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CONTENTS

Veda: The Ultimate Authority of the Hindu Scriptures <i>Mukunda Madhava Sharma</i>	1
Cultural Contacts of Indonesia and Srilanka in Eighth Century and their Bearing on the Barabudur <i>Lokesh Chandra</i>	29
Bālāghāṭ Plates of Vākāṭaka Prīthivīshēṇa II: Some Reflections <i>Ajay Mitra Shastri</i>	51
The Term 'Hida' or 'Idha' in Rock Edict I and other Aśokan Edicts <i>Aparna Chattopadhyay</i>	65
Rāmāyaṇa Theme and Social Change <i>M. Srimannarayana Murti</i>	71
Kālidāsa - Nātyakāra and Mahākāvyakāra <i>R.S. Betai</i>	83
Śrī Auobindo: Tradition and Modernity <i>B.N. Mukherjee</i>	91
The Concept of Kārakas in Śākaṭāyana Vyākraṇa <i>P. Narayanan Namboodiri</i>	97

TEXTS AND STUDIES

Āndhra Brāhmaṇin Through Ages upto 1325 A.D. <i>B.S.L. Hanumantha Rao</i>	101
--	-----

- S. Kuppuswami Sastri: *Compromises in the History of Advaitic Thought*
S. Kuppuswami Sastri: *Highways and Byways of Literary Criticism in Sanskrit*
[S.S. Janaki (ed.)]: *Spoken Sanskrit*
Jayasree Hariharan: *Eclipses in Hindu Life and Thought*
Virchand Gandhi: *Religion and Philosophy of the Jains*
Nagin J. Shah (ed. & tr.): *Concept of Pratikramaṇa*
Amal Sarkar (tr.): *Fragrance from Bengal*
J.A. Prasad (pub.): *Sāhitīmūrti Ācārya Jīreddi Gennārreddigāri Sahasra-*
campdrodaya-darśanotsava Abhinandana-saṃcika (Telugu)
T. Subba Rao (comp.): *Marakatamaṇimāla* (Telugu)

MUKUNDA MADHAVA SHARMA

**VEDA: THE ULTIMATE AUTHORITY
OF THE HINDU SCRIPTURES**

I

The term scriptures means ‘the writings considered sacred by any religious group.’ As such the *Vedas* are the most sacred scriptures of the Hindu religion, so much so that the later scriptures also declare that the *Veda* is the ultimate authority (*pramāṇa*) for all the contents found in them. The later scriptures may briefly be enumerated as follows: (a) the basic works of the six orthodox schools of philosophy (*darśana*), (b) the *Smṛti* or *Dharmaśāstra* works like those of *Manu*, *Yajñavalkya* and others, (c) the *Purāṇas*, (d) the *Rāmāyaṇa* and (e) the *Mahābhārata*.

The term *veda*, in singular, also stands for (a) the four *Saṃhitās*, viz., *Rg*, *Yajus*, *Sāman* and *Atharvan*, (b) the corresponding *Brāhmaṇa* works, which include the (c) *Āranyakas*, which again include (d) the *Upaniṣads*. Since, *Upaniṣads* and *Āranyakas* find a place in the *Brāhmaṇa* literature itself the aforesaid four-fold division of the *Veda* may be said to be only two-fold. *Sāyaṇa*, in his *Rgveda-bhāṣya-bhūmikā* ‘Introduction to the Commentary on the *Rgveda*’ quotes *Āpastamba*’s *Yajñaparibhāṣā* (1.33) which maintains that, “the mantras (i.e., the *Saṃhitās*) and the *Brāhmaṇas* together constitute the *Veda*.¹

It is noteworthy that the aforesaid four different segments of the Vedic literature were in a sense connected with the four *Āśramas*

or 'four stages of life' in the ancient Indian society, viz., those of Brahmacarya, Gārhasthyā, Vānaprastha and Saṁnyāsa. In the first stage of Brahmacarya students learn the Saṁhitās by heart; in the second stage of Gārhasthyāśrama the householders perform sacrifices (*yajñas*) as prescribed in the Brāhmaṇa literature; in the third stage of Vānaprastha, i.e. in the stage of the householder retiring to the forest, the forest-dwellers take interest in the study of the Āranyakas:² and in the fourth stage of Saṁnyāsa persons become saṁnyāsins or ascetics, and take interest in the principles of renunciation as adumbrated in the Upaniṣads.

Of the later scriptures, the basic works of the six schools of Hindu philosophy recognise the Veda as the ultimate authority. The Mīmāṁsā philosophy and the Vedānta philosophy provide the best examples of this recognition of the Veda as the ultimate authority. The Mīmāṁsā philosophy is predominantly pre-occupied with the very implications and interpretations of the verbal expressions of the Veda. In final analysis the Vedānta-darśana is the sum total of speculations on the implications of a few statements of the Upaniṣads, e.g. *tat tvam asi*, which are called Mahāvākyas. The different schools of Indian philosophy are classified into two groups, viz., orthodox and un-orthodox on the basis of the recognition and non-recognition of the authority of the *Vedas* and as such all the six schools of orthodox philosophy may be taken to have recognised the authority of *Veda* without any further argument or illustration.

II

The *Manusam̄hitā* is the most exalted of all the Dharma-sāstras or Smṛti works. The purpose of the *Manusam̄hitā* is to lay down the pros and cons of Dharma, which, to be very precise, means the righteous duties. Hence, the question arises as to what authority will decide as to what is right and what is wrong. Manu himself gives the answer with the verse:

vedo 'khilo dharmamūlam smṛtiśile ca tadvidām /
ācāraś caiva sādhūnām ātmānas tuṣṭir eva ca//

Manusam̄hitā, 2.6

The purport of this verse is as follows:

Veda is the authority for determining what is Dharma, i.e. what is righteous duty. Another authority is the Smṛti work composed by, on the ideal conduct of, one who is well versed in the Veda. Yet another authority is the behaviour of the pious persons; and finally, in case of a conflict, one's clear conscience is the authority to hinge upon.

