gaṇapatideva granted the village Kāṇḍrakoṭa in Palnāḍ to the *maṭha* at Eliśvaram. Viśveśvara Deśika also enshrined *liṅgas* at places like Candravalli, Kommūr and Somaśila.

The Malkāpuram inscription (A. D. 1261) gives a good description of the Goḷakī Maṭha, situated at Mandadam. Gaṇapatideva orally ordered the grant of the village Mandadam to his preceptor Viśveśvara. His daughter Rudramadevī, following the oral order of her father, granted the village Mandadam and another village Velagapūḍi, together with the *lanka* (island) lands of the river Kṛṣṇā.

Viśveśvara Deśika established the Goḷakī Maṭha at Mandadam erected a temple for the god Viśveśvara and founded an *agrahāra* named Viśveśvara-Goḷakī. Sixty families of Drāviḍa Brāhṃṇas settled therein. A college, hospital and a free feeding house were also established there. Viśveśvara Deśika is the chief of the trust and enjoyed hundred *niṣka* coins as *Ācārya-bhoga*. Agricultural plots were assigned to each of the donees. The mode of distribution of land was narrated in detail. The administrator of the trust to be chosen was to be virtuous, merciful and learned. However, there is also a provision to remove the trustee, if he is negligent of his duties or if he misbehaves.

1. *Annual Report on S. I. Epigraphy*, 1936-37, Nos. 293, 307.

Under the pontiff Viśveśvara the Golakī Maṭha at Mandadam served as a *Vidyā-piṭha*. Lessons in religious studies were imparted there. The *maṭha* has appointed eight lecturers for teaching the Ṛgveda, Yajurveda, Sāmaveda, Paṇḍita, Vākya, Pramāṇa, Sāhitya, Āgama etc. Viśveśvara was an adept in Śaiva Siddhānta. Food and clothes were given to the students. The pontiff Viśveśvara attracted his students while being seated in *Vidyā-maṭha* with his smiling countenance, matted hair and pearl ear-rings.

The Golakī Maṭha had been referred to as the Śuddha Śaiva Maṭha. The pontiffs of the Golakī Maṭha reconciled Śaivism with Vedism. The Golakī pattern of Śaivism continued even after the fall of the Kākatiyas, though it was subsequently subjected to some transformative trends.

The Golakī Maṭha at Mandadam had utilised the services of a physician (*Vaidya*) and an Accountant (*Kāyastha*). It organised a maternity centre (*prasūti-śālā*), a health-centre (*ārogya-śālā*) and a choultry (*satra*). Arrangements were made in the *satra* for the feeding of all the people, without caste distinctions, even to the outcasts (*Caṇḍālas*). For this purpose, two Brahmin cooks (*pīcakas*) and six Brahmin servers were appointed. Food was also given to the Śaivite mendicants of the Pāśupata, Kālāmukha, Virāśaiva and Kāpālika schools. Golakī Maṭha at Mandadam offered many humane services.

Viśveśvara enshrined a Śivaliṅga there and named it as Viśveśvara after himself. The temple of god Viśveśvara has employed eight drummers (*Maddala-vāḍaka*), two players on the *Mukhari* (A stringed musical instrument), fourteen female singers (*gīyāni*), six players on *Karāḍa* (some kind of musical instrument), four maid servants (*paricārīkās*), ten dancers (*nartaka*), masons (*silpīn*) and master-sculptors (*sthapatī*). Several other persons like Crafts-men (*kārus*), barber (*nīpīta*) potter (*kumbhakāra*), village-guards (*vīrabhadras*), Śaivite heroes (*vīramuṣṭī*) and workers in gold (*suvarṇa*), copper (*tāmra*), iron (*ayas*), bamboo (*vaṃśa*) were also engaged in service of the Golakī. Thus, the Golakī Maṭha promoted arts and letters. Viśveśvara invited persons of different communities to settle down at the Golakī Maṭha village. He appointed thirty Brahmins of Śrīvatsa-gotra, Sāmaveda and of Gauḍa-deśa, to maintain all the accounts related to the income and the expenditure of the village.

In the Golakī Maṭha at Mandadam, arrangements were made to feed the needy without any distinction. Medical care was provided to all

in the hospital. The artists were encouraged to show their talents in their traditional trades. The musical concerts conducted in Golakī Matha provided means of sustenance for the families of singers and dancers. So, there existed social harmony in the premises of the Golakī Matha.

Thus, the Golakī Matha at Mandādam is not just a monastic establishment, but an institution with manifold activities accomplishing the spiritual, intellectual, and the human needs of society on the whole.

MANUSCRIPTS A SOURCE FOR THE STUDY OF CULTURAL HISTORY OF INDIA

The tradition of illustrated manuscripts in India is very old. Dr. Hiranand Śāstri has traced its antiquity to the time of the famous Jain writer Bhadrabābu the author of the Kalpasūtra and the contemporary of the Mauryan emperor Chandragupta.¹ Before the advent of printing technology in India almost all reading material, official and court transactions were recorded by hands in palm-leaves in the language of the region. History has bequeathed to us with rich legacy of manuscripts in Sanskrit, Pāli, Prākṛit, Apabhraṃśa, Gujarāṭi, Tibetan, Persian, Hīndi, Panjābi, Urdu, Arabic, etc., leaving aside illustrated manuscripts of Latin, Greek and other Germanic and Slavic languages. A large number of these manuscripts are being preserved by the Goettingen University under the supervision of Prof. (Dr.) Heinz Bechert, the Director, the Department of Indology and Buddhist studies. In ancient period Indian manuscripts went to China, Japan and Tibet for the propagation of Buddhist religion, through preachers, monks and other tourists.² Fa-hien, the famous Chinese monk who came to India to learn more about Buddhism returned to China with twenty horses loaded with valuable sculptures and seven hundred manuscripts.³ During the early centuries of the Christian era there were factors that led to the rise of national culture which saw the culmination in the classic age of the Gupta empire. In that age philosophy, religion, sciences, poetry and fine art, were not only patronised but also books on these subjects were written in abundance. It was only during this period that the Nalandā-Mahā-Vihāra was established and there were lakhs of manuscripts preserved in the library for the use of scholars. The Vikram-silā vihāra manuscript libraries also flourished during this period. But with the advent and onslaught of the Islām these centres were destroyed and the Libraries set ablaze. The few remaining manuscripts had their way to Nepal which are still safe in the royal library due to congenial climatic condition.

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1. Dr. Hiranand Śāstri : *Indian Pictorial Art as Developed in Book-Illustration*, 1936; Baroda, (Gaikwad Archaeological Series No. 1) p. 15.
 2. Vachaspati Gairola; *Akshar Amar Rahen* (Hindi); Varanasi, 1959 (Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series); pp. 14-15.
 3. *ibid.*, p. 28.

From c. 1010 to 1055 A.D. paramāra king Bhoja's library became a treasure house of knowledge. Astronomical sciences had a great tradition at this place, but with the conquest of Malwa in A. D. 1140 the Cālukya prince Sidha Rāj Jaya siṅgha carried off the library containing rare manuscripts, to his capital. During the medieval period Muslim rulers were very fond of maintaining libraries. Feroz Shah Tuglaq ordered to bring to him four thousand manuscripts from the Jvālāmukhi Bhāṅḍāra. Some of these were translated into Arabic and Persian languages.

Apart from it, the people of Gujarat led the country in preparing illustrated manuscripts of works like the *Caurapañcāsikā* and *Laurchanda*. Not only this, there are hundreds of Jain *bhāṅḍāras* all over India which contain prestigious manuscript collection on different aspects of Jain philosophy, religion, literature, art and astronomy etc.

The Jain manuscripts of the fourteenth century and the Vaiṣṇavite manuscripts numbering more than four thousands have reached Berlin State Library in the nineteenth century through Sir, Robert Chambers and George Buehler. They relate to the *Mahābhārata*, the *Devīmāhātmya*, Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṃśa*, the *Bhagavadgītā*. They are in Sanskrit, Hindi and Apabrahṃśa languages. Most of these manuscripts reveal painstaking work by the scribes and often include miniatures². Mughal emperor Akbar was a lover of manuscripts. His royal library possessed some 24,000 manuscripts mostly illustrated. Akbar got this work done on a scientific basis. Erudite scholars were engaged to guide the writing of the manuscripts and deft calligraphists, who were artists, were employed to prepare for the royal library the manuscripts in Sanskrit, Hindi, Arabic and Persian languages. There was a separate section devoted to Greek language. This imperial Library saw the doom's day at Akbar's death: it was distributed between libraries of Nawab of Lucknow (U.P.), Nawab of Rampur (U.P.) and Banīpur, Khan Bahadur Khuda Baksh of Patna.

Sir William Jones established Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1784. This Society apart from promoting the cause of archaeological excavations in India, encouraged the search and collection of manuscripts, throughout

1. *Ibid*, p. 29.

2. Prof. Wolfgang Morgenroth; *Brahman Illuminated Manuscript*, in G.D.R. Review, 7/76, Drasden, p. 61; and Prof. Wolfgang Morgenroth; "The Jain manuscript in the German State Library" in G.D.R. Review, 10, 76, Drasden, pp. 78, 79.

India. India Office Library in London published a *Catalogus Catalogorum* with the scholarly assistance of Dr. Kielhorn, Buhler, Peterson, R.G. Bhandarkar, Burnell, Mckenzie, Colebrooke and Gaikwad. The Madras University is issuing Vols. of *New Catalogus Catalogorum*. It is based on the most systematic method of documentation as is prevalent in Western countries i.e. name of the manuscript, author of the manuscript, scope of manuscript, script, period of writing, period of script and state of manuscript. The Bodlean Library, Oxford and State Library, Berlin followed the same manner.

In 1868 Pandit Radhakrishan of Lahore made efforts to start organisations for the collection of manuscripts in India with the help of the then Government of India. Ever since, these organisations have been busy in the collection of manuscripts, viz., Nagri Pracāraṇī Sabhā, Vāraṇāsi; Sarasvatī Bhavan, Vāraṇāsi; Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona; Shri Shardul Research Institute and Jain Granthālaya Bikaner; Scindia Research Institute, Ujjain; Bihar Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Patna; Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras; Adyar Library, Madras; Prācyā Vidyā Samsthān, Madras; Madras University, Madras; Vedic Research Samsthān, Hoshiarpur; Research Institute, Udaipur; Khuda Bakhsh Library, Patna; Purātan Mandir and Pothi Khana, Jaipur; Bharat Kala Bhavan, Vāraṇāsi; Museum of Maharaja of Balrampur (U. P.); Raza Imperial Library, Rampur; Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Allahabad (U. P.); Raja Kameshwar Prasad Singh Library, Darbhanga (Bihar). Muni Shri Punyavijayji of Pattan (Gujarat), a specialist in ancient Indian manuscriptology has stated that Pattan, Khambhat and Jaisalmer occupy the first place in the history of manuscript preservation in the country.¹ Jaisalmer collection takes the place of pride in possessing manuscripts with Pattas and illustrations which are available nowhere else in the country. There are almost 500 cities, towns, villages which possess manuscripts of Jain scriptures. Birch-bark manuscripts, according to Muni Shri Punya Vijayji are three thousand and this figure goes upto two lakhs which includes paper manuscripts. If we add the personal collection of all the sects of the Jaina bhikṣūras, then of course, it may touch the maximum limit of 15 lakhs.

1. Munishi Punya Vijay ji; "*Gṇān bhāṅḡāron Par ek Dṛṣṭipāt*." (Hindi) in: *Proceedings and transactions of the All-India Oriental Conference, 1953 (Ahmadabad)*, p. 34.

Punjab drew inspiration from Delhi and other neighbouring places. Consequently a manuscript survey was undertaken by Dr. Bhagwan Das in 1939.¹ In early days all the government transactions were effected in handwritten documents, hence all royal firmans (decrees) were prepared in manuscript form. In the course of its history Punjab had the rules of the ancient Hindi rulers, Delhi Sultans, the Mughals; and finally it was under the rule Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Hence it witnessed different types of administration. Administrative records, and the records connected with social and cultural life were recorded. Life of Gurus, histories of emperors and imperial exploits were documented in manuscripts. Most of these MSS were written in Persian, the court language of the medieval Punjab until the time of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, besides Hindi and Punjabi (written in the Gurmukhi as well as Persian scripts). The life and teachings of Guru Nānak (1469-1538) first Guru of the Sikhs were also recorded in the manuscripts. These are known as *Janam Sakhis*. Various authors have written them. Quite a few have been even illustrated. One such was photographed by the generous permission of Prof. Pritam Singh, Head of the Department of Guru Nānak Dev Studies, G. N. Dev University, Amritsar. Guru Nānak was the contemporary of Baber, the founder of the Mughal dynasty in India. Then, Vaiṣṇavaite works are also found illustrated in manuscripts, viz., the *Viṣṇu Purāna*, *Bhāgavata Purāna* as also *Śivapurāna*, *Bhagavad Gītā*, *Narinder Vibhūti Vilāsa*, *Narinder Nīti*, *Mahinder Prakāśa*, *Mahendra Prakāśa*, *Mahendra Aṣṭaka*,² *Rāmīyana in Persian*, Military Manual of Ranjit Singh in Persian³.

The above cited manuscripts were decidedly written in the regime of Maharaja Narinder Singh (1845-1862) and his son Maharaja Mahinder Singh (1862-1876).

The manuscripts illustrated and prepared in Punjab have had their way to far off places connected by the surface route, as for example, Astrakhan, Central Asia. The person who took away these manuscripts

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1. Dr. Kastur Chand Kashiwal, "*Jain Granth Bhaṇḍār in Rajasthan*", 1967, Jaipur (Mahavir Bhavan), p. 369
 2. (1) Punjab Government Archives Acc. No. M/676, Mahendra Prakash by Ditta Mal, (2) Ibid., M/696, Mahendra Prakāśa by Ganga Ram, (3) Ibid., M/697, Mahendra Aṣṭak (4) Ibid., M/698, Narendra Nīti by Brahm Bhatt, (5) Ibid., M/700 Narendra Vibhūti Vilas, (6) Ibid., M/701, Narendra Bhānu Prakash.
 3. The last three manuscripts are in the collection of Sheesh Mahal Art. Old Moti Palace Patiala. These have not so far been catalogued.

has been identified as Kirpal Dass of Multan and Sikkar who later settled in Astrakhan and Bukhara. Then, ultimately, these were acquired by the Institute of Oriental Studies, Leningrad (USSR Academy of Sciences). These manuscripts are 34 in number, 18 complete and 16 incomplete. This interesting fact was reported by a Russian scholar G. A. Zograf in 1973.¹ It deserves to be specially mentioned, that these Gurbilas (illustrated manuscripts) contain a picture in which Guru Gobind Singh (1675-1708) the famous tenth and the last Guru of the Sikhs, is depicted as going for a hunt. The collection includes also her manuscripts.² How these manuscripts travel from place to place in and outside India, may go to make a strange story. One such illustrated manuscript of Punjabi language written in Devanāgarī containing 120 illustrations is in possession of Aggar Chand Nahatta of Bikaner.³ Yet another such manuscript of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa of eighteenth century was noticed by Dr. H. Goetz containing illustrations especially of the camels.⁴

Following the way shown by the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, and the Nāgārī Pracārīṇī Sabha, Vāraṇāsī, the Punjab Government Languages Department, Patiala, undertook a comprehensive survey of manuscripts in 1961 and 1963⁵ in the right earnest to locate every possible information about manuscripts especially of Punjabi language in Punjab and its neighbouring region and brought out two volumes of well documented descriptive catalogue, touching the manuscripts of all subjects, several noblemen, old zamindars and descendents of erstwhile princely order. Central Public Library, Patiala; Punjab State Archives, Patiala; Vaid Mohan Singh collection in Punjabi University, Patiala; Kharak Singh Library at Forezpur; Guru Nanak Dev University Library, Amritsar; Visveshwar-

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1. G. A. Zograf, "Rare Gurmikhi Manuscript", in the Sunday Tribune, July 29, 1973.
 2. For details see *Sikh Religious Books found in Russia*. The Tribune, April 13, 1973.
 3. Aggar Chand Nahatta, "Hindi Granthon ki Sachitra Lipian", in *Akriti* (Hindi Quarterly), Vol. 6, No. 2, October 1972, Jaipur (Rajasthan : Lakitkala Akademi), p. 17.
 4. Dr. Herman Goetz, "The Animal in Indian Art", in *German Scholars on Indian* edited by Cultural Department of F. R. G., Vol. I, 1973, Varanasi (Chowkhamba Sanskrit series), p. 83.
 5. Punjab Languages Department, *Punjabi Hath-Likhtan di Suchi (Punjabi)*, Vol. I, 1961; Vol. II, 1963; Patiala.

anand Research Library collection at Hoshiarpur; Kurukshetra University Library collection, Kurukshetra, deserve special mention here. Punjabi Sahitya Akademy at Ludhaiana also possess a good number of manuscripts which help us to assess the historical development of language and the Punjabi literature. Literatures and artists flock here to the Akademy in order to make use of the manuscripts preserved therein.

The subjects dealt within these manuscripts cover almost all disciplines of human activity. This list of main subjects covered by these manuscripts is as follows :—

Subjects dealt within manuscripts

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|--|----------------------------------|
| 1. Āgama and Siddhānta | 15. Drama |
| 2. Aṅga and Upāṅga | 16. Āyurveda |
| 3. Cheda Sūtras | 17. Chandas |
| 4. Four Mūla Sūtras | 18. Lexicography |
| 5. Purāṇa | 19. Stotra |
| 6. Poetry | 20. Sexuology |
| 7. Carita | 21. Music and dances |
| 8. Rasa | 22. Sikh philosophy and religion |
| 9. Ādhyātma | 23. History & Biography |
| 10. Work of Jain, Buddhist,
Hindu and Muslim philosophy | 24. Travels |
| 11. Short stories | 25. Janam Sakhis |
| 12. Subhāṣita and Nītiśāstra | 26. Śilpa and Vāstu |
| 13. Jyotiṣa | 27. Military manuals |
| 14. Grammar | 28. Royal panygeries |

SIGNIFICANCE OF MANUSCRIPTS

Since the rulers, in the first instance, were the chief patrons of this activity, and got their manuscripts illustrated so also the other landed aristocracy or religious teachers got their manuscripts prepared in the same fashion. Foremost intention for execution of these manuscripts was to glorify the princely self among the educated elite, which, obviously, was to perpetuate their memory for the posterity in order to continue the dynastic rule in psychological atmosphere. Another purpose seems to be the source of pleasure for persons leading the kingly life-as they wanted to be different from the rest of the people. Hence their source of enjoyment remained different. But, whatever might have been the latent motive behind this, one thing which we have observed in the present context is

that these manuscripts have supplied us an authentic source of style, the mode of living, the general appearance of buildings, and temples and social customs, mode of fashions in those days.

It shall not be out of place to mention here that manuscripts preserve our entire cultural heritage of India second only to sculptural wealth, coins, land grant copper plates and other archaeological evidences on which we can reconstruct our hoary antiquity. Hence, the historical and cultural importance of these illustrated manuscripts cannot be over-emphasized. Literature of the ancient period and of the medieval period is treasured up in these manuscripts. Now learned university scholars like Dr. V. Raghavan (Madras), Dr. R.N. Dandekar (Poona), Dr. U.P. Shah and Dr. A.N. Jani (Baroda), Dr. Anant Lal Thakur (Patna), Dr. Lokesh Chandra (Delhi) son of Late Dr. Raghbir who brought several manuscripts from Mongolia, China and Japan are bringing out excellent books out of these ancient manuscripts.

D. KIRANKRANTHCHOUDARY

VĪRA NARAŚĪNGADEVA YĀDAVARĀYA

A LITTLE KNOWN COLA FEUDATORY
OF CHITTOOR DISTRICT

During my study of the Śrī Kālahastīśvara temple, Śrī Kālahasti, I came across inscriptions of a Cola feudatory by name Vira Naraśiṅgadeva Yādavarāya. Very little is known about this chief. Hence it is proposed to briefly study the available inscriptions of his, in the present paper. There are about fifteen inscriptions of this chief from Śrī Kālahasti itself. Further investigation revealed to me that there are about fifteen more inscriptions of this chief from other places. The earliest inscription for this king is from Śrī Kālahasti, dated in the 31st regnal year of Kulottuṅga III corresponding to A. D. 1208-09. Here Vira Naraśiṅgadeva Yādavarāya figures as a donor.¹ However we have another inscription of this chief from Tirumala,² that seems to help us in approximately fixing the date of the accession of this chief. The details of the date of the record viz. the chief's regnal 34, Mīna, ba I, Thursday, Citrānakṣatra. On the basis of the inscription of Kulottuṅga III mentioned above, the chief is to be assigned to the 13th century A. D. Now the details of the date of the Tirumala inscription of the chief are found regularly corresponding to the 16th March, A. D. 1245. Then it would follow that this chief came to power some time in A. D. 1211-12. Consequently, we may assume that Vira Naraśiṅgadeva was only a crown prince in A. D. 1208-09. There is another inscription³ in Śrī Kālahasti itself which is dated in the 7th regnal year of Kulottuṅga III (A. D. 1184). In that inscription a chief called Naraśiṅgaṅ Tirukkālattideva Yādavarāya figures as a donor. Taking into consideration the area and the time of the record one may suggest that this Naraśiṅgaṅ Tirukkālattideva was perhaps the father and predecessor of our chief Vira Naraśiṅgadeva.

1. *A. R. Ep.*, 1922, No. 120.

2. *Tirumala Tirupati Devasthanam Inscriptions (T. T. D. I.)*, Vol. I, No. 37/176.

3. *South Indian Inscriptions (S. I. I.)*, Vol. VIII, No. 371.

We have two more records from Tirupati¹ dated in the chief's regnal years. The details of the date of the one are as 50th regnal year and Rākṣasa. However, it is to be noted that the cyclic year Vikrama during this period corresponded to A. D. 1220-21 i.e. the chief's 10th regnal year, while the chief's 50th year would correspond to the cyclic year Raudra. Further the cyclic year Rākṣasa during this period corresponded to A.D. 2155-56 which happen to be the 44th regnal year, while the chief's 51st year namely A. D. 1262-63 corresponded to the cyclic year Durmati.

Now it would appear that the details of the date of the inscription is obviously irregular. We also do not know whether the date of the record have been properly read and edited. Therefore, basing on the verifiable details of the date found in the Tirumala inscription mentioned above, as suggested earlier (A. D. 1211-12), as the date of the chief's accession, and Consequently accepting the cyclic years Vikrama and Rākṣasa of the above mentioned records to be correct, we may suggest that the said two records belong respectively to the chief's 10th and 44th regnal years. This period covers nearly 46 or 47 years and that may be taken as his period of rule.

It has been already stated that Vīra Narasiṅgadeva figures in about 30 inscriptions. They are found in Śrī Kālahasti, Rāmagiri, Yogimallavaram, Tirupati, Tirumala, Tirupṭāsur and Tiruvorriyūr. In some of these inscriptions the chief acknowledges the suzerainty of two Coḷa overlords, Kulottuṅga III and then Rājarāja III. He also seems to have accepted the Pāṇḍyan suzerainty for a while. In his early records i. e. from A. D. 1212 to 1214, Vīra Narasiṅgadeva mentions Kulottuṅga III as his overlord.² Later on from A. D. 1220 to 1230 we have the records mentioning the overlord Rājarāja III. However, in the inscriptions issued since A. D. 1230-31, the reference to the overlord is omitted. Why was this so? To get the answer we have to see the position of Coḷa overlords.

Rājarāja came to power in A. D. 1216.³ His reign began badly and his initial misfortunes brought great calamities.⁴ The Tiruvilakkuḍi (Tanjore I t.) record issued in the 16th regnal year of Rājarāja, mentions that there were great disorders in the fifth year of his reign resulting in

1. *T. T. D. I.* Vol. I, Nos. 89/143 and 90/125.

2. *A. R. Ep.*, 1903, No. 93 and *Ibid.*; 1896, No. 406.

3. *Epigraphia Indica (E. I.)*, Vol. VIII, p. 260.

4. K. A. N. Sastri, *The Colas*, Vol. II, part 3, p. 172.

loss of security and damage to property.¹ Māravarman Sundarapāṇḍya I who came to power in A. D. 1216 invaded the Coḷa country and performed *viḷayābhīṣeka* in Muḍikoṇḍaśoḷapuram.² His first invasion must have taken place in A. D. 1220-23. A record of Hoyasaḷa Vīra Narasiṃha II, states that he was the establisher of the Coḷa kingdom.³ An inscription dated A. D. 1221-22 from Yogimallavaram⁴ near Tirupati in Chittoor district mentions a fight between Vīra Narasiṅgadeva and Kāḍavarāya at Uratti.⁵ We have no references concerning the occasion for the conflict. It is not improbable that our Vīra Narasiṅgadeva came to the rescue of the Coḷa king and fought against the above Kāḍavarāya.

An inscription from Tirvendipuram dated A. D. 1231-32,⁶ mentions that the Coḷa emperor was imprisoned by his rebellious feudatory Kopperuñjiṅga. Rājarāja was released and restored to power by the intervention of the Hoyasaḷa Vīra Narasiṃha's generals. In about A. D. 1235-36 Māravarman Sundarapāṇḍya I, i.e., in his 20th regnal year again dethroned Rājarāja. There is another inscription which mentions about disturbances in the 5th, 15th and 16th, regnal years of Rājarāja,⁷ i.e. A.D. 1221 and 1231-32. At Tirumala we have an epigraph recording an order of Vīra Narasiṅgadeva Yāḍavarāya which was to take effect from the 12th regnal year (A. D. 1227-28) of Māravarman Sundarapāṇḍya I.⁸ It seems that during the Pāṇḍya occupation of the Coḷa country before the Hoyasaḷa's effective intervention in about A. D. 1230, Vīra Narasiṅgadeva appears to have acknowledged the suzerainty of the Pāṇḍyas. But this state of affairs continued only for a short period. For after that date the Yāḍavarāya never accepted their suzerainty. These references clearly tell us about the disturbances and wars among the feudatories and the intervention of Hoyasaḷa Narasiṃha II in the affairs of Coḷa kingdom and restoring the power to the Coḷa monarch.

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1. *Ibid.*, p. 176 and *A. R. Ep.*, 126, No. 141.
 2. K. A. N. Sastri, *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, p. 147.
 3. *E. I.*, Vol. VII, p. 162.
 4. *S. I. I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 299 and *T. T. D. I.*, Vol. I, No. 35/380.
 5. K.A.N. Sastri identifies this Uratti with Oratti of today in the Chenagalput District. See *The Colas*, p. 420.
 6. *E. I.*, Vol. VII, p. 162.
 7. *A. R. Ep.*, 1925, No. 213.
 8. *T. T. D. I.*, Vol. I, No. 44/164.

Thus it would appear that Vira Narasiṅgadeva started his career as a Coḷa feudatory sometime in A. D. 1211-12 under Kulottuṅga III and maintained his position as such till the 10th regnal year of Rājarāja III (i. e. A. D. 1226).¹ When Māravarman Sundarapāṇḍya invaded and occupied the Coḷa country he changed his allegiance to the Pāṇḍya round about A. D. 1228-29 as we saw above. But in an inscription from Yogimallavaram² dated in the 14th regnal year (A. D. 1230) of Rājarāja he again accepts the overlordship of that Coḷa monarch. He was evidently influenced by the Coḷa - Hoyasaḷa alliance. However after the said date of the Yogimallavaram record, he never mentions any overlord in his records about eight in number. One of the inscriptions of Rājarāja III from Yogimallavaram³ dated A. D. 1224-25 mentions that Vira Narasiṅgadeva as the ruler of the region (*in-nūḷuḷaiya*). His kingdom perhaps comprised the Eastern part of the modern Chittoor District. We find all his inscriptions within this area, except three inscriptions.⁴ These three inscriptions are from Tiruppāsur, Tiruvorriyūr and Tiruppaccūr (Chengalput Dt) mention that Vira Narasiṅgadeva as a donor of money, 'not land' for the temples. His title *Śrī Kālahastīśaḷpāḍṛādhaka*⁵ shows that he was a Śaiva at his heart. But he favoured Vaiṣṇavism too. He made donations to a number of temples in which the largest chunk has gone to Śaiva temples. He installed an image of Mallikārjunamudaiya Nāyanār in the temple of Mānikkaṅgamudaiya Nāyanār at Śrī Kālahasti.⁶ A record from Tiruvorriyūr mentions about his gift to the God which was named after his own name i. e. Vira Narasiṃheśvaramudaiya Nāyanār set up by himself.⁷

While concluding it may be stated that the independence earned by our Vira Narasiṅgadeva Yādavarāya seems to have been lost by his descendants in the subsequent period. For, in an inscription from Rāmagiri⁸ dated in the 3rd year of Vira Gaṇḍagopāla we find one *Rājāśraya Śasikula Calukki* Vira Narasiṅgadeva Yādavarāya as a donor. This Yādavarāya chief must have accepted the Vira Gaṇḍagopāla's overlordship. As that record has been assigned to A. D. 1294, the Yādavarāya chief mentioned in must be one of the successors of our ViraNarasiṅgadeva.

1. *A. R. Ep.*, 1903, No. 182 and *Ibid.*, 1922, No. 156.
2. *S. I. I.*, Vol. XVII, No. 304.
3. *Ibid.*, No. 279; Text lines 30 and 31.
4. *A. R. Ep.*, 1896, No. 40, *Ibid.*, 1912, No. 199 and *Ibid.*, 1930, No. 149.
5. *S. I. I.*, Vol. XVII, No. 696.
6. *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, No. 499.
7. *A. R. Ep.*, 1912, No. 227.
8. *S. I. I.*, Vol. XVII, No. 716.

SANJIVA DEV

ARCHITECTURE OF MEDIEVAL DECCAN AS A SOURCE OF HISTORY*

The sapphire sky, as infinite as the infinity itself, is immensely enchanting in the form of an unbound international roof, sheltering every land in the Orient and Occident, north and south. But man is not the land and hence he cannot live under the open sky, however enchanting it may be; for all that is beautiful is not always useful. Man requires shelter from the sun, from the cold, rain, mist and hail. The beautiful open sky cannot provide man with such a shelter. That was why the primitive man in the pleistocene age took shelter in the cave; the cave itself was the primitive house. Later, man traversing the palaeolithic, mesolithic and the neolithic periods, was able to build a rudimentary shelter for himself.

Mind lives in the body while the body dwells in the house and hence the house is the veritable structure of all culture and civilization. Out of the primitive man's rudimentary hut did emanate the art and science of architecture. Architecture is a synthesis of both utility and beauty; in architecture, utility is the primary aim and beauty the secondary. Architecture is a vertical bridge which unites the sky above with the earth below; it is a rhythmic synthesis of the horizontal and the vertical lines; it is a lovely blending of what is useful and what is beautiful. The sky is an umbrella to the earth while to the humans of the earth the house is an umbrella—a more concrete umbrella than the sky!

There is greater unity among the architectural styles of the world than in the political ideologies. As there is the *gopuram* in the South Indian temple architecture, in Europe in the structure of a church there is the tower with arches. In the architecture of the church, there are two distinct styles are noticeable, one the Trabeated style and the other Arcuated style; the former mainly consists of the column and the beam; this style is found in ancient Egypt, Iran and Greece; the latter mainly contains arch and dome, which are mainly found in Roman, Byzantine

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and Gothic traditions. These styles of architecture were due to the fact that in some countries stone was available and in others not. Thus the Trabeated style was used in the countries in which stone was available while the Arcuated style in those countries in which brick was available instead of stone.

Humanity is immensely influenced by the type of architecture it adopted. The influence of a dwelling on the person who lives in it is profound. That is why Winston Churchill aptly says "We shape our buildings and then our buildings shape us." There seems to be least exaggeration in what Churchill had uttered. Intrinsically architecture is regarded to be inanimate and yet it turns animate by constant concomitance with the person who dwells in the dwelling. An inanimate dwelling, having been animated by the dweller, would reanimate the dweller with the radiation of fresh life. Architecture is a lovely harmony of the masculine and the feminine aspects of life through the use of the vertical column and the horizontal beam.

In India there exists a number of styles in architecture varying from one part to another. There is considerable difference between the architectural styles of the north and the south. In the Indo-Aryan architecture of the north, greater emphasis is laid over the play of light and shade in a vertical form while in the Dravidian architecture of the south the importance is given to that in a horizontal form. There exists a mixed style in the architecture of the Deccan which lies between the north and the south. Deccan is a region containing the synthesis of the cultures and civilizations of the Indo-Aryan north and the Dravidian south. Thus the Deccan architecture is a distinct one.

In Deccan a robust and fascinating style of architecture, especially temple architecture, was taking place during the 12th and the 13th centuries. They mainly consist of elevated plinths, high spires, porches and halls consisting of pillars. These vertical shapes are beautifully balanced by those of masonry bands in horizontal. It appears in those days, in these parts, the masons were unfamiliar with the construction of arches; even they did not care to use lime or any allied substance to attach one stone with another in erecting the walls. The heavy blocks of stone were placed on one another without any binding medium. The masons were very fond of using large stones in their construction in every phase of the architecture beginning from the pavements to the slabs in the

ceilings; the door-frames, friezes, pillars, lintels etc., are of large stone blocks. In one sense, the Deccan temple architecture of those days was of semi-megalithic structures, if not pure megalithic ones. Minilithic friezes on megalithic blocks would be fascinating in their own striking contrast! Deccan, together with its adjacent regions in the South, is unique for its megalithic and monolithic cultures, and at the same time minilithic culture was not lacking in the form of small relief-sculpture.

It is a fact that the Deccan architects were not unknown to the use of bricks in those times. Even during the first millenium B.C, the use of brick was in vogue in Deccan. Yet, the medieval Deccan architects used stone instead of brick in constructing the temples. Probably they believed that stone was more permanent than bricks. Not only the Stone Age primitive people had used stone implements but also the advanced people sought delight in using stone for their various purposes. Even in our modern times, stone has not lost its original value.