As explained by Kullūka in his gloss on the above quoted verse of Manu the Veda itself is recognised as the final authority by recognising the Smṛti work composed by one who is well versed in the Veda (*tadvidām*) as authority.

That the final authority is the Veda is reiterated by Manu in the very following verse as follows:

*yah kaścit kasyacid dharmo manunā parikīrtitah/
sa sarvo 'bhihito vede sarvajñānamayo hi sah//*

Manusāṃhitā, 2.7.

The purport of this verse is that all that are recommended by Manu as righteous duty for the people of different nature and stature are already provided in the Veda, and indeed, Veda is the repository of all knowldges.

The expression 'vedo 'khilo' in the earlier verse quoted from the *Manu-sāṃhitā* is significant. As explained by Kullūka this expression giving the plain meaning as 'whole of the Veda' conveys the idea of the four *Sāṃhitās*, viz. Rg, Yajus, Sāman and Atharvan and also the Brāhmaṇa literature which contains the *vidhis* (i.e. injunctions) and the *Arthavādas* (i.e. statements or narratives in praise of the injunctions) (वेद ऋग्यजुःसामाथर्वत्रयः स सर्वे विष्वर्यवादमन्त्रात्मा, Kullūka on *Manusāṃhitā*, 2.6). This is how the word *veda* in singular number may be taken to stand for the whole of the Vedic literature comprising of Mantra, Brāhmaṇa, Āraṇyaka and Upaniṣad.

The illustrations drawn from the *Manusāṃhitā* should, perhaps, suffice to show that for the *Dharmaśāstra* or the Smṛti literature³ Veda is the final authority.

III

Now, for examining as to how the Veda happens to be the ultimate authority for the remaining types of the scriptures, the cases of the Purāṇas, the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata may be taken together.

There is an oft-quoted celebrated verse which means as follows: "The ideas contained in the Vedic literature should be elucidated with the help of Itihāsas and Purāṇas. The Veda (i.e. the Vedic literature) is scared of one who is not well-read with the fear 'this one will kill me'. The original verse runs as follows:

इतिहासपुण्याभ्यां वेदं समुपबृहयेत्।
विषेत्यत्पञ्चताद् वेदो माप्य प्रहरिष्यते॥

This verse occurs in the following places: Mahābhārata, 1.1.269; Viṣṇupurāṇa, 1.201; Padmapurāṇa, 5.2.52; Śivapurāṇa, 5.1.35 and Vaśiṣṭhadharmaśāstra, 27.6. Rāmānuja also quotes it as a Purāṇic text.⁴ The portion *vedam samupabṛihayet* may also mean that the Vedic literature is to be 'extended' or 'supplemented' or 'strengthened'.⁵ Here it has been preferred to take it in the sense of 'elucidation of the Vedic ideas' in the light of the Tilaka commentary of the Rāmāyaṇa, where the same idea is conveyed by the following verse :

स तु मेषाविनी दृष्ट्वा वेदेषु परिनिर्हितौ।
वेदोपबृहण्यार्थाय तावग्राहयत प्रभुः॥⁶

Rāma in the Tilaka commentary gives the following explanation: *Upabṛihāṇa* means the understanding of the implications in respect of the various ideas of the Veda. With this very purpose of presenting an elucidation of the Vedic ideas Vālmīki imparted the knowledge of the Rāmāyaṇa to Lava and Kuśa, who were already well-versed in the Vedic lore. With this reference to *vedopabṛihāṇa*, Vālmīki himself suggests that the Rāmāyaṇa is meant to convey the very implications of the śruti (i.e. Vedas) and that the Rāmāyaṇa is based on an authority, viz. the Vedas; and that is how the Rāmāyaṇa is adorable; cf.

“उपबृहणं वेदस्य तत्तदर्थं तात्पर्यग्रहणं तदूपायार्थाय प्रयोजनाय। अनेन
श्रुतितात्पर्यविषयीपूतर्थप्रतिपादकतया प्रामाण्यमस्योपादेयत्वं च सूचितम्।”⁷

In this passage the word *prāmāṇya* means 'a state of being based

on an authority', and from this very passage it may be gathered that the Veda is the ultimate authority for all the adorable Hindu scriptures like the Rāmāyaṇa. Thus, the verse (i.e. *itihāsapurāṇābhyaṁ*, etc.) for which the quoted passage is given as a gloss is intimately connected with the question of Vedic authority. Hence, it should be worth while to ascertain as to how the later scriptures, termed as *Itihāsa* and *Purāṇa*, performed the task of *upabṛhmaṇa*. Whatever be the meaning of the term *upabṛhmaṇa* and whatever be the manner of *upabṛhmaṇa*, it must be acknowledged that the *upabṛhmaṇa* is an act of the recognition of the importance and authority of the Veda. While some of the later scriptures clearly declare the authority of the Veda, the others acknowledge the same by implication with the help of various forms of *upabṛhmaṇa*. Hence, follows an analysis of the various types of *upabṛhmaṇa* in the *Itihāsa* and *Purāṇa* works.

IV

Now the question is, what are the *Itihāsas* and *Purāṇas*? The types of literature known as *Itihāsa* and *Purāṇa* were already familiar in the Vedic literature itself. For we have:

- (i) “इतिहासस्य च वै स पुराणस्य गाथानां नारायणसीर्णा ह प्रियं धाम भवति य एवं वेद” (अथर्वेद, 15.6.12)
- (ii) “— अस्य महतो भूतस्य निःश्वसितमेतद यद ऋग्वेदो यजुर्वेदः सामवेदोऽथर्वागिरस इतिहासः पुराणं विश्वा उपनिषदः श्लोकाः सूक्ष्माण्युव्याख्यानानि व्याख्यानानि — निःश्वसितानि।” (शतपथब्राह्मण, 14.6.10.6)
- (iii) “स हेताव ऋग्वेदं भगवेदोऽध्येयमि यजुर्वेदं सामवेदमाथर्वाणं चतुर्थीमितिहासपुराणं पञ्चमं वेदानां वेदम्।” (छान्दोग्य उप. 7.1.1)
- (iv) “ऋग्वेदो यजुर्वेदो सामवेदोऽथर्वागिरस इतिहासः पुराणम् —” (बृह.आर.पु. 2.4.10; 4.1.2; 4.5.11)

There are numerous narratives in the Brāhmaṇas which deal with the origin of some matter or some institution. Such legends of origin, to which also the creation-legends belong⁸ are meant by the term *purāṇa*, as we find it in the above extracts, while the term *itihāsa* or (*ākhyāna*)⁹ in such places refer to the stories of gods, demi-gods and men; cf.

“इतिहास इत्युर्वर्तीपुरुषस्योः संवादादिर्वर्ती ह्यप्सरा इत्यादि ब्राह्मणमेव, पुराणमसद वा इदमग्र आसीदित्यादि।”¹⁰

'The story of Purūravas and Urvaśī as narrated in the Brāhmaṇa literature is an Itihāsa, while the contents of the Nāsadiya-sūkta (*Rgveda*, 10.129), concerned with the initial stage of the creation of the cosmos as retold in the Brāhmaṇa literature is Purāṇa'. Thus according to this explanation, even a part of the Brāhmaṇa literature may be an Itihāsa on a Purāṇa.

But in the extract, इतिहासपुराणाभ्यां वेदं समुपबृहयेत् there seems to be a more precise reference only to (i) the eighteen Mahāpurāṇas and (ii) the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* by the terms *purāṇa* and *itihāsa* respectively.

It is not difficult to understand the eighteen Mahāpurāṇas from the term *purāṇa*. The *Mahābhārata* is called an *Itihāsa* in the *Mahābhārata* itself; cf.

जन्मनामेतिहासोऽयं श्रोतव्यो विजिगीषुणा, (1.62.22).

Elsewhere also, in the Classical Sanskrit literature, the term *itihāsa* is invariably illustrated with a reference to the *Mahābhārata*. For example, Medhātithi, in his gloss on *Manusamhitā*, 3.222¹¹ says: इतिहास महाभारतादयः पुराणानि व्यासादिप्रतिलिपिं सूक्ष्मादि वर्णनरूपाणि. Thus the *Mahābhārata* is a stock example of the term *itihāsa*. But the *Rāmāyaṇa* does not call itself an *itihāsa*. It is referred to by the terms *Kāvya*,¹² *Gītā*,¹³ *Samhitā*,¹⁴ and *Ākhyāna*.¹⁵ But even then it has come to be in vogue to recognise the *Rāmāyaṇa* also as an *itihāsa*. No less an authority than V. Raghavan inter-alia observes: "All minor poems are derived from the *Mahākāvya* which is derived from the *itihāsa*, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* which are the only two survivals of the very ancient *Itihāsa* literature".¹⁶

The *Rāmāyaṇa* decidedly and severally calls itself an *Ākhyāna* as in the following places:

- (i) आश्चर्यस्मद्भज्ञनं मुरीयां संप्रकल्पितम्। (1.4.26)
- (ii) शूक्तामेतद्यज्ञानामन्योदेववर्ष्योः। (1.4.32)
- (iii) महदुत्पन्नमाज्ज्वनं रामायणमिति क्रुप्य। (1.5.3)
- (iv) एवमेतत्पुण्ड्रवृत्तमाख्यानं पदमस्तु च। (6.128,118)

On the other hand, the *Mahābhārata* also calls itself an *Ākhyāna* so as to give the impression that the term *ākhyāna* is synonymous with the term *itihāsa*; cf.

यो विद्याच्छ्रवुरो वेदान् सांगेषपनिवदो द्विजः।
न घात्यानमिदं विद्यान्वै स स्याद्विद्यक्षणः॥ (मा. 1.2.82)

"The twice-born who is familiar with the four Vedas, the six Āṅgas (i.e. Śikṣā, Kalpa, Nirukta, Jyotiṣa, Vyākaraṇa and Chandas) and the Upaniṣads, but remains without the knowledge of this ākhyāna, i.e. the *Mahābhārata*, he can never be recognised as an expert."

Maurice Winternitz also points out that these terms were at times used as synonymous also.¹⁷ On the strength of this casual synonymy, perhaps the *Rāmāyaṇa* also deserves to be recognised as an *Itihāsa* work.

In our opinion, an analysis of the later scriptures should show that the term *samupabṛhmaṇyat* may have more than one implication, which may be pointed out as follows: (i) Frequent repetitions of the Vedic mantras in later scriptures, (ii) Expansion of precise Vedic concepts in longer passages, (iii) Reproduction of Vedic mythology, (iv) Creation of a new mythology on the basis of Vedic poetic description of physical events, and (v) Development of a Vedic philosophy into the form of a legend.