Muhammad Bin Tughluq, early in the fourteenth century A.D., who preceded the Bahmani Sultans in Deccan, ordered all the inhabitants of Delhi to shift to Daulatabad (Devagiri). Despite some preliminary protest, they were ultimately compelled to migrate to Daulatabad along with the flow of migrants there arrived at Daulatabad numerous architects, painters, calligraphists etc. The magnificent style of Deccan architecture had fascinated these new-comers and yet they could not copy it in their work due to unfamiliarity with the same; thus they preferred to follow their own tradition. There exists no structure belonging to the period of Tughluq in Deccan and yet there are some tombs of the Bahmani Kings in Gulbarga and its environs containing features analogous to those at Delhi. These structures have domes in hemispherical shapes and battered walls.

Among the most meritorious buildings of this period is the Jamī Masjid of Gulbarga fort built by Rafi, a Persian architect, in 1367 A.D., under Muhammad Shah Bahmani I. This mosque is quite novel in some features of architectural style; it is conspicuous by the absence of open court in front of the prayer-hall. All the other parts of the mosque including the front of the prayer-hall are completely covered over. As the weather of Deccan was hot, such closed type of architecture was given up and some innovated style was adopted which is to be seen in some of the buildings at Bidar and Bijapur. The construction of the domes of this mosque is not hemispherical in appearance like that of the domes of other Muslim structures in the Deccan but stilted to some extent. The dome and arch in stilted shape prevailed in Deccan owing to the dexterity of the Persian architects under the reign of the Bahmani Sultans.

After more than a century had elapsed since the establishment of the Bahmani dynasty in the Deccan, Bidar was made their capital. During

this long period, many alterations took place between the styles of the Tughluq tradition of architecture and those of the Bahmani tradition. This new architecture is a lovely fusion of the Persian style and that of the talents of the local masons.

In 1429 A. D., Ahmad Shah Wali Bahmani shifted his capital to Bidar from Gulbarga and commenced the building of fort and his palaces. The fort was completed in 1432. The fort was built of stone and mortar. According to Ferishta, the entire construction was completed in nine years. In those days gunpowder had not yet made its advent into the Deccan and hence the triple-moat was carved in the rock bottom of the Bidar fort for the purpose of defence. But towards the end of the 15th century the defence parts of the fort were re-built under the supervision of the Turkish experts. It was remodelled in view of the advent of gunpowder into Deccan. With the advent of gunpowder, the military architecture of Deccan underwent a radical modification. After the original construction of the Bidar fort it was damaged by the invasion of Sultan Mahmud Khalji of Malwa and later it was re-built, with minor alterations, under the reign of Nizam Shah Bahmani in 1461 A. D. But no complete change occurred until the time of Mahammad Shah Bahmani when gun-powder was in use for blowing up the fort walls. According to Ferishta, Mahammad Shah Bahmani made siege of Belgam in 1472 A. D. When the garrison was making attempts to undo the mining arrangements taking place in the moat, they adopted other devices by digging trenches and laying of mines which were not known in Deccan until that time. Ferishta used the words "barud" which means gun-powder and "tope" which means cannon.

G. Yazdani in his monumental work entitled "Bidar, Its History and Monuments" writes about the later alterations of the Bidar Fort: "There is both historical and epigraphic evidence to show that some additions to the defences of the fort were made by Mahmud Shah Bahmani, but they were apparently of a minor character, for the reign of this king was disturbed by rebellions at the capital and outside it, and further, the Baridi ministers held him completely under their control. Improvements on a large scale, however, may have been made during the reign of 'Ali Barid' (A. D. 1542-80), who mounted guns, made under his express command, at various vulnerable points of the fort. Later, in A. D. 1618, Malik Marjan, the Bijapur governor, repaired the walls and bastions of the fort, and afterwards Mukhtar Khan al-Hussaini, the Mughal commandant, re-erected and plated and bossed in iron almost all the gates of Bidar, which bear his inscriptions to this day. Mahammad Salih Kambof the contemporary historian of Shah Jahan's reign, gives a description of the fort with certain details, which are true even today as regards the general disposition of its defences. It is thus clear that since A.D. 1656 when Aurangzeb, as governor of the Deccan, annexed Bidar to the

Mughal empire, no substantial change has been made in its fortifications, which were rebuilt by Mahammad Shah Bahmani under the able superintendence of his general, Mahmud Gawan, after the use of gun-powder was introduced into the Deccan, although they have been repaired and slight additions made during the occupation of the fort by rulers of other dynasties in subsequent years."

The external circumference of the defence of the fort is two and half miles; it has seven gates and the names of them are 1. The Mandu Darwaza, 2. The Kalmadgi Darwaza, 3-4. Anonymous, 5. The Delhi Darwaza, 6. The Kalyani Darwaza, and 7. The Carnatic Darwaza.,

The Deccan sultanates were five in number; 1. Berar, 2. Bidar, 3. Ahamadnagar, 4. Bijapur, and 5. Go'konda. But later, the number of them was reduced to three only due to the fact that Berar and Bidar were amalgamated into the other three sultanates. Of the remaining three sultanates, Ahamadnagar was in Maharashtra, Bijapur in Karnataka and Golkonda in Andhra or Telangana. The three Deccan Kingdoms have magnificent architectural masterpieces in their own territories. But the construction of forts got priority and skill in these kingdoms, for the history of the Deccan is the history of political upheaval, the success or failure of which did mainly depend on the strength or the weakness of the fortifications architecture of which was of immense significance in moulding the destiny of those kingdoms, and that was why the Deccan architecture was inseparably linked with history. About the state of affairs in Deccan of those days, Sir Henry Knight graphically describes in an article on Chand Bibi "For two hundred years the history of the Deccan Kingdoms might almost be summed up as a succession of alliances, inter-marriages, grandiose designs, wars, defeats, futile victories, betrayals, battles, sieges, murders, intrigues and treacheries, too tedious to detail." His statement is meticulously true.

But it is a common fact in history that those kings who fought among themselves would unite themselves in order to fight and defeat a common enemy. Mutual foes would transform themselves into mutual friends when an occasion arose for conquest over a third party which happened to be their common foe. The same happened to the Deccan Kingdoms. In the middle of the 16th century, Rāmarāya, the ruler of Vijayanagara, became a centre of military might and ruthless valour, and thus unless he was conquered it was impossible for the Deccan sultans to keep their kingdoms alive. Consequently, Ahmadnagar, Golkonda, Bijapur and Bidar entered into an alliance in 1565 and confirmed it by giving in marriage Chand Bibi, the daughter of Hussain Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar, to Ali Adil Shah of Bijapur. Later it was this princess that became a popular legend of all that was valour, courage, ascrifice, chastity, mystic passion and compassion.

In 1565 the new alliance of the Deccan sultanates was able to defeat Rāmarāya of Vijayanagar in the well-known battle of Tallikōṭa in spite of the fact that the Vijayanagar army consisted of one million soldiers ready for self-annihilation. King Rāmarāya was ignobly dragged from his capsized palanquin by the renowned military elephant Ghulam Ali of Ahmadnagar and relentlessly decapitated on the battle field itself.

Chand Bibi became the queen of Ali Adil Shah of Bijapur. She was a talented lady in many spheres of life; she spoke a number of languages, fought in wars, hunted the wild animals, rode the fastest horses and in addition to all these, she led a virtuous life full of dedication to lofty aims and aspirations, noble ideas and ideals. But in 1580, Chand Bibi's benign husband Ali Adil Shah was assassinated. Chand Bibi was childless, and hence the nine-year old nephew of her husband was installed under the guardianship of Chand Bibi at Bijapur; he was Ibrahim Adil Shah II under whose reign Bijapur prospered in an unusual manner. There were built lofty mansions and beautiful palaces; Bijapur had a tree-lined street of four-mile length. Asad Beg, an envoy of Akbar writes about the splendour of Bijapur as follows: "In short, the whole market was filled with wine and beauty, dancing girls, perfumes, jewels, and palaces. In one street thousands of people were drinking, dancing and pleasuring. No one quarrelled or disputed and this state of enjoyment was perpetual. Perhaps no place in the world could present a more wonderful spectacle to the eye of the traveller." This flowery description of Bijapur, made by Asad Beg, sounds hyperbolic and thus one doubts the truth in it. However, it might be true to some extent.

In due course, Chand Bibi returned to Ahmadnagar and never left it again. From Ahmadnagar fort she fought many a fierce battle with various invaders including the imperial army sent by Emperor Akbar under the supervision of prince Murad, his own son. The fort of Ahmadnagar was an invulnerable stronghold strategically built by Chand Bibi's father Hussain Nizam Shah, utilising every military device existant in those days. Colonel Welsh described the fort in 1803 thus, "The fort of Ahmadnagar is one of the strongest, I have ever seen on a plain in all India. It is built of solid stone and chunam, and is nearly circular with a wide and deep ditch all round it and large roomy circular bastions at short intervals, each containing three or four guns pointed through casemated embrasures, with a solid terrace above and loopholes for musquetry. These bastions were fifty to sixty feet high; the curtains being both short and low, cannon proof but no guns."

Prince Murad, in 1595 on December 26 did arrive at Ahmadnagar Fort accompanied by thirty thousand Mughal and Rajaput cavalry together with the troops of Khan Khanan and of Raja Ali Khan of Khandesh. Sayid Ali described this terrific army as: "Swift to shed blood, covering

with its hosts both mountain and plain, darkening the sun with its dust, and advancing like a tempestuous sea." Prince Murad's attempts to conquer the Ahamadnagar fort were as formidable as the Ahamadnagar Fort itself. The battle of the Fort is the marvellous display of Chand Bibi's unbound chivalry as well as lofty strategic skill.

The army of Murad failed to capture the fort in its first attempts. But Murad again made a stronger attempt in February by mining the fort at several places in the bastions and wanted to fire them in March. But Khawaja Mahmad Khan Shirazy could not help informing the Fort people of the imminent danger of the firing of the mines, for he wanted to save numerous lives from the annihilation to be caused by the mines; also this act might be an evidence of jealousy existed among the commanders of the Mughal army. On receiving this information from the enemy, Chand Bibi ordered her soldiers to remove the mines from the bastions. While the soldiers were involved in the act of removing the mines, prince Murad, without the knowledge of Khan Khannan ordered his soldiers to blast the mines and that sudden blasting had not merely destroyed many lives but also made a breach in the wall of the fort. Chand Bibi putting on an armour, concealing her face with a veil, holding a naked sword in her hand, ran to defend the breach. The soldiers who were running away to save their lives were again inspired by the awesome presence of Chand Bibi and returned to defend the breach. From the fort were thrown into the ditch, that surrounded the fort, rockets, gunpowder and numerous other incendiaries in order to delay the Mughal troops' activities to make further breaches in the wall. Meanwhile the breach was covered to some extent and cannons were brought to the spot.

A fierce fight was fought but the Mughal army failed to continue their manoeuvres in face of the marvellous defence activities from the fort. Many of the Mughal soldiers died under the cannon fire that rushed from the fort under the unprecedented play of the command of Chand Bibi. The ditch was filled with the corpses of the Mughal soldiers. Even the enemy could not help eulogizing the peerless valour of Chand Bibi and from that day Chand Bibi was called Chand Sultana. Next morning again the Mughal soldiers fought tremendously but they could not stick to their places owing to the constant flow of fire from the artillery, musketry, grenades etc.

But eventually it seemed that the Ahamadnagar fort was unable to withstand the further attacks from the formidable Mughal army. The Mughal army too was not sure of its victory owing to many strategic reasons including the scarcity of supplies of food and water and moreover, there appeared treacherous tendencies among the officers of the Mughal troops; they grew envious of one another. The vigilant Murad was quick enough to perceive these dark aspects and hence was anxious for a treaty

with Chand Sultana. At that moment the thoughts of both Murad and Chand Sultana were sailing in the same boat. On her part, Chand Sultana too was by no means less eager to enter into treaty with prince Murad for the sake of avoiding futile blood-shed as well as the fall of Ahamadnagar fort. Eventually Prince Murad was in favour of forming a treaty with Chand Sultana if she ceded the sovereign of Berar to the Mughal Empire. So, she did it, and thus saved the Ahamednagar kingdom as well as the innumerable lives of the people in the kingdom.

But this state of peace could last no longer. After four years, due to repeated activity of malign forces both at home and abroad, the Mughal army had again surrounded the fort of Ahmednagar in which Chand Sultana was dwelling. But this time she was not confident of the strength of her limited troops and moreover, none was reliable for giving support to her; treachery was rampant among her supporters and thus she was compelled to consult Hamid Khan as to whether it was desirable to surrender to the enemy if the enemy spared the lives and the property of the defenders. But the malignant Hamid Khan immediately propagated among the citizens that Chand Sultana was willing to surrender to the Mughal forces by giving the fort to them. Owing to this ill-propaganda the emotional people under the leadership of ignoble Hamid Khan entered her private chambers and killed Chand Sultana. The Mughal forces eventually were able to conquer the fort of Ahmednagar by using various techniques of strategy; they captured the young king and the royal family and sent them as captives to the Mughal emperor. Thus the Nizam Shahi dynasty came to an end.

The wars in Deccan were fought from the formidable forts and thus the military architecture was the builder of history, or to say in another way, the Deccan architecture is the source of history. The Bidar fort itself was a constant source of concrete history of the Barid Shahi dynasty; this dynasty's rise and fall, victory and defeat, pain and pleasure, life and death were interwoven with the architecture of the Bidar fort as well as the tombs of Bidar; while they were alive it was the fort that, extended shelter to them as it was the tombs that gave shelter to them while they were dead. Less attention was paid in Deccan to the architecture of royal places than to that of forts. The Bidar fort saw the glory as well as the end of the Barid Shahi dynasty. In the same way, the Ahmednagar fort was a veritable witness to the rise and fall of the Nizam Shahi dynasty. The architecture of the Ahmednagar fort is a vivid source of history of not only the Nizam Shahi royal families but also of the people of various shades. Intrinsically, it is not so much the kings as the people who would really make the history.

The Deccan architecture is a symbol of the combined history of the Imad Shahis of Berar, the Barid Shahis of Bidar, the Nizam Shahis of

Ahmadnagar, the Adil Shahis of Bijapur and the Qutub Shahis of Golkonda. Deccan architecture is one of the several phases of the Indo-Islamic architecture, flourished under the reign of the Deccan Sultans. After Bidar and Ahmadnagar architecture comes the Bijapur one. The Architecture of both Bidar and Ahmadnagar is robust and sublime while that of Bijapur is refined and beautiful, for the history of the Bijapur Sultans is more refined and delicate owing to the fact that the temperament of the Bijapur Sultans was aesthetic rather than pragmatic; that was why they evinced greater interest in fine arts than in material achievements; the same tendency could be discerned in the architecture of Bijapur. The Bijapur architecture, hence, is the finest evidence that Deccan architecture as a source of history.

The Adil Shahi dynasty of Bijapur was founded by Yusuf Adil Shah. Formerly he was the governor of Gulberga in the reign of Sultan Mahamad Shah; thus he utilised the opportunity to grab the land between Goa, Sholapur, Gulberga and Krishna and later he proclaimed his independence in 1490. He was able to propagate Shia faith in the people of the land occupied by him. Other Muslim rulers of the south declared the Jihad on him but he succeeded in defeating the same. Also he did not hesitate to fight with the Portugues but in vain. Later, his son Ismail Adil Shah (1510-35) was defeated by the Portuguese in Goa and thus Goa came under the Portuguese rule. He endeavoured to recover the doab which he had lost to Krishnadevaraya of Vijayanagar while the latter was alive, but failed to recover it. He was a war-monger and thus he always sought delight in fighting with his neighbouring states; he was later killed in a battle.

After the end of Ismail Adil Shah; Ibrahim Adil Shah ascended the throne. Ibrahim too was fond of war. On an occasion both the Sultans of Bidar and Ahmadnagar made their entry into Bijapur and burned the city. When Ismail Adil Shah was alive, owing to the hostilities caused by the surrounding Muslim rulers, he entered into an alliance with Rāmarāya and was wise enough to appoint the local Deccanis as high officers; he made Kannada and Marathi as official languages in his sultanate. Later Ali Adil Shah (1558-1580) who succeeded Ibrahim Adil Shah was of a different temperament and thus he succeeded in entering into an alliance with Rāmarāya and fought many a fierce battle with the Nizam Shahis of Ahmadnagar and the Qutub Shahis of Golkonda with great success and occupied Kalyani. Later, Ibrahim Adil Shah II came to the throne when he was nine years old under the guardianship of Chand Bibi. During the fight between Ahmadnagar and the Mughals Ibrahim Adil Shah II helped Ahmadnagar, for which he was punished by the Mughals. He established peace at the cost of giving his daughter to the Mughal Prince. Bidar and Kardanavol were occupied by Ibrahim in 1620 and 1624 respectively. Sikandar was the last of the Adil Shah of Bijapur and

his reign was passing through a state of flux. Both the Mughals and Shivaji were triumphant enough to grab parts of Bijapur Kingdom and eventually Aurangzeb, in 1685, occupied Bijapur and finally Bijapur was merged into Mughal empire.

The Adil Shahi rulers of Bijapur were extremely fond of arts and crafts, especially the art of architecture and hence they were never tired of building beautiful mansions, monuments, palaces, tombs etc., in the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries. Consequently a special Bijapur style in architecture was gradually evolved; it retained its common Deccan style of grandeur and extensiveness and in addition to it it developed the construction of bulbous dome, entirely spherical in appearance, as opposed to the semi-spherical shape found at other places; this style also includes the fascinating, tall minarets, piers rather than pillars, the pointed arches and projecting cornices. In describing the Bijapur style of architecture, Ziauddin Desai, in his book "Indo-Islamic Architecture" writes, "Apart from the universal employment of interesting arches for supporting the dome, the Bijapur buildings are remarkable for another striking feature, namely, the treatment of its ceiling which are found built without any apparent support, the slabs of stones forming the same and having been bound together, edge to edge, by iron clamps and strong and tenacious mortar. Equally typical of the Bijapur style is the richness and variety of its ornament executed in different designs and motifs in stone-carving or stucco with great artistic skill."

In spite of the fact that the Adil Shahi dynasty was founded by Yusuf Adil Shah in 1490, it was not until the accession of Ali Adil Shah I (1558-80) that serious building activity took place. The early Phase of Bijapur architecture was the structure of Jami Masjid which was a gradual development from the Bahmani style. Again in the words of Ziauddin Desai, "The connection between the two styles is well illustrated by the treatment of the dome which loses stilt and attains semicircular outline and also by the treatment of the upper square storey supporting the dome. This clerestory has been provided with a number of arched windows in its sides, while above the parapet are more conspicuous merlons and small turrets at corners. A band of foliated design—row of petals—encircles the lower part of the dome where it meets the drum. The domical structure has been raised on the principle of the pendentive of intersecting arches as mentioned above. The expansive prayer-hall consists of wide pointed arches raised on masonry piers, and a certain amount of imagination has been shown in the design of the entire exterior of the mosque. Simple in design, and much less ornate, the whole building, though never completed, is unequalled among Bijapur monuments as far as the fine proportions of its various parts are concerned. To the reign of Ali I is also ascribed Ali Shah Pir's mosque which is unusual in more than one respect. The roof covering the whole of the prayer-hall is vaulted, while from one

of the nine sides of the polygon into which its prayer-niche is fashioned, there is a door leading out. Its facade also presents a pleasing appearance on account of its three arches which are adorned by a number of receding arches, the outermost being cusped. The Gagan Mahal, also said to have been constructed by Ali I, is notable for the huge arch thrown across the whole front of the Durbar hall."

A group of buildings called Ibrahim Rauza is the most fascinating of the buildings of Bijapur under the reign Ibrahim Adil Shah II. The Bijapur style of Deccan architecture has attained its apex. The mosque and the Rauza are the two remarkable structures of the group and especially the Rauza is the most artistically executed among the Bijapur buildings; it is a charming piece of architecture in every aspect of its craftsmanship. Another remarkable building built under Ibrahim Adil Shah's reign is Mihtar Mahal; it is a sort of tower, square in shape, consisting of two storeys. Great dexterity is displayed in the art of its construction and apart from it, its balconied window is a distinct work of art in itself. Among the monuments of Bijapur there are numerous examples of architectural refinement as well as grandeur among which Gol Gumbad, which is the mausolium of Muhammad Adil Shah (1627-56) built while he was still alive, is a masterpiece among the Bijapur monuments; it is conspicuous by its huge dome which gave the name to the structure. Gol Gumbad means the spherical dome. It contains many an architectural dexterity created by the master architects of those days of Bijapur of the Adil Shahis.

In any country all architecture is not associated with the history of that country; only some of the architectural constructions are associated with history. Historical monuments are quite different from beautiful buildings. Some historical monuments might be bereft of beauty and yet they happen to be significant historically. Some historical monuments might also be beautiful in structure. Sometimes architecture becomes the source of history while at others history becomes the source of architecture. The Deccan forts are the source of history, no doubt, for the forts were used as bases for fighting battles; the historical events occurred after the forts were built. But in the cases of the mausoleums, history happens to be the source of architecture, for mausoleums were built after the death of the persons whose bodies are buried under the graves in the mausoleums. So, the distinction lies in the fact that in the case of forts the historical event follows the construction whereas in that of the mausoleum the histo-

rical event precedes the building, and thus some examples of architecture are the sources of history while some historical events are the sources of architecture. It does not matter as to which happened to be the source of which, but what really matters is whether a link existed between architecture and history. Every broken piece of stone in the historical monuments of Deccan sings in silence of the agonies and ecstasies experienced by the historical personages with whom they were associated. Each dilapidated corner of the magnificent wall of a fort reflects invisibly the scintillating streams of red blood of kings and queens, of children and servants, of horses and elephants, of soldiers and people. Each fallen fragment of the minaret of a mausoleum sleeps in dreaming of the decomposed dead body buried beneath it.

Men and women die and many of their deeds, both bright and dark, evanesce into oblivion while the monuments which they built, last for a long time, if not for eternity. The buildings depend for their longevity upon the material with which they are constructed. Those that were built with burnt brick and lime would last longer. But those structures which were constructed with stone and mortar could last for a longest time. Yet, every structure perishes sooner or later like all other physical objects of the phenomenal world.

Because the monuments last longer than the persons and events, they are able to give evidence, sometimes real and at others distorted, of the historical events with which the monuments were associated. In medieval Deccan such historical monuments are more numerous than those in other places mainly due to the fact that greater number of kings, both Hindu and Muslim, happened to rule over the Deccan, moreover; all those that ruled over the Deccan were fond of architecture and thus all the Deccan Kings were veritable builders - builders of buildings, builders of lives and eventually builders of deaths !

Now again to come to the historical aspect; the fifth Deccan Kingdom Golkonda played a significant role in the political as well as the cultural history of the Deccan. Golkonda belonged to the Qutub Shahi dynasty founded by Sultan Quli in 1512, who until that year was the subedar or governor of Telengana, Golkonda as headquarters, under the reign of Sultan Mahamad Ali Shah of Bijapur. Sultan Quli was originally a persian, hailing from Hamdan in Persia. In 1543 Sultan Quli's son Jamshid assassinated his father. Jamshid was not a benign and talented ruler and later he was succeeded by his brother Ibrahim Qutab Shah

who was a successful ruler gifted with both intellect and kindness. In the early days he was a friend of Rāmarāya of Vijayanagara but owing to the growing strength and stature of the Vijayanagara Empire, he joined with Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar. Due to this new alliance Rāmarāya grew angry over Ibrahim Qutub Shah and invaded Golkonda, but Ibrahim ceded Panugal and Ganapuram to Rāmarāya. Later Ibrahim married the daughter of Nizam Shah and created the Muslim confederacy which succeeded, in due course, in annihilating the Vijayanagara Empire. He was able to annex some parts of Andhra, in the east and the south, to his state. Ibrahim was a man of religious tolerance and patron of Telugu Literature and litterateurs. Muhamed Quli succeeded his father. It is said, Emperor Akbar sent his emissaries to the Durbar of Muhammad Quli who in return sent precious presentations to the Mughal Emperor. It was he who founded Bhagyanagar or modern Hyderabad (1589) and built the Charminar (1593). He was succeeded by Sultan Muhammad (1612-1626) who supported Ahmadnagar when the Mughals attacked it. And consequently he was compelled to pay indemnity to Jahangir, as a punishment for his support to the enemy.

Sultan Muhammad was succeeded by his son Sultan Abdulla who had accepted the Mughal sovereignty and consented to pay a tribute of two lakh 'huns' every year, to Emperor Shah Jahan. With the vanishing of his fear of the Mughals, he wanted to invade the south and in due course was able to conquer the land extending up to Madras with the great valour of his general Mir Jumla. In fact, it was Mir Jumla who had conquered the land by invading and hence he expressed his reluctance to lose the same. So Sultan Abdulla arrested Mir Jumla's son. Then Mir Jumla was compelled to appeal to Aurangzeb for help; Aurangzeb was then Viceory in the Deccan. Immediately Aurangzeb sought permission from his father Emperor Shah Jahan and after having obtained the required permission he invaded Golkonda. The Mughal army surrounded Golkonda and Abdulla negotiated with Aurangzeb for allegiance and thus Golkonda was able to avoid destruction. Abdulla's son-in-law Abdul Hasan was the last Qutub Shahi King and he was also known as Tan Shah who was guided by Akkanna and Madanna, two Telugu Brahmin brothers, who were anxious to put an end to the Mughal domination in the south; for the same purpose Shivaji visited Golkonda in 1677 and succeeded to form an alliance with Abdul Hassan, who helped Bijapur when Aurangzeb invaded it. Hence Aurangzeb did no delay in conquering Golkonda in 1687 and annexing it to the Mughal Empire.

Some historians never hesitated to eulogize the virtues of the Deccan Sultans while others never hesitated to denounce the sins of the same. The former paid attention to the bright side alone ignoring the dark side while the latter saw the dark side alone ignoring the bright side. These two views are two extremities which are the results of the historians' individual outlooks expressing their own coloured inclinations and disinclinations about men and matters. Historians ought to redeem themselves of subjective thinking and balance their views with objective perception. Then alone they would be able to estimate anything in proper perspective avoiding the peril of under and over estimations. No man is exclusively benign or exclusively malign; man is blending of the both. The Deccan Sultans too were human beings and thus they too were not free from the usual human weaknesses and at the same time from the human virtues. They did, like all other men, display their virtues as well as their vices. No doubt, they were hedonists, fond of perpetual enjoyment both physical and psychical. But on that account they never neglected to pay heed to the felicity of their subjects. No doubt, sometimes their cruelty knew no bounds, and at the same time their compassion too did know no bounds; their thirst for wine and lust for women were beyond their own control and yet they never spared any trouble in patronising the fine arts, language and literatures, sports and entertainments. No doubt, they never hesitated to behead a person by blindly believing the false allegations charged against him and similarly did they never hesitate to sacrifice their own lives for the sake of saving a person, whom they believed to be benign, from the mouth of destruction.

It seems they were fond of democratization of general education and they encouraged the local languages and literatures in addition to the development of Arabic and Persian studies. Besides thirst for wine and lust for women, they were fond of architecture and music. It seems there existed little religious intolerance during their reign. In general, those individuals who are hedonists or extreme pleasure-seekers, would not evince any real interest in participating in wars and violence; they lack the spirit of a hero and they prefer to keep aloof from such formidable activities. In short, they are bereft of courage and daring zeal. But strange enough, the Deccan Sultans, though hedonists and lotus-eaters, did never lack the fire of courage, the flash of lightning of chivalry, the eagerness for self-sacrifice and the energy for occupying the countries of others as well as for liberating their own country from the occupation of

others; they were true warriors indeed! All this denotes that the Sultans of Deccan were made of mixed elements and sentiments!

The Qutub Shahi or the Golkonda architecture was the most powerful style in the Deccan of post-Brahmani rule, albeit it does not differ radically from the Bijapur style. As in the Bijapur style, the lofty pointed arch is to be found, in common, in the Golkonda style too. The ornamental facades, tile mosaics, slender ornamental minarets etc., are the main features of the Golkonda architecture. In the matter of decoration, the Hindu influence is discernible and in that of the architectural style the Persian influence. The Qutub Shahi architecture is widely spread over Golkonda, Hyderabad, and at many other places. Among these monuments, the royal tombs at Golkonda are remarkable. These tombs are finely ornamented by various devices and their bulbous domes are fully spherical. Among them the tomb of Muhammad Quli Qutub Shah is unique. It is a large structure containing magnificent dome and minarets. The next one is the tomb of Muhammad Qutub Shah. The exterior of this mosque was decorated with glazed tiles. The dome of the tomb is three fourths of a sphere with elongated neck which shows that it is influenced by Persian architectural motifs. Several mosques, namely Jami Masjid, Mecca Masjid, Mushirabad Masjid and the Toli Masjid of Hyderabad are the finest among the Qutub Shahi mosques. One of the fine Qutub Shahi monuments is the Char Minar at Hyderabad. It is a structure in perfect architectural balance.

A building is not a piece of architecture at all unless it is useful. But it would be a mere shelter unless it is more than useful. What does it mean by "more than useful?" "More than useful" implies 'beautiful'. So, architecture is then alone an ideal architecture when it happens to be both useful and beautiful.

So, the architecture should be planned in such a way as to enable the building to be of veritable comfort and at the same time to be of aesthetic delight. One must feel in his dwelling the same open freedom which one does in the open air.

The traditional architecture gave prominence to beauty rather than to utility while modern architecture's stress is more on utility than on beauty. In fact, modern architecture has transformed the utility into beauty. So, in the modern architecture, utility and beauty co-exist. In

the modern architecture straight line and angular shapes have got prominence; it is the same in the Hindu traditional architecture too. The Indo-Islamic architecture, especially built in the Deccan, is a blending of the straight line and the curved line, of the square and the sphere. The Deccan architects tried their best to create a harmony between the square hall and the spherical gumbed or dome on its roof.

History and architecture are like name and form. History lives in the name while architecture exists in the form. Name is invisible and history too is invisible; form is visible and architecture too is visible. The invisible name is visible through the visible form and hence the invisible history manifests itself in the visible form of architecture. Both of them are reciprocal. Name is audible while form is inaudible and similarly history is audible while architecture is inaudible. The inaudible architecture is to be heard through the medium of audible history. Historical events are transient but architecture imparts permanence to them.

Prehistory, protohistory and the history of man have been a tragic record of violence, cruelty, bloodshed, terror, tyranny, injustice, exploitation, murder and malice. It does not mean that human history is the record full of exclusively dark aspects; it has also bright aspects. But the number of bright aspects is far smaller than that of the dark aspects. The same truth does equally apply to the history of the medieval Deccan too and hence the medieval Deccan architecture too. The square halls, the spherical domes, the vertical minartes and the massive piers are all inconsistent and denote a note of discard; lack of harmony in these shapes of extreme contrasts reflects the chaotic state of the contemporary Deccan history which lacks peace and harmony. In general, the Deccan architecture of the period is magnificent, beautiful and graceful, no doubt. But in detail the composition of the contrasting shapes it contains is psychologically disturbing. One should not wonder at this state of things, for the history itself was in that state. The history reflects in the architecture, otherwise Deccan architecture could never remain a source of history. At the same time, one should not forget that the architecture of any country is only an indirect source of history rather than a direct one and it is the same with the architecture medieval Deccan too. One fails to have a proper perspective if one attempted to seek direct sources in any architecture for finding historical facts. In such subtle matters a direct approach is not always successful.

Man is not only a man but also a builder, — builder of thoughts and emotions, builder of dreams and visions, builder of words and deeds, of forms and colours; he builds mysteries and destinies; builds agonies and ecstasies. Man builds not only destinies and mysteries but also histories, and eventually man is a builder of buildings the art of which is known as architecture.

(By Courtesy ICSSR and Institute of Asian Studies, Hyderabad)



BOOK REVIEW

CATALOGUE OF MANUSCRIPTS :-

General Editor : Dr. M.S. Menon and Editor : Dr. N.V P. Unithiri,
Calicut University, Sanskrit Series No. 1, Dept. of Sanskrit, University of
Calicut, Kerala, 1985, pp 2+354+1, price Rs 60/-

The Department of Sanskrit is doing a laudable service in launching a project of collecting Sanskrit Manuscripts, that are in possession of individuals specially in Kerala. The General Editor informs in his preface that they have so far collected about one thousand five hundred palm-leaf manuscripts belonging to different subjects like Rituals Dharma-sutras, Logic, Vaidya etc., written both in Grantha and Malayalam scripts. Each entry has twelve divisions like size, lines, condition etc, that spell out the physical description of the manuscript in addition to the beginning and ending of the manuscript. The present volume contains the description of 631 palm leaf manuscripts written in Grantha and Malayalam scripts. The order of arranging the manuscripts is based on Sanskrit alphabetization.

As such this volume contains the description of the manuscripts belonging to different subjects unlike the descriptive catalogue of other Institutions which are usually published subject-wise. It would have been better if this also is arranged subjectwise to fall in line with the descriptive catalogues of other Institutions for the facility of the consultants. It is also noticed that there are a few unpublished manuscripts both in Sanskrit and secular literature.

I hope that the Department takes active steps to publish them. On the whole the get up and printing is good. The need for a Descriptive catalogue of Manuscripts is felt everywhere and almost all the Oriental Institutes are publishing Descriptive Catalogues for the manuscripts under their preservation. This helps a researcher to consult as many manuscripts as possible to reconstruct genuine text as interpolations are likely to creep in as time advances. Keeping this in view the department of Sanskrit Manuscripts also hastened up to publish a Descriptive Catalogue for the Sanskrit Manuscripts they collected. It would have been better had they included the Indices for Authors and commentators also.

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डा. एस्. बि. रघुनाथाचार्यः—

नयवीथीविमर्शः*

१. प्रबन्धसारः—

इदं हि नामापरोक्षं प्रेक्षावतां यत् प्राभाकरमोमांसकमूर्धन्येन शालिकानाथमिश्रेण प्रणीतेषु प्रकरणेषु नयवीथीनामकं प्रकरणमद्वितीय-मख्यातिवादप्रतिपादकमिति । तत्राख्यातिवादस्वरूपं मिश्रेण सप्रमाणं प्रत्यपादि प्राभाकरसम्प्रदायानुरोधम् । मतमिदं प्रागेव मण्डनमिश्राम्बेक-प्रभृतिभिः परास्तं विभ्रमविवेकादिषु, मण्डितञ्च भवनाथादिभिः महता प्रबन्धेन स्वप्रबन्धेषु ।

अतः पत्रेऽस्मिन् अख्यातिवादः किंप्रयोजनकः, कुतश्च प्राभा-कराणां तत्प्रतिपादनाभिनिवेशः, कस्माच्चान्येषां तन्निराकरणे महा-नाग्रह इति सविमर्शं समीक्ष्यते ।

२. ख्यातिवादाः—

अप्रमा, अयथार्थानुभवः, भ्रमः, विपर्ययः, मिथ्याज्ञानम्, ख्याति-रित्यनर्थान्तरमिति निश्चप्रचं विचक्षणमण्डलीषु । कामपि ख्यातिमनभ्यु-पगच्छतां अख्यातिवादिन इति विख्यातानां प्राभाकराणामपि उपर्युक्ता-र्थेषु ख्यातिपदप्रयोगे न कापि विप्रतिपत्तिः । तत्त्वतस्ते भ्रमापरपर्यायां ख्यातिं नोररीकुर्वन्तीत्यन्यदेतत् ।

*This paper was read in the 31st All India Oriental Conference, Jaipur in 1982.