V

Let us now have some illustrations of the said types of *upabṛhmaṇa*:

I. Repetition of Verses: Repetition of verses occur in different forms, viz., verbatim reproduction of a whole verse, verbatim reproduction of one half of a verse, partial reproduction of original expression, and paraphrasing.

Whatever be the degree of fidelity to the original, any act of repetition stands as a testimony to the later scriptures, recognition of the authority of the Vedic text. The following illustrations are noteworthy:

(a) The *Bhagavadgītā* is a part of the *Mahābhārata*, which is an *Itihāsa*. The *Gītā* occurs as chapters XXIII to XL of the *Bhīṣmaparvan* of the *Mahābhārata*. In the *Gītā* there are repetitions of verses of the Upaniṣads as follows:

Gītā, 13.13 = *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad*, 3.16 (verbatim)

Gītā, 13.14 (first half) = *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad*, 3.17 (first half)

Gītā, 15.1 = *Kaṭha Upaniṣad*, 2.3.1 (partial)

Gītā, 6.29 = *Īśa-Upaniṣad*, 6 (similar in idea)

The following two verses of the *Gītā* are noteworthy:

यस्मात् क्षरमीतोऽहश्चादपि चौत्तमः।
अतोऽस्मि लोके वेदे च प्रथितः पुरुषोत्तमः॥
यो मामेवमसम्भूदो जानाति पुरुषोत्तमः॥
स सर्वविद् भजति मां सर्वधारेन भारतः॥ 15.18f.

Here the following two points deserve to be noted: (i) *Gītā* acknowledges the authority of the *Veda*. (cf. 'वेदे च प्रथितः' of verse 15.18), (ii) the concept of पुरुषोत्तम is based on the *Vedas*. The very 15th chapter of the *Gītā* is entitled पुरुषोत्तमयोग. The Vedic authority for the concept of पुरुषोत्तम is as follows: "तावदेव सम्प्रसादोऽस्माच्छर्वतः समुलाय परं ज्ञेतिस्मयं सम्पद्य स्येन रूपेणाभिनिष्पृष्टते स उत्तमः पुरुषः" (छान्दोग्य उपनिषद, 8.12.3). The very term पुरुषोत्तम is based on 'उत्तमः पुरुषः' of the *Upaniṣad* (vide: *Bhagavadgītā As It Is* under verse 15.18).

In fact the *Gītā*, is so saturated with the *Upaniṣadic* ideas that it is itself called an *Upaniṣad* and that is how the *Gītā* is traditionally referred to as the *Gītopaniṣad*. In the *Gītāmāhātmya*, it is stated in the sixth verse that the *Gītā* is the essence of the contents of all the *Upaniṣads* with a brilliant literary imagery as follows: "All the *Upaniṣads* are the cows, Lord Kṛṣṇa is the milkman, Arjuna is the calf, the honestly intelligent persons are the enjoyers of the milk, and the milk is in the form of the great nectar of the message of the *Gītā*"; cf.

सर्वैऽपनिषदो गावो दोषाया गोपालनन्दनः।
पर्यो वस्तः सुधौर्घोक्तता दुर्घं गीतामूर्तं महतः॥

(b) The *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* is very intimately related to the Vedic literature which is referred to also as *Nigama*. In the very third verse of the *Purāṇa*, it is described as the sweet ripe fruit of the wish-yielding tree in the form of the Vedic literature (निगमकर्त्त्वगोणीत्वं फलम्, *Bhāgavata*, 1.1.3). This *Purāṇa* is so full of complicated Vedic philosophical ideas that the capacity to understand the *Purāṇa* is said to be an acid test for the scholarship of the learned persons (*vidyāvatām bhāgavate parīkṣā*).¹⁸

In the *Bhāgavata* also we have four types of repetitions of Vedic verses almost similar to those we have noticed in case of the *Bhāgavatītā*. Hence, a few illustrations:

- (i) *Bhāgavata*, 8.1.10 = *Īśopaniṣad*, 1 (verbatim).¹⁹
- (ii) *Bhāgavata*, 3.29.42 = *Īśopaniṣad*, 6 (partial).
- (iii) *Bhāgavata*, 3.6.30 to 3.6.33 (four verses) present an expansion of the idea contained in *Rgveda*, 10.90.12; *Atharvaveda*, 19.6.6, *Yajurveda*, 31.11. The single concerned verse occurring in said three *Saṃhitās* describes the origin of the four *varṇas* (castes) from different limbs of the Supreme Person or God. The same theme presented through four successive verses is a very suitable example of *upabṛhmaṇa*.
- (iv) *Bhāgavata*, 8.16.31 = *Rgveda*, 4.58.3 (similar in idea). This verse of the *Rgveda* is quoted in full by Śridhara in his commentary for drawing attention to the correspondence between the Purāṇic and the Vedic verses.²⁰ Likewise in many other places Śridhara points out the Vedic sources for different expression and ideas of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* with an introductory comment like 'तत्त्वं च श्रृणु' (cf. e.g. commentary under *Bhāgavata*, 8.3.5; 8.3.10; 8.3.13; 8.3.16; 8.3.17, etc.).

II. Expansion of precise Vedic concepts in longer passages: We have already seen a type of expansion, in case of the idea of *Rgveda*, 10.90.12 being retold in as many as four verses of the *Bhāgavata* (vide I.b.iii above). Then why should we have a new section on 'expansion of precise Vedic concepts'?