ते चेमे ख्यातिवादाः प्रतिदर्शनं बहुभेदभिन्नाः दरीदृश्यन्ते । श्रीशङ्करभगवत्पादावधि प्रसिद्धाः पञ्च ख्यातिवादाः विलसन्ति¹ । यथा—
 (१) आत्मख्यातिः सौत्रान्तिकवैभाषिकयोगाचाराणाम् (२) असत्-
 ख्यातिः माध्यमिकानाम् (३) अख्यातिः प्रभाकराणाम् (४) अन्यथा-
 ख्यातिः नैयायिकभाट्टजैनानाम् (५) अनिर्वचनीयख्यातिः अद्वैतिनामिति ।
 ततः परं प्रत्यग्रतया वक्ष्यमाणाः पञ्चान्ये प्रादुर्भूताः ख्यातिवादाः । यथा—
 (१) विशिष्टाद्वैतिनां यथार्थख्यातिः (२) द्वैतिनां अभिनवान्यथाख्यातिः
 (३) चार्वाकाणां प्रसिद्धार्थख्यातिः (४) अलौकिकार्थख्यातिः केषाञ्चित्
 (५) सदसत्ख्यातिः साङ्ख्यानामिति ।

३. अख्यातिवादः—

सत्स्वेवं बहुषु ख्यातिवादिषु नास्त्येव कापि ख्यातिरिति प्रतिपाद-
 यताम् अत एव अख्यातिवादिन इति विख्यातानां प्राभाकराणां पन्था-
 स्तावदेवं चकास्ति । एषा हि तेषां परिभाषा—‘सर्वं ज्ञानं यथार्थम्² ।
 नास्त्येव भ्रमात्मकम् अयथार्थं ज्ञानम् । न चैवं कथं नाम भ्रान्ताभ्रान्त-
 व्यवस्थोपपद्यत इति वाच्यम् । यथा अन्येषां ज्ञानत्वसामान्ये सत्यपि
 किञ्चिद् यथार्थं, किञ्चिदयथार्थमिति व्यवस्था समुपपद्यते, तथैव ज्ञानस्य
 सर्वस्य यथार्थतायामपि भ्रान्ताभ्रान्तव्यवस्थाया उपपत्तिः । इयान्
 विशेषः-यदन्येषां ज्ञानस्वरूपबाधेनायथार्थत्वम्; एतन्मते तु व्यवहारबाधेन
 अयथार्थत्वम् । अतः यथार्थायथार्थभेदे यो हि नाम हेतुः स एव भ्रान्ता-
 भ्रान्तविवेकेऽपि इति विज्ञेयम्³ ।

1. आत्मख्यातिरसत्ख्यातिरख्यातिः ख्यातिरन्यथा ।

[तथानिर्वचनख्यातिरित्येतत्ख्यातिपञ्चकम्] ॥

परीक्षकाणां विभ्रान्तौ विवादात्मा विविच्यते ॥ वि. वि. १

2. यथार्थं सर्वमेवेह विज्ञानमिति सिद्धये ।

प्रभाकरगुरोर्भावः समीचीनः प्रकाश्यते ॥ प्र. प. ४३

3. प्र. वि. १६-१७ ।

नन्वेवं नास्ति यदि भ्रमात्मकं ज्ञानम्, एवं खलु वक्तव्यम्—
‘शुक्तौ रजतज्ञानं न जातमि’ति । तर्हि कथं नाम शुक्तिकायां रजत-
प्रवृत्तिः? इति चेत्-न । शुक्तावेव रजतज्ञानमङ्गीकार्यमिति को नियमः?
रजते रजतज्ञानमात्रादेव शुक्तौ रजतप्रवृत्तिरुपपद्यते । यदि अन्यविषय-
कज्ञानात् प्रवृत्तिरन्यत्रासम्भावनीयेति चेत्—तर्हि अन्यावभासिनः ज्ञानस्य
अन्यत्र जननमपि मृग्यमेव ।

ननु यदि सर्वेषां ज्ञानानां यथार्थत्वमभ्युपगम्यते तर्हि केषाञ्चित्
पुनः भ्रान्तित्वं नोपपद्यते । अतः अवश्यं भ्रान्तेरङ्गीकार्यतया अयथार्थ-
ज्ञानमनपलपनीयम् । न च विवेकाग्रहणस्यैव भ्रान्तित्वमस्तु इति वाच्यम् ।
ग्रहणस्य हि भ्रान्तित्वेन अभ्युपगम्यमानत्वात् । यदि अग्रहणस्य भ्रान्ति-
त्वमङ्गीकार्यं तर्हि सुषुप्त्यवस्थायां बाह्येन्द्रियैरुपरतैः सर्वभेदापरिग्रहात्
तत्र अतिव्याप्तिः स्यात् । एवं स्थाणुर्वा पुरुषो वेति सन्देहे स्थाणुपुरुषो-
भयरूपस्यार्थस्याभावात् कथं नाम यथार्थत्वं तत्रोपपादयितुं शक्यते?
अतः अयथार्थज्ञानमवश्यमभ्युपगन्तव्यमेवेति चेत्⁴—

मैवम् । ज्ञानानां विषयाव्यभिचारितया सर्वस्यापि उपपद्यमान-
त्वात् । तथाहि—को नाम विषयः? यस्मिन् ज्ञाने सति यः खल्वर्थः तत्र
भासते स एवार्थः तस्य ज्ञानस्य विषयः । अर्थस्य हि प्रतीतिविषयत्वं
भासनमेव; न व्यवहारयोग्यतापत्तिविषयत्वम् । निर्विकल्पस्य निर्विष-
यत्वप्रसङ्गात्⁵ । स्वव्यवहारानुगुणायाः प्रतीतेः स्वस्मिन् वर्तनमेव भास-
नमुच्यते । व्यवहारश्चात्र मानस-कायिकभेदेन द्विविधः । बुद्धि-सुख-दुःखे-
च्छादिरूपः वाचकशब्दप्रयोगो वा मानसः । कायिकश्च चतुर्विधेषु

4. इदं रजतमित्येषा या शुक्तिशकले मतिः ।

सा चेद्यथार्था, भ्रान्तित्वं तदा तस्यास्तु कीदृशम् ॥

विवेकाग्रहणं भ्रान्तिरिति चेन्नैतदीदृशम् ।

सुषुप्तेऽपि भ्रमापत्तेः सर्वभेदापरिग्रहात् ॥

‘‘स्थाणुर्वा पुरुषो वे’’ति सन्देहो योऽपि जायते ।

अभावात्तादृशोऽर्थस्य स यथार्थः कथं भवेत् ॥ प्र. प. ४८

5. यस्यां संविदि योऽर्थोऽवभासते स तस्या विषयः, नान्यः; तस्य तत्रानवभासात् ।

अनवभासमानस्य विषयत्वेऽतिप्रसङ्गात् । त. र. २; प्र. वि. १७-१८ ।

महत्सु द्रव्येषु उपादानादिरूपः । अतः “इदं रजतम्” इत्यत्र शुक्तौ रज-
तमेव भासते न तु शुक्तिः । तेन ‘इदम्’ इति ज्ञानं पुरोवर्तिनि व्यव-
हारानुगुणमेवेति यथार्थम् । ‘रजतम्’ इति ज्ञानं रजतत्वावच्छिन्ने व्यव-
हारानुगुणमेवेति तदपि यथार्थमेव । तथाचायं प्रयोगः—शुक्ती रजत-
त्वेन न प्रकाशते, तद्रूपेणासत्त्वात् । यद् यद्रूपेण असत् तत् तेनाकारेण न
प्रकाशते । यथा आकाशं पङ्कजरूपेणेति⁶ ।

न च तर्हि पुरः स्थितस्य अरजततया, देशान्तरस्थितस्य रजतस्य
अत्र असन्निहिततया च रजतज्ञाने कारणं नास्तीति वाच्यम् । पुरःस्थि-
तस्य शुक्तिशकलस्य भेदवर्जिततया गृह्यमाणत्वात् । शुक्तिकायाः रज-
ताद् भेदजनकाः विशेषाः दोषाभिभवात् न ज्ञाताः । सामान्यरूपता
केवलं ज्ञाता । रजतसदृशशुक्तिदर्शनात् सामान्यमात्रग्रहणाच्च, रजते
जायमाना स्मृतिः मानसदोषवशात् तदित्यंशेन रहिता, शुक्तेरविवेचिता
समुत्पन्नेति⁷ । अतः प्राभाकरमतेऽस्मिन् सर्वेषां ज्ञानानां याथार्थ्यनिबन्धनं
प्रामाण्यमुपपद्यत एव । तथा च प्रयोगः— “सर्वे विगीताः सन्देहविभ्रमाः
यथार्थाः, प्रत्ययत्वात्; इदं रजतमिति प्रत्ययवत्” ।

ननु ‘उष्णं जलम्’ ‘शीतशीतमयूखः’ ‘सुवर्णं गुरुतरम्’ इत्यादौ
व्यवहाराविसंवाददर्शनात् स्यादेव समीचीनत्वमिति चेत् न । भेदाग्रह-
निमित्तत्वात् तादृशज्ञानानाम् । विद्यमानापि भ्रान्तता न व्यवहारपदमु-

6. अत्र ब्रूमो य एवार्थो यस्यां संविदि भासते ।
बोधः स एव नान्यद्धि विद्याद्वेद्यस्य लक्षणम् ॥
इदं रजतमित्यत्र रजतं चावभासते ।
तदेवं तेन वेद्यं स्यान्न तु शुक्तिरवेदनात् ॥ प्र. प. ४८-४९
7. नन्वेवं रजताभासः कथमेष घटिष्यति ।
उच्यते शुक्तिशकलं गृहीतं भेदवर्जितम् ॥
शुक्तिकाया विशेषा ये रजताद् भेदहेतवः ।
ते न ज्ञाता अभिभवात् ज्ञाता सामान्यरूपता ॥
अनन्तरं च रजते स्मृतिर्जाता तथापि च ।
मनोदोषात् तदित्यंशपरामर्शविवर्जितम् ॥
रजतं विषयीकृत्य नैव शुक्तेरविवेचितम् ।
स्मृत्यास्तौ रजताभास उपपन्नो भविष्यति ॥ प्र. प. ५०-५३

पनीता । अतः ज्ञानं सर्वमपि यथार्थमेवेति अयथार्थाभावात् अख्याति-
वादसिद्धिः (त.र. ३-४) ।

४. अख्यातिवादस्य खण्डन-मण्डनपरम्परा :—

इदम्प्रथमतया प्राभाकरप्रस्थानव्यवस्थापकेन सप्तमशतकवासिना
प्रभाकरगुरुणा व्यवस्थापितोऽसावख्यातिवादः तदनन्तरकालिकैः बहुभि-
दर्शीनिकैर्विचारितः । तत्र सत्स्वप्यन्येषु बहुषु प्रतिपक्षेषु भाट्टमीमांसकाः
प्रथमस्मरणार्हाः भवन्तीत्यपरोक्षं प्रेक्षावताम् । तत्र सप्तमशतक-
वासी पण्डितमण्डलीमण्डनायमानो मण्डनमिश्रः भाट्टमतानुयायी स्वकीये
विभ्रमविवेके अख्यातिवादं महता प्रबन्धेन खण्डयामास । ततः पश्चाद-
ष्टमशतकवासिना भाट्टमीमांसकेनोम्बेकभट्टेन स्वश्लोकवार्तिकव्याख्यायां
ताप्त्यटीकाख्यायां भाट्टमतानुकूलायाः अन्यथाख्यातेः व्यवस्थापनद्वारा
अख्यातिवादः निरसितः ।

एवमख्यातिवादे प्रतिपक्षिभिः भाट्टमीमांसकैः सप्तमाष्टमशतक-
वासिभिः प्रतिक्षिप्ते, अष्टमशतकाब्दे प्रादुर्भूतेन ऋजुविमला-प्रकरण-
पञ्चिका-भाष्यपरिशिष्टादिभिः अत्युत्तमैः ग्रन्थैः प्राभाकरसम्प्रदायप्रकाश-
केन शालिकानाथमिश्रेण स्वकीये व्याख्यानद्वये नयवीथीनामके प्रकरणे च
अख्यातिवादस्वरूपं सम्यक् प्रत्यपादि । यस्य च वादप्रौढिम्ना पराहता
भाट्टाः प्रायः शताब्दद्वयं यावत् तूष्णीम्भावमाश्रिताः । एवञ्च नवम-
दशमशतकयोः प्रायः न केनापि भाट्टमीमांसकेनायं वादः परास्तः । अत
एवं वक्तुं शक्यते यत् - नवम-दशमशतकयोरस्य वादस्यासीन्महत् प्राब-
ल्यमिति ।

यद्यपि भाट्टमीमांसासम्प्रदायानुयायिभिः वादोऽयं न खण्डितः,
तथापि नवमशतकवासिना वाचस्पतिमिश्रेण स्वन्यायवार्तिकतात्पर्य-
टीकायां, भामत्याञ्च अख्यातिवादोऽयं न युक्तिसह इति न्यरूपि । ततः
पश्चाद्दशमशतकनिवासिना सुचरितमिश्रेण श्लोकवार्तिकव्याख्यायां काशि-
काभिधायां, तस्मिन्नेव समये लब्धजनुषा महामीमांसकेन पार्थसारथि-

मिश्रेण (१०००-११२०) शास्त्रदीपिकायाञ्च अन्यथाख्यातिरेव साधीय-
सीति प्रतिपादयद्भिः अख्यातिवादः बहुधा परीक्षितः ।

नयविवेककर्ता भवनाथेन प्राभाकरमीमांसासम्प्रदायव्यवस्थापकेन
पुनः एकादशशतकाब्दे अख्यातिवादः सोपष्टम्भं समर्थितः । त्रयोदश-
शतकवासिना नन्दीश्वरेण (१२२०-१३००) प्रभाकरविजये, अष्टादश-
शतकप्रादुर्भूतेन रामानुजाचार्येण तन्त्ररत्ननाम्नि प्राभाकरमीमांसाप्रक-
रणग्रन्थे शालिकानाथानुरोधं नास्ति ख्यातिरित्यख्यातिवाद एव समर्थितः।
एवं भाट्टप्राभाकरमीमांसकेषु विषयेऽस्मिन् परस्परं खण्डनमण्डनानि
बहुधा सम्भूतानि, येषामध्ययनेन जायेतावश्यं प्रश्नो मनसि कुतः प्राभा-
कराणामख्यातिवादाङ्गीकारे इयानाग्रहः ? कुतो वा प्रतिपक्षिणां तत्ख-
ण्डनाय भूयानभिनिवेश इति ।

५. अख्यातिवादाभिनिवेशः किन्निबन्धनः ?

प्राभाकरैरेभिः किमर्थं वा भूयानाग्रहः प्रदर्श्यते तावदख्यातिवाद-
व्यवस्थापने इत्यालोचने क्रियमाणे द्वित्राणि कारणान्यस्माभिरुद्धावयितुं
शक्यन्ते ।

तत्र सर्वप्रथममिदम्—यथाकथञ्चित् वेदवाक्यजन्यबोधस्य सर्व-
स्यापि प्रामाण्यं सम्पादनीयम् । प्रामाण्यञ्च स्वत एवेति तेऽभ्युपगच्छन्ति।
अतः सामान्यतः सर्वेषां ज्ञानानां प्रमाण्ये याथार्थ्ये च साधिते ज्ञानरूपे
वेदे याथार्थ्यं सुप्रतिष्ठितं भवति । तत्र भ्रमादिशङ्काया एव नावकाश
इति वेदरूपशब्दप्रामाण्यं अनवयवेन सिद्धयति । तत्र अप्रामाण्यशङ्काया
एवानुदयः । तर्हि भ्रम-प्रमाविवेकः लोकेऽनुभूयमानः किमर्थः ? लौकि-
केषु अवशिष्टेषु प्रमाणेषु व्यवहारनिर्वाहार्थः। प्राभाकराणामियं भीतिः यत्
यदि भ्रमस्य मनागवकाशः दीयते तर्हि सत्यत्वसिद्धान्तस्य हानिः “अनु-
भूतिः प्रमा” इति सर्वासामनुभूतीनां प्रमात्वबाधः । अविर्वेकस्य च प्रवेश
इति । अतस्ते भ्रमं सर्वथा दूरीकर्तुं यतन्ते । एतच्चिन्त्यम् - तदर्थं
किमेतावान् प्रयासः स्वीकर्तव्य इति?

द्वितीयं प्रयोजनम्—लिङ्गार्थः अपूर्वमिति प्राभाकराणां सिद्धान्तः । अख्यातिवादाङ्गीकारेण तस्यापि प्रामाण्यं सुष्ठु व्यवस्थापितं भवति । तथाहि—कार्यम्, अपूर्वम्, नियोग इत्यनर्थान्तरं प्राभाकरसम्प्रदाये । स्वर्ग-कामाधिकरण-बादर्यधिकरणयोः तथा अपूर्वाधिकरण-देवताधिकरणयोश्च तत्स्वरूपं सुष्ठु प्रपञ्चितं प्राभाकरैः । वैदिकानि पदानि स्वभावसिद्धया अन्विताभिधानानुकूलया शक्त्या बोधं जनयन्ति । स च बोधः स्वतः-सिद्धप्रामाण्यशाली । अतः अप्रामाण्यशङ्काविरहितः स बोधः पुरुषं कार्ये प्रवर्तयितुमीष्टे इति ।

तृतीयं प्रयोजनम्—सविकल्पकज्ञानानि सर्वाण्यपि भ्रमरूपाणीति कथयन्ति योगाचाराः । तन्मतनिरसनं सर्वेषामपि ज्ञानानां प्रमात्वसाधनञ्च तृतीयं प्रयोजनम् ।

एवमभ्यूहितुं शक्यन्ते अन्यान्यपि प्रयोजनान्यख्यातिवादस्य । स्वयमेव शालिकानाथेनैतत्प्रकरणस्य प्रयोजनमेवमभिधीयते—

विषयाव्यभिचारित्वं साधयितुं सर्वसंविदामेषा ।

निरमीयत नीतिविदा शालिकनाथेन नयवीथी ॥

कुतः अन्येषां तत्खण्डनाग्रहः ? — तत्तन्मतपरिपोषार्थं तैस्तैर्दर्शनिकैः यद्यपि बहवः ख्यातिवादा अङ्गीकृताः । सूक्ष्मेक्षिकया परीक्षायां क्रियमाणायाम् इदं तावत् स्पष्टमनुभूयते तत्त्वम्—यत् प्रासादमध्यस्थितस्य कस्यचिद्वस्तुनः विविधवातायनेभ्यः अनुभूयमानं दर्शनं यथा विभिन्नं, तथा वादिनां दर्शनान्यपि विभिन्नानि । न तावता तत्राप्राामाण्यकोलाहल आवश्यक इति ।

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प्रकरणपञ्चिका (= प्र. प.) ए. सुब्रह्मण्यशास्त्री, काशी, १९६१
प्रभाकरविजयः (= प्र. वि.) अनन्तकृष्णशास्त्री, कलिकाता, १९२९
बृहती (= बृह.) एस्. के. रामनाथशास्त्री, मद्रास्, १९३४
विभ्रमविवेकः (= वि. वि.) एस्. कुप्पुस्वामिशास्त्री, मद्रास्, १९३२
शास्त्रदीपिका (= शा. दी.) धर्मदत्तसूरिः, मुम्बई, १९२५

अलंकारशास्त्रे व्याकरणस्य प्रभावः

संस्कृतवाङ्मये 'अलंकृतिरलंकारः' इति भावव्युत्पत्त्या दोषत्याम्ने गुणालंकारादिग्रहणे च प्रयुक्तस्य काव्यसौन्दर्यस्य विवेचकं शास्त्रम् अलंकारशास्त्रमिति प्रथितमास्ते । एतदलंकारशास्त्रं काव्यस्वरूपविमर्शनायैव प्रवर्तते; अलंकारशास्त्रे प्रतिपाद्यानां रसगुणालंकारादीनां काव्याश्रितत्वात् । तच्च काव्यं शास्त्रविमुखात्मनां राजपुत्रप्रायाणां सुकुमारमतीनामवश्यं विनेयानां कान्तासम्मिततया सरसेन वर्त्मना कर्तव्यमुपदिशति, धर्मार्थकाममोक्षरूपचतुर्वर्गफलमुपस्थापयति च ।

किं चैतच्छास्त्रं व्याकरणाद्यङ्गषट्कापेक्षयातिरिक्तं सप्तमं वेदाङ्गमिति, आन्वीक्षिक्यादिविद्यानिष्यन्दरूपम् आन्वीक्षिकीत्रयी-वार्ता-दण्डनीतिरूपचतुर्विद्यातिरिक्तं सत् पंचमी विद्या इति च परिकीर्त्यते । उपकारकत्वात् अलंकारः सप्तममङ्गं सकलविद्यास्थानैकायतनं काव्यं पंचदशं विद्यास्थानं पंचमी साहित्यविद्या (का. मी. पृ. ३-४) इत्यादियायावरीयवाक्यानि प्रमाणतामर्हन्ति । एवं नैकविधप्रस्थानभिन्नानां विद्यानां सहभावात्मकमलंकारशास्त्रं साहित्यशास्त्रमिति व्यपदिश्यते । अत एव—

‘समाष्टः सर्वशास्त्राणां साहित्यमिति गीयते’

इति वदन्ति । एवमलंकारशास्त्रं काव्यस्वरूपगुणदोषालंकारविवेचनपुरस्सरं काव्यसौन्दर्ये व्युत्पत्तिमादधाति । काव्यसौन्दर्यविवेचनपराणां मालंकारिकाणां सर्वेषां शास्त्राणां परिशीलनमावश्यकमापतति । तथा च काव्यसौन्दर्यविवेचकस्यालंकारशास्त्रस्य व्याकरणादिशास्त्रेण सह निकटः संपर्कः आवश्यक एवेति तदेतत् किञ्चिदिव प्रस्तूयते—

‘व्याकरणमूलकत्वात् सर्वविद्यानाम्’ इति प्रथितोक्तेः प्रायः सर्वाभ्यपि शास्त्राणि व्याकरणशास्त्रप्रभावितानि संदृश्यन्ते । विशेषतस्तु अलंकारशास्त्रं व्याकरणशास्त्रेण सुष्ठु प्रभावितं दरोदृश्यते । यतोऽस्य शास्त्रस्य व्याकरणेन संनिहितः संबन्धो विद्यते । आलंकारिकाणां ध्वनिः व्यङ्ग्यो वा वैयाकरणानां स्फोटेन समानो वर्तते । ध्वन्यालोके आनन्दवर्धनाचार्येण प्रतिष्ठापितः ध्वनिसिद्धान्तः वैयाकरणानां स्फोटवादेन प्रभावितो दृश्यते । ‘स्फुटत्यस्मादर्थ इति स्फोटः’ इति व्युत्पत्त्या प्रवृत्तः स्फोटसिद्धान्तः शाब्दिकानाम् । यतः—

‘अनादिनिधनं ब्रह्म शब्दतत्त्वं यदक्षरम् ।

विवर्ततेऽर्थभावेन प्रक्रिया जगतो यतः ॥’ (वा.प. I, 1)

इति स्फोटव्यञ्जकस्य शब्दस्य नित्यत्वं प्रस्थाप्यते । एवमेव ‘ध्वनति यः स व्यञ्जकः शब्दः’ इत्यादिव्युत्पत्त्या क्रमेण शब्दे (वाचके), अर्थे (वाच्ये), व्यञ्जनाव्यापारे, व्यङ्ग्ये, तत्समुदाये काव्ये च प्रवर्तते ध्वनिशब्दः । स च ध्वनिः ‘काव्यस्यात्मा ध्वनिः’ इति काव्ये आत्मत्वेनाङ्गीक्रियमाणः अलंकारशास्त्रे नित्यसिद्धान्तत्वेन प्रस्थाप्यते । पाणिनेः— ‘अवङ् स्फोटा-यनस्य’ (अष्टा. 6-1-123) इत्यस्य सूत्रस्याधारेण स्फोटसिद्धान्तः पुरातन इति कथयन्ति विमर्शकाः ।

‘स्फोटरूपाविभागेन ध्वनेर्ग्रहणमिष्यते’ (वा. प. पृ. 18) इति स्फोटाभिन्नतया ध्वनिमङ्गीकुर्वन्ति वैयाकरणाः । एतदेवालंकारिकैरङ्गीक्रियते । ध्वन्यालोके समाप्तोक्त्याद्यलंकारापेक्षया ध्वनेः भिन्नविषयत्वं प्रदर्शयता आनन्दवर्धनेन ‘सूरिभिः कथित’ इति ध्वनिलक्षणवाक्यांशं विशदयता—

‘सूरिभिः कथित इति विद्वदुपज्ञेयमुक्तिः; न तु यथाकथञ्चित् प्रवृत्तेति प्रतिपाद्यते । प्रथमे हि विद्वांसो वैयाकरणाः, व्याकरणमूलत्वात् सर्वविद्यानाम् । ते च श्रूयमाणेषु वर्णेषु ध्वनिरिति व्यवहरन्ति । तथैवान्यैः तन्मतानुसारिभिः सूरिभिः काव्यतत्त्वार्थदर्शिभिः वाच्यवाचकसम्मिश्रः शब्दात्मा काव्यमिति व्यपदेश्यः, सोऽपि व्यञ्जकत्वसाम्यात् ध्वनिरित्युक्तः ।’ (ध्वन्या. पृ. १३७-१४२)

इत्युपस्थाप्यते वृत्तिवाक्यम् । किं चैतद् व्याकुर्वन् तत्रभवान् लोचन-
कारः अभिनवगुप्तपादाचार्यः प्रथितस्य वैयाकरणस्य भगवतो भर्तृहरेः—

‘यः संयोगवियोगाभ्यां करणैरुपजन्यते ।

स स्फोटः शब्दजः शब्दो ध्वनिरित्युच्यते बुधैः ॥’

इत्येतद्वाक्यमुद्धरन् कथयति च—

‘एवं घण्टादिनिर्हादस्थानीयोऽनुरणनात्मोपलक्षितो व्यङ्ग्योऽप्यर्थो

ध्वनिरिति व्यवहृतः ।’

(ध्व. पृ. १३९)

इति । एवं मम्मटेनापि, उत्तमकाव्यलक्षणम्

‘इदमिति काव्यं बुधैर्वैयाकरणैः प्रधानभूतस्फोट-

रूपव्यङ्ग्यव्यंजनस्य शब्दस्य ध्वनिरिति व्यवहारः

कृतः; ततः तन्मतानुसारिभिरन्यैरपि न्यग्भावित-

वाच्यव्यंग्यव्यंजनक्षमस्य शब्दार्थयुगलस्य ।’ (का. प्र. I. पृ. 4)

इति स्पष्टीक्रियते । एवं चानेन वाच्यवाचकसम्मिश्रात्मनः काव्यस्य
ध्वनित्वमालंकारिकाणां संमतमित्यायाति । तथा च वैखरीध्वनिना
मध्यमा नादरूपः स्फोटः यथा अभिव्यज्यते तथैव काव्ये क्वचिच्छब्देन
क्वचिदर्थेन अन्योऽर्थः अभिव्यज्यत इति साम्यं विभावयितुं शक्यम् ।

एतद्विषये भावप्रकाशेऽपि—

‘स वर्णव्यतिरेकात्मा कोऽपि स्यात् सोऽपि च ध्वनिः ।

ध्वनिः सामान्यरूपः स्यात् वर्णास्तद्व्यक्तयः स्मृताः ॥

सवर्णव्यंजनद्वारा तमर्थं व्यंजयेत् स्फुटम् ।

स ध्वनिः स्फोट इत्यत्र शाब्दिकैः परिभाष्यते ।

इत्थं शब्दार्थसंबन्धो ध्वनिकृद्भिर्निरूपितः ॥’

(भा. प्र. VI-पृ. 178-179)

इत्युच्यते । एवमलंकारशास्त्रे ध्वनिसिद्धान्तः वैयाकरणस्फोटवादमूलक

इति सुविज्ञायते ।

किं च शब्दानां संकेतितार्थनिर्णये वैयाकरणमतमालंकारिका
आद्रियन्ते । यथा मम्मटः काव्यप्रकाशे—

‘संकेतितश्चतुर्भेदो जात्यादिः’ (का. प्र. II. 7) इति वैयाकरण-
मतमाद्रियते । सिद्धान्तस्यास्य ‘चतुष्टयी शब्दानां प्रवृत्तिः’ इति महा-
भाष्योक्तिरेव प्रमाणम् । एवं च शब्दप्रवृत्तिनिमित्तं यथा निरूपयन्ति
वैयाकरणाः तथैवालंकारिका अपि निरूपयन्ति इति सिद्धम् । अपि च
तत्रैव (काव्यप्रकाशे) शब्दानां तदुपाधौ संकेत इति कथयता मम्मटेन—

‘न हि गौः स्वरूपेण गौः, नाप्यगौः, गोत्वाभिसंबन्धात्तु गौः’

(का. प्र. II. पृ. 33)

इति भर्तृहरिवाक्यम्,

‘गौः शुक्लः चलो डित्थ इत्यादौ चतुष्टयी शब्दानां प्रवृत्तिः’

(का. प्र. II. पृ. 36)

इति पतंजलिवचनं च प्रमाणतयोपन्यस्यते । एवं शाब्दव्यंजनानिरूपणे
मम्मटादिभिरालंकारिकैः अनेकार्थस्य शब्दस्य अभिधानियामकाः सं-
योगादयश्च वाक्यपदीयादुद्धृताः संदृश्यन्ते । इयमेव परम्परा तदनन्तरैः
विश्वनाथजगन्नाथादिभिः आलंकारिकप्रवरैरनुसृता ।

अपि च वैयाकरणमतानुरोधेनैव शब्दस्य अभिधालक्षणव्यंजनारूप-
वृत्तित्वम् आलंकारिकैरपि अङ्गीकृतम् । वैयाकरणैः नागेशभट्टैः वैया-
करणसिद्धान्तमंजूषाग्रन्थे अंशेऽस्मिन् (व्यंजनानिरूपणे च) सा रीतिः
प्रतिपादिता सैवालंकारिकैरनुसृता इत्यनेनापि वैयाकरणानामालंकारि-
काणां च मतैक्यं स्फुटीभवति । किं च—

‘शक्तिग्रहं व्याकरणोपमानकोशाप्तवाक्यात् व्यवहारतश्च ।

वाक्यस्य शेषात् विवृतेर्वदन्ति सान्निध्यतः सिद्धपदस्य वृद्धाः ॥’

(भाट्टचिन्तामणिः-गागाभट्टः-पृ. ७४-७५)

इति शक्तिग्राहकप्रमाणेषु प्रथमोपादानेन व्याकरणस्याग्रेसरत्वं मीमांसकैः सूचितम् । अनेनापि व्याकरणं सर्वशास्त्रोपकारकमिति व्यज्यते ।

एवं काव्यसौन्दर्याधायकतत्तदलंकारपरिशीलनेऽपि व्याकरणशास्त्रस्य अलङ्कारशास्त्रे पर्याप्तः प्रभावः संदृश्यते इति वक्तुं शक्यते । यथा भामह-उद्भट-मम्मट-विश्वनाथादयः उपमालंकारस्य प्रभेदेषु क्यच्, वति, क्विप् इत्यादि प्रत्ययानां संघटनेन व्याकरणांशवैचित्र्ये अलंकारशास्त्रेऽपि प्रदर्शिता । एवं विभावनालंकारलक्षणे च मम्मटेन क्रियाशब्दस्य 'क्रियत्वे अनया' इति व्युत्पत्त्या कारणमित्यर्थो दर्शितो वैयाकरणानुरोधेन । किं च 'लिंपतीव तमोऽङ्गानि' इत्याद्युत्प्रेक्षोदाहरणे क्रियामुख्यविशेष्यक-शाब्दबोधद्योतनं वैयाकरणसिद्धान्तानुसारेणैव । अत एव काव्यादर्शो—

'कर्ता यद्युपमानं स्यान्न्यग्भूतोऽसौ क्रियापदे ।

स्वक्रियासाधनव्यग्रो नालमन्यद् व्यपेक्षितुम् ॥' (काव्या-II-२३०)

इत्यनेन (लिंपतीवेत्यादि)पूर्वस्मिन्नुदाहरणे तिङ्पदप्रतिपाद्यस्य कर्तुः उपमायामुपमानता दण्डिना निराकृता । एवमेव काव्यसंबन्धिनां गुणानां दोषाणां च विवेचनेऽपि व्याकरणप्रभावः पर्याप्तः परिदृश्यते । यथा च काव्यदोषप्रकरणे च्युतसंस्कारदोषं 'च्युतसंस्कृति व्याकरणलक्षण-हीनम्' इति उपपादयन्तः आलंकारिकाः वैयाकरणसिद्धान्तानङ्गीकुर्वन्ति । एवम् अविमृष्टविधेयांशनिरर्थकावाचकादिदोषपरिशीलनेऽपि व्याकरणानुरोधेनैव दोषत्वमुपस्थाप्यत इति ज्ञायते ।

रीतेः काव्यात्मतां मन्यमानो वामनाचार्यः भामहादयश्च स्वग्रन्थेषु (काव्यालंकारसूत्रवृत्तौ, काव्यालंकारे च) शब्दशुद्धिप्रकरणं संयोज्य वैयाकरणसिद्धान्तानुरोधेन महाकविप्रयोगाणां साधुत्वं परामृशन्ति । यथा वामनालंकारसूत्रवृत्तौ—