The reason for having this new section is that in the foregoing context the reference to expansion of a Vedic idea cropped up in connection with repetition of the same or almost the same verbal expressions. The extent of expansion in such cases remain confined to only a few verses. But the type of expansion, to be discussed under the present section is not necessarily connected with repetition of verbal expressions and the enlargement might be co-extensive even with an entire work. Hence follow a few illustrations:

The *Mahābhārata*, containing 18 parvans, has been composed for the *upabṛhmaṇa* of the Vedic ideas. The philosophy of the Veda is presented by the *Mahābhārata* in the form of a systematic elucidation with the help of the 18 chapters of the *Gītā*. The sum and substance

of the whole of the *Gītā* is given with the help of the 18 verses of the second chapter where the traits of a *Sthitaprajña* are elaborated.²¹ These 18 verses have a direct correspondence with the 18 stanzas of the *Īśopaniṣad*, which also contains the teachings of the *Veda* in the most sublime form, in so far as it asks to 'enjoy with a sense of renunciation'²² like the *Sthitaprajña* who remains equally disposed towards pleasure and pain, and loss and gain, etc.

The ideal of 'enjoying with a sense of renunciation' (तेनत्यक्षेन²³ पुञ्जीयः) is the most essential teaching of the *Vedas*. This makes the first verse of the *Īśopaniṣad* so singularly important. Mahatma Gandhi wrote in the *Harijan* that if through some accident the whole corpus of the literature on Hinduism is lost, and only the first mantra of the *Īśopaniṣad* happens to survive, that could sustain Hinduism for all time to come.²⁴ The opposite spirits of enjoyment and renunciation involve a paradox, and this very paradox is the ideal. In the *Veda* it is tried to be established that the attitudes of the renouncer and the enjoyer may belong to the personality of the same individual with the imagery of two birds, belonging to the same tree, one of whom enjoys the sweet fruits of the tree while the other simply goes on looking with a vacant look. This imagery is contained in the celebrated verse:

dvā suparṇā sayujā sakhyā
samānam vṛkṣam pariṣasvajāte/
tayor anyah pippalam svādv atti
anaśnann anyo abhicākaśī //

Rgveda, 1.164.20; Śvetāśva-
taropaniṣad, 4.6; Mundakopaniṣad, 3.1.1., etc.)

The attitude of equal disposition towards pleasure and pain, loss and gain, etc., involving the same paradox, as taught in the *Gītā* in the context of the *Sthitaprajña*, is thus warranted by a Vedic authority.

It may be presumed that what is given in the 18 parvans of the *Mahābhārata* is given again in the 18 *Purāṇas* and the 18 *Upa-purāṇas*. The same ideas are propagated most purposefully also through the 18 thousand verses of the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*. The recurrence of the number eighteen²⁵ in this context is not merely a coincidence. Correspondences like this lead us to the irresistible conclusion that the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* and the *Gītā* and the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* are all ontologically linked up, all of them deriving the basic inspiration from the Vedic literature itself. For example, while analysing

the tradition of the Bhāgavata-dharma in Mahābhārata, Śāntiparvan, 346.10, Vaiśampyana tells Janamejaya that this very religion is re-told in brief in the Harigītā (or the Bhagavadgītā). That the Gītā is related to the Upaniṣads is already indicated.

Like the number eighteen connected in different ways with Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas, the number of the verses found in the Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa is also very significant, and what is more important is that this number also ingeniously warrants the relation of the epics with Vedic literature. The Mahābhārata grew from an originally smaller size to its present form through three prominent phases. In the initial stage it had 8,800 stanzas, and in the second stage it came to contain 24,000 stanzas and at this stage it was without the 'secondary stories'; cf.

चतुर्विशतिसाहस्री चक्रे भारतसंहिताम्।
उपाख्यानैर्बिंशति तावत् भास्तं प्रोच्यते जुषैः॥ (मह. 1.1.52)

On the other hand it is traditionally believed that the legend of Rāma has been originally sung in one hundred crore verses, and Vālmīki presented the same in an abridged form in his own Rāmāyaṇa containing twentyfour thousand verses, five hundred cantos and seven kāṇḍas; cf.

चतुर्विशत्सहस्राणि रसोकाम्पुरतवान्विषः।
तथा सर्वाशतान् यज्ञ वद कण्ठानि तथेतरम्॥ (राम. 1.4.2)

Rāma, the commentator, in his Tilaka commentary, says that the Rāmāyaṇa is an abridgement of the original one hundred crore verses, and the number twentyfour thousand signifies that the Rāmāyaṇa is an elaboration of the knowledge of the supreme self, which is epitomized by the Gāyatrīmantra of the Veda, containing twentyfour letters:

स्वकृतप्रतिकोटिप्रमाणवक्ष्यारबूतं चतुर्विशत्संख्याऽयत्परज्ञमविद्याविलासशूतं
रामायणं चतुर्विशतिसहस्रस्तोकरूपं कुरालवायामप्राहयतः Tilaka on 1.1.1.

The same significance may perhaps be attached to the Mahābhārata also which in its rudimentary form (pertaining to the second stage of development) contains twentyfour thousand verses. The twenty-four letters of the Gāyatrī-mantra became expanded to the twentyfour thousand verses of the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata respectively.

According to the above explanation, the *Rāmāyaṇa* is an *upabṛhmaṇa* of the *Gāyatrī-mantra*, which contains the significance of the *Veda* (*vedārtha*) in a nutshell. The commentator further asserts that the first canto of the *Rāmāyaṇa* embodies the substance of the whole epic and that Valmīki, with a view to suggesting that the first canto conveys the very purport of the *Gāyatrī-mantra*, has deliberately started the first canto with the first letter of the *Gāyatrī-mantra* and concluded the first canto with the final letter of the *Gāyatrī-mantra*. Thus the first letter of the *Gāyatrī* is *ta* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*, 1.1.1 also begins with *ta* (*tapaḥ svādhyāya*, etc.). The last letter of *Gāyatrī* is *t* and the last letter of the first canto is also *t* (*janaś ca sūdra 'pi mahatvam īyat*).²⁷

From the foregoing analysis it appears to be a fact that the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* were meant for a systematic expansion of the Vedic thoughts. This expansion was in the form of elucidation as well as in the form of being made accessible to more and more people irrespective of caste, literacy and illiteracy. In this context it is noteworthy that the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* are all attributed to *Vyāsa*.²⁸ There is also an opinion that all the 18 *Purāṇas* and as massive a book as the *Mahābhārata* could not have been produced by one single author. Hence, *Vyāsa* is, perhaps, a generic name. There were many *Vyāsas*. Whosoever was engaged in compiling or composing the *Mahābhārata* or one or more of the *Purāṇas* was called a *Vyāsa*. From this presumption it follows that the name *Vyāsa* was connected with the function so named. In view of this it may be suggested that *Vyāsa* was called *Vyāsa* because of expanding compact ideas of the *Veda* into elaborate narratives of the *Mahābhārata* or/and the *Purāṇas*. The word *vyāsa* means also diffusion or extension. V.S. Apte in his *Students' Sanskrit English Dictionary* gives the etymology of the name *yyāsa* with the words: *vivyāsa vedān yasmāt sa tasmād vyāsa iti smṛtaḥ* 'since he expanded the *Vedas* (or, since he arranged the contents of the *Vedas*) he was named *Vyāsa*'. The word *vyāsa* need not mean 'arrangement' alone, but should mean, more appropriately, *bṛhmaṇa* (i.e. expansion) also. It may be pointed out that when a compound word (like *pitāmbara*) is expounded with a sentence (like *pitam ambaraṁ yasya saḥ*), the compound is called a *samāsa* while the sentence, containing the expounded idea, is called the *vyāsavākya*. Hence, *Vyāsa*, as the composer of *Mahābhārata* and *Purāṇas* was involved in the act of expounding the Vedic ideas in more

intelligible forms and in the act of bringing inaccessible Vedic ideas also nearer to the masses.

III. Reproduction of Vedic mythology:

The legend of Purūravas and Urvāśī is now widely known because of its being presented in the form of a drama by Kālidāsa in his *Vikramorvaśiya*. This legend first occurred in the *Rgveda*. But there is a lot of lacuna in the legend as contained in the eighteen stanzas of *Rgveda*, X.95, which is recognised as a dialogue hymn. The story is retold in the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* with the repetition of fifteen of the said eighteen stanzas and explanatory additions. Yet the story remains somewhat incoherent. In consonance with the maxim: *itihāsapurāṇābhyaṁ vedāṇ samupabṛ̥mhayet* the story is given again in the *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa* and also in the *Harivamśa*, which is an appendix to the *Mahābhārata*.

IV. Creation of a new mythology on the basis of Vedic poetic description of physical events:

This is another type of *upabṛ̥mhaṇa*. Let us have an example. In the *Rgveda* we have the following celebrated mantra:

इदं विष्णुविचक्षमे त्रेषा निदधे पदम्।
समूलहस्त्य पांसुरे॥ 1.22.17.

The plain meaning of the verse is like this: "Viṣṇu traversed across this. He placed his foot in three places. Dust has accumulated under his feet".²⁹ The deity Viṣṇu, referred to here is none other than the sun. The verse describes a physical event in the form of the sun's movement in the firmament from the point of rising to the point of setting. As explained by Yāska, whatever moves on (*yad idāṇ kiṃ ca tad vikramate*) is Viṣṇu (accordingly Sun is Viṣṇu). As explained by Śākapūṇi, quoted by Yāska, Viṣṇu placed his feet in three places, viz. earth, sky and heaven. According to Aurṇavābha, quoted by Yāska, the three places are the point of rising, the meridian point and the point of setting.³⁰ The accumulation of dust under the feet of Viṣṇu, perhaps, signifies the existence of the earth, as a lump of dust, under the sun all throughout its journey from the point of rising to the point of setting. As explained by Yāska the expression समूलहस्त्य पांसुरे implies that "although Viṣṇu moves along and places his feet at three points yet his feet are not visible like the feet covered by dust".³¹

These are poetic descriptions of a physical phenomenon. That an element of poetry is involved here is suggested also by Yāska with the expression: अपि वोपनार्थं स्मृतः This very precise poetic description of the sun has ultimately developed into the legend of Balicalana, i.e. the legend of the deception of Bali by Viṣṇu, in his dwarf incarnation by way of asking Bali for as much land for placing only 'three steps'. This legend is given in six cantos of the eighth book (i.e. VIII.18-23) of the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*. There are numerous other such Purāṇic legends, the origin of which may be traced back to certain Vedic statements, which just provide the thread for developing the same into an entire canvas. Such legends make a legion. Yet, it should be worth the while to mention one more case relating to a scripture other than the Purāṇas.