'नित्या संहितैकपदवत् पादेष्वर्धान्तवर्जम्' (का. सू. V-1-2)

इति सूत्रयन्—

‘संहितैकपदे नित्या नित्या धातूपसर्गयोः ।

नित्या समासे वाक्ये तु सा विवक्षामपेक्षते ॥’

(सि. कौ. सू. २२३२)

इति पाणिनिव्याकरणानुरोधेन पद्यपादेषु संधिः नित्य इति, यदि संधिः न क्रियते तत्र दोषो भवतीति च प्रतिपादयति । एवमेव तत्प्रकरणे वैयाकरणानुरोधेनैव तत्तत्सिद्धान्तानुपस्थापयति । अनेनैतद्वक्तुं शक्यते यदलंकारशास्त्रे व्याकरणशास्त्रस्य वर्तते महान् प्रभाव इति ।

परामृष्टाः ग्रन्थाः

ग्रन्थः	ग्रन्थकारः	संस्करणम्
1. अष्टाध्यायीसूत्रपाठः (अष्टा.)	पाणिनिः	निर्णयसागरसंस्करणम् -1954
2. काव्यप्रकाशः (का. प्र.)	मम्मटः	भण्डार्कर प्राच्यशोधसंस्था- संस्करणम्-1965
3. काव्यमीमांसा (का. मी.)	राजशेखरः	बरोडाप्राच्यसंस्था- संस्करणम्-1934
4. काव्यादर्शः (काव्या.)	दण्डी	वाविल्ल रामस्वामि शास्त्रुलु अण्ड् सन्स्, मद्रपुरी-1964
5. काव्यालंकारसूत्रवृत्तिः (का. सू.)	वामनः	चौखम्बा अमरभारतीप्रकाशनम् वारणासी-1977
6. ध्वन्यालोकः (ध्वन्या.)	आनन्दवर्धनः	चौखम्बासंस्करणम् 1965
7. भावप्रकाशः (भा. प्र.)	शारदातनयः	गेकवाड ओरियंटल् सीरिस् बरोडा, 1968
8. वाक्यपदीयम् (वा. प.)	भर्तृहरिः	मोतिलाल बनारसीदासीय- संस्करणम्, 1947
9. सिद्धान्तकौमुदी (सि. कौ.)	भट्टोजिदीक्षितः	बालमनोरमा प्रेस् मद्रास्, 1911

॥ कालिदासीयं ततवाद्यवादननैपुण्यम् ॥

महाकवेः कालिदासस्य ग्रन्थेषु तस्य विविध-शास्त्रविषयकं पाण्डित्यं परिलक्ष्यते । व्याकरणदर्शनायुर्वेदवनस्पतिशास्त्रेषु सङ्गीतादिललित-कलासु च कविः परमनिष्णात आसीत् । 'गीतं वाद्यञ्च नृत्यञ्च त्रयं सङ्गीतमुच्यते' । सङ्गीते गायनस्य, वादनस्य, नृत्यस्य च त्रयाणामेव परिगणनं क्रियते । विभिन्नैर्वाद्यैर्दभूतस्य स्वरस्य लयस्य चानन्दः वाद्यसंगीतेन वादनेन वा प्राप्यते । साङ्गीतिकानि वाद्यानि सन्ति चतुर्विधानि । आचार्यभरतमुनेरनुसारम्—

'ततं तन्त्रीकृतं ज्ञेयमवनद्धं तु पौष्करम् ।

घनं तालस्तु विज्ञेयः सुषिरो वंश उच्यते ॥' ना. शा. २८/२

कालिदास एषु चतुर्ष्वपि वाद्येषु प्रवीण आसीत् । प्रस्तुते लेखे कालिदासकृतिषूल्लिखितानां सांगीतिकवाद्येषु ततवाद्यानां विवेचनस्य, वादनकलाविषयकस्य कविकौशलस्य मूल्याङ्कनस्य च प्रयासो विहितः । अङ्गुलीभिः सारयित्वा (यथा 'स्वरमण्डलं' 'तम्बूरा' च) कोणस्य त्रिकोणस्य वा सहायतया (यथा 'वीणा, सितार, सरोद' च), 'गज' इत्याख्यस्य साधनस्य संघर्षणेन (यथा 'सारङ्गी, इसराज, दिलरुबा' च) शलाकायाः च प्रहारेण (यथा 'शन्तूर') वाद्यमानानि वाद्यानि ततवाद्यान्यभिधीयन्ते । ततवाद्येषु वीणायाः, वल्लक्याः, परिवादिन्याः तन्त्र्याश्च कविनाऽनेकशः योगः कृतः । 'उत्सङ्गे वा मलिनवसने' इति मेघदूतस्यास्मिन् पद्ये कविना 'वीणा, तन्त्री', चेति शब्दद्वयम् प्रयुक्तम् । शास्त्रेषु त्रिविधा वीणाः—एकतन्त्री, द्वितन्त्री, त्रितन्त्री चोल्लिखिताः । भगवान् ब्रह्म

नाट्यवेदस्याविष्कर्ता भरतमुनेश्च गुरुरासीत् । अस्य वीणा 'ब्राह्मी वीणा' इत्याख्यां लब्धवती । ब्राह्मीवीणाया अन्यानि नामानि सन्ति— घोषा, घोषकं, घोषवती, एकतन्त्री च । एकतन्त्र्याः सुविस्तरं वर्णनमुपलभ्यते सङ्गीतरत्नाकराख्ये प्रसिद्धे सङ्गीतग्रन्थे । इयं सर्वासां वीणानां जननी । अस्याः दर्शनं स्पर्शनं च भुक्तिमुक्तिदायकम् । पापविमोचनी इयं वीणा सर्वदेवमयी, मङ्गलमयी चास्ति । एकतन्त्र्यां नासन् सारिका अत एवास्यां सर्वे ग्रामाः, सकलाः मूर्च्छनाः, द्वाविंशच्छ्रुतयश्च प्रतिक्षणमुपस्थिताः ।

'श्रुतयोऽथ स्वरा मूर्च्छना च नानाविधास्तथा ।

एकतन्त्रीकवीणायां सर्वमेतत्प्रतिष्ठितम् ॥'

भरतभाष्यम्, नान्यदेवः (पाण्डुलिपिः)

'तन्त्रीमाद्रीं नयनसलिलैः सारयित्वा कथञ्चिद्

भूयोभूयः स्वयमपि कृतां मूर्च्छनां विस्मरन्ती ॥' उत्तरमेघे २५

अत्र तन्त्रीमित्येकवचनेन कविः सम्भवतः एकतन्त्रीमेवाभिव्यनक्ति । भरतस्य, मतङ्गस्य, नारदस्य च कालं यावत् या घोषकं, घोषवती, ब्राह्मी वा अभिहिताऽऽसीत् सैव नान्यदेवस्य, सुधाकलशस्य, शार्ङ्गदेवस्य च समये 'एकतन्त्री' इत्याख्यां प्राप्तवती । नारदविरचिते 'सङ्गीतमकरन्दे' एकोनविंशतिवीणानां नामानि लभ्यन्ते । तानि सन्ति—कच्छपी, कुब्जिका, चित्रा, वहन्ती, परिवादिनी, जया, घोषवती, ज्येष्ठा, नकुली, महती, वैष्णवी, ब्राह्मी, रौद्री, कूर्मी, रावणी, सारस्वती, किन्नरी, सैरन्ध्री, घोषका च । परमासां विवरणं नैव दत्तम् । तन्त्रीणां संख्यया वादनविधिभेदेन च एकस्या वीणाया अनेके भेदाः समभवन् । सोमेश्वरेणापि स्वकीये मानसोल्लासे इदमेवाभिहितम्—

'तन्त्रीभेदैः क्रियाभेदैर्वीणावाद्यमनेकधा ।' ३ । ५७२

वीणायां सर्वाधिकं महत्त्वं विद्यते तन्त्र्याः, तन्त्रीणां वा । तन्त्र्यरविना नास्ति वीणा । वाल्मीकिरामायणस्यायोध्याकाण्डे देवी सीता कथयति—

‘नास्तन्त्री वाद्यते वीणा नाञ्चक्रो विद्यते रथः ।

नास्पतिः सुखमेधेत या स्यादपि शतात्मजा ॥’ ३९, २९

वीणावर्णनप्रसङ्गे कवयः तस्यास्तन्व्यास्तन्त्रीणां वा वर्णनमवश्यं कुर्वन्ति । मेघदूतस्य नायिका यक्षिणी कुशला सङ्गीतज्ञाऽस्ति । सा वीणां स्वकीयोत्सङ्गे निधाय तस्या वादनेन प्रियविरहसम्बद्धं स्वनिबद्धं गीतमुच्चस्वरेण गातुं समुत्सुका । नेत्रेभ्यामनवरतनिःसृतैरस्रैः क्लिन्नत्वात् वीणातन्त्री क्वणनार्थमनुपयुक्ता जाता । एतादृशीं विस्वरतां दूरीकर्तुं यक्षपत्नी तन्व्याः वारं वारं सारणां विदधाति । सुस्वरे वर्तमानायाः वीणायाः क्लिन्नत्वात् विस्वरत्वं स्वाभाविकमेव । ताञ्च पुनः सुस्वरां विधातुं सङ्गीतस्य क्रियाकुशलतापेक्ष्यते । नास्त्यत्र संदेहलेशोऽपि । निरन्तरनिःसृतैरश्रुकिन्दुभिः वीणातन्व्यां कीदृशीं विस्वरतां समापतति—यक्षाङ्गना तथ्यमिदं जानात्येव यच्च तस्याः वीणावादनकौशलं व्यनक्ति । वीणायास्तन्त्री प्रत्यक्षवादनक्रियायां कृतया सारणया न्यूनाधिकमात्रायां विस्वरा भवति । तथ्यमिदं क्रियाकुशलानां सङ्गीतज्ञानामनुभवसिद्धम् । स्वरस्थेमां सूक्ष्मां न्यूनाधिकतां विज्ञाय वीणां यथास्वरां विधातुं स्वरज्ञानमपेक्ष्यते यत् प्रयासेनानुभवेनैव च सम्भवम् ।

रघुवंशे इन्दुमत्याः मृतशरीरस्यास्तव्यस्तताया अभिव्यञ्जनार्थं महाकविनैतादृशी विगतन्त्री वीणोल्लेखिता यस्यास्तन्व्यः सन्ति अस्तव्यस्ताः, याश्च पुनः सुस्वराः विधातुं वीणावादकः वीणां स्वकीयोत्सङ्गे निदधाति अर्थात् शिथिलायाः विस्वरायाश्च वीणायाः सारणार्थं वीणावादकः यथा तां स्वोत्सङ्गे स्थापयित्वा सुस्वरां कर्तुं प्रयतते, तथैव नृपतिः अजः इन्दुमत्याः निष्प्राणं देहं स्वाङ्गे धारयित्वा स्पृशति—

‘प्रतियोजयितव्यवल्लकीसमवस्थामथ सत्त्वविप्लवात् ।

स निनाय नितान्तवत्सलः परिगृह्योचितमङ्गमङ्गनाम् ॥’

रघु. ६/४९-

सङ्गीतस्य, वीणातन्त्रीवादनविधेश्च विशेषज्ञातैव कविरीदृशं सूक्ष्मं वर्णनं कर्तुं समर्थः । ममानुमानमिदमेव यत् कालिदासः स्वयमेवातिकुशलः वीणावादक आसीत् । महाकविः कालिदासस्तन्त्याः यथास्वरविधान-प्रक्रियायाः सुपरिचितोऽस्ति । पार्वत्याः स्वरमाधुर्यं वर्णयन् कविरुपमामपि सङ्गीतसम्बन्धिनीमेव प्रयुनक्ति । सुमधुरभाषिण्यां पार्वत्यां प्रजल्पितायां मधुरस्वराय प्रसिद्धस्य कोकिलस्यापि स्वरस्तथा श्रुतिकटुरासीत् श्रोतुः यथा काचिद् विस्वरा वीणा वाद्यमाना भवेत् । कविकृतं वर्णनमिदं तस्य सङ्गीतविषयकं परमं वैदुष्यं प्रकटयति । सङ्गीतानभिज्ञस्य जनस्य सुस्वरे विस्वरे च मा नामास्तु कोऽपि भेदः, किन्तु सङ्गीताभिज्ञस्य जनस्य वितन्त्याः स्वरः निश्चयमेव नितान्तमरुचिकरो विद्यते—

‘स्वरेण तस्याममृतस्रुतेव प्रजल्पितायामभिजातवाचि ।

अप्यन्यपुष्टा प्रतिकूलशब्दा श्रोतुर्वितन्त्रीरिव ताड्यमाना ॥’

कुमार. १/४५

राजाऽग्निवर्णः स्वयमेवातिकुशलः सङ्गीतज्ञोऽस्ति । तस्योत्सङ्गे च वीणा सदैव विराजते—

‘अङ्कमङ्कपरिवर्तनोचिते तस्य निन्यतुरशून्यतामुभे ।

वल्लकी च हृदङ्गमस्वना वल्गुवागपि च वामलोचना ॥’

रघु. १९/१३.

नृपतेरग्निवर्णस्य अन्तःपुरप्रमदाः सङ्गीतशिल्पेऽतिनिपुणाः कथिताः । शृङ्गारक्रीडया दन्तक्षताधरा नखपदाङ्कितोरवश्च ताः सन्ति । तथापि वेणुवादने वीणावादाने च कौशलं न जहति—

‘वेणुना दशनपीडिताधरा वीणया नखपदाङ्कितोरवः ।

शिल्पकार्यं उभयेन वेजितास्तं विजिह्वानयना व्यलोभयन् ॥’

रघु. १९/३५

रघुवंशस्याप्युत्सवेषु नारदमुनिः शोकर्णक्षेत्रस्थस्य शङ्करस्य दर्श-
नार्थं गच्छति स्म । तस्मिन् समये तस्य वीणासक्ता पुष्पमाला इन्दुमत्याः

व्रक्षस्थले निपतिता, सा च मृत्युंगता¹ । प्रसङ्गेऽस्मिन् कविना 'उपवी-
जयितुं' (वीणयोपसमीपे गातुं) 'आतोद्यं', 'परिवादिनीं' चैते सङ्गीत-
विषयकाः शब्दाः प्रयुक्ताः । कथ्यते यत् सर्वप्रथमं कालिदासेनैव परि-
वादिनी वीणोल्लिखिता । तदनु अस्या नाम सङ्गीतमकरन्देऽपि उप-
लभ्यते । यतिमानपादखण्डे, अभिधानचिन्तामणावपि च परिवादिन्या
उल्लेखो विद्यते । अस्यां सन्ति सप्ततन्त्र्यः—

'सप्तभिः तन्त्रिभिः दृश्यते परिवादिनी' । वाद्यप्रकारो ३०, तत-
वाद्यानि (पाण्डुलिपिः)

'वीणा तु वल्लकी विपञ्ची सा तु तन्त्रीभिः सप्तभिः परिवादिनी'
इत्यमरः ।

कालिदासो नारदवीणां परिवादिनीनाम्ना उल्लेखयति । परन्तु माघ-
प्रणीते शिशुपालवधे तस्याः 'महती' इति नाम प्रयुक्तम् ।

'रणद्विराघट्टनया नभस्वतः पृथग्विभिन्नश्रुतिमण्डलैः स्वरैः ।

स्फुटीभवद्ग्रामविशेषमूर्च्छनामवेक्षमाणं महतीं मुहुर्मुहुः ॥' १-१०

सङ्गीतमकरन्दे परिवादिन्याः महत्याश्चापि वर्णनमस्ति । ऋतुसंहारे
स्थलद्वये तन्त्र्याः वल्लक्याश्च प्रयोगः दृष्टिपथमवतरति—

'सुतन्त्रिगीतं मदनस्य दीपनं शुचौ निशीथेऽनुभवन्ति कामिनः ॥'

१-३

'सवल्लकीकाकलिगीतनिस्वनैर्विबोध्यते सुप्त इवाद्य मन्मथः ॥'

१-८

1. अथ रोघसि दक्षिणोदधेः श्रितगोकर्णनिकेतमीश्वरम् ।

उपवीणयितुं ययौ स्वेरुदगावृत्तिपथेन नारदः ॥

कुसुमैर्ग्रथितामपाथिवैः स्रजमातोद्यशिरोनिवेशिताम् ।

अहरत्किल तस्य वेगवानधिवासस्पृहयेव मारुतः ॥

अमरैः कुसुमानुसारिभिः परिकीर्णा परिवादिनी मुनेः ।

ददृशे पवनावलेपजं सृजती बाष्पमिवाञ्जनाविलम् ॥ रघु- VIII. ३३-३५

वीणावादकाय वीणाधारिणे च कविना 'वीणिन्, प्रवीणः' चेति संज्ञा-
द्वयं दत्तम् । यथा मेघदूते—

'सिद्धद्वन्द्वैर्जलकणभयाद्वीणिभिस्त्यक्तमार्गः' पूर्वमेघे. ४९

कुमारसंभवे च—

'विश्वावसुप्राग्रहरैः प्रवीणैः सङ्गीयमानत्रिपुरावदानः ।' ७/४८

कविनाऽत्र विश्वावसोर्नाम चातुर्येण गृहीतं यतः सः गन्धर्वश्रेष्ठः
(गन्धर्वप्रमुखः) देवेन्द्रसभासङ्गीतज्ञश्चासीत् । तस्य वीणा बृहती
आसीत् । प्रवीणस्यार्थोऽस्ति—प्रकृष्टा वीणा येषां तेऽथवा वीणया
प्रगायन्तीति ॥

गायकाः वादकाश्च स्ववाद्ययन्त्रैः सह विशिष्टासक्तिमनुभवन्ति ।
अत एव ते तेषां सुरक्षायै सदैव यत्नशीला भवन्ति । मेघदूते सिद्धदम्प-
तयः नीरबिन्दुभिर्वीणातन्त्र्यः नष्टा स्युरिति भयात् मेघमार्गं^१ संत्यजन्ति ।
यक्षिणी चापि श्वासैः क्लिन्नां तन्त्रीं या वादनार्थमनुपयुक्ता जाता तां
स्वाश्रूणि प्रमाज्यं कथञ्चित् सारयति^२ । अद्यापि दृश्यते यत् सङ्गीत-
ज्ञानां गृहेषु वाद्यानि सर्वश्रेष्ठे सुरक्षिते च स्थाने निक्षिप्यन्ते ।

आधुनिककालस्य प्रचलितानि ततवाद्यानि सन्ति—'रुद्रवीणा,
तञ्जौरवीणा, दाक्षिणात्यवीणा वा, महानाटवीणा, गोट्टुवाद्यम् वा,
सारङ्गी, सितार, सरोद, दिलरुबा, सुरबहार, इसराज, तानपूरा' च ॥

इत्थं कालिदासः साङ्गीतिकैः वाद्यैः सह सुपरिचित आसीत् ।
वस्तुतः सङ्गीतस्य तिसृष्वेव विद्यासु तस्याद्वितीयं वैदुष्यमासीत् । संस्कृत-
साहित्यस्य नास्ति कोऽप्यन्यः कविः यस्य साहित्ये सङ्गीतस्य तादृशी
सरसता, मधुरता, निपुणता चोपलभ्यते यादृशी महाकवेः कालिदासस्य
साहित्ये प्राप्यते । तस्य सङ्गीतदाक्ष्यं तदीये साहित्ये विशिष्टं गौरवं
आवहति । पुरातनकालादारभ्याद्यपर्यन्तं कवेः सर्वातिशायिन्याः प्रसिद्धेः
प्रायशः इदमप्यस्ति एकं कारणम् ॥

1. पूर्वमेघे ४९.

2. उत्तरमेघे २५.

K. J. KRISHNA MOORTHY

శ్రీ సృనింహ పంచవింశతి

—ఒక పరిశీలనము.

రచన :

ఇది యిటువదియైదు సీసవద్యములలో రచింపబడిన యొక అముకృతి (Minor work). ఈ యముద్రిత కృత్యయందలి విషయము చారిత్రకము. క్రీ.శ. 19 వ శతాబ్ది పూర్వార్థమున 'ఈస్టిండియా కంపెనీ' ప్రభుత్వముయొక్క ఆండదండలతో అంగ్లేయులు కొందరు హిందూ ధర్మమునకు, హైందవ సంఘమునకు కలిగించుచుండిన యక్కట్టులను, కల్పించుచుండిన యిబ్బందులను కన్నులార గాంచిన యొక కవి, తన యిష్టదైవమగు ఆహోబిల నృసింహస్వామిని, కినుకబూని వారలను సంహరింపుమని, హైందవ ధర్మమును, సమాజమును రక్షింపుమని ఇందు వ్యాజోక్తి వద్దతిలో పద్యరూపమున ప్రార్థించియున్నాడు

ఈ కృత్యయందలి 'మకుట' మీరీతిగా నున్నది—

“క్రీస్తు మతజులుఁ జెండుమా కినుకతోడ
వైరి గజసింహా! యోబల నారసింహా!”

ఈ మకుటమున పేర్కొనబడిన 'క్రీస్తు మతజులు' (క్రీస్తుమతమున జన్మించినవారు) ఆ కాలమున ఆంధ్రదేశమున విరంకముగా ఆధికారము నెరపుచుండిన అంగ్లేయులే కాని, అన్యులుకారు.

ఆ విధముగా వారలను కినుకతో చెండవలసినదని ఆహోబిల నృసింహస్వామిని అభ్యర్థించునట్లు ఈ రచయితను ప్రేరేపించిన పరిస్థితులు ఆతని వల్కలలోనే ఈ దిగువ నుదాహరింపబడుచున్నవి.

“క్రీస్తుమతజులైన తెల్ల దొరలు తాము భూమీకులై భూమి నేలుకోవచ్చుముగాని, ఘా కులాభారములను మాపివేయదగునా? వారు నీతి కౌవ్విడిలై యున్నయెడల

వియతితో నుండవచ్చునుగాని, దైవదూషణచేయుట ధర్మమగునా? ముక్తిహార్గమును గనిపెట్టియున్నచో మరియచుండగవచ్చునుగాని, వారు మా శాస్త్రముల నాక్షేపణ పేయదగునా? ఈ భూమిలోపలనెల్ల గొప్పవారై యుండవచ్చునుగాని, నీ దివ్య కథలను విని పరిహసించుట న్యాయమా? అదిగాక, వారు మతభేదములను సృష్టించుచు, అన్య మతములను చెఱచుచు, గోవులను, ద్విజులను బాధించుచు, నీ భక్తులనుబట్టి విందించుచు కత్తులతో బడవైచి చంపుచున్నారు. వారు దేశమున కధిపతులై యుండుటచే జనులెవ్వరును వారి నేమియు అనజాలకున్నారు. వారు దైవదూషణ చేయుచుండగా వినుచుండియు, సింహాద్రి నరహరి, తిరుపతి వేంకటేశుడు శ్రీరంగేంద్రుడు, కంచి వరదరాజులు, పూరీ జగన్నాథుడు, కూర్మనాథుడు మున్నగు వేల్పులు మూతిపై మీసములు లేచివారగుటచే ఆ తెల్లవారిని ఏమన జాలక, ఆ యా చోటుల దాగియున్నారు. మూతిపై మీసములు గల నీవును వారి పటాలములకు భీతి నొంది, కొండెక్కి యుంటివా? విన్ను నిండించుచున్న ఈ జాతివారిని పరిమార్చి, నీ భక్తుల మైన మమ్మెల్లరను రక్షించుటకు నరహరివగు నీవుగాక, మఱి యెవ్వరును లేరు ఇట్లు. 'క్రీస్తులచేత' కోర్వక, వారిని సమయజేయుచువి నీకు విన్నవించుచున్నాను."

(చూ. 2, 3, 7, 15, 17, 20, 24 & 25 సంఖ్యలు గల పద్యములు)

పై పలుకులలో వెల్లడియగుచున్న పాశ్చాత్యుల దురాగతములు ప్రత్యక్షర సత్యములే యని ఈ క్రింది యాంగ్ల వాక్యములు హెచ్చించుచున్నవి.¹

".....The indiscriminate assault on Indians by Englishmen was by no means an uncommon incident; there were serious cases of bodily injury, sometimes culminating in death. (Page 417)

"But a far more serious cause of discontent was the vague dread, which seized the minds of all classes of people, that the British Government was determined to convert the Indians into Christianity. There was no cause of such fear before 1813. as the Christian missionaries were not allowed to enter into the territories of the East India Company. But the Charter Act of 1813 compelled the company to permit the Christian Missionaries to come out to India under license. (Page 418)

"Filthy abuses of Hindu gods and goddesses formed the main plank of the public preaching and propaganda of the Christian Missionaries. The missionary preaching was rendered more

1. Vide : *The History and culture of the Indian People*, Vol. IX, Part I (1970), PP. 417 — 422, Pub: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, BOMBAY.

odious to the people by the official assistance rendered to them.
(Page 419)

"But the missionaries did not rely for their success solely on these abuses or sweet reasonableness of their arguments. It was alleged that not often they converted unwary persons by holding out false hopes to them, and did not even refrain from using force in keeping their hold on their victims.
(Page 420)

"Even when, in course of building roads or other public works, a temple was destroyed, it was felt by many that the work of public utility was merely a pretext to destroy the sanctuary."
(Page 422)

ఈ కృతి లేనిన కాలము క్రోధి సంవత్సర పుణ్య శుద్ధ అష్టమీ బుధవారము. ఇది క్రీ.శ. 1845 జనవరి 15 వ తేదీకి సరియగుచున్నది¹ రచయితయే స్వయముగా 'ప్రతి'ని లిఖించియున్నందున, ఈతని కాలము కూడ నిదియే. ఆ కాలమున (క్రీ.శ. 19 వ శతాబ్ది పూర్వార్థమున) అహోబిలక్షేత్ర పరిసరములలో పాశ్చాత్య క్రైస్తవ మిషనరీల మత ప్రచార కార్య కలాపములు చురుకుగా కొనసాగుచుండెడి వనుటకు ఈ క్రింది వాక్యములు విదర్శనములు².

"In the latter part of the eighteenth century a Christian mission established at Satiapuram near Proddutur. From Satiapuram it extended its operation to Onteddupalle in Koilkuntla Taluk, Polur, Kotala near Nandyal and several other villages in that neighbourhood."
(Page 148)

"Sometime previous to the year 1840 the London Missionaries were in the habit of visiting Cudlapha Jail and preaching the Gospel to the prisoners confined there in."
(Page 147)

రచయిత :

ఈ అనుకావ్య రచయిత నామధేయము గర్గలాలు, ఇతని తండ్రి లక్ష్మణసింగు, ధనసింగు, మకరనసింగు — అనువారు తాత ముత్తాతలు. హైదురాబాద్‌లోని వరమున కాను జన్మించిన ధర్మ కవి చెప్పుకొన్నాడు (25 వ). వీరల పేళ్ళయందలి 'సింగు', 'లాలు' — అను పదములనుబట్టి, 'క్షత్రియ సంకల్పివంధ్రుడు' అను విశేషణమునుబట్టి ఈ కవి 'బొందిరీ'

1. See : *An Indian Ephemeris*, — L. D. Swami Kannu Pillai, Vol. VII, Page 92.

2. See : *A Manual of The Kurnool District (1886)*, compiled by Narahari Gopala Kristnamah Chetty (Deputy Collector), PP. 147—148.

జాతికి చెందినవాడని నిశ్చయింపవచ్చును బొందిలివారు ఉత్తర హిందూదేశమున గల 'బుందేల్ ఖండ్' నుండి కొన్ని శతాబ్దాల క్రితమే ప్రాసికోవ్యోగముల నిమిత్తము తరలివచ్చి తెనుగునాట స్థిరపడినవారు. శ్రీనాథమహాకవి (క్రీ.శ. 14 — 5 శతాబ్దాల మధ్య) కాలము నాటికే బొందిలి తెలుగువారికి సుపరిచితులు!

ప్రాచీన తెనుగు సారస్వతమున ఈ బొందిలీ క్షత్రియజాతికి చెందినవా రెవ్వరును కవిక చెప్పినట్లు కానము. కావున ఈ విషయములో వీ గర్డలాల్ కవి యద్వితీయు డనగనున. స్వధర్మము నెడల అవంచలమైన యభినివేశము, ఇష్టదైవముగు ఆహోబల నృసింహస్వామి యందు అపహితుమగు భక్తి — ఈయనకు సహజముగా ఆహ్విని గుణములని ఇందలి ప్రతి పద్యము చాటుచున్నది. ఈ రచయిత యద్ధవీరుల కోవకు చెందిన కుటుంబమున జనించినవా డనుటకు, పౌరుష చిహ్నములగు మీసములను (7 ప) పేర్కొనియుండుట మరొక నిదర్శనము. ఆప్యాయకతో, అత్యంతార్థితో ఆహోబలస్వామిని ప్రార్థించియుండుటవలన, ఈత డా కాలమున ఆహోబల క్షేత్రముయొక్క రక్షణ, యాజమాన్యములతోడి సంబంధముగల ప్రముఖులలో నొకడై యుండెనేమో యను నభిప్రాయము కల గుచున్నది. సుప్రసిద్ధమగు శ్రీకైల క్షేత్రమున నిన్ను మొన్నటిదాక (క్రీ.శ. 1920 ప్రాంతమున) 'ఆత్మకూరి కిషన్ సింగు' వంటి ఈ బొందిలీ క్షత్రియులే యాజమాన్యము వహించియుండిన యంశము పై యభిప్రాయ మును బలపరచుచున్నది.

ఇతర విశేషములు :

(i) సాంఘిక పరిస్థితులు :— ఈ కృతి పరిమితిని చిన్నదైనను, సమకాలీన సాంఘిక వర్ణపీఠులను సూక్ష్మదర్శినియందువలె సంగ్రహముగా గోచరింపజేయుచున్నది. 'పాదరీ'ల నయముచేతను, కంపెనీ ప్రభుత్వముయొక్క భయముచేతను క్రైస్తవము తెనుగు నాట బాగుగా వేరునుచుండిన కాలమది. అుగ్ల భాష క్రమముగా ప్రజాసీకమున వ్యాప్తి నొందు చుండెను. సంఘములో అగ్రవర్ణులుగా నుండిన విప్రులు జపతపములు మాని, జాతి చదువునే పఠించుచు, దొరలను సేవింపదొడగిరి. క్రైస్తవ మత స్వీకార మొనర్చి, మధ్య మాంసములను మెక్కుచు, కామిసీరోలురై, బుట్టలను (hats) నెత్తిపై బూని, వారు తెల్లదొరల ననుకరించుచుండిరి. వేదములు శాస్త్రములు, గాయత్ర్యాది మంత్రములు లిఖించియుండిన ప్రాచీన తాళపత్రగ్రంథములను పొట్టగడచు విమిత్తము తెల్లవారికి విక్రయించుచు ఆ దొరలతో జేరి,

1. చూ: బొందిలి యువతి వర్ణనముగల "వన్నెల గాగరా చెలగు" — ఇత్యాది శ్రీనాథుని చాటుపద్యము.

అంధ్రుల సాంఘిక చరిత్ర (1950), సురవరం ప్రతాపరెడ్డి, పుట 164'

భ్రష్టులై, బ్రాహ్మణులు వేదశాస్త్రాది విద్యలు దబ్బరలవి పరిహాసపూర్వకముగా విందించుచుండిరి. ఇక, క్షత్రియులు గోమాంసాది నిషిద్ధమాంసములను భక్షించుచుండిరి. సంఘమునందలి తదితర మానవు లెల్లరు తమ తమ విద్యుక్తధర్మములను విడనాడి కోవెలలను దున్ని వేయుచు, వావివర్తనలు దప్పి, ద్రవ్యాభిలాషతో పరదైవముల గొనుచును. ధూర్తులై యథేచ్ఛగా మెలగుచుండిరి. కావున “మత భేదకులన్లెల్ల మర్దించి. విషమవంతులైన నీ భక్తులను రక్షించి, వేదముల నుద్ధరించి. సంఘము నందలి యలజతులను శాంతింపజేసి, ఈ భూమిలో నీ కీర్తిని నిచ్చుకొను”మని కవి యా స్వామిని పద తెఱగుల ప్రార్థించినాడు

(ii) వ్యాజోక్తి వైచిత్రి :— ఉత్తదైవమును విందావ్యాజముతో స్తుతించుటలో ఈ రచయిత ఈ కృతియందు పింహాద్రి నారసింహ శతకము (శ్రీ శ. 18 శతాబ్ది ప్రారంభము), శ్రీకాకుళాంధ్రనాయక శతకము (18 శతాబ్ది చివరిభాగము) — అను చారిత్రక శతకములయందలి పోకడలను చక్కగా, సమర్థవంతముగా అనుకరించి యున్నాడు.

‘ధర్మమార్గంబు లెల్లను తఱగునపుడు నీ మాత్రమము కాల్యనా? ఎంగిలి వండ్లు తినుట, పరభామినులను గూడుట—ఇట్టి హీన గుణములు గల సమరభీరుడవు గావుననే, క్రీస్తు కూటికి ఆనపడి, క్రీస్తులలో గలిసిపోయి, ధూర్తులకు గురుడవైతివి.’ — అని పైకి విందించుచునే, ఈ కవి ‘నా తండ్రి! నిను క్రీస్తు మతజాలు విందింప, కొమరుండ నా కది కొఱుతగాదె?’ అని చసవుతో ప్రశ్నించి, ‘ఈ వట్టి విందలను విడనాడి నిన్ను ప్రస్తుతించెడు సమయమెప్పుడు లభించునో కదా?’ యని కొండంత కోరికను వెల్లడించినాడు. చివరకు, వేదములను, ధర్మమును రక్షింపుమని, ప్రహ్లాదుడు, శంఖచక్రారులు, లక్ష్మి — మున్నగు వారిపై ఆనలు (ఒట్టులు) పెట్టినాడు! ఒక్క మాటలో, ఆంగ్లేయుల దుండగముల నణచి వేయుమని వ్యాజోక్తి వద్దతివి అహోబలస్వామిని ప్రార్థించుచున్న ప్రత్యేక కృతిగా అలరుచుండుట ఈ “వంశవింశతి” యొక్క విశిష్టత!

(iii) శైలి :— ఆ శుకవిశాచోరణిని పుణికి పుచ్చుకొని అవతరించిన ఈ చారిత్రక కృతిలో జాతివదువు (English), మూడు కొయ్యల ధ్వజము (Holy Cross), బుట్టలు (hats), పాద్రీలు, జనవరి పండుగలు - వంటి ఆంగ్ల సంస్కృతీ ప్రభావ జనితములైన పదములు, పోకు, జజాయి, పిరంగి - వంటి అన్యదేశ్యములు, కలికావతారము, చేరుండువే, కట్టగట్టెమ్మిరి - వంటి వ్యావహారిక సంధులు, దుర్మార్గజాడ, హోమాది జాడ - వంటి వైరి నమానములు, నీళ్లవైన్లలు - వంటి లోకోక్తులు నెలకొనియుండి, ఇందలి శైలి కొక ప్రత్యేకతను ప్రసాదించుచున్నది.

మఱియు నీ కృతియందు 'బాలార్కజితనేత్రుడు,' 'రమాపతి పుజితుడు' — వంటి (కర్తరికి మాటుగా ప్రయోగించిన) కర్మణి ప్రయుక్తరూపములు, కించిత్ గణ భంగములు మొదలగునవి దొరలియున్నప్పటికిని, 'చెఱకునకు వంకపోతేమి చెడునె తీపు?' అన్నట్లు ఇందలి శైలి దారాళమై, ఈ రచయిత యొక్క భక్తి తత్పరతను బాగుగా ధ్వనింప జేయుచున్నది.

(iv) సందేశము :—పాశ్చాత్య నాగరకతా వ్యామోహము కారణముగా సంఘ మున సాంస్కృతిక పతనము (Cultural deterioration) సంభవించుచున్నదని తలచిన అనాటి యనేకులలో ఈ రచయిత యొకడు. అందువలననే, స్వధర్మ పరిరక్షణకై ఇష్ట దైవమును పురికొల్పు నెపమున, వరోక్షముగా విందు సమాజమును వైతము ప్రబోధించినవాడైనాడు భక్తిరసభరితమగు ఈ 'పంచవింశతి'కావ్యముయొక్క సురుచిర సందేశమును సంగ్రహముగా ఈ క్రింది గీతా శ్లోకరూపమున క్రోడీకరింపవచ్చును.

“శ్రేయూన్ స్వధర్మో విగుణః పరధర్మాత్ స్వనుష్ఠితాత్ |
స్వధర్మే నిధనం శ్రేయః పరధర్మో భయావహః ||

— III అధ్యాయం, 35 శ్లో.

పరిష్కరణ :

ప్రకృత పరిష్కరణ కారణమైనది శ్రీ వేంకటేశ్వర విశ్వవిద్యాలయ ప్రాచ్య పరిశోధన సంస్థ గ్రంథాలయమందలి R. 88 అను సంఖ్యగల తాళపత్రప్రతి. ఇందు నాలుగు పత్రము లున్నవి. వీటి కొలతలు 34.5 × 3.3 సెం. మీ. ఈ గ్రంథము నొల్లన పత్రము యొక్క మొదటి వైపున ముగియుచున్నది. మొత్తము ఏడు పుటలలో పుటకు 7 వంతులు, పంక్తికి 78 అక్షరములు గలవు.

రచయిత యొక్క స్వహస్త లిఖితముగా ఉన్న ఈ కృతిని పరిష్కరించుటలో, కవి ప్రయోగించిన వ్యాసహారిక ప్రయోగములను మార్చక, (లేఖన దోషములను మాత్రము సవరించి) తాసా స్వరూపము యథాతథముగ ప్రవర్తితమైనది. ఆవశ్యక మైన చోట్ల అధోజ్ఞాపికల రూపమున సూచనలు, వివరణలు ఇయ్యబడినవి. ద్రుత సంధి, ఆరసున్న — మున్నగు లక్షణముల యనుసరణము కవిప్రయుక్త తాసా స్వరూపా వగతికి బాధకము కావి చోట్లందే యథావకాశముగా అవలంబింపబడినది.

ఇక, ఈ గ్రంథ నామధేయమునకు సంబంధించిన ఆసక్తికరమగు నొక యంక మిట ప్రస్తావించదగియున్నది. వివరతాత్మక గ్రంథ సూచిక (Catalogue) లో ఈ గ్రంథము

పేరు "రసజ్ఞ స్వసింహ పంచవింశతి" యని 'రసజ్ఞ' విశేషణముతో గలిపి ముద్రింపబడి యున్నది.¹ కాని, ఈ పేరీ కృతీయం దెచ్చటను కానరాదు.

పరిశీలించగా ఈ 'రసజ్ఞ' విశేషణము కవి కల్పించినది కాదనియు, ఈ గ్రంథ మునకు వివరణ (Description) ను తయారు చేసినవారు గ్రంథాంతమందుగల లేఖనకాలపు వక్కణలోని

“ సౌమ్యవారం—రోజ్న నృశింహ్య పంచవింశతం. ”

అనేది వ్రాతను 'సౌమ్యవారం—రసజ్ఞ స్వశింహ్య పంచవింశతం'—అని భ్రమపడి పఠించి రవియు, ఆ కారణముచేతనే దీని కిట్లు 'రసజ్ఞ' విశేషణము నూతనముగా చేరినదనియు తెలియుచున్నది ప్రాచీన లేఖన సంప్రదాయానుసారముగా వ్రాయబడిన 'రోజ్న'—అను అన్య దేశ్యము, తొలగింపలేక కేటలాగును తయారుచేసినవారికి "రసజ్ఞ"—అను సాంస్కృతిక విశేషణ కల్పముగా తోచుటవలన, అది గ్రంథనామముతోగూడి కేటలాగులో చోటు చేసికొనినదని వెల్లడించుట యందలి ఫలితాంశము

ఒక ముఖ్య చారిత్రక సంఘటన :

ఈ కృతి రచింపబడిన యనంతరము కొంది కాలములోనే అనగా బలక్షేత్ర ప్రాంత మున చారిత్రకముగా ముఖ్యమైన యొక సంఘటన జరిగినది. కోవెలకుంట్ల తాలూకాలోని నొస్సంకోటకు పాలకుడుగా మండిన తియ్యాలవాడ నరసింహా రెడ్డి యను జమీందారు క్రీ. శ. 1846, 47 సంవత్సరములలో ఈస్టిండియా కంపెనీ ప్రభుత్వ సేనలతో పోరాడి, వారలను పెక్కు పర్యాయములు ముప్పుతిప్పలు పెట్టిన అపూర్వ సంఘటన యది!

అంగ్లేయ పాలకులే రచించిన ఈ క్రింది వాక్యములనుబట్టి ఆ పోరాటపు తీవ్రతను మన చూహించవచ్చును².

(i) "In 1846, a descendant of the dispossessed poligar of Nossam, dissatisfied with the pension he received, attempted to excite a general rebellion, and collected on the frontiers two forces of several thousand men. Each was promptly defeated by British

1. *A Triennial Catalogue of Manuscripts*, Part 3 - Telugu. Page 278
G. O. M. L., Madras (1913).

2. (i) *Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency*, Vol. II
Pages 75 & 265.

(ii) *Ibid* Vol III. P, 251.

(Contd.)

detachments and before the end of the year quiet was completely restored."

- (ii) "Ooyalawada.....In 1847, a disturbance was caused by Narasimha Reddy, pensioned poligar of this place and grandson of Jayaram Reddy, the last powerful Zemindar of Nossam. He unsuccessfully attacked Coilcoontla treasury and sheltered himself in hill forests of Yarramalas and Nullamalays. At Giddalore he gave battle to Lieutenant Watson and killed the Tahsildar of Cumbum. He then escaped into the Nullamalays and was subsequently captured near Perusomala."

అట్లు ఆంగ్లేయులతో పోరాడి యశశాయుడైన నరసింహరెడ్డి అనంతర కాలమున "రేనాటి విప్లవ వీరుడు"గా ప్రజావీరమున ప్రశస్తిగాంచినాడు. 1857 వ సంవత్సరము నాటి స్వాతంత్ర్య సంగ్రామమునకు పది, పదకొండు సంవత్సరముల పూర్వమే ఆంగ్ల సేనల నెదిరించి వీరోచితముగా పోరు నల్పిన ఈ నరసింహ రెడ్డి యుష్టదైవము వైతము అహోబిల వ్యసంహదే! 'తిరుమణి దారి'యైన ఈ రేనాటి వీరుడు పాలించిన కోటపేరు కూడ 'నృసింహమే!' ('నొస్సం' - అను గ్రామ నామము 'నృసింహం' - అను శబ్దము యొక్క తదృవ రూపము).

పై సంఘటననుబట్టి, రచయిత ఈ కృతి ద్వారా ఇష్టదైవమునకు గావించిన మొఱవ్యర్థము కాలేదనియు, ఆ అహోబిలస్వామియొక్క దివ్యానుగ్రహ సంకల్పమే స్వీయ భక్తుడగు నరసింహరెడ్డియొక్క పోరాటము రూపమున పరిణమించి, ఆ ప్రాంతములో పాశ్చాత్యుల యౌద్ధత్యమును అణచివైచుటయందు ఫలించినదనియు, సమన్వయించి చెప్పవచ్చును.

పరిమితిలో అలతయైనను, చారిత్రక ప్రాముఖ్యము, భక్తి ప్రబోధము — అను ఈ రెండు గుణవిశేషములు సంతరించుకొనిన అలముకృతి క్రీ నృసింహ పంచవింశతి.

853-2-4

Contd. from the note in previous page:—

పై రెండు ఆంగ్లేయీకరణములు (English quotations) డా॥ తంగిరాల వెంకట నువ్వురావు రచించిన తెలుగు వీరగాథా కవిత్వము (సిద్ధాంత వ్యాసము) ద్వితీయభాగమునుండి స్వీకరింపబడినవి. ధా. పుటలు 820 & 821,



శ్రీ నృసింహ పంచవింశతి

సీ॥ శ్రీరమాలా! యాశ్రిత జన మందార !
 లోకేశ ! సద్భక్తలోకపోష !
 బాలార్కజిత నేత్ర ! భావజాహితవంద్య !
 దంభోళి సమ ధగద్ధగిత దంష్ట్ర !
 * వజ్రాయుధప్రభా విజిత వఖాంకుర !
 ధవళ ధరాధరోదార దేహ !
 సంపూర్ణవిక్రమ సంయుత భుజదండ !
 ప్రళయ కాలాంతక ప్రతిమ కౌప !

గీ॥ కుమత జనశిక్ష ! మాధవాక్రూరవరద !
 దానవాంతక ! వల్లవీధైర్య చోర !
 క్రీస్తుమతజలం జెండుమా కినుకతోడ
 వైరి గజసింహ ! ¹యోబల నారసింహ !

• కవి యీ పాదమును "వజ్రాయుధ ప్రభలను జయించిన వఖాంకురములు గల వాదా!" అను వర్ణములో ప్రయోగించియున్నాడు కాని, కర్మణి ప్రయోగపు కూర్పువలన "వజ్రాయుధ ప్రభలచే జయింపబడిన వఖాంకురములు గలవాదా!" అనెడి వ్యతిరేకార్థము నొసగుచున్నది. పైగా, ఈ పాదమున యతి రప్పివది, "ప్రభావజిత" అని యుండిన యతిమైత్రి మాత్రము లొసగును. ఈ కృతిలో చిట్టి ప్రయోగములు మఱి కొన్ని యున్నవి.

1. తాళపత్రప్రతిలో "హోబల నారసింహ !" అని యున్నది.

సీ॥ భూమీశులై తాము భూమి నేలఁగరాదె ?

మా కులాచారముల్ మాపదగునె ?

నీతికోవిదులై తె నియతి నుండఁగరాదె ?

దైవ దూషణఁ జేయ ధర్మమగునె ?

ముక్తిమార్గముఁ గంటె మురియుచుండఁగరాదె ?

శాస్త్ర మాక్షేపణ చేయదగునె ?

అదిగాక భవి నెన్న నధికులు గారాదె ?

నీ కథల్ విని నవ్వ నియతి యగునె ?

గీ॥ అధిపులంచును నెవ్వ రేమనఁగ లేరు;

వీరిఁ బరిమార్చ నీవెగా కిత్తు లెవరు ?

॥క్రీస్తు॥ 2

సీ॥ మఘమాంసములు మెక్కి, మత్తెక్కి విప్రులు

బుట్టలు నెత్తిపైఁ బూనునపుడు,

సత్క్రియా శూన్యులై క్షత్రియులెల్లను

గోమాంస మాదిగాఁ గుడుచునపుడు,

వసుధ మానవులంత వర్ణముల్ చెడి, తాము

ధూర్జులై కోవెలల్ దున్నునపుడు,

నీ భక్తులనుబట్టి నిందించి, కత్తులఁ

జలమునఁ బడవై చి చంపునపుడు,

గీ॥ ధర్మమార్గంబులెల్లను దలఁగునపుడు

నీదు శౌర్యంబు కాల్పనా ? నేడు వేగ

॥క్రీస్తు॥ 3

సీ॥ జలరాశిఁ జొచ్చిన శౌర్యంబు దప్పెనో ?
 వర్షతంబెత్తిన పటిమ దప్ప,
 ధర నుద్ధరించిన ధైర్యంబు దూలెనో ?
 రక్కసుఁ జీరిన రంహ చెడఁగ,
 బలి మెట్టినట్టి నీ బలమెందుఁ బోయెనో ?
 నృపతులఁ జంపిన కోప మణఁగ,
 రావణుఁ జంపు నీ రాజసం బుడిగెనో ?
 ధరఁ గాంచినట్టి నీ ధర్మ మెడల,

సీ॥ బుద్ధ 2కలికావతారముల్ పూనుటెల్ల
 మాయ మయ్యెన ? క్రీస్తుల మఱచిపోవ ?

॥క్రీస్తు॥ 4

సీ॥ రమతోడఁ 3కూడుండి భ్రమఁ జెందియో క్రీస్తు
 మతజాలఁ బరిమార్చ మఱచుటెల్ల ?
 శేషునిపై నిద్ర జెందిన వేడ్కయో
 గోద్విజసాలనల్ గోరకుంట ?
 క్షీరసాగరమందుఁ జేరిన మురిపమో
 సాధుల కభయంబు చాటుకుఁగి ?
 పది రూపములు దాల్చు బడలిక చేతనో
 వైరుల వధియించు వైశముడిగి ?

సీ॥ ఎందు నున్నావో ? నీ పుట్టుకెంచ, నీదు
 చక్రశర సాధనంబులు మొక్కవడెనో ?

॥క్రీస్తు॥ 5

2. కలికి + అవతారముల్ — అని విభజనము.
3. కూడి + ఉండి — అని విభజనము.

సీ॥ మూఁడుకొయ్యలపైని మురిపెంబు పుట్టెనా ?

గరుడధ్వజంబను ఘనత రోసి,

పాద్రీలపై రక్తిభావంబు పుట్టెనా ?

నంబులపైని మదంబు మాని,

అంగహీనుడవౌట కాపేక్ష గల్గెనా ?

ఘనకోటి మన్ననాకార ముడిగి,

కుమతులపైఁ జాలఁ గూరిమి పుట్టెనా ?

భక్త గణంబుపై రక్తి మాని,

గీ॥ జగములో నిట్టి దుర్మార్గజాడ దిరిగి

వట్టి నిందలఁ గీర్తి పోఁగొట్టుకోకు

॥క్రీస్తు॥ 6

సీ॥ ధరలోనఁ గ్రీస్తులు దైవదూషణఁ జేయ

విని డాగియున్నట్టి వేల్పు లిడుగొ !

సింహాద్రి నరహరి సిరి దప్పియున్నాఁడు;

వేంకటేశున కేల సంకటంబు ?

రంగేంద్రుఁడును బల భంగమైయున్నాఁడు;

వరదరాజుల ప్రజ్ఞ వరదఁ గలిసె!

జగన్నాథుఁడును జాల బుగులందియున్నాడు;

కూర్మనాథుని పేరు గూలిపోయె !

గీ॥ వాసిఁజెడి వీరు మూత్తిపై మీసములును

లేకయున్నారుఁగానవలీల నీవు

॥క్రీస్తు॥ 7

4. గణభంగము. 'జగనాథుడు' అనేడు సామాన్యజన వ్యావహారికోచ్ఛారణము ననుసరించి కవి దీనిని ప్రయోగించినాడు.

5. గాన + అవలీల—అని వదలిభాగము.

- సీ॥ కనకకళ్యపుడు తాఁ గన్న పుత్రకుని హిం
 సించి వే హరిఁ జూపుమంచుఁ బలుక,
 6నుక్కుగంబము వెళ్ళి యుగ నృకేశరి
 రూపముం దాల్చియు, రూఢిగాను
 ప్రళయకాలమునాటి భానునందనుఁ బోలె
 దివిజులు వెఱుగంద ధీరమతిని
 దానవేశ్వరుఁ జీటి, దైత్యులఁ జెండాడి
 ప్రహ్లాదుఁ గావవా ప్రజ్ఞ మెఱసి,
 గీ॥ అట్టి నీ శౌర్యసంపద లెట్టు పోయె ?
 నేఁడు చూపంగరాదొకో నీరజాక్ష !

॥శ్రీస్తు॥ 8

- సీ॥ మానాభిమానముల్ మాసెను భువియందు,
 వర్ణాశ్రమంబుల వరుస చెడెను;
 వావి వర్తన దప్పి వర్తింపు చున్నారు;
 జనులెల్ల నీ భక్తి జాడమాని,
 పరదైవములఁ గొల్చి, పాటి దప్పియుఁ దాము
 ధర్మమార్గంబులు దలఁగఁ ద్రోచి,
 మత్తులై నీ నామ మంత్రంబు దలఁపక,
 నిన్నుఁ బూజింపక నియతి దప్పి,
 గీ॥ ద్రవ్యమందుల నాపేక్షఁ దగిలి చాల
 దుష్టజన బాధలకు డాసి ధూర్తులైరి.

॥శ్రీస్తు॥ 9

6. ప్రతిలో 'సుక్కుస్తంభము పేదలి' — అని గణపంగముగా మన్నుచి.

సీ॥ వసుధలో విప్రులవ ర్తనల్ వినవయ్య !
 పద్మాక్ష ! నీ చెవుల్ పండువుగను,
 ద్రవ్యాభిలాషులై ధరలోన వేదముల్
 కుజనుల కమ్మిరి కూర్చితోడఁ,
 బరభాష నెప్పుడుఁ బఠన చేయుచునుండి,
 జప తప హోమాది జాడమాని,
 భక్తితో నీ నామ భజనఁజేయుట దప్పి,
 నరులఁ గీర్తింపుచు నయము దూలి

సీ॥ కామినీన క్షులై ధర్మక్రమము దప్పి
 బ్రాహ్మలెల్లను భువిలోన భ్రష్టులైరి.

|| క్రీస్తు || 10

సీ॥ ఏన్నని నీతోడ విన్నవించును దేవ !
 విప్రులు చేసెడి విధములన్ని,
 గాయత్రి మొదలుగాఁ గల్గు మంత్రములెల్లఁ
 కిగట్ట గట్టెమ్మిరి పొట్టకొఱకు,
 నీదు సత్కథలపై నిపుణత విడనాడి
 జాతి చదువే తాము జపముచేసి,
 దేవ ! మీ శ్రీపాద దివ్యపూజలు మాని
 దొరల సేవింపంగఁ దొణఁగి రిట్లు;

సీ॥ క్రీస్తు మతజలతోఁ గూడి శాస్త్రములను
 దబ్బిని పల్కెదరు; నీదు దెబ్బఁ జూపి

|| క్రీస్తు || 11

7. ఎన్ని + అని—అని విభజనము.

8. కట్టగట్టి + అమ్మిరి—అని విభజనము. 'గాయత్రి' మొదలుగా గల అమూల్య మంత్రములు లిఖించిన తాళపత్ర గ్రంథములను పొట్టకొఱకై బాగుగా కట్టలు గట్టి విక్రయించిరని తాత్పర్యము.

సీ॥ పద్మాక్ష ! జగదీశ ! పక్షివాహ ! ముకుంద !
 నాగేంద్రశయన ! పున్నాగ వినుత !
 క్షీరపాగర విహార ! శృంగార చారిత్ర !
 మారణోటి సురూప ! మదనజనక !
 మందరోద్ధర ! భక్త మందార ! గోవింద !
 కుండేందు సుందర మందహాస !
 పుండరీకాక్ష ! యాఖండలామరవంద్య !
 కుండలాంచిత చారు గండయుగళ !

గీ॥ కంధి తనయా మనః పద్మకలిత భృంగ !
 నందివాహన వందిత ! నాగపోష !

॥శ్రీస్తు॥ 12

సీ॥ జనపరి పండుగల్ ఘనమయ్యె మది నీకు
 నిత్యోత్సవంబేల నీరజాక్ష ?
 మూడు 10కణ్ణుల ధ్వజము ముచ్చటాయెను నీకు
 గరుడధ్వజంబేల ఘననిభాంగ ?
 ॥శూన్యగృహముల నుండ షోకు పుట్టెను నీకు
 దేవాలయంబేల దేవదేవ ?
 కుమతుల పూజకై కూర్మిబెందెడు నీకు
 మా పూజ లెక్కునె మదనజనక ?

గీ॥ శ్రీస్తుకూటికి నీ విట్టు లాస్తజెంద
 యాగభుక్తంబు నీకేల నాగశయన ?

॥శ్రీస్తు॥ 13

9. 'విహార !' కు మాటుగా 'వాన !' అవి యున్నచో గణము సరిపోవును.
 10. కణ్ణుల జెంద — అవి యున్నచో గణభంగ ముండదు.
 11. 'శూన్య గృహంబుల షోకు పుట్టెను నీకు' — అవి యుండినయెడల చంద్రు
 సరిపోవును.

సీ॥ గుణగణాకర ! నీదు గుణము లెంచెద నిక

పరికించి వినవయ్య పరమపురుష !

శబరి యెంగిలిపండ్లు సంతసంబునఁ దేఁగఁ

దిని మెచ్చినట్టి నీ హీనగుణము;

అల కుచేలుడు నిన్నుఁ దలఁచివచ్చితె, వాని

యటుకులు దిన్నట్టి యల్పగుణము;

బాలుడవై గోపబాలురతోఁ గూడి

పరభామినులఁ గూడు పలుచగుణము;

గీ॥ ఇట్టి గుణములు నీయందు దిట్టముగను

గలిగియుండఁగఁ గ్రీస్తులఁ గలియుటరుదె ?

॥క్రీస్తు॥ 14

సీ॥ నా బ్రతుకుకై గాదు నరసింహ ! నే నిట్లు

ప్రస్తుతించుట నిన్ను భక్తితోడ,

నీ కీర్తి భువీయందు నిల్చుటకే నేను

విన్నవించెదయ్య ! వేద వేద్య !

నీ పేరు ధరలోన నీళ్ళపై వ్రాలాట

కద్దుతాశ్చర్యమై కానఁబడెను;

నా తండ్రి ! నినుఁ గ్రీస్తు మతజులు నిందింపఁ,

గొమరుండ నా కది కొఱత గాదె ?

గీ॥ కాన నాయందుఁ గరుణించి, ఘనత మెఱసి

నిల్చుకొనుమయ్య ! నీ పేరు నీరజాక్ష !

॥క్రీస్తు॥ 15

సీ॥ శత్రులఁ ద్రుంచు నీ చక్రాయుధము నేడు
 12 మొక్కపోయున్నదా మోహనాంగ ?
 ప్రళయభై రవరావ భరితమా శంఖంబు
 పగిలెనో పఱియై పంకజాక్ష ?
 శక్రారులను ద్రుంచు శరచాపములు నేడు
 నడిమికిఁ దునిఁగెనో నాగశయన ?
 వరవైరి నికరభీకరమైన ఖడ్గంబు
 మడుపుఁ జెందెనో నేడు మదనజనక ?

గీ॥ ధర యెఱుంగఁగ నీ గదాదండ మిపుడు
 కాలెనని యూరకున్నావో కమలనాభ ?

॥శ్రీస్తు॥ 16

సీ॥ జాతివారలు గాల్చు 13 జజాయీల దెబ్బకు
 భయము నొందితివేమొ భక్తవరద ?
 రంగై న యట్టి ఫిరంగీల బారుకు
 వణఁకు పుట్టెనో నీకు వారిజాక్ష ?
 వీడమై బర్బు తుపాకీల గుండ్లకు
 వెఱచి యుండితివేమొ వేదవేద్య ?
 లీలమై జెలఁగు పటాలాలు గని పాఠీ
 కొండెక్కి డాఁగితో కోమలాంగ !

గీ॥ ఇంత వడి వాడవౌట మున్నెఱుంగమయ్య !
 సమరభీరుడ వౌట నీ జాడ జెలిసి.

॥శ్రీస్తు॥ 17

12. మొక్కపోయి + ఉన్నదా? — అవి వద విభాగము.

13. గణభంగము. 'జాణాయి దెబ్బకు' — అవి యుండినచో సరిపోవును. జాణాయి = ఒకవిధమైన ఫిరంగి. చూ. ప్రోణ్య తెలుగు - ఇంగ్లీషు విఘంటువు (1980), పుట 474.

సీ॥ తుంబురు నారదాదుల గీతములు నీకు
 నింపొనె ? తంబుర విన్న వెనుక,
 సాధు సజ్జనముల సరసం 14 జేరందు వే ?
 గోహింసకులతోను గోష్ఠి మాని,
 అగ్రజన్ములచేత నర్చనల్ గొందువే ?
 మతభేదకుల పూజ మరగి నీవు,
 భక్తులపై ని ఆసక్తి గల్గునె నీకు ?
 పాద్రీలపై హర్ష భావ ముడిగి,
 గీ॥ ధర్మపదవులు ఇక నేల దలఁతువయ్య ?
 ధరను ధూర్తుల కెల్లను గురుడవైతి.

॥క్రీస్తు॥ 18

సీ॥ శ్రీరమావర ! నారసింహ ! జనార్దన !
 వైకుంఠ ! వామన ! వాసుదేవ !
 నారాయణాచ్యుత ! నగధర ! గోవింద !
 పద్మనాభ ! ముకుంద ! పరమపురుష !
 పద్మాక్ష ! మాధవ ! ఘణిరాజ తల్పగ !
 భవహర ! శుభ్రాంశు భానునేత్ర !
 సర్వజ్ఞ ! సర్వేశ ! సర్వప్రదా ! హరి !
 హరి హర పూజిత ! యాదిదేవ !

గీ॥ నీల నీరద నిభ గాత్ర ! నిగమ వినుత !

భక్తపోషక ! శతకోటి భానుతేజ !

॥క్రీస్తు॥ 19

సీ॥ నరసింహ ! శ్రీ లక్ష్మీనాయక ! నాయందుఁ

గరుణించి, వేగమే కదలివచ్చి

మతభేదకుల నెల్ల మర్ధించి, జగములో

నిశ్చంక చేయుమా సిగముములను;

ధర్మకర్తవు నీవు; ధర్మంబు భువియందుఁ

దొఱఁగుట నీ కది కొఱతగాదె ?

భూభార ముడిపిన పుణ్యమూర్తివి; నీకు

ధూర్తులఁ జంపుట దొడ్డపనియె ?

గీ॥ కానఁ గ్రీస్తులఁ బరిమార్చు ఘనత మెఱసి,

వైరి హరుడవు గద ! నీ కసాధ్య మేది ?

॥శ్రీస్తు॥ 20

సీ॥ అఖిల విద్యలకెల్ల నాధారమైన నీ

నామమంత్రం బెట్ల ననుము మీఱఁ

బతనఁ జేయుచు మహా పాపసంఘంబులఁ

బరిమార్చియున్న నీ భక్తవసుల

దూషింపుచుండెడు ధూర్తజనంబుల

గర్భముల్ చించియు, దుర్భరముగ

వితగా మాంసంబు లింతింతలుగఁ ద్రుంచి,

చించి చెండాడియు, శిరములెల్ల

గీ॥ ధరను భూతంబులకు నెల్లఁ దనివి దీఱ

బలులు వెట్టుము వేవేగ భానుతేజ !

॥శ్రీస్తు॥ 21

సీ॥ క్షీరాబ్ధిశయన ! నా చేతులారఁగ నిన్నుఁ
 బూజింపఁ గల్గెడు పుణ్య మెపుడొ ?
 వెన్నుడ ! నా రెండు కన్నులారఁగ నిన్నుఁ
 గనుఁగొను భాగ్యంబు గలుగు తెపుడొ ?
 భవనరక్షక ! నాదు చెవుల పండువుగ నీ
 వలు కాలకించి నిన్ గొలుచు తెపుడొ ?
 కంబాక్ష ! నా సాపపుంజంబు దెగ నీకు
 సాష్టాంగ మర్పణ సల్పు తెపుడొ ?

సీ॥ నీవు క్రీస్తులఁ బరిమార్చి, నిలిచి నిన్నుఁ
 బ్రస్తుతించెడి దెన్నడో పంకబాక్ష ?

॥క్రీస్తు॥ 22

సీ॥ అండజవాహ ! నీ యండఁజేరిన భక్త
 జనముల రక్షించు జలజనాధ !
 ఆచారవంతులై నట్టి మహాత్ములఁ
 గరుణ నేలము నెమ్మిఁ గమలనేత్ర !
 నీధ్యాన మెప్పుడు నియతిఁ జేసెడువారిఁ
 జేపట్టి రక్షించు చక్రహస్త !
 నీకు దాసుడ నేను; నాకు జన్మము లింక
 నిల లేమిఁ జేయుమీ ! నీలవర్ణ !

సీ॥ కుమతులను ద్రుంచి ధరలోనఁ గూర్చితోడ
 నాకు మోక్షంబు దయసేయు నాగశయన !

॥క్రీస్తు॥ 23

సీ॥ మతములు చెఱుచు దుర్మతజల వేబట్టి
 మోడకుంటివ 15 ప్రహలాదు నాన !
 వేదంబు లమ్మిన విపుల ప్రేవులు
 ద్రెంచకుంటివ లక్ష్మీదేవి యాన !
 నీ భక్తులను జూచి నిందించు దుష్టుల
 చంపకుంటివ నీదు చక్రమాన !
 కుమతుల కోవెలల్ గూల్చి, క్రీస్తులఁ బట్టి
 వధియింపకున్న నా మీడ నాన !

గీ॥ సర్వమును విష్ణుమయమని చాటు వేద
 చయములను నిల్పకున్న నీ శంఖమాన!

॥క్రీస్తు॥ 24

*సీ॥ వసుధలో క్షత్రియ వంశాబ్ధి చంద్రుడౌ
 మకరన సింగను మాన ధనుడు
 అతని పుత్రుడు రమాపతి పూజితుండగు
 ధనసింగు వేరిటి ధన్య చరితుఁ
 డతనికి సూనుండు అబ్ధి గంభీరుడు
 సకల శాస్త్రపురాణ సంగ్రహుండు
 నిత్యదానవినోది సత్యవచస్కుడు
 16 దేవ బాహ్మణ భక్తి భావరతుడు

15. 'ప్రహలాదు'—ఈ స్వరథక్తి (Anaptyxis) రూపము వ్యావహారికోచ్చారణాను
 గుణము.

* కవి, కృతి నామాంకితమైన ఈ చివరి పద్యమున 8 సీస పాదములు, 8 కేటగీతి
 పాదములు నెఱకొనియుండుట విశేషము.

16. 'దేవక్ర'— ఇది వ్యావహారికోచ్చారణానుసారముగ రగణమైనది.

ఆచారవంతుండు నతి దయాపరమూర్తి

లక్షణాసింగను లక్షణాఘ్యం

డతనికి నే హైమవతి దేవి వరమున

జననమొంది తినయ్య! జగతియందు

పేరు గర్గలాలు; ప్రేమతో నెప్పుడు

నీ షాదభక్తియే నిత్యమనుచు

నిరతంబు నేఁ బూని, యిలలోనఁ గ్రీస్తుల

చేత కోర్వక వారి సమయఁజేయఁ

గీ॥ బంచవింశతి ఘనసీస పద్యములను

విన్నవించితి నీకు నే విశదముగను

తప్ప లేమైనఁ గల్గితే యొప్పుకొమ్ము!

తనయు తప్పలు తప్పలే తండ్రులకును ?

నా మొతాలించి భువిని దుర్ణయుల నెల్ల

సాహసంబునఁ గడతేర్చు చక్రహస్త!

॥క్రీస్తు॥ 25

క్రోధివత్సర పుష్కళుద్ద ౯ సోమ్యవారం రోజున్ను నృకింహ్వ పంచవింశతం॥
భవానీంగుకు గర్గలాల్ వ్రాశి యిచ్చెను. శ్రీరాములు.

M. PRABHAKARA RAO

పాదిలెసీమకు చెందిన
అముద్రిత వీరనైవ ద్విపదకృతి
గణపాల చరిత్ర

తాళపత్రప్రతి వివరణ

Ms. No. — 7611 C of S. V. U. Oriental Research Institute.

Title - గణపాల చరిత్ర

Author - [?]

Material - తాళపత్రం

Script - తెలుగు

Size - 38 x 3cm

Folios - 6

Lines - 6 in each page

Letteres in a } 70
line }

Extent - సమగ్రము, 162 ద్విపదలు

Condition - ప్రాత ప్రతియైనను బాగున్నది. వ్రాత అంత చక్కగా లేదు.

చివరియాకు అంచు తునిగిపోయి వున్నది.

Unpublished - అముద్రితము

7611 అను సంఖ్యగల ఈ తాళపత్రప్రతిలో —

1. ప్రభులింగలీల - పిడుప ర్తి సోమన (7611 A)
2. బ్రహ్మోత్తర ఖండము - ప్రాతకోట పుల్లయ కవి (7611 B)
3. నిజలింగ చిక్కయ్య కథ - (యక్షగానము)

రెగళిగె నిమ్మనాఘడు (7611 D)

అను మరీ మూడు గ్రంథములు కలవు ఇది శ్రీ వేంకటేశ్వర విశ్వవిద్యాలయ ప్రాచ్య పరిశోధన సంస్థ పుస్తక భాండాగారమందలి తాళపత్ర ప్రతి.