The story of sage Gautama's wife Ahalyā and her adultery with Indra is given in the Ādikāṇḍa (i.e. Book I) of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The details have at least three different versions.³² This shows that, the whole story was fictitious. Be that as it may. The whole story depicts Indra as a paramour of Ahalyā. The Vedic basis or authority for this story, in our opinion, may be traced back to the Vedic epithet अहल्यायै जारः applied to Indra. Allusion to Ahalyā is found in *Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa*, 3.4.18, *Jaiminiya-Brāhmaṇa*, 2.79 and *Śādvimśa-Brāhmaṇa*, 1.1.³³ But very little about the illicit connection between Ahalyā and Indra can be known from these allusions. For instance, in the *Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa*, 3.3.18 we have only the two words ahalyāyai jārah and nothing more. The passage containing these two words runs as follows:

इन्द्रगच्छेति। इन्द्रो वै यज्ञस्य देवता तस्मादाहेन्द्रगच्छेति हरिव आगच्छ मेधातिथ्येऽम्
वृषणश्वस्य मेने। गौरावस्कन्दिनहल्यायै जारेति तद्यान्येवास्य चरणानि तैरवैनमेतत् प्रमुमोदयिष्यति।।

In this passage there are references to the initial words of a few mantras to be recited for the pleasure of Indra. One of such mantras is referred to with the two initial words: अहल्यायै जारः. A literal translation may be presented as "Paramour of Ahalyā". But, the details of the story were not to be found in the Vedic literature.³⁴ In view of the paucity of details about the love episode it may be worth the while to seek a more relevant meaning of the two words: ahalyāyai jārah as follows: Indra is more celebrated as the rain-god. In the Vedas Indra is profusely eulogised for releasing the rains. Because of his rains even such a land which is unfit for being cultivated, for being ploughed, may turn into a fertile ground having abundant growth of

grains. Just as a paramour impregnates a woman by mating, Indra also can bring forth fertility even to a hard land which is unfit for ploughing. The Sanskrit word *hāla* means ‘plough’; *ahalya* means ‘fit for being ploughed’; *ahalyā* (as an adjective to *bhūmiḥ* in feminine) means ‘that which is not fit for being ploughed’. Hence, it may be presumed that *ahalyāyai jārah* in the partially quoted Vedic mantra means “Indra, who like a paramour brings forth fertility even to the land which is unfit for being ploughed”. This is a poetic way of saying the plain fact that Indra can bring fertility even to the dry land and the very twist in the expression provides the thread for weaving the later love-legend of Ahalyā and Indra.

V. Development of a Vedic philosophy into the form of a legend:

This is another type of *upabṛhmaṇa* and a single illustration should suffice to show how a reference to the Vedic authority may be useful for finding a justification for an otherwise unjustifiable episode.

The *Rāsa-līlā* episode of the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* covers five chapters of the tenth Book, and those five chapters (10.29 to 10.33) are together referred to as *Rāsa-pañcādhyāyi*. To understand the episode properly we have to know also the episodes of Kātyāyani-vrata and Vastra-haraṇa found in an earlier chapter (i.e. 10.21) of the same tenth Book of the *Purāṇa*. As the story goes the girls of Vraja observed the Kātyāyani-vrata in order to have Kṛṣṇa as their husband. As a part of the ritual they took a bath in the Yamunā, keeping aside their garments. Kṛṣṇa stole away their clothes and Kṛṣṇa returned the same only when they surrendered to him as his maid servants. Kṛṣṇa became pleased with them and promised to fulfil their desire to have him as their man in course of time (10.21). In the next autumn season, in a full-moon night, Kṛṣṇa, with the mesmeric music of his flute so captivated the minds of the girls of Vraja, most of whom already got married with others, that they left their husbands and other superiors and other members of the family and rushed to the bank of Yamunā to have a love-sport with Kṛṣṇa. As promised, he fulfilled their desire by indulging in acts of love-sport (10.29.46). Thus receiving love from Kṛṣṇa, the women developed a sense of superiority complex (10.29.47). Reacting to this sense of ego, Kṛṣṇa disappeared from the sight of the Gopis. They lamentably pined for Kṛṣṇa as described in *Bhāgavata*,

10.30 and 10.31. Then Kṛṣṇa once again came back to give them company (10.32.2). Finally they started dancing what is called the Rāsa-dance, or Rāsa-kṛḍa or Rāsa-utsava (10.33.2-3). Rāsa is a type of dance, where the dancers standing hand in hand make a complete circle. In the present case Kṛṣṇa multiplied himself into a number matching with the number of Gopīs and placed himself in the midst of every succeeding pair of two Gopīs (10.33.3 and 20). This is how the Gopīs and Kṛṣṇa enjoyed the night and only at the close of the night, the women retired to their respective homes reluctantly (10.33.39).

In this episode the adorable deity Kṛṣṇa himself is shown to have been indulging in erotic dalliances with the wives of others. By all ethical standards that was not meet and proper. Hence, it becomes imperative on our part for enquiring the real implications of the story.

According to one explanation the whole episode was historically true. The place called Vraja, the cowherd women and Kṛṣṇa were all real things of the past. That Kṛṣṇa could multiply himself into so many prototypes was also a fact thanks to his divine powers. According to another explanation the whole story is a Purāṇic fiction meant for representing a philosophical idea symbolically.

If we accept the first explanation we have to find solutions to certain ethical problems also. In the last few verses of the last chapter of the Rāsapañcādhayāyi (10.33.27-29) itself king Parīkṣita raises the question as to how the action of Lord Kṛṣṇa can be ethically justified? Then Śuka, the interlocuter, tries to justify the action of Lord Kṛṣṇa in nine verses (10.33.30-38).

Parīkṣita says: Kṛṣṇa was the God Himself and incarnated on earth only for stabilising ethical principles (Dharma) and for eradicating what is non-ethical. Himself being a protector of the limits of Dharma (ethical principles) why should He touch the wives of others? The Lord had no desires to be fulfilled; yet why did He indulge in deplorable activities?

Śuka says: Kṛṣṇa was a superior being. He is not to be judged by standards applicable to ordinary persons. The fire can burn both the pure and the impure. Likewise the superior person also can perform even what is unethical and that makes no difference for him. In

emulation of the superior the ordinary person also should not perform an unethical deed even in imagination. One should not emulate, for instance, the Lord Śiva's act of drinking the poison that arose out of churning the ocean. Such an emulation will destroy the ordinary person. Only the true words of the superiors are to be followed, and only such deeds of the superiors which tally with their words may be emulated. The superior person has nothing to gain from ethical deeds nor also to lose any thing because of unethical deeds. He has assumed the human form only for the pleasure of having a sport. Only for the benefit of human beings He indulges in the sports like that of Rāsalīlā. Because of His magic powers, the husbands of the Gopis had the illusion that the wives were all along staying by their side and as such they had nothing to complain of.

Parīkṣita raised the question of ethical justification of the part played by Kṛṣṇa and Śuka's answer is also concerned with the justification of the deeds of Kṛṣṇa Himself. But it is obvious that this is not enough for justifying the whole episode. It may be pointed out that Kṛṣṇa Himself told the Gopis that it is most diplorable on the part of the married women to have affairs with a paramour (10.29.26). Thus the part played by the Gopis yet remains to be justified.

Further arguments in defence, as culled from elsewhere, are as follows: As stated in Gitā, 4.11, the God fulfills the desires of the devotees by making Himself available in whatever form the devotees like. The Gopis desired to have Him as the husband and so he played the role of a lover. The Gopis were born in Vraja only for the purpose of the Rāsalīlā. During the days of Rāma, some of the Gopis were sages ṛsis, some of the Gopis were even the presiding deities of the Upaniṣads.³⁵ The Gopis were, in fact, created by the Lord from his own self as playmates and the love-sport of Rāsalīlā was like a child playing with his own shadow (*yathārbhakah svapratibimbavibhramah*, Bhāgavata, 10.33.17). It is further pointed out that the love-sport remained confined only to the extent of mutual caresses and nothing more and Kṛṣṇa Himself remained inwardly passive and did not get involved in the affair erotically (*ātmany avaruddhasaurataḥ*, ibid. 10.33.26). For the devotees also this description of Rāsalīlā does not evoke any erotic propensity. Rather it evokes a sense of wonder and amazement to see the supernatural deeds of Lord Kṛṣṇa. The very act of His being multiplied into so many prototypes is so extraworldly that the

devotees become more and more convinced of the divinity of the Lord and become more and more deeply devoted to HIm.

In the *Gitā*, 3.21 it is stated that whatever is done by a superior person is invariably emulated by others. Hence, it becomes very difficult to accept the whole episode literally. Hence, let us examine the second explanation.

According to the second explanation the Rāsalīlā episode is a symbolic presentation of a philosophical idea. Rāsa is a type of dance (उच्चैरुपूर्वमाना, 10.33.9). Śridharasvāmī in his commentary on *Viṣṇuprāna*, 5.13.23 says:

“अन्योच्चव्यतिष्ठकहस्तानां स्वीपुणां गमतां पण्डलीरूपेण प्रमतां नृत्यविनोदः रासो नाम।”

The main components of Rāsa are participation by men and women standing in a circle hand in hand, singing, dancing movements and merry-making. Although other types of dalliances also took place between Kṛṣṇa and Gopis yet the whole episode derives its name from Rāsa as Rāsalīlā, Rāsa-kṛidā, Rāsotsava or Rāsanṛtya. Thus the emphasis lies on the ‘dance’. This circular dance symbolically represents the relationship between Iśvara and Jīva, or so to say, between the Supreme self and the Individual selves. The Gopis are the jivas and Kṛṣṇa is the Iśvara. There are innumerable jivas (i.e. individual selves) and there is only one Iśvara (i.e. the God or the Supreme self). But yet Iśvara resides with each one of the Jivas. In the *Gitā* the God declares that He abides in all beings (सर्वपूर्तिः ये मां पञ्चतेकत्वमास्ति, 6.31). In the *Svetāśvatara-Upaniṣad*, it is said that the one God remains hidden in all beings (एको देवस्वर्भूतेषु गृहः, 6.11). This very idea is conveyed by providing one Kṛṣṇa for each of the Gopis separately in the Rāsa dance. For the continuity and proper functioning of the creation God Himself created the individual selves (i.e. jivas) from Himself. In the *Taittiriya-Upaniṣad* (2.6.1) we find, “He (the supreme soul) desired. Let me become many, let me be born” (सेऽकामयत बहु स्वं प्रज्ञयेति).³⁶ Although this is not told in the *Bhāgavata* in so many words, yet this is hinted at by the expression: यथार्थं स्वप्रतिबिन्नविप्रम (10.33.17) quoted in the context of the first explanation above. Having come away from the Supreme Self it is the only business of the individual selves to seek the Supreme Self. The individual self wants to get back his identity with the Supreme Self, because the Supreme Self is the real complete bliss. The Supreme Self is said to be ‘eternal, full of knowledge and full

of joy' (ब्रह्मेति सर्वं सत्यदानन्दस्तप्यम्, *Nṛsiṁhottaratāpanī-Upaniṣad*). The entire life's journey of an individual self is a ceaseless pursuit of Brahman, the repository of complete unalloyed bliss. This eternal search of the complete joy *bhūmānanda* is 'an eternal desire', or so to say 'the supreme thirst'. Because of this basic nature of seeking the Supreme Bliss, it becomes the habit of the individual self to perform all the worldly affairs only out of a 'desire' (*kāma*) to derive some happiness.³⁷ In fact the *jīva* wants to go back to the Godhead, to get back the source of Supreme Bliss. As the *Jīva* seeks the God, and God also remains evasive, there takes place a ceaseless game of hide and seek between the *jīvas* and the *Īśvara*. This