గణపాల చరిత్ర - ప్రారంభం :

పొదిలె పోలంగ శై లపురములు లేవు - పొదిలె పురంబాది పూర్వంబు వినుము
 పొదిలె త్రిలోకై క పూజ్యమ్ము సుమ్ము - పొదిలె యా కై లాసపురికిని త్రోవ
 కావున ముమ్మాఱు కై లాసమునకు - వేవేగ యరుగుట వినుము తెల్పెదను
 వసుధపై శంకరవర్మాహ్వాయుండు - రసికుండు శివభక్తరాయుఁ డుత్తముండు
 మిక్కిలి శౌర్యుండు మేదురబలుండు - దిక్కు లెన్నిదిగెల్చి తేజంబు మెఱసి
 భూలోక నుతిగాంచి పొదిలెపురంబు - పాలింపుచుండి సాభాగ్య సంపదల
 తనిసి సంతతిలేక తగ విచారింది - తన పత్ని సురుచి కాంతామణియుఁ దాను
 వరుసతో వేవేలు వ్రతములు సలిపి - నిరత మర్భకులకు నెయ్యను బాలు
 శరణ సంతతి కన్నసత్రంబు లిడుచు - హరభక్త సందోహ మడిగిన యట్టి

అంత్యం :

పరమేశుండా గణపాలునిఁ జూచి - ధరణీశ నీవు మా దగ్గర నుండ
 వలెఁగాని యిటనుండ వలదు మా పురికి - చెలువొప్ప రమ్మన్న శివుని వీక్షించి
 బహురత్న నిర్మిత భంధురం బగుచు - మహిమ గాంచుచునుండు మత్పరంబిదియు
 విధించి రాజాలను; వినుము పురారి - కడువేళ్ళు పొదిలె చక్కగను కై లాస

కుధరంబునకు నీవు గొనిపోయి తేని - అధిప యీ క్షణమున నరుదెంతుననిన
 మేలాయెనని పూని మేదిసీతలము - శూలంబునను గుచ్చి సారిది తత్పురము
 నంది వెన్నిడుకొని నాగకంకణుండు - పొందుగా కైలాసపుర వరంబునకు
 చని వేడ్కు గణపాల సార్వభౌమునకు - చనువు మీరగ తన సామీప్యమిచ్చి
 హితవుగా సుఖగోష్ఠి నెల్ల కాలంబు - సతత వైభవముల చరియింపుచుంకె
 నిది విన్న జదివిన నీస్పితార్థములు - సదమల మతులకు సమకూర్చు శివుడు.

మంగళం మహాశ్రీ శ్రీ శ్రీ శ్రీ శ్రీం జేయునూ

గ్రంథవైశిష్ట్యం

గణపాల చరిత్ర, నెల్లూరుజిల్లా (ప్రస్తుతం ప్రకాశం జిల్లా) లోని పొదితె గ్రామానికి సంబంధించినది. ఇది 162 ద్వీపదల్లో వ్రాయబడిన వీరశైవ కథాకావ్యం. ఈ అముకృతి ప్రాచ్య లిఖిత పుస్తక భాండాగారాలైన మద్రాసు, తంజావూరు, కాకినాడ, హైదరాబాదులలో లేకపోవడం విశేషం. ఒక్క తిరుపతి శ్రీ వేంకటేశ్వర విశ్వవిద్యాలయ ప్రాచ్యలిఖిత పుస్తక భాండాగారంలోనే యితర ప్రత్యంతరాలు లేకుండా ఒక్కచే ప్రతి లభింపడం మరి విశేషం.

ఈ అముద్రిత కృతి యంతవరకు కవి పండిత పరిశోధకుల దృష్టికి రాకపోవడం మూలాన కొంత వివరణాత్మక ప్రస్తావన అవసరమౌతోంది.

1. ఈ ద్వీపదకృతి 245 ద్వీపదగ్రంథాలను పరిశీలించి సిద్ధాంతవ్యాసం రచించిన ఆచార్య డా॥ జి. నాగయ్యగారి 'ద్వీపదవాఙ్మయము' (1967) లోను,

2. 18 వ శతాబ్ది వరకుగల 114 ద్వీపద గ్రంథాలను సమీక్షించి ఢిల్లీ విశ్వవిద్యాలయం వారిచే డాక్టరేట్ వట్టా పొందిన డా॥ టి. సుశీలగారి 'ఆంధ్ర ద్వీపద సాహిత్య చరిత్ర'లోను, బొత్తిగా ప్రస్తావించబడలేదు.

3. వీరిద్దరికంటే ముందు ఇదే ప్రాచ్య పరిశోధక సంస్థలలో వహాయాండ్ర పరిశోధకులై 'వీరశైవాలత్ర వాఙ్మయ' మనే గ్రంథం రచించి బంగారుపతకమును బహుమతిగా పొందిన శ్రీ శిష్టా రామకృష్ణ శాస్త్రి గారి దృష్టిలో కూడా ఈ గ్రంథం పడకపోవడం మరింత ఆశ్చర్యకరమైనదే.

దీనికొక కారణం నే విట్లూహిస్తున్నాను. గణపాల చరిత్ర అముకృతి కావడం ఒకటి. 1952 లో శిష్టావారు పైగ్రంథం వ్రాసి ప్రకటింపగా ఆ తర్వాత నాల్గు సంవత్సరాలకు అంటే 1956 లోనే తాళపత్ర ప్రతుల ఆకారాది సూచిక (Alphabetical Index) తిరుమల తిరుపతి దేవస్థానం వారిచే ప్రకటింపబడడం రెండవ హేతువుకాగా ఒకవేళ తమ దృష్టికి వచ్చియుండినప్పటికీ వీరశైవ వాఙ్మయంలోని ప్రధానగ్రంథాల వివరణమే లక్ష్యంగా వుండు కొని ఇది అముకృతి యని త్రోసిపుచ్చి యుండడం మూడవ హేతువు కావచ్చును. పైరెండు సిద్ధాంత గ్రంథాలకు శిష్టావారి గ్రంథం మూలం కావడం వలన 'గణపాల చరిత్ర' విస్మరింప బడడంలో ఔచిత్యం వుందనవచ్చు.

4. ఆధునిక తెలుగు కవుల్లో కీ॥ శే॥ నాయని సుబ్బారావుగారు పొదిలె గ్రామంలో పుట్టి పెరిగినవారు (1899 - 1978). వీరు తమ జన్మభూమి యైన పొదిలె గ్రామాన్ని గురించి, అందలి స్థల విశేషాలను, మాహాత్మ్యాలను వర్ణిస్తూ, స్వానుభవంతో జోడించి, 'జన్మభూమి' అనే గొప్ప కావ్యాన్ని 1960 లో ప్రారంభించి 1970 ముగించారు. ఈ పద్యకావ్యంలో అవతారిక, ప్రకృతిఖండం, తటాకఖండం, ధరణీధర ఖండం, శక్తిఖండం, శివఖండం అని ఐదు ఖండాలున్నాయి.

శ్రీ నాయని సుబ్బారావుగారు పొదిలె పంచాయతీసమితి కరణీకులైన ఎల్లంరాజు వంశస్థుల యింటిలోగల "పొదిలెసీమ దండకవిలె"ను సమగ్రంగా పరిశీలించిన మీదటనే వై కావ్యం రచించారు. నాయని సుబ్బారావుగారి రచనకు ఆధారమైన 'పొదిలెసీమ దండకవిలె'లో 'గణపాలపుర' మనే పేరు పొదిలెకు ద్వారవరయుగంలో వున్నట్లు చెప్పబడింది. ఈ సూచన తావన్మాత్రమే. ఆ పేరెండుకు ఎప్పుడు ఎలా వచ్చిందో కథాత్మకంగా వివరించడం జరగలేదు. కాబట్టి కవిగారు గూడ పై సూచన వలాగే గ్రంథస్థం చేసి పూరుకొన్నారు.

5. నాయని సుబ్బారావు కృతులపై సమగ్ర పరిశీలనచేసి కాకతీయ విశ్వవిద్యాలయం నుండి డాక్టరేట్ డిగ్రీ పొందిన డా॥ అనుమాండ్ల భూమయ్యగారు కూడా, కవి తన కావ్యంలో గణపాలపుర వృత్తాంతం విఫలంగా ప్రస్తావించలేదు కాబట్టి, తాను మరీ లోతుగా దాని విషయం పట్టించుకోలేదు. వారు తమ పరిశోధనలో అముద్రిత గ్రంథాలను కూడా పరిశీలించి వుంటే బాగుండేది. ఈ సిద్ధాంతగ్రంథం 1981 లో ప్రచురింపబడింది. నాయనివారి జన్మభూమి కావ్యం 1973 లో వెలువడింది.

కవి 'పొదిలెసీమ దండకవిలె'నే పరమాధారంగా గ్రహించకుండా స్థానికులైన తన హేతులు, స్నేహితుల వద్ద నుండి కూడా కొన్ని కథల్ని వివి వాటిని గ్రంథస్థం చేశారు. ఆ కథలు చెప్పినవారు కూడా ఈ 'గణపాల చరిత్ర' కథ చెప్పకపోవడం ఆశ్చర్యంగానే

వుంది. కవి కాయకత్తులా సామగ్రిసేకరణ చేసిన పిమ్మటనే కావ్యరచన కువక్రమించి నారవి స్పష్టంగా తెలుస్తూనే వుంది. మరి ద్వాపరయుగంలో పొదిలెకు గణపాలపురమనే పేరున్నట్లు 'గణపాలచరిత్ర' స్పష్టంగా పేర్కొన్నట్లు, గణపాలుని వృత్తాంతం ప్రస్తావించిన బసవపురాణంలో స్పష్టికరించకపోవడం పోవడం వల్ల, ఆయన గణపాలునికి, పొదిలెకు గల సన్నిహితసంబంధాన్ని గుర్తించడానికి వీలుపడలేదు. పరిశోధకునికి యిదే ప్రతిబంధ కమై యుండి యుండవచ్చు. ఎది ఎమైనా ఈ లఘుకృతి విషయం నాయనివారి దృష్టికి వచ్చియుండినవో ఆయన దీనిని తమ కావ్యంలో మరింత రసనమంచితంగా మలచి వుండేవారు.

ఈ సందర్భంలో మరియొక అలభ్య ద్విపదకావ్యాన్ని 'పొదిలెసీమ దండకవిలె' పేర్కొంటోంది. అది పింగళి సూరన రచించిన 'నిర్మమాపురాణ' మనే ద్విపదకావ్యం. ఇది పొదిలెలో వెలసిన నిర్మమేశ్వరుని మహాత్మ్యాన్ని వర్ణించే కావ్యం. ఈ కావ్యాన్ని సూరన, రాయసం కొండ మరుసయ్యకు అంకితం చేశాడని కూడా 'కవిలె' కథనం. ద్విపదనాజ్ఞయ పరిశోధకు లెవరూ, కవి జీవిత చరిత్రకారు లెవరూ ఈ విన్నూత అలభ్య ద్విపదకృతి యొకటి వున్నట్లుగా యింతవరకు పేర్కొనకపోవడం శోచనీయం. పొదిలెసీమలోగాని లేదా ప్రకాశం, నెల్లూరు జిల్లాలోగాని అసూర్యంపక్కగా వుండిపోయిన సూరన ద్విపదకృతి లభ్యమవుతుందని ఆశాధాం!

ఇంతగా కవి, వండిత, పరిశోధకుల కన్నుగప్పి అజ్ఞాతవాసం చేస్తున్న గణపాల చరిత్రలోని విశేషాలు ముచ్చటించు కోవడానికి ముందు 'పొదిలెసీమ దండకవిలె'ను గూర్చి క్లుప్తంగా తెలుసుకొందాం.

పొదిలెసీమ దండకవిలె

'ఇప్పుడు లభ్యమయ్యే 'పొదిలెసీమ దండకవిలె' కా॥ శ॥ 1609 (క్రీ. శ. 1687) వ అంతకుముందు రెండువందల యేండ్లుగా ఉన్న కవిలెను చూచి ఎల్లమరాజు ముద్దప్ప అనే కరణం వ్రాసుకొన్న నకలు. ఈ సీమ కరణీకం పెమ్మయ సింగడిమణి వంశంవారిది. ఈ వంశం నాలుగు కుదుళ్లుగా వ్యాపించింది. అవి ఎల్లంరాజువారు, పోలమరాజువారు, అన్నం రాజువారు, శివరాజువారు. వీళ్ళు సగోత్రీకులు. వీళ్ళకు పురుడు వుణ్యములు కలవు. ఇందులో ఎల్లంరాజు కుటుంబం వారివద్దే యిప్పటికీ దండకవిలె ఉన్నది" అని వ్రాశారు, ఓం ప్రథమంగా 'పొదిలెసీమ దండకవిలె'ను గూర్చి పరివయం వ్రాస్తూ (భారతి, అక్టోబరు, 1926, పుటలు 92 - 95) కీ॥ శే॥ వేమూరి విశ్వనాథశర్మగారు, వారి కాధారమైన దండకవిలె ఆనాడు "యల్లంరాజు మహాలక్ష్మమ్మ వద్ద ఉండినది" అని వారే పేర్కొన్నారు. మూడు పుటలకు

కూడా మించని వారి వ్యాసంలో వారు దండకవిలె ప్రారంభాంతాలు యిస్తు కొన్ని విశేష విషయాలు ప్రస్తావించారు. అప్పటికే విన్మృతమైపోతున్న మన ప్రాచీన స్థలపురాణ చరిత్రను వారు స్థూలంగానైనా జ్ఞాపకం చేశారని చెప్పాలి. వీరు చూచిన 'దండకవిలె' విషయమై నాయని సుబ్బారావుగారు 'జన్మభూమి' ప్రస్తావనలో యిలా చెప్పారు. పొదిలె పంచాయతీ సమితి మాధవరాయనిపాలెము కరణమైన ఎల్లంరాజు వంశస్తుని యింట వై తాటాకు పుస్తకము కలదు. విశ్వనాథకర్మ కూడా ఈ తాటాకు ప్రతినే చూచి 'భారతి'లో వ్యాసం వ్రాశారు. 'పొదిలెసీమ దండకవిలె' ప్రతి ఒకటి చెన్నపురి ప్రాచ్యలిఖిత పుస్తక భాండాగారంలో వున్నట్లు నాయనివారు తమ గ్రంథంలో పేర్కొన్నారుగాని ప్రస్తుత వ్యాసకర్త కది లభించలేదు.

పొదిలె స్థలనామ విచారణ

'జన్మభూమి'కి 'విన్నపం' వ్రాస్తూ నాయని సుబ్బారావు గారిలా అన్నారు. "నేను పట్టి పెరిగిన పొదిలె నెల్లూరు జిల్లాలోవిడి. ఇప్పుడు వంగవోలు జిల్లాలో చేరినది. వంగవోలు కూడ పూర్వము నెల్లూరు జిల్లాలోవిడే. పొదిలె—వంగవోలు, కంభం బాటపై, వంగవోలుకు వడమరగా ముప్పదిమైళ్ళ దూరమున నున్నది."

దీనికి కొంత వివరణ అవసరమనుకుంటాను. 'వంగవోలు'—ఆంగ్లేయుల యుచ్చారణలో ఒంగోలు (Ongole), కాగా ఈ ఒంగోలు—ఆంధ్రకేసరి ప్రకాశం పంతులు పుట్టిన ఊరు కాబట్టి ఆయన కీర్తిశేషులైన తర్వాత నెల్లూరు జిల్లాలో కలిసియుండిన ఒంగోలును పేరు చేసి దానికి 'ప్రకాశం జిల్లా' అని నామకరణం చేసారు—ఆంధ్రప్రదేశ్ ప్రభుత్వం వారు. కాబట్టి 'వంగవోలు జిల్లా' అంటే నేటి 'ప్రకాశం జిల్లా' అని అర్థం. ఈ ప్రకాశం జిల్లాలోనే ప్రస్తుతం పొదిలె చేరివున్నది. ఒంగోలుకు వర్షిమదికగా 30 మైళ్ళదూరంలో "పొదిలె" అనే పంచాయతీ సమితి ఉన్నది. ఇది ఒంగోలు నుండి కంభానికి వెళ్లే దారిలో వస్తుంది.

పొదిలె స్థలనామ విచారణ చేస్తూ దా|| నాయని కృష్ణకుమారిగారు 'జన్మభూమి' పీఠికలో యిలా అంటున్నారు. "మా నాన్నగారి జన్మభూమి పొదిలె చాలా ప్రాచీనమైన ఊరు. దీనికి 'పుళుల' అనే సంస్కృతీకరణ నామం వుంది. కాని 'పొదిలె' ద్రావిడ మూలం కలదిగా కవి విస్తుంది. 'పొదుళ్' అనే ద్రావిడదాతువుకు, పెద్ద, గొప్ప; క్రిక్కిరిసిన, చిక్కని, అభివృద్ధి చెందే అనే అర్థవాయిలు చాలా ఉన్నాయి. ఇందులో ఏ అర్థమైనా స్థలవాచకమైన 'ఇల్' అన్నదానికి విశేషణంగా ఉండవచ్చు. ఈ అభిప్రాయానికి ఉపబలకంగా "తమిళదేశంలో"

1. M. B. Emeneau - The Dravidian Etymological Dictionary
No: 3683, P - 227

'పొదియల్ కొండ' అనే శబ్దం స్థలసూచకమై సంఘసాహిత్యంలో ప్రసక్తమైవుంది. దక్షిణ దేశం మీదికి మారులు దండెత్తిరాగా వారి రథచక్ర మట్టనచే పొదియల్ కొండ నంకులమై ఉన్నట్లుగా ఆక్కడ వర్ణింపబడ్డది. అదే సంఘసాహిత్యంలో మరో చోట 'పొషియల్' యుద్ధ రంగంగా వర్ణితమైంది.¹

'పొదిలె' అనే తెలుగు పదానికి 'పృథుల' అనే సంస్కృతీకరణ నామం వుందని తెలుస్తోంది. దీనినే వాయనివారు జన్మభూమి కావ్యంలో యిలా వ్యాఖ్యానించారు,

'పృథుల'కాశీ సేతు

ప్రథ'యని సూరన్న పద్యబంధములో సం
కథిత మట పొదిలె, మఱియా

'పృథుల'యను పదమ్ము పొదిలెకెటు సంగతమో !

సంస్కృతమ్మునకును సరి తెల్గుసేతయొ

తెల్గునకును సంస్కృతీకరణమొ

కన్ననేల యెట్లు కాంచనమ్మో, 'పొదిలె'

యైననేమి ? 'పృథుల' యైననేమి ?

కాని, కవి తన అభిప్రాయంలో 'పొషిలెయమ్మ పేరటనది పొదిలె' అయిందన్నారు. పొషిలెయమ్మ పొషిలె గ్రామదేవతగా వెలసిన శక్తికి పేరు.

నాల్గయుగాలలో నాలుగు పేర్లు :

దండకవిలెలో పొదిలె ప్రాచీనతను గూర్చి చెబుతూ, ఇది కృత, త్రేతా, ద్వాపరయుగాలలో వరుసగా శివపురి, గణపాలపురం, హలాయుధపురం అని పిలువబడిందనీ కలియుగంలో పొదిలె అనే నామాన్ని వహించిందనీ వ్రాయబడింది. ఈ విషయాన్నే గ్రహించిన నాయని సుబ్బారావుగారు కూడా యిలా వ్రాస్తున్నారు.

తే॥ ౧॥ తొలియుగమ్మున శివపురి, మలియుగమ్ము
నందు గణపాలపురము, మూడవయుగమ్ము
నను హలాయుధ పురమయి తనరెనెద్ది
కలియుగమ్మున పొదిలెయై క్రాలునెద్ది.²

1. Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Iyyengar - Ancient India and South Indian History and culture, Vol I

2. జన్మభూమి—తటాకథండం, పద్యం - 3

కృతయుగంలో శివపురి :

'శివపురి' అనే పేరు ఏర్పడడానికి గల కారణాలను కవితెగాని, కావ్యంగాని ప్రస్తావించలేదు. కాని కృతయుగం నుండి శివరాధనకు ప్రాధాన్యమున్న క్షేత్రంగా దానికి 'శివపురి' అన్న పేరు వచ్చియుండవచ్చునని నా యాహా. శక్తిఖండములో కవి పొదిలెమ్మ కథ చెబుతూ జంగమ రూపంలో వచ్చిన శివుని ముఖతః యిలా చెప్పించాడు.

మ॥ అవలోకింపు తమోవఘాత హృదయ వ్యాపార మేపార వై
ష్ణవముల్ రాద్రములైన యప్పరమ తేజశ్చక్ర లీలా విలా
స వికాశములు నిన్వరించె నిక నిచ్చా శక్తిమై నీ మహా
భవకర్తవ్యము పూను మీ శివపురి భాగ్యమ్మ శేషమ్మగన్
—పద్యం. 35

శైవక్షేత్రం కావడం మూలాన 'శివపురి' యని కృతయుగంలో పొదిలెమ్మ పేరని నిశ్చయింపవచ్చును.¹

శ్రేతాయుగంలో గణపాలపురం :

గణపాలపుర మనే పేరు ఎలా ఏర్పడిందో కవితెగానీ, కావ్యంగానీ వివరించలేదు. ప్రస్తుతం మనకు లభించిన 'గణపాల చరిత్ర' ఈ నామధేయానికి గల హేతువును పరిష్కరిస్తోంది. గణపాలుడనే రాజు పొదిలెమ్మ శ్రేతాయుగంలో పరిపాలించడం మూలాన దానికి గణపాలపురమనే పేరు వచ్చింది. ఈ గణపాలుడు అసంఖ్యాక ప్రమథగణాల అంశలన్నీ రాశిభూతంకాగా అవతరించిన మహాశివభక్తుడు. ఈయన చరిత్రను మున్ముందు వివరిస్తాను. గణపాలుని కథ పాల్కురికి సోమన ద్వీపదబసవపురాణంలోను, విడువర్తి సోమన పద్య దసవపురాణంలోనూ వున్నాయి. వాటిని మున్ముందు వివరించగలను.

హళాయుధపురంలో హళాయుధపురం :

హళాయుధపురం అనే పేరు కలగడానికి గల కారణాలు కవితెగానీ, కావ్యంగానీ ప్రస్తావించడం లేదు. హళాయుధుడు ఒకరాజు. శివభక్తుడు. ఈ హళాయుధుని కథ విస్తృత

1. దీనికి ఉపబలకంగా శివఖండంలోని కథలో - సుంకరచెన్నబసవమ్మకు పొదిలెమ్మ ఛాత్రీవతి తెలుగురాయడిచ్చిన సుంకర చెన్నాగ్రహారావికామె 'శివపుర'మని శివభక్తురాలు కాబట్టి ఆ పేరు పెట్టుకొంది. (148-49 పద్యాలు) ఈ నామకరణం అతి ప్రాచీనకాలం నుండి 'శివపురి' అనే పేరుకుగల ప్రాధాన్యం తెలుపుతోంది.

తంగా పొల్కురికి సోమన బసవపురాణంలో 136 ద్విపదల్లో చెప్పబడింది. వండితారాధ్య చరిత్రము (డిజ్ ప్రకరణము-115) లో—

“నాయతప్రీతి హలాయుధంబున హ

లా యుధప్రియుఁ ద్రిశరాలాయుధు బొగడు.”

అని యున్నది. బసవపురాణంలో సిరియాలడు తనకంటే గొప్ప శివభక్తుడున్నాడా అని శివుని ప్రశ్నించినప్పుడు శివుడు సిరియాలని చేయిపట్టుకొని హలాయుధుడున్న పురానికి వచ్చి నట్లుంది. ఆ పురం పేరేమిటో సోమనాథుడు చెప్పలేదు. అది ‘హలాయుధపుర’మనే పేరు గల ‘పొదిలెసీమ’ అని ‘కవితె’ ఆధారంగా మనం విశ్వయింపవచ్చు. సుప్రసిద్ధమైన ‘హలాయుధస్తవము’¹ యీతనిదే. కీ॥ శే॥ వేటూరి ప్రభాకరశాస్త్రిగారు బసవపురాణ పీఠిక (1926)లో హలాయుధునిగూర్చి వ్రాస్తూ “ఈతఁడు చిఱుతొండనికి నమకాలమువాడని కలదు. చిఱుతొండఁడు శ్రీ. శ. 630 వాడని గుర్తించితిమిగాన యీతఁడు నాకాలము వాఁడగును. హలాయుధస్తవమని యీతఁడు రచించిన శివస్తవము (వంచస్తవిలో నొకటి) కలదు. హలాయుధ విఘంటు వీతని దగునోకాదో?” అని సందేహించినారు. (వేటూరివారి పీఠికలు—పుట 202) (1985) ‘శివవంచస్తవి’ ‘పీఠిక’లో వీరభద్రకర్మగారిలా వ్రాసి యున్నారు. “హలాయుధుడు సంస్కృతసాహిత్యమున ప్రసిద్ధుడు. అభిధానరత్నమాల, కవి రహస్యము, మృత సంజీవిని ఋన్నగు నుత్తమ గ్రంథములను విరచించెను. ఈతని జన్మ భూమి వంగదేశమందలి దక్షిణరాష్ట్ర మండలములోని నవగ్రామము. ఆధునిక విభాగము ననుసరించి ముస్లింజిల్లా ఖుర్నుత్ పరగణాలో చేరినది. కొంతకాలము తర్వాత నితడు వంగదేశ మును వదలి దక్షిణదేశమందలి (నిజాంస్టేట్) మాన్యభేటము (మల్ఖేడు)ను ఆస్పరు పరి పాలించుచున్న రాష్ట్రకూట రాజు కృష్ణుని నాస్థానము వాక్రయించి సన్మానము నందినాడు.

1. శివవంచస్తవి - ('భక్తరంజిని' వ్యాఖ్యాకర్త) వండిత చిదిరెమతము వీరభద్రకర్మ గారు. ఇందులో—పుష్పదంతుని మహిమ్నస్తవము, మల్లణకవి మల్లణస్తవము, మలయ రాజకవికృత మలయరాజస్తవము, దండికవికృత ఆనామయస్తవము, హలాయుధ కవికృత హలాయుధస్తవము గలవు. హలాయుధస్తవాన్ని తెలుగు పద్యాల్లో శృంగార కవి వేంకటరామయ్యగారు అనువదించారు. పైస్తవముల కన్నిటికీ ఈ గ్రంథములో ఆంధ్రానువాదమున్నది. ప్రకాశకులు—శివధర్మ గ్రంథమాల (11 వ ఖిల్వము) శ్రీ మఠిత నాగయ్య ధర్మనిలయము, సికిందరాబాద్ (1943))

ఈ హాలాయుధ స్తోత్రము యొక్క 64వ శ్లోకమందలి 'నవగ్రామ వివిర్గతః' అను విశేషణము వలన విట్టి యభిప్రాయమే వ్యక్తమగుచున్నది. ఈతవి కవిరహస్య గ్రంథాంతమున —

ఇతి నమాస్త మవాస్త గుణోదయం, కవి రహస్యమిదం రసిక ప్రియం।
 సదభిదాన విదాన హాలాయుధ, ద్విజవరస్య కృతి స్సుకృతాత్మనః॥

ఆనుటవలన 'అభిదానరత్నమాల' నీతడే వ్రాసెనని స్పష్టమగుచున్నది. 'మహిమ్నుస్తవము' 'హాలాయుధస్తవము' ఓంకార క్షేత్రపు అనురేశ్వరమందిరమున శిలాశాసనముగా చెక్కబడి యున్నది.*

కలియుగంలో పొదిలె :

'పొదిలె' యన్న పేరును మాత్రం కవి మూడు పద్యాల్లో వికర్షించినాడు. సంస్కృతీకరణమైన 'వృథుల'ను గూర్చి విచారిస్తూ 'కన్ననేల యెట్లు కాంచనమై పొదిలెయైన నేమి? వృథుల యైననేమి?' అని త్రోసిపుచ్చి—

తే॥ ౧॥ కలియుగాదిని నిమ్మవ్వ గరుణనేలు
 భవు జటాజూట నిర్గత భవ్యశక్తి
 పొదిలెయమ్మ పేరట నది పొదలెనంట
 పొదిలె ముందొ ముందొ లేక పొదిలియమ్మ

—తటాకఖండం - పద్యం-4

'పొదిలెయమ్మ' లేదా 'పొదిలెమ్మ' గ్రామదేవతగా వెలసిన శక్తికి పేరు. కలియుగారంభంలో నిమ్మవ్వ అనే శివభక్తురాలిని కరుణించిన శివుడే జంగమరూపధారియై పొదిలెమ్మకూ మోక్షమిచ్చాడు. కాబట్టి 'పొదిలె' అనే పేరు ఏర్పడిందని కాని పొదిలె అనే పేరు వచ్చిన తర్వాత ఈ కథ జరిగిందో లేక కథ జరిగిన తర్వాతనే ఆ పేరు ఏర్పడిందో చెప్పలేము అంటున్నాడు కవి. కాని సామాన్యంగా గ్రామశక్తులైన దేవతలపేర్లన్నీ ఆ వృత్తాంతం జరిగిన ఏమ్మటనే ఏర్పడతాయన్నది జానపదగాదలే విరూపిస్తున్నాయి.

నిమ్మవ్వ కథ మనకేమీ క్రొత్తదేమీ కాదు. ఈ కథ పాల్కురికి సోమన బసవ పురాణంలోనూ, పండితారాధ్య చరిత్రలోనూ వున్నాయి. నాయని కవి, నిమ్మవ్వ కథను శివ భక్తంలో 72 పద్యాలలో హృద్యంగా వర్ణించారు. పొదిలెలో వెలసిన శ్రీ విర్మమేశ్వరస్వామి భక్తురాలు కావుననే ఆమెకు 'నిమ్మవ్వ' అనే పేరు వచ్చింది.

* 1. Halayudha stotra from the Amareswara Temple—

Ed., P. P, Subrahmanya Sastri E.I., Vol XXV, 1939, pp. 173-182

2. A Note on the Halayudha stotra in the Amareswara Temple

—N. P, Chakravarti E.I., Vol XXV 1939, pp. 183—184,

ఇక పొదిలెమ్మ కథను నాయనికవి శక్తిఖండంలో 70 పద్యాలలో రసోత్కృష్టంగా వర్ణించాడు.

తే|| గీ|| పొదిలె జనముల చిరతపః పుణ్యమెల్ల
పండి ప్రాదుర్భవించిన భవ్యరూప
మామెయే పొదిలెమ్మ భవాన్ని కుండ
తప్త జీవ సమాశ్వాస ధన్యశక్తి !

తే|| గీ|| నిర్భ్రుణా కఠోరము దైవనిర్ణయమున
కట్లు తలయొగ్గు ధర్మదీక్షాచలాత్మ
ఆమెయే పొదిలెమ్మ తద్ద్రామము పయి
నీగయును వాలకుండ రక్షించు తల్లి !¹

దీన్ని బట్టి కృత, త్రేతా, ద్వాపర యుగాల్లో శివశీత్రంగా వున్న పొదిలె కలియుగంలో శక్తిశీత్రంగా మారిందని తెలుస్తోంది. గ్రామదేవతలందరూ శక్తిస్వరూపిణులే కదా !

వీరశైవ వాఙ్మయం - గణపాలుని కథ

పాల్కురికి సోమనాథుని బసవపురాణంలో చతుర్థాశ్వాసంలో 16 ద్విపదల్లో గణపాలుని కథ వర్ణింపబడినది. ఇందులో వతని పుట్టు పూర్వోత్తరాలేవీ చెప్పబడలేదు.

“భవి నొక్కరునిఁ దన భవి నుండసీక శివసహితృలఁజేయు

.....

.....శివుని లింగ సహితృఁజేసి లీలమైఁబ్రమథ

గణవంద్యు సద్భక్తిగతిఁ జూపి ప్రమథ గణమూ ర్తియైయున్న గణ
పాలుబంటు.”

1. జన్మభూమి - శక్తిఖండము 70, 71 పద్యాలు

శివభక్తులు తావివారిని ఒక్కరినీ తన రాజ్యంలో నుండనీయక వారిని లింగధారులుగా చేయు ప్రథముగలవాడు గణపాచుడు. ఎదుటివాడు ఒప్పుకోకపోతే వేవార్థాలు వివరించి చెప్పి ఒప్పించేవాడు. కాదని వాదిస్తే ధనం ఎంతకావాలంటే అంత యిచ్చి శివభక్తుణ్ణి చేసేవాడు. ఏ ఉపాయంచేత కూడా లొంగకుండా వాడు శివభక్తుడు కాకుండా పోతే, వాణ్ణి చంపడమే వియమంగా, ఒక ప్రతంగా కలిగి ప్రవర్తించే గణపాచుణ్ణి, శివుడే ఒకసారి అతని ప్రతిజ్ఞలోని లోతు పరీక్షించడానికి వచ్చాడు. వెలమకులం వాడుగా వచ్చిన, శివుడు రాజదర్శనార్థం వచ్చినవాడు ఏదో కాషుకో కట్టుమో తీసుకోచ్చే ఆచారం వుంది కాబట్టి తనవద్ద ఒక్క కాసుకూడా లేదని చెప్పి “రాజా! నీ రాజ్యంలో సుంకాలు చెల్లించాలని క్రొత్తచట్టం ప్రవేశపెట్టావు. అది చెల్లించితే ఇక మిగిలేదేమీ లేదు. వెట్టివాకిరీ ఎంతైనా చేస్తాను నన్నెందుకు తొందరపెడుతావు” అని మొరపెట్టుకొంటాడు. ఆప్పుడు రాజు గణపాచుడు, “వాకిట్లో కావలివాళ్ళ కన్నుగప్పి ఎలా లోపలికి ప్రవేశించావు? నరే, వచ్చేదెలాగో వచ్చావు. సర్వమాన్యమూ నీకు బహుమానంగా యిస్తాను. ఈశ్వరుని భక్తునిగా వుండుమని” చెబుతాడు. ఆప్పుడా వెలమ, తన వంశంలో యిలాంటి లింగధారులైన భక్తులు లేరు, పొమ్మంటాడు. ఆప్పుడు గణపాచుడు, ధనమేకాదు తనరాజ్యం కూడా యిస్తానని చెప్పినా, వాడు ఒప్పుకోకపోవడంతో కోపోద్రిక్తుడై ఖడ్గాన్ని పెరికి వాడి కంఠం నరికి వేయటోగా వెంటనే శివుడు ప్రత్యక్షమై వరం అడుగుచునగా, గణపాచుడు “నీ వరాలేమీ నాకు వద్దు. భక్తుడవు కమ్ము. రమ్మని శివుణ్ణి ప్రాణలింగ సహితుణ్ణి చేస్తాడు. అటువంటి ప్రథమ గణపండుని సద్భక్తి గలవానిని ప్రమథ గణమూర్తియై వెలసిన గణపాచునికి బంటు నేను” అంటాడు పాల్కురికి సోమనాథుడు.

పిడువర్తి సోమనాథుని పద్య బసవపురాణం పాల్కురికి ద్వీపద బసవపురాణానికి యథాతథంగా పద్యరూపాంతరీకరణమే కాబట్టి కథాభేదం ఏ మాత్రమూ లేదు.

సీ॥ భవి నొక్కరుని దన భవి నుండనీయక
 శివలింగ ధారులఁ జేయు దాని

తే॥ గీ॥ యర్థి బ్రత్యక్షమైవరం బడుగు మనిన
 వరద నీ యిచ్చు వరములు వలదునాకు
 భక్తుడవు గమ్ము రమ్మని భర్గుఁ బ్రాణ
 లింగుఁజేసిన గణపాలులెంక లెంక

ప్రస్తుత తాళపత్రప్రతి - గణపాల చరిత్ర

పాఠశాలకు బసవపురాణంలో 16 ద్విపదల్లోనూ, పిడుపర్తి బసవపురాణంలో 4 పద్యాల లోను చెప్పబడిన వృత్తాంతం ప్రస్తుతం పరిశీలించబడుతున్న గణపాల చరిత్ర అనే తాళపత్ర ప్రతిలో 162 ద్విపదల్లో వర్ణించబడింది. ఇది మూడు తాళపత్రాల్లో రెండు వైపులా వ్రాయబడింది. వ్రాత అంత బాగుగా లేదు. అక్కడక్కడ శైధిల్యాలు, గ్రంథపాఠాలు వున్నాయి.

కథా సంగ్రహం

పొదిలె సీమను పోలిన కొండలుగల వట్టజం మరెక్కడా లేదు. పొదిలెమొక్క పుట్టు పూర్వోత్తరాలు విను. పొదిలె విజంగా త్రిలోకైక పూజ్యమైనది. పొదిలె ఆ కైలాసపురికి రావబాట. కాబట్టి మూడుసార్లు కైలాసానికి పోవడంలోగల కారణాన్ని చెబుతున్నాను విను.

శంకరవర్మ అనే ఉత్తముడైన శివభక్తు డొకడు దిక్కులన్నిటిని జయించి పొదిలె పురాన్ని పరిపాలిస్తున్నాడు. సౌభాగ్య సంపదలైతే వున్నాయిగాని సంతతిలేదు రాజుకు. ఆయన ధర్మపత్ని సురుచితో కూడా ఎవ్వోవ్రతాలు చేసి, నోములుకోచి, అన్నసత్రాలు కట్టించి, శివభక్తులకు దానధర్మాలు చేసి సమారాధనలు చేశాడు. ఒకనాడు ఆ రాజు విద్రించు చుండగా కలలో అసంఖ్యాకమైన శివగణాలు ప్రత్యక్షమై “ఓ రాజా! మా అంశలన్నీ కలసిన ఒకకుమారుడు నీకు జన్మిస్తాడు”. అని చెప్పగనే రాజు, మేల్కొంచి రాణికి కుభవార్త చెప్పాడు. ఆమె తన్మయురాలై యుండగా అసంఖ్యాకగణావళి అంశలన్నీ ఒక్కరూపమై ఆమె గర్భంలో ప్రవేశించినవి.

సవమాసాలు మోసినపిమ్మట ఆమె ఒక మగశిశువును ప్రసవించినది. ఆ శిశువుకు పుట్టుకతో కంఠమున లింగముండుట చూచి పురజను లందరు ఆశ్చర్యపడ్డారు. రాజు శిశువుకు శాతకర్మాదులన్నీ చేయించి “గణముల వరలల్లి కలితుఁడు గాన గణపాలుఁడని” నామ కరణం చేస్తాడు. విచిత్ర మేమంటే శిశువు జన్మించి ఇరవై రోజులైనప్పటికీ ఉగ్గు తాగడు, ఇతరుల్ని చూడడు. శారీరకశక్తి ఏమాత్రం తగ్గలేదు సరికదా, బాబుడు సూర్యునివలె ప్రకాశిస్తున్నాడు. ఇదేమి చోద్యమని రాజు, రాణి కలవరపడుచుండగా పార్వతీ ప్రాణవల్లభుడు ఒక తపస్విగా వచ్చి రాజుతో యిట్లంటాడు. “ఓ రాజా! నీ కనుమానమెందుకు? నీ జన్మ సఫలమైంది. నీకు భువన పూజ్యుడే కల్లాడు. ఇతడు కేవల మర్దుడు కాడు. కన్నులు తెరవకపోవడంలో ఆర్థమేమి? అతడు భవులను కంటితో చూడడానికి యిష్టపడడు. ఉగ్గుపాతెందుకు తాగలేదంటే ప్రాణ లింగార్పణమే అతడు స్వీకరిస్తాడు. కాబట్టి ఉగ్గు లింగమున

కర్పించి మీ విద్వంసం కివ్వండి. అతడు కళ్ళతెరచి దాని నారగిస్తాడు. అని చెప్పి అంతర్ధానం కాగా రాజు చాలా సంతోషించి అప్పటినుండి సర్వమూ ప్రాణలింగార్పణ బుద్ధితో చేస్తూ ఉగ్ర మొదట లింగమున కర్పించి విద్వంసం కివ్వబోగా గరళాన్ని మ్రింగిన కాలకంఠరుడికి స్పృహ వచ్చి చూచినట్లుగా విద్వంసం గటగటమని పాలు త్రాగి కళ్ళు తెరచి చూచాడు. భువిపై పుష్ప వృష్టికురిసింది. సురదుండుభులు మ్రోశాయి.

ఈ విధంగా దినదిన ప్రవర్థమానుడైన శిశువుకు రాజు పట్టము కట్టాడు. అప్పటినుండి గణపాలుడు మనమహావ్రతమైనాడు. భవులను నన్నుతింపని వ్రతము, భవిమోము చూడని వ్రతము, భవుని పిల్వని వ్రతము, భవులు త్రొక్కిన భూమిపై తోని వ్రతము, యిలా అనేక వ్రతాలను అనుష్ఠింప సాగాడు.

ఇలా, గణపాలుడు మహాశివదీక్షావ్రతనిష్ఠుడైవున్న విషయాన్ని నారదుడు కైలాసానికి పోయి చెప్పగా, వివి, శివుడు ప్రమథ లోకమునుండి దిగవచ్చి వైష్ణవ నామాలు తీర్చుకొన్న మునలవాడుగా పుక్కిటినిండా తాంబూలము సేవిస్తూ, తలకొక పెద్దపాగా చుట్టుకొని, అట్టకట్టిన గడ్డముతో, చూపరులకు ఒక రైతువలె కనబడుతూ నిండు కొలువుతీర్చివున్న రాజు ఎదుటగా ఎలావచ్చాడో ఎవరికీ తెలియకుండా వచ్చి నిలిచాడు.

“ఓయీ! వీరమాహేశ్వరా! నన్ను భీమరేడంటారు. నాతోటి రెడ్లందరూ నన్నొక పెద్దకాపుగా పరిగణిస్తారు. నేను ఎన్నో రకాలైన సుంకాలు, పన్నులు కట్టలేదని రెడ్డి విద్వంసం నన్ను లెక్క చేయకుండా కొలువు దీర్చినారు. నాకు కోపం వచ్చి వాళ్ళు యిళ్ళు కూల్చి అడ్డం వచ్చినవారి నందరినీ చంపాను. వాళ్ళు నా ఆస్తిపాస్తుల్ని ద్వంసం చేశారు. నాకిప్పుడు తినడానికి తిండిలేదు. కూలికి తట్టలుమోసి తల బట్టకట్టింది. ఇంటింట్లో భిక్షమడిగి పొట్ట పోసుకొంటున్నాను. కంటినిండా నిద్దురకూడ లేదు. కొండపైన ఒక గుడిపె కట్టుకొన్నాను. ఎందుకంటావా? నాకొక పుత్రుడున్నాడు. వాడికి నా వయసుకావస్తోంది. ఇంకా పెండ్లి కాలేదు. వాడొక్కడే కాదు. ఇంకొకడూ వున్నాడనుకో. వాడు దేశాలు వట్టిపోయాడు. ఇలా దీనత్వంతో దిక్కు మొక్కులేక నేను గడ్డురోజులు గడుపుతుంటే ఓ రాజా! మీ ముద్రా కర్తలు నన్ను బలవంతంగా పట్టుకొన్నారు. మీ ఆజ్ఞవుందో లేదో నాకు తెలియదుగాని నడివీధిలో నన్ను పట్టుకొని వద్దన్నా విడువకుండా మెడకు లింగం కడుతున్నారు. నాకి గొడవ లేమీ తెలియవు. ఆ రాజపురుషుల అగ్రహానికి తట్టుకోలేక నేనిలా వచ్చాను. ఊరికే మెడకో రాయికట్టి మోయించే పాపం ఏ సీమలోనైనా వుందా? ఇష్టంలేని వాళ్ళ నిలా కన్న పెట్టడంవల్ల లాభమేమైనా వుందా? ఇందులో నీకు ఒరిగేదేముంది? కాగం రాజపు,

గతులు తప్పవద్దు. నేను లింగధారిని కాకున్నంత మాత్రాన నీకేమి కొరత? అని పక్కాగా రాజిట్లంటాడు.

“వినవోయి రెడ్డి! నీకుమాత్రం ఈ వెళ్లి ఎందుకు చెప్పు? ఇందులో మోవం ఏముంది? నీవు లింగవంతుడవైతే నీకు కావలసినంత మడిమాన్యాలు యిస్తాను. కాదంటే ఒక గ్రామమే యిస్తాను. అదీ కాదంటే నేనేలే రాజ్యంలో నగమిస్తాను. చాలదంటే పూర్తిగా రాజ్యమే యిచ్చి నిన్ను కొలుస్తాను. వద్దనకుండా యిప్పుడు లింగం కట్టుకో. హాయిగా బతుకుతావు” అని గణపాలాడు పక్కాగా ఆ కపట వేషధారియైన ముడుకడిట్లంటాడు.

“చాలా బాగుందయ్యా! రాజా! ఒక ఉపాయాన్ని చేతిలో పెట్టుకొని మనుజుల్ని పరిపాలిస్తున్నావు. మనవి చేసుకోవోతే మరింతగా వచ్చి తగిలించన్న సామెత నీ పట్ల సార్థకమైపోయింది. మా వంశంలో మా తాత, తండ్రులెవరూ ఎలాంటి కష్టాలూ ఎరగరు. దిక్కెవరూ లేకుండా నే నొక్కడనే మిగిలిపోయాను. దేవరా! ఎండకూ మా పాదాలకూ ఎడతెగని లంకె. పైగా, తలయేరు అడ్డుపడడంవల్ల నే నెక్కడికీ వెళ్ళలేక ఈ సీమలోనే నిలచిపోయాను. అలాంటిది నా మెడకో రాయికట్టితే నిన్ను మెచ్చుకుంటారా? బతికివుంటే బలుసాకు తినవచ్చుగాని కలలోకూడా లింగధారణకు ఒప్పుకోను” అనగా రాజిట్లంటాడు.

“నేను లింగధారులైన వారినే చూస్తానుగాని యితరులను చూడనొల్లను. ఇది నా వ్రతము దైవగతి ఏమో తెలియదు. నేను నిన్ను చూడటం జరిగింది. కాబట్టి నీవు లింగధారణ చేసితీరవలసిందే. లేకుంటే నిన్ను చంపి నేను చనిపోతాను. అంతదాకా రావివ్వమలే. నీవు కాళికాలింగాన్ని కట్టుకో. కట్టుకొన్న వెంటనే నీకు పట్టాభిషేకం చేస్తాను, మారు మాటాడకు. మా యన్నవుగదా! ఇందులో దోషమేమీలేదు. సరికదా, భాగ్యకాలివోతావు. ఆకాలమరణం పొందవు. రెడ్డి! నీకింత భయమెందుకు? నీ ప్రాణాలకు నా ప్రాణం అడ్డు. నిన్ను చంపలేక మనవి చేసుకొంటున్నాను. మూర్ఖవాదం కట్టిపెట్టు” అని విన యొక్తులు పలికే రాజతో ఆ ముడుకడు —

“ఓ అయ్యా! వద్దు మొట్టో అంటే లింగాన్ని మెడకు కట్టే నిన్ను ఏమనాలి? కొందరికి పొమ్మిస్తావు. మరికొందరికి దగ్గర దండగలు తీస్తావు. ఈ విధంగా నీవు లింగాన్ని తెచ్చి కట్టుకొమ్మని బెదిరింపడం బాగాలేదు. వేదసాదలకు నీ సీమలో నిలవడం కష్టమైపోయింది. నన్ను యిమ్మని అడిగితే ఒక గొడ్డో గోదో యిస్తాను. పొమ్మంటే ఊరు వదలి లేచిపోతాను కాని లింగాన్ని కట్టుకోవడానికి మాత్రం ఒప్పుకోను. కట్టావో అచ్చితంగా యిక్కడే వీముందే చస్తాను. నన్ను రక్షించండి” అని యిలువేల్పును ప్రార్థించడం మొదలుపెట్టిన ఆ హాళికుడెవరో

తెలుసుకోలేక మహాదీరుడై రాజు, లింగాభిషేకం చేసి, జుగాలకు మ్రొక్కి, ఖడ్గాన్ని పెరకగా భూనభోంతరాళాలు దద్దరిల్లాయి. విశితఖడ్గాన్ని యుశిపించి నరకబోయిన రాజుకు నందివాహనా రూఢుడై వేవేల ప్రమథుల వేడ్కతో గొలువగా, జాబిల్లి పువ్వు ధరించి చేత త్రికూలాన్ని పట్టుకొన్న పాలలోచనుడు ప్రత్యక్షమయ్యాడు.

అప్పుడు కూడా రాజు పట్టవదలక, 'ఎలాగూ వచ్చావుకదయ్యా! మళ్ళీ వెళ్ళడం దేనికి? మరోమాట లేకుండా లింగాన్ని కట్టుకో! కట్టుకోకపోతే నిన్ను మరలి పోనీయను. పట్టిన వ్రతాన్ని తప్పలేదు నేను" అని పక్కే గణపాలని భక్తికి మెచ్చి శివుడు—

కరుణ దలిర్ప లింగముగట్టునాకు - గురుడవు దీక్షుగైకొందు నీ చాత
గరిమె నే ననుడు భూకాంతుడీశునకు - హరి యజాదులకు దొరయైవెల్లు నట్టి
ప్రమథవల్ల భునకు సార్వతీపతికి - రమణీయ లింగధారణంబు గావించె.

శివభక్తుడైన గణపాలనిచేత లింగాన్ని పొంది గణాలకు పతియైన శివుడు, కన్నప్ప చేత కన్ను పొందినంతగా అనందించాడు. సర్వజ్ఞుడైన శివుడు భక్తుల ననుగ్రహించే తీరును భక్తతతి వినుతించుచుండగా పరమేశ్వరుడు గణపాలని చూచి, "రాజా! నీవు మా సామీప్యంలో వుండవలసినవాడవుగాని యిక్కడ నుండవలసినవాడవుకావు కాబట్టి మా పురానికి రమ్మనగా గణపాలాడు, "పురాణీ! బహురత్న నిర్మిత బంధురమై మహిమోపేతమైన మత్పురాన్ని విడిచి రాజాలను, పొదితె పురమంతటివీ చక్కగా కైలాస కుధరానికి నీవు తీసుకొని పోగలిగితే ఈ క్షణమే నీ వెంట వస్తాను. అనగా మేలు మేలని మెచ్చి శివుడు పొదితె మేదినికలాన్నంతటివీ శూలతో గుచ్చి నంది వీపుపై పెట్టుకొని కైలాసానికి తరలినెళ్ళాడు. అక్కడ గణపాలసార్వభౌమునకు చనవుతో తన సామీప్యమును గ్రహించాడు. ఇది విన్న చదివిన వీప్సిత్వములు నదమల మతులకు శివుడు సమకూర్చు తాడు. అని కావ్యం మంగళాంత మయింది.

కవి ఎవరు ?

ఇంతకూ గణపాలచరిత్ర కర్త ఎవరో తెలియడంలేదు. పొదితె నీమకు గణపాల పురమని త్రేతాయుగంలో పేరున్నదని, అది కైవక్షేత్రమని తెలిసిన ఎవరో కవివర్యుడు 'దండకవిలే' లోనూ, అంతకుముందే గల పాల్కురికి బసవపురాణంలోను గల గణపాల చరిత్రకూ లంకెవేసి ఈ కృతిని వ్యస్తంగా పెంపుచేసి రచించి వుండవచ్చునని తోస్తోంది. బసవపురాణంలో గణపాలని జన్మవృత్తాంతంలేదు. అతని వ్రతవిధుతో ప్రారంభించి శివునికి లింగధారణ చేయునంతవరకే కథ కలదు. కాని ఈ ద్వీపద లఘుకృతిలో గణపాల

పురమనే పేరు పొదిలెకు రావడానికి గణపాలుడు రాజ్యం చేయడమేకాదు, అసలు గణపాలు డనేపేరు ఆ రాజుకు ఏర్పడడానికి కారణం ఆయన అసంఖ్యాక శివగణాల అంశతో జన్మించిన వాడని రెండు రకాలుగా నామసార్థక్యాన్ని సాధిస్తోంది ఇది పొదిలెసీమకు చెందిన క్షేత్ర మాహాత్యక—వీరశైవమత కావ్యమనిర్ణయించడాని కనువుగా కవి పొదిలెసీమ వర్ణనతో ప్రారంభించి పొదిలె క్షేత్ర వాసులందరికీ కైలాసవాసాన్ని ప్రాప్తించ జేసేంతవరకూ చెప్పడం చేత ఆద్యంతాలలో ఒక ఐక్యత, కథలో ఏకవాక్యత సాధింపబడినాయి.

గణపాల చరిత్ర - వీరశైవ వాఙ్మయంలో దానికి గల స్థానం

'గణపాల చరిత్ర'కు వీరశైవాండ్ర వాఙ్మయంలో ఒక విశిష్ట స్థాన ముంది. ఇందలి కథానాయకుడు గణపాలుడనే శివభక్తుడు. శివునికే లింగధారణ మొనర్చిన శివభక్తుడు. అంతే కాదు, తనకేగాక తాను పరిపాలించే ప్రజానీకానికంతటికీ కైలాసప్రాప్తి గలిగించిన మహా భక్తుడు. ఇది అత్యంత విలక్షణమూ, విశేషమూ అయిన అంశం.

గణపాలుడు 'అసంఖ్యాక గణావళి' అంశతో జన్మించినాడని గ్రంథం చెబుతోంది. ఇక్కడ 'అసంఖ్యాక గణావళి' అంటే ఏమిటి? అనే ప్రశ్న వుడుతోంది. శివునికి ప్రమథులు, రుద్రులు, భూతములు అని మూడు విధాలైన పరివారముందని శివతత్త్వసారము చెబుతోంది. (322 వ పద్యం)! గణాధిపులయాటలను వర్ణిస్తూ మల్లికార్జున పండితారాధ్యుడు "గగన మంతయును బ్రమథ గణమయ్యె శివా! "లోకత్రమమెల్ల బ్రమథలోకం బయ్యెన్" అని వర్ణించినాడు. 34 కంద పద్యాల్లో శివగణవర్ణన చేస్తూ —

కం॥ ప్రమథ గణంబు లసంఖ్యా
 తము లీశ్వర! యెఱుగ వ్రేగు దత్సంఖ్యలు, వే
 దములు "నసంఖ్యాతా" యని
 యమరగ ఘోషించుచున్నయవి గడలేమిన్.²

గణపాల చరిత్ర వ్రాసిన కవికూడా సరిగా ఈ 'అసంఖ్యాక' అనే పదాన్నే వాడాడు. "అసంఖ్యాతా నహస్రాణి యే రుద్రా నధి భూమ్యాన్" అని వేదము. ఈ ప్రమథులు నానా నామాంకితులట! నదానందులు, సాంబరులు, దిగంబరులు, మహాగాన వినోదులట !!

1. శివతత్త్వసారము—మల్లికార్జున పండితారాధ్యుడు (నంపా) కొమ్మజ్జుళా వేంకట లక్ష్మణరావు.
2. శివతత్త్వసారము—మల్లికార్జున పండితారాధ్యుడు (నంపా) విడుదనోలు వేంకటరావు.

“గురుమూర్తి విగమ సూక్తి శిష్యునకు లింగధారణ జేసిట్రోచు” అంటోంది రేపాల రాజలింగ శతకము (కర్త—కొమఱ్ఱాజు వెంకటశివుడు) ఈ దృష్టితో వీరశైవంలో అత్యంత ప్రాధాన్యంకల లింగధారణ మహిమను నొక్కి చెప్పడానికి శివునికే లింగధారణ మొనర్చిన ఒక శివభక్తుని కథను గణపాల చరిత్రద్వారా మన కందిస్తున్నాడీ అజ్ఞాతకవి. అందుకే గణపాలనితో అంటాడు శివుడు —” కరుణ దలిర్ప లింగము గట్టునాకు, గురుఁడవు దీక్ష గైకొందు నీ చాత” శివభక్తుడైన గణపాలుడే గురువు, శివుడే శిష్యుడయినాడు. ఇది వీర శైవంలో భక్తుని శివుడనుగ్రహించే విధానం—ఇదొక విశిష్టమైన ఆనుగ్రహం !

కం॥ ఏ భంగి తలచు భక్తుం

డాభంగిన నీవు నెగడి యవిరళభక్తి

స్వాభావోత్పరమ

ప్రాధవ విభవమున నతని బ్రణుతింతు శివా !

పైగా గణపాలుని ప్రతం విచిత్రమైంది. లింగధారి కాని వానిమొగం చూడడు. లింగధారికానని చెప్పేవాడికి తనువు, మనువు, ధనం, రాజ్యం చివరికి ప్రాణమైనా యివ్వడానికి సిద్ధపడే తీవ్ర ప్రతమాయనని. దీనిని గూర్చి మల్లికార్జున పండితారాధ్యుని శివతత్వసార మిలా చెబుతోంది—

కం॥ శివునకు దనువును మనువును

శివభక్తులకును ధనంబు జిత్తప్రీతిన్

భువినిచ్చి నెల్లవారికి

శివుడను నే నవక యునికి శివభక్తియగున్.

దీనికి గణపాలుని చరిత్రయే ప్రత్యక్ష ప్రతీక !

వీరశైవాని కంతటికీ ప్రధానదీక్ష లింగధారణం. కాబట్టే వీరశైవులను ‘లింగాయతు’ అంటారు. శైవాగమాల్లో లింగము అతీతమైన తత్వానికి ప్రతీకగా చెప్పబడింది. ఇది ఉపనిషత్తుల్లోని ‘పరబ్రహ్మ’కు సమావార్థకంగా వాడబడింది. శైవమతంలో వీరశైవం నైతిక, ఆధ్యాత్మిక చైతన్యాన్ని సంపాదించి పెట్టినది. లింగధారణము గూఢార్థమును, బాహ్యార్థమును గలిగి వీరశైవమునకు అపూర్వమైన వ్యక్తిత్వమును కలగజేయుచున్నవి. వీరశైవమునకు

లింగధారణము వీజము, లింగభక్తి శక్తి. గురులింగ జుగమ ప్రసాదము కీలకము. వీర శైవం వైదికమతంలోని కర్మలను, వర్ణవాలను నిరసిస్తోంది. శివలింగమును వర్ణనివక్షత లేక నకల వర్ణములవారును పూజించుచున్నారు. లింగధారణదీక్షను కాపించునది వీరశైవం. ఇష్టలింగారాధన శైవల్యానికి సాధనమని వీరశైవం ఉపదేశిస్తోంది.!

కర్ణాటకదేశంలో వీరశైవ మతోద్ధరణం కోసం నందికేశ్వరుని అవతారంగా బసవేశ్వరుడు జన్మించినాడు. శివుని యజ్ఞచే మరొక ప్రమథమూర్తి ఆంధ్రదేశంలో మల్లికార్జున పండితుడుగా జన్మించినాడని పండితారాధ్యచరిత్ర చెబుతోంది. శివభక్త గణములను ప్రశంసిస్తూ పాల్కురికి సోమన పండితారాధ్యచరిత్రలో 'గణసహస్రమాలికాస్తవము' రచించినారు. సంస్కృతమున గురురాజకవి రచించిన 'సహస్రగణమాలిక'కు పాల్కురికి రచనయే ఆధారము. ఈ విషయాన్ని శివశ్రీ బండారు తమ్మయ్యగారు, వ్యాసావళి, ద్వితీయఖాగం, పుటలు 202-211 లలో 'గణసహస్రమాలిక'పై వ్యాసం వ్రాసి విచూపించినారు. మల్లికార్జున పండితుడు వెలనాటి చోడుని శపించి, అమరావతికి తిరిగి వచ్చి స్వామి సన్నిధిలో అమరేశ్వరస్థకము, పురాతన శివభక్త గణసహస్రములను సన్నుతించి, తత్త్వపాదంలో ఊర్ధ్వనేత్ర లాభాన్ని పొందినట్లు పండితారాధ్య చరిత్ర, మహిమ ప్రకరణంలో చెప్పబడింది. ఆ సందర్భంలో పండితు దొనర్చిన పురాతన భక్తగణ సంకీర్తనమే 'గణసహస్రమాలికాస్తవ'మని పేరేర్పడినది. అనాడు పండితుడు వాస్తవముగా నెవరెవరిని స్మరించి నోరారస్తుతించినాడో ఎవరికిని తెలియదు. సోమనాథుని గ్రంథములో వేయికిపైగానే రమారమి 1064 ప్రమథగణముల పేర్లున్నవి. వీరిలో గణపాలు డున్నాడు. పండితారాధ్య చరిత్రలోని తెలుగుగణ సహస్ర మాలికాస్తవానికి కన్నడభాషలో 'లిలితరగళె' రూపంలో నొక యనువాదము సోమనాథుని పేరనే వెలసియున్నది. ఇది గణసహస్రమాలికా విషయము.

ఉపసంహారం :—

గణపాలచరిత్రలోని కవితా విశేషాలు, జానపదుల నమ్మకాలు, సామెతలు, వలుకుబళ్ళు వేరొక వ్యాసంగా వ్రాసుకోవలసిందే. వీరశైవమతవరమైన ఒక సామెతను మాత్రము

1. Lingadharana chandrika of Nandikeswara (An Introduction to the History and philosophy of Lingayat Religion) -With translation and Notes by

M. R. Sakhare

Mahavir Press, Belgaum, 1942

వ్రస్తావిస్తాను. “ఓ ఆయ్య వద్దు మొట్టోయన లింగము మెడకట్టెడు” అన్నమాట, ఆముక్త మాల్యదలోని “ఓడితేనియుబట్టి మొట్టోయనంగ లింగమును గట్టకుడుగము” (4-60) అన్న వాక్యంతో సంబంధిస్తోంది. ఇది వీరకైవుల కత్యంతము ప్రీతి పాత్రమైన లింగదారణను సూచిస్తోంది. పైగా, వైష్ణవంలో “తానై దాసరికానంచే పడదోపి పంగనామాలు పెట్టినట్లు” అనే సామెతకు సమానస్థాయిలో వుందికదా!

ప్రాచీన భారతీయ శాసన వాఙ్మయంలో, రెండవ వాకాటక ప్రవరసేనుని శివాని తామ్ర శాసనంలో—ఆయన ముతాత రుద్రసేనుని గూర్చి చెబుతూ శాసన వాక్యాలిలా వున్నాయి. ‘స్వామీ మహాభైరవ భక్తస్య ఆంసభారనన్ని వేళిత శివలింగోద్వహన శివ సుపరితుష్ట పముత్పాదిత రాజవంశానామ్’ మొదటి రుద్రసేనుడు భవనాగుని దోహితుడు. భవనాగుడు భారశివ పంశానికి చెందినవాడు. ఈ భారశివ పంశీయులు శివలింగాన్ని భుజంపై మోసుకొంటూ తిరుగుతుంటారట! శివుడు వారి యెడల ప్రీతిచెంది వారిని రాజవంశీయులనుగా చేశాడట! ‘వీరకైవులైన లింగాయతులు’ శివలింగాన్ని మెకకు కట్టుకొంటే, ‘భారశివు’లనబడే వీళ్ళు శివలింగభారాన్ని మోస్తుంటారు. (C. I. I., Vol. 3, PP. 28 - 32) ఇది ఆత్యంత ఆసక్తి కరమైన మత సంప్రదాయంగా మనం గుర్తించాలి.

అతి ప్రాచీన కాలంనుండి మన హిందూమతంలోని రెండు ప్రధాన శాఖల్లో కైవ వైష్ణవాల వాసికెక్కినవి. కైవంలో వీరకైవం వున్నట్లు వైష్ణవంలో వీరవైష్ణవం కనబడదు. కానీ, వీరకైవానికి రామానుజాచార్యులు ప్రతిష్ఠించిన శ్రీ వైష్ణవానికి దగ్గరి సంబంధాలు కనబడుతున్నాయి. వీరకైవం, విష్ణు కులాలవారివీ, తక్కువ జాతివారివీ సంఘంలో, సమాన గౌరవాదరాలు కల్గించినట్లు, శ్రీ వైష్ణవంలోని పన్నిద్దరాళ్వారులలో తిరుప్పాళ్వారు హరిజనుడు. తిరుక్కచ్చినంది, మారనేర్ నంది, ధనుర్దాసు మొదలైనవారు శ్రీమద్రామానుజాని

1. కర్ణాటక దేశంలో ప్రభవించిన ఐసనేశ్వరుని చూచుటకు పండితాధ్యక్షులవారు కల్యాణి కటకమునకు వచ్చుచు దారిలో నవిపురమునే గ్రామంలో వుండగానే ఐసనేశ్వరుడు లింగైక్యమై వాటితెనిమిది రోజులైనదని విని తాను శ్రీకైలానికి వెళ్లి లింగైక్యమందినట్లు పండితాధ్యక్ష చరిత్రలో కలదు. సరిగ్గా శ్రీమద్రామానుజ చరిత్రమైన ప్రసన్నామృతములో కూడ యామునాచార్య దర్శనాశిలాషయై — రామానుజుడు శ్రీరంగమునకు పోవుచుండగా పట్టణము బయటనే తిరుక్కలిహతీర్థ మట్టమునద్ద యామునుల వైకుంఠస్రాప్తి తెలియగానే మూర్ఛిపోయినాడు. రామానుజాదర్శనానికి పసివాడే గావున యామునుని ఆకుంచిథాంగుళి క్రయంబు విప్పారునట్లుగా మూడు ప్రతిజ్ఞలు చేసినాడు,

సమకాలికులు. వీరకైవంలో జంగమ భోజనావళిష్టం ప్రసాదంగా పరిగణింపబడేటట్లు వైష్ణవంలో భాగవతోచ్ఛిష్టం పరమపవిత్రంగా భావించబడుతోంది. శ్రీమద్రామానుజుడంతటివాడే శూద్రకులజాడైన తిరుక్కచ్చినంబి (కాంచీపూర్ణుడు) ఉచ్చిష్టాన్నమును భుజింపనపేక్షిస్తాడు. బసవేశ్వరుడు జాతిభేదాన్ని పాటించక భక్తులయిన మాలమాదిగలతో కలిసి భుజించి వారు కుడిచి విడిచిన యుచ్చిష్టాన్ని ఆరగించినట్లు, కైవభక్తుల కథలను బోలినవి వైష్ణవ భక్తుల కథలనిట్టివి యున్నవిగదా! 'గుణశీలాలు ముఖ్యంకాని జాతి ముఖ్యం కాదు' అన్నది రామానుజమతం. జంగమార్చనమే ఈశ్వరసేవగా వీరకైవం పరిగణిస్తున్నట్లుగా, పరమభాగవతులైన వైష్ణవులకు చేసేసేవయే విష్ణుసేవగా రామానుజ ప్రతిపాదికమైన శ్రీవైష్ణవం భవిస్తోంది. అందుకే గోష్ఠీపూర్ణుని వద్ద అతి ప్రమాదంతో తాను స్వీకరించిన ద్వయమంత్రాన్ని సర్వజనులకూ ఉపదేశించి తానొక్కడు నరకానికి పోయినా పరవాలేదంటాడు రామానుజుడు. గౌతమబుద్ధుని బౌద్ధమతం నకల వర్ణములవారిని సమాదరించినట్లు వీరకైవంలోను, శ్రీ వైష్ణవంలోను, నకల జనులకు సముచితస్థాన మున్నది. రామానుజుడు తన ఆవసానదశలో శిష్యులకుపదేశించిన చరమ సందేశంలోని కొన్ని ముఖ్యమైన వాక్యాలివి.

1. గురువునకు, వైష్ణవులకును భక్తితో నెల్లప్పుడు కైంకర్యము చేయవలెను.
2. ఎల్లప్పుడు భక్తుల నాశ్రయించుట భగవత్ప్రీతికి కారణమని యెంచి భక్తుల నాశ్రయింపవలెను.
3. వైష్ణవనిందను చేసెడి జనులను చూడరాదు.
4. భాగవతులను సంతోషపెట్టుటకంటె మోక్ష హేతువగు కార్యము వేరొకటి లేదు.
5. విష్ణుభక్తులను పూజించుటకంటె వేరొక్క పురుషార్థము లేదు.
6. వారితోటి ద్వేషమున కంటె ఆత్మనాశన హేతువు మఱియొకటి లేదు.

ఈ వై హితోపదేశంలోని వాక్యాలు వీరకైవులకు కూడ ఆవృంగా సరిపోతోంది. 'దాసి', 'దాస' శబ్దాలు వీరకైవంలోను, శ్రీ వైష్ణవంలోను సమానార్థకాలుగా వున్నాయి. భక్తులకు భక్తుడు' అనే ఆర్థంలో దాసానుదాసుడు, తొండరదిప్పొడి అని వైష్ణవులు అంటే, వీరకైవులు 'తొండరుక్కుతొండర్, లెంక లెంక. బంటు బంట' వంటి మాటల్ని వాడుతారు.

.... నీవే యేలికవనియు నే నీ బంటననియుం దెలిసి శ్రీ వైష్ణవుండనైతి రక్షింపవే, శ్రీ వేంకటేశ్వరా!.... మీ దాసుల పాదరక్షలు మోచెద ? మీ దాసానుదాసుల సేవకుండనయ్యెద; మీ దాసదాసి జనంబులకు నీకుమోచెద; మీ లెంకలకు లెంకకనంబున జొచ్చి యచ్చువేసికొనియెద; నా నర్వాసలాధంబులు క్షమింపవే; శ్రీ వేంకటేశ్వరా! శ్రీ వేంకటేశ్వర వచనములు.

—తాళ్ళపాక పెద తిరుమలాచార్యులు—(1945).

ప్రస్తుత తాకవత్రప్రతిలో చెప్పబడిన గణపాలుని కథకూ, రామానుజుల జీవిత చరిత్రకూ ఒకటి రెండు సామ్యాలు కనబడుతున్నాయి. మీరకైవ క్షేత్రమైన పొదిలెసీమ ప్రాచీనతను స్థాపిస్తూ, 'పొదిలెసీమ దండకవిలే' లో చతుర్వ్యుగాలలో దానికి చతుర్వ్యుద వామదేయా అన్నవని చెప్పబడినట్లు నారదీయ మహాపురాణంలోను (తెయగు అనువాదం - ఆల్లాడు నరసింహకవి, (సంపా) వడ్లూడి గోపాలకృష్ణయ్య) విశేషించి, శ్రీమద్రామానుజ చరిత్రమైన ప్రవన్నామృతములో యాదవాద్రికి నాల్గయ్యుగాలలో నాల్గు పేర్లున్నట్లు చెప్ప బడింది. యాదవాద్రిపై వెలిసిన స్వామి తిరునారాయణస్వామి, యాదవాద్రికి—

1. కృతయుగంలో 'నారాయణాద్రి' యని
2. త్రేతాయుగంలో 'వేదాద్రి' యని
3. ద్వాపరయుగంలో 'యాదవాద్రి' యని
4. కలియుగంలో 'యతికైల'మనీ (శ్రీమద్రామానుజ యతివేత ఉద్ధరింపబడిన కైలము కావున)

పేళ్ళున్నట్లు చెప్పబడింది. కైవు లెట్లో వైష్ణవులును అట్లే తమ ప్రాచీనతను చాటుకొన్నారు.!

మరొక ముఖ్యంకం. శివభక్తుడైన గణపాలుడు అసంఖ్యాక ప్రమథగణాల అంకలన్నీ రాశీభూతంకాగా జన్మించినవాడు. అక్షయార్కడనే పేరుగల రామానుజాచార్యుడు ఆదిశేషుని అవతారము. గణపాలుడు వరమశివునికే లింగధారణము చేసిన మహాశివభక్తు డన్నాము. శ్రీమద్రామానుజాచార్యులు అద్వైతీయైన తన గురువు యాదవప్రకాశుని వైష్ణవునిగా మార్చి 'గోవిందాసు'డనే దీక్షినామ మనుగ్రహించుటయేకాదు—తాను శ్రీభాష్యాది గ్రంథ రచనా వంతరం దిగ్భ్రతయాత్రకు బయలుదేరి కురంగ నగరము చేరి అచ్చటిస్వామి కురంగ నగరీ పూర్ణుని దివ్యమంగళ విగ్రహమునకు నమస్కరింపగా ఆస్వామివారు యాట్లన్నారట!

గరుడాచలం బనఁగా శ్రీ వేంకటకైలం బనఁగా

గిరులకు నేలితెయగు ననంతగిరి దావీలగిరి యనఁగా

సిరుతాయఁ జనమగు యంజన శబరి యనెడి నామములా

వరగఁగ నాఁగు యుగముల వెలసిన ప్రబలంబగు మా కొండా॥

— తాళ్ళసాక అన్నమాచార్యులు.

“రామానుజా! నా యవతారములయం దంతయు ప్రాకృత జనులందరు నన్నొక ప్రాకృత పురుషునివలె భావించిరి. వారిని నేను సంపూర్ణముగా వశపరచి కొనలేకపోయితిని. నీ వే యుపాయముచే జనులను వశపరచికొంటివో నాకు చెప్పుము?” అని యడుగగా— అప్పుడు ఆదిశేషుని ఆపరావతారమైన రామానుజస్వామి యిట్లన్నారట! “అడుగవలసిన క్రమంలో దాని వడిగినచో యిప్పుడే బదులు చెప్పెదను” అని. కురంగనగరీ పూర్ణుడైన శ్రీ మహావిష్ణువు వెంటనే రత్నకంబళముచే గప్పబడిన మహాసింహాసనముపై రామానుజుని కూర్చుండుమని చెప్పి తాను భక్తియుక్తుడై క్రింద కూర్చుండగా రామానుజుడా స్వామి చెవిలో—“సకృత్స్మరణమాత్రేణ దదాతి పరమంపదమ్” అని చెప్పబడిన మహిమోపేత మైన మంత్రరత్నము ‘ద్వయమంత్రాన్ని’ ఉపదేశించారట! పూర్ణనాముడగు సాక్షాచ్ఛ్రీమహావిష్ణువు సంప్రీత మనస్కుడై రామానుజుచాచార్యుని బ్రహ్మారథములో కూర్చుండ బెట్టి శ్లాఘించాడట! ఇది శ్రీమన్నారాయణుని లీలగాని పేతోకటి కాదుకదా; తద్వారా రామానుజుడు సింహాసనము దిగి బద్ధాంజలియై కురంగనగరీ పూర్ణుని యెదుట విలిచి—“ఓ పురుషోత్తమా! నా యవతారముల నన్నిటిని జూచువుడు” అని విన్నవించుకొన్నాడట! (ప్రవన్నామృతము - (అంద్రవచనము) - సరస్వతి రంగాచార్యులు.) (పుటలు - 91-95)

వీరశైవంలో లింగధారణకున్న ప్రాముఖ్యాన్ని, ప్రాధాన్యాన్ని లోకానికి తెలియ జేయడానికి పరమశివుడే తన భక్తుడైన గణపాలుని గురువుగా గ్రహించి లింగధారణ పొందినట్లుగా, శ్రీమన్నారాయణుడు శ్రీ వైష్ణవంలోని ద్వయమంత్ర ప్రభావాన్ని లోకానికి వికాసపరచడానికి, మంత్రోపదేశంలో గురుప్రాధాన్యాన్ని బోధించడానికి తానే రామానుజు చాచార్యునిచే మంత్రోపదేశము పొందినాడు. ఇలాంటివి శివకేశవుల లీలలు! వారిలో వారికి భేదము ఏ మాత్రమూ లేదు. దీనికి ప్రబల దృష్టాంతము ప్రవన్నామృతములోనే కలదు. రామానుజుచాచార్యుని తమ్ముడైన గోవిందమిశ్రుడు మొదట వైష్ణవుడు. గురువుతో కాళికి వేళ్ళి కైవు దైనాడు. శ్రీ కాళహస్తిలో స్థిరపడినాడు. ఆ విమ్ముట తిరుమల నంచి ఆతనిని వైష్ణవునిగా జేసినాడు. మధ్యలో వచ్చిన కైవమత స్వీకారము శివసంకల్పమే తన్ను అన్యము కాదు. శ్రీ కాళహస్తిలోని కైవులందరు ఈ మార్పుకు చింతపడుచుండగా శివుడే వారికి స్వప్నాలలో సాక్షాత్కరించి “నేను హరుండను. గోవిందసూరి ఖగరాజు. ఆతని

మతికుద్ది నరయ నే నిట్లానర్పితిని" అని దుఃఖోపశమనం కల్గింపాడట! చిట్టచివరికి గోవింద సూరి అన్నగరైన రామానుజునిచేరి తురీయాశ్రమం స్వీకరించాడు.

“శివత్పరతరం నాస్తి” (శివునికన్న అధికుడు లేడు) అన్నది వీరకైవుల వాదం. ఈ వాదాన్ని వారెక్కడ నుండి సాధించారంటే— ప్రస్తానత్రయంలో ఒకటైన భగవద్గీతలో శ్రీ కృష్ణుడు ధనంజయునితో—

శ్లో॥ మత్తత్పరతరం నాన్యత్ కించి దస్తి ధనంజయ !

మయినర్వమిదం ప్రోతం సూత్రే మణిగణా ఇవ ॥ (7-7)

అంటాడు “సర్వం విష్ణుమయం జగత్” అనేది దానికి పిండితార్థం. వైభవవ్యాఖ్యాన్ని శ్రీవైష్ణవులు శిరసావహించగా వీరకైవులు త్రోసి రాజన్నారు. ‘శివత్పరతరం నాస్తి’ అనే మాటను క్రిమికంతుడనే చోళరాజు ప్రవన్నామృతము ననుసరించి ఈ పేరుండగా చారిత్రక కుల్లో ఈ క్రిమికంతు డెవరో యింకవరకు విశ్చితాభిప్రాయం ఏర్పడలేదు. శ్రీ వీలకంఠ శాస్త్రి గారు క్రిమికంతుని అధిరాజేంద్రునిగా గుర్తించినారు. కాని రెండవ కులోత్తుంగ చోళుడే రామానుజుల నమకాలికుడు అని చాలామంది చరిత్రకారులు అంగీకరించిన వాడము. ఈ వాద వివాదములకై చూడుడు Sri Ramanuja in Karnataka—B. R. Gopal (1983) ఇది యిట్లుండగా “తమిళభాషలో శేక్కిళ్లార్ రచించిన పెరియప్పరాణము, శివభక్తుల కథలకు అలవాలము. ఇది ఆనసాయుడను కులోత్తుంగచోడుని యానతిచే రచితమైనది. రెండవ కులోత్తుంగచోడునికే ఆనసాయుడను పేరు కలదు” అంటున్నారు వేటూరి ప్రభాకర శాస్త్రిగారు (బసవపురాణ పీఠిక - 1926)] రామానుజుల చేత ఒప్పించాలని చూస్తాడు. కాని దైవానుగ్రహంవల్ల రామానుజులవార్యులు రక్షింపబడి అయిన శిష్యులైన కూరేశ్వరుడు, పెరియనంబి రాజనన్నిధిలో దానికి ఒప్పుకోవలసి రాగా, కూరనాళుడు ఆ వాక్యం క్రింద “ద్రోణమస్తి తతః పరః” అని వ్రాస్తాడు. దానితో ఆ చోళరాజు వారిద్దరి కళ్ళు పెరికిస్తాడు. పెరియనంబి చెటసాలలోనే మరణించగా కూరేశ్వరుడు కంచీ పరదరాజస్వామిని స్తోత్రము చేసి నేత్రలాభాన్ని పొందుతాడు. రాజు ఆకాలమరణం పొందుతాడు. ఈ నేత్ర లాభ కథ వండితాధ్యుల కథను కొంత పోలివుంది. కాబట్టే, ఆముక్తమాల్యదలో శ్రీ కృష్ణుడేవరాయలు వీరకైవాన్ని వెట్టికైవమని వెక్కిరిస్తాడు. తొండ ముదిరి ఊసరవెల్లి అయిందన్న సామెతకు సాటిగా “వెట్టికైవంఱ ముదిరి మద్దినుతి వినడు” అని భగవంతునిచేతనే అనిపిస్తాడు రాయలు. ఇది సంగ్రహంగా కైవ వైష్ణవాలకు ఒకప్పుడేర్పడిన స్పృక్త - దాని స్వరూపము.

ప్రమథావతారమూర్తియైన మల్లికార్జున పండితారాధ్యుని శివశత్రవ్యసారంకోని రెండు పద్యాలను స్మరించి ఈ వ్యాసాన్ని ముగిస్తాను.

కం॥ ఒండేమి మల్లికార్జున

పండితుండన నుండుకంటె బ్రమథులలో నె

న్నండొకొ నీ యాజ్ఞోన్నతి

నుండగగాంతునని కోరుచుండుదు రుద్రా ! (387 ప.)

మల్లికార్జున పండితుడంతటివాడే తనను ప్రమథ గణాలలో ఒకనిగా చేస్తుకొమ్మని శివుని ప్రార్థించినాడు. మరి, గణపాల సావ్యభౌముడు 'అసంఖ్యాక గణావళి' అంశంతో జన్మించిన వాడు కదా! శ్రీ మల్లికార్జున పండితుడే మరలా యిలా అంటున్నాడు.

కం॥ పరమేశ్వర ! నీ ప్రమథుల

చరితలు సతతమును విన్న, జదివిన, బ్రమథ

స్మరణము చేసిన, శుభములు

దొరకొను, దురితంబులెల్ల దొలగు మహేశా ! (388 ప.)

సంప్రదించిన గ్రంథాలు

1. బసవపురాణము — పాల్కురికి సోమనాథుడు
(సంపా.) వేటూరి ప్రభాకరశాస్త్రి (1926)
2. బసవపురాణము — (సంపా.) నిడుడవోయి వేంకటరావు (1952)
3. బసవపురాణము — పిడుపర్తిసోమన
4. పండితారాధ్య చరిత్ర — పాల్కురికి సోమనాథుడు (1939)
(సంపా.) డా॥ చిలుకూరి నారాయణరావు
5. శివశత్రవ్యసారము — మల్లికార్జున పండితారాధ్యుడు
— (సంపా.) కొమణ్ణాజు వేంకట లక్ష్మణరావు

6. శివతత్వసారము — (సంపా.) విడుదలవోల వేంకటరావు
7. వ్యాసావళి (రెండవ సంపుటం) — బండారు తమ్మయ్య
8. జన్మభూమి — నాయని సుబ్బారావు (1971)
9. వీరశైవాంధ్ర వాఙ్మయము — శిష్టారామకృష్ణ శాస్త్రి (1954)
10. ప్రవన్నామృతము (ఆంధ్రసవనము) - నరన్వతి రంగావార్ష్యులు
(శ్రీమద్రామానుజ పరిత్రము) — యంప్రన్ ఆఫ్ ఇండియా ముద్రాక్షరశాల,
మద్రాసు (1903)
11. నారదీయ పురాణము ఆల్లాడు నరసింహకవి
(సంపా.) వడ్లమూడి గోపాలకృష్ణయ్య
ఆంధ్రప్రదేశ్ గవర్నమెంట్ టెలియంట్
మాన్యుస్క్రిప్టుస్ లైబ్రరీ ఆఫ్ రీసెర్చ్
ఇన్ స్టిట్యూట్, హైదరాబాదు (1976)
12. Religion and Society }
among the Lingayats } — K. Ishwaran (1983)
of South India.
13. Essentials of Virasaivism — H. P. Malledevaru (1973)
14. A Hand book of }
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16. History of Indian }
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కొల్లాగుంట ఆనందన్

ప్రాచీన భారతీయ సాహిత్యంలో

విషకన్యా ప్రయోగం

ప్రాచీన భారతదేశంలో రాజ్యాలకోసం, ధన, ప్రాణ, మాన సంరక్షణార్థం తరచుగా యుద్ధాలు చేస్తూ ఉండేవారు. ఆ యుద్ధాలు రెండు విధాలుగా ఉండేవి : 1. ధర్మసామ్రాజ్య వద్దకుల్ని అనుసరించి చేసేవి ధర్మయుద్ధాలు; 2. తప్పిన్నమైనవి కూట యుద్ధాలు.

శత్రువులను ఓడించే ఉపాయాన్ని చెబుతూ కుక్రవాచ్యుడు ఇలా అంటాడు.¹

“ఉపాయాన్ షడ్గుణం మంత్రం శత్రో స్వస్యాపి చింతయేత్ |
ధర్మయుద్ధైః కూటయుద్ధైర్షధన్యా దేవ రిపుం సదా ||”

రాజైనవాడు ధర్మయుద్ధంచేతగాని, కూటయుద్ధంచేతగాని - శత్రువును సంహరించాలి - అని దీని భావం.

ఒకరాజు తనకంటే బలవంతుడైన మరియొకని ఆధీనంలో ఎల్లకాలం ఉండరాదని, నమయం వచ్చినపుడు తన శత్రువును ఎదుర్కొనడానికి ప్రయత్నించాలని, అగ్ని, ఆయుధ, విషప్రయోగాలతో అతని రాజ్యాన్ని ముట్టడించాలని భీష్ముడు బోధించాడు. ఈ కూటనీతి ననుసరించే ప్రాచీనకాలంలో రాజులు విషప్రయోగం చేసి తమ శత్రువుల్ని విర్జించేవారు. విషకన్యా ప్రయోగం అనేది కూటయుద్ధంలో ప్రధానభాగంగా ఉండేదని అనేక పౌరాణిక, చారిత్రక సంఘటల్ని బట్టి మనకు తెలుస్తూ వుంది.

1. శాస్త్రగ్రంథాలు - విషకన్యాప్రయోగం :

కాశీరాజైన ఉన్వంతరి గొప్ప ఆయుర్వేదపండితుడు. అతడు తన శిష్యులైన సుశ్రుతాదులకు ఆయుర్వేద రహస్యాలను బోధిస్తూ, విషకన్యను గూర్చి హెచ్చరించినట్లు సుశ్రుతసంహితలో పేర్కొనబడి ఉంది.²

- 1. కుక్రవీతిసార: అధ్య. 4, ప్రక. 7, శ్లో. 350
- 2. సుశ్రుతసంహితా - Vol. I, కల్పస్థానం (అధ్యాయం), పుట. 559,

“విషకన్యోపయోగాద్వా క్షణాజ్ఞహ్యో దసూన్నరః ।
తస్మాత్ వైద్యేన సతతం విషాద్రక్ష్యో న రాధిపః॥”

అంటూ,

“ఆ జన్మ విషసంయోగాత్ కన్యా విషమయ్యాకృతా ।
స్పర్శాచ్చ వాసాదిభి ర్హన్తి తస్యాస్త్యేతద్ పరీక్షణమ్ ॥
తస్మత్తకస్య సంస్పర్శా న్స్థాయితే పుష్పపల్లవౌ ।
శయ్యాయాం మత్కుణై ర్వస్త్రే యూకాభిః స్నావారిణా ।
జన్తుభిర్మియతే జ్ఞాత్వా తామేవం దూరత స్త్యజేత్ ॥”

-కత్రువులు విషకన్యాప్రయోగంద్వారా రాజుల్ని చంపుతూవుంటారు. కాబట్టి రాజువై దుక్కుడు విషకన్యలజాఠిమండి రాజును రక్షించాలని సుశ్రుతుడు చెప్పాడు. విషపూరితయైన ఆ కన్యను తాకినా, వస్త్రాల్ని ముట్టినా ఆ ముట్టిన వ్యక్తి తక్షణమే మరణిస్తాడన్నాడు. ఇక్కడ ఇంకో విషయం. పూర్వం విషకన్యల్ని పెంపకం ద్వారానే కాక, అధివారికహాసం ద్వారా కూడ కల్పించేవారని ముద్రారాక్షస నాటకంవల్ల తెలియ వస్తున్నది.

జ్యోతిషశాస్త్ర గ్రంథమైన 'జాతకాలంకారం'లో తొమ్మిదింటి అంగారకుడు, లగ్నమందు కవి, ఐదవ గృహంలో సూర్యుడు ఉన్న తరుణంలో పుట్టే అమ్మాయి విషకన్య అవుతుంది— అని పేర్కొనబడింది.³

2. సంస్కృతసాహిత్యం - విషకన్యాప్రయోగం :

విషకన్యాప్రయోగాన్ని గూర్చిన మొట్టమొదటి ప్రస్తావన సంస్కృత సాహిత్యంలో కవిపిస్తుంది. పుష్యమిత్రవంశానికి చెందిన దేవభూతి కాముకుడై, తన మంత్రియైన వాసుదేవుని కూతురు అందగత్తెయని విని, ఆమె భర్తను కపటోపాయంతో చంపించి, ఆ భర్త వేషంతో ఆమెను పొందబోయాడు. ఆమె దేవభూతిని గుర్తించి ఆతని కోరికను తిరస్కరించింది. వాడు ఆమెను బెదిరించగా, ఆమె తన శిలాన్ని కాపాడుకొనడానికి ఆకృ హత్య చేసుకొంది. ఆ వార్తను విన్న వాసుదేవుడు దుఃఖించి, కుటిం నీతిద్వారా దేవభూతిని

3. Jatakalankara of Ganesa. ch. IV, Page 53.

వంప సంకల్పించి ఒకానొక వేళను విషకన్యగా చేసి. దాన్ని ఆ రాజుపై ప్రయోగించి చంపించాడు ఈ క్రింది శ్లోకం ఇందుకు ఆధారం.

“విషద్ధిగాం అలంకృత్య కాంచిత్ వారాంగగాం ద్విజః |
తయైవ ఘాతయూయాస దేవఘాతిం నృపాధిపమ్ ||”

—ఈ వృత్తాంతం భాగవతంలోను, కలియుగ రాజ వృత్తాంతంలోను కనిపిస్తున్నట్లు చెప్పబడింది.⁴
దేవీపురాణంలో విషకన్యలను గూర్చిన హెచ్చరిక ఇలా ఉంది.⁵

“నచాభిజ్ఞాతశీలాసు స్త్రీషు భోగ్యాగమః క్వచిత్ |
విషకన్యాభయం ఘోరం, పాపజం శ్రూయతేపరమ్ ||”

—అందమైన ప్రతి స్త్రీని రాజు అనుభవించదబ్బుస్తాడు. కాబట్టి విషకన్యను ప్రయోగించి రాజుకు ఆపద కలుగజేయడం ఘోరమని, మహాపాపమని తాత్పర్యం.

ముద్రారాక్షస నాటకంలో విషకన్యాపాత్రమొక్క ప్రసక్తి ఈ క్రింది చాణక్యని పలుకుల్లో స్పష్టంగా గోచరిస్తుంది.⁶

“అత్ర తావ ద్వైషల పర్వతకయో, రన్యతరవినాశేఽపి
చాణక్యస్యాపకృతం భవతీతి విషకన్యయా రాక్షసేనా
స్మాక మత్యన్తోపకారి మిత్రం ఘాతితస్తపస్వీ
పర్వతక ఇతి సంచారితో జగతి జనాపవాహః” ||

అంటే విషకన్యను రాక్షసుడు చంద్రగుప్తుని పైకి తోలినాడు. దానిని చాణక్యుడు చంద్రగుప్తునకు తప్పించి ఆ రాక్షసునిచేతనే పర్వతకుని పైకి జోపించి, వాణ్ణి చంపించాడు కాని, రాక్షసుడే పర్వతకుని చంపించాడన్న అవవాదుడు చాణక్యుడు కల్పించినాడు.

4. ఆమృతవల్లి (నవల)-విశ్వనాథ, పీఠిక పుట 3.

5. History of Indian Medicine, Vol. I, Page 72.

6. ముద్రారాక్షసం—ప్రథమాంకం, పుట 36.

హిత్వదేశంకోకూడా దుష్టజన సాంగత్యం వనికొదనే సందర్భంలో రాక్షస వర్వతకుల వృత్తాంతాన్ని వివరించే ఘట్టంలో ఈ విషకన్యా ప్రస్తావన ఉంది. ఆ విషకన్యపై ఉన్న స్వేదవిందువులపై వాలిన కీటకాలు సైతం వెంటనే చనిపోయేవి—ఆవి అందులో చెప్పబడి వుంది.⁷

3. పాశ్చాత్య గ్రంథాలు - విషకన్య :

కొందరు ప్రాచీన పాశ్చాత్య పండితులు భారతదేశంలో విషకన్యా ప్రయోగం ఉన్నట్లు తమ చారిత్రక గ్రంథాల్లో పేర్కొని వున్నారు. విషంనుండి తమను రక్షించుకోవడానికి పాశ్చాత్యదేశాల రాజులు, శాస్త్రజ్ఞులు అనేక ప్రయోగాలను చేస్తూ ఉండేవారట. అలాగే విషాన్ని ఏయే రీతుల్లో ఇచ్చి మనిషిని చంపనప్పుడనే అంశంపై కూడా ఆ దేశాల్లో పరిశోధనలు కొనసాగినట్లు కొన్ని దాఖలాలు గోచరిస్తున్నాయి.

క్రీ॥ పూ॥ 120-63 ప్రాంతంలో పాంటస్ (Pontus) దేశాన్ని పాలించిన ఆరవ మిత్రదేట్స్ యుపేటర్ (Mithradates VI, Eupetor) అనే రాజు అన్నివిషాలకు, రోగాలకు విరుగుడైన "తిర్యాక్" అనే మందును కనిపెట్టాడు. ఎవరైనా కడు పవితనంనుండే విషాన్ని కొద్ది కొద్ది మోతాడుల్లో తీసుకొంటూ, క్రమంగా ఆ మోతాడును పెంచినా ఆ విషం ఆ వ్యక్తిని ఏమీ చేయదన్నాడు. ఈ పద్ధతి ప్రకారమే కొందరు కన్యలకు కైకవ దళమండే విషం ఇస్తూ, క్రమంగా వాళ్ళను విషానికి అలవాటైపోయే విషకన్యలనుగా పెంపొందించడం పురాతన భారతవర్షంలో అలవాటుగా ఉండేది. అలా విషపూరితలైన యువతులు శత్రువుల పాలిటికి భయంభర మృత్యుదేవతలుగా పరిణమిస్తూ ఉండేవారు⁸

ఆరిస్టాటిల్ తన శిష్యుడగు అలెగ్జాండరుకు సూచించిన కొన్ని జాగ్రత్తలలో విషకన్యలను గూర్చిన హెచ్చరిక కూడా ఉంది. 'శారీరక సంబంధమైన అవసరాలకు ఏ శ్రీని దగ్గరకు చేర్చవద్దు. ఒకవేళ అంతగా అవసరమనిపిస్తే, నీ మంచి కోరి నీకోసం దేన్నైనా త్యాగం చేసే ఒక శ్రీని వినియోగించుకోవద్దు. నీ ఆరోగ్యం విమిత్తం ఏ ఒకే ఒక వైద్యుని సలహాను మాత్రమే పాటించు. అంతగా అవసరమనిపిస్తే పదిమంది వైద్యులను బాగా సంప్రదించు. వాళ్ళందరి యొక్క ఏకాభిప్రాయం పైననే ఏమందునైనా తీసుకో. ఆ జాపరాన్ని అందరి సమక్షంలోనే తయారుచేయాలి. ప్రాణహరమైన విషాలకు దూరంగా ఉండడంకోసమే శ్రీని దగ్గరకు చేర్చకుండా వలసింది' అన్నాడు. అంతేగాక ఆరిస్టాటిల్ తన శిష్యుణ్ణి ఇలా హెచ్చరించాడు.

7. History of Indian Medicine, Vol. I, Page 73.

8. History of Indian Medicine Vol I Page 73.

“Remember what happened when the king of India sent the rich gifts and among them that beautifull maiden whom they had fed on poison until she was of the nature of a snake and had I not perceived it because of my fear, for I feared the clever men of those countries and their craft, and if I not found by proof that she would be killing thee by her embrace and by her perspiration, she surely would have killed thee.”⁹

హిందూదేశానికి చెందిన పలానారాజు నీకు బహుమతిగా పంపిన విలువైన వస్తువుల్లో ఒకటైన ఆ అందమైన కన్య విషపూరిత - అని నేను గుర్తించి ముందుగా విన్ను హెచ్చరించివుండకపోయివుంటే నీ వామెను ఆలింగనం చేసుకొని ఆమె క్వాసను పీల్చి తప్పక మరణించివుండేవాడివి” అని పై హెచ్చరికలోని సారాంశం

Lord Bacon తాను రచించిన ‘Natural History’ లో ఇలా అంటాడు,¹⁰

“And there is an old tradition of a maiden that was fed with napplius, which is counted the strongest poison of all vegetables, which with use did not hurt the maid but poisoned some that had carnal company with her.”⁹

ఒకానొక ఇతిహాసానుసారం పూర్వం హిందూదేశంలో అందమైన స్త్రీ ఒకతె భయంకర విషపూరితాలైన విషముష్టి కాయల్ని తిని పెంపొందుతూ వుండేది. ఆ విషం ఆమె నేమీ చేయజాలకపోగా ఆమెతో సంభోగించేవారి మరణానికి కారకురాలయ్యేది—అని పై పంక్తుల తాత్పర్యం.

ఈ విషకన్యా ప్రయోగాన్ని గూర్చి శ్రీ S. D. శ్రీవేది కూడ, ప్రాచీన భారతదేశంలో రాజులు తమ శత్రువుల్ని రహస్యంగా సంహరించే పద్ధతుల్లో విషకన్యాప్రయోగం ఒక పద్ధతి - అంటూ ఇటీవల వెలువడిన Secret services in Ancient India - అనే గ్రంథంలో ప్రత్యేకించి ఒక అధ్యాయంలో పేర్కొన్నారు.

9. Secretum-Secretorum Book I, Para 35

(See History of Indian Medicine, Vol. I, Page 74)

10. Natural History, Vol. II, ch. V, Page 139.

(See History of Indian Medicine Vol. (page 74).

4, తెలుగు సాహిత్యం - విషకన్యాప్రయోగం :

సంస్కృత సాహిత్యంలో ప్రచారంలో ఉన్న విషకన్యా వృత్తాంతాన్ని తీసికొని తెలుగులో వవలలుగా వ్రాసినవారిలో అడివి బాపిరాజు విశ్వనాథసత్య నారాయణ ప్రముఖులు.

అడివి బాపిరాజు 'హిమవిందు' నవలలో విషకన్యకకు ఒక ప్రత్యేక స్థానాన్ని కల్పించారు. సౌలతిప్యడు తన మనుమరాలైన చంద్రబాంను విషకన్యగా మార్చిన వైవం అందులో విషలంగా కర్తించబడివుంది. సౌలతిప్యడు వైదిక మత పునరుద్ధరణకు బౌద్ధమత పోషకులైన శాతవాహన రాజుల వంశాన్నే సర్వనాశనం చేయ సంకల్పించాడు. అందునిమిత్తమై తన మనుమరాలిని విషకన్యగా చేశాడు. ఆమెను చిన్నతనం నుండి విషపూరితాలైన కందమూలాదులతోను, విషంతోను పెంచాడు. ఆమె సంవరించే ప్రదేశం. ఆమె పీల్చే గాలి, ఆమె స్నానమాడే నరస్సు, ఆమె తినే ఆహారం పూర్తిగా విషపూరితాలే. భయంకర విషనాగులే ఆమె చెలికత్తెలు, మనుమరాలి మనస్సులో ఇసుమంత కూడ దయాగుణం చొరపీయకుండా ఆతడామెను కడు జాగరూకతతో పెంచాడు, అభివారిక హోమంతో ఆమెను విషకన్యగా మార్చాడు. ఆమెను శ్రీముఖ శాతవాహనునిపై ప్రయోగించాడు. కాని ఆమెలోని స్వాభావికమైన శ్రీత్వం విజృంభించగా ఆమె తాతగారినే ధిక్కరించింది. శ్రీముఖుడు చంద్రబాంను చూచి ముగ్ధుడై ఆమెలోని విషాన్నంతా వైద్యులచేత క్రమంగా నివారింపజేసి, ఆమెను అమృతసదృశగా మార్చి, పెళ్ళి చేసుకొన్నాడు.

భాగవతంలోని వసుదేవుని కథను ఆధారంగా స్వీకరించి, విశ్వనాథవారు 'అమృతవల్లి', అనే నవలను రచించారు. దేవభూతి మంత్రయైన వసుదేవుడు జముద్రఘనిచే విషకన్యను సృష్టింపజేసి రాజు (దేవభూతి) పైకి సంపించి ఆతణ్ణి చంపించడం ఇందులోని కథాంశం.

ఇంతవరకు పరికించిన పౌరాణిక, వారిత్రక, శాస్త్రగ్రంథాల ఆధారంగా విషకన్యా ప్రయోగం కేవలం ప్రాచీన భారతదేశంలో మాత్రమే ఆచరణలో ఉండేదని తెలుస్తూ వుంది. ఒక రాజును కుటిల నీతిచేత చంపడం అనాడు అంత సులభం కాదు. కాని రాజయొక్క మానసిక దౌర్బల్యాన్ని ఆధారం చేసుకొని ప్రాచీనులు విషకన్యాప్రయోగం చేసి, చంపేవారు. రాజు నీతిమంతుడు, ధీశాలి అయినపుడు ఈ విధానం అంతప్రయోజన కారిగా ఉండేదికాదు.

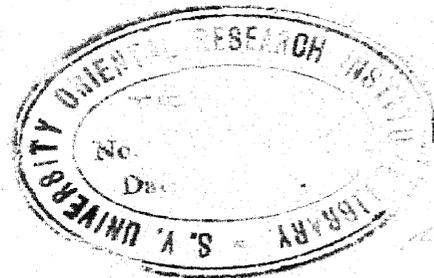
సర్వ సాధారణంగా విషకన్యా ప్రయోగం శ్రీ వ్యామోహం ఎక్కువగా ఉన్నవారి పైననే ప్రయోగించే వారు. విషకన్యగా మారే ఆ శ్రీ తన దేశంకోసం, తన లక్ష్యంకోసం తన బంధు మిత్రుల కోసం లేదా కొందరి స్వార్థంకోసం తన బహిష్కారాన్ని త్రొండుకోవలసి వచ్చేది. వమాణంలో స్వేచ్ఛగా తిరగడానికి నీచుండేదికాదు. ఒకసారి విషకన్యగా మారితే ఆమె

బ్రతికుండు చచ్చినదానితో సమానమే. అయినా దరిస్థితులకు తలవొగ్గి ఆనాటి రాచరికపు కోరల్లో కొందరు శ్రీలై నా అలాగూన బలికాక తప్పేదికాదు.

మానవత్వపు విలువలు, శాస్త్రీయవిజ్ఞానం పెరుగుతున్న ఈనాటి సమాజానికి ఈ విషకన్యాప్రయోగ విజ్ఞానం అంతగా అవసరం అనిపించకపోయినా, చారిత్రక, సారస్వత, పరిశోధనాత్మక దృష్టితో దీన్ని గూర్చి తెలిసికోవడం అత్యంత ఆవశ్యకమైన విషయమే.

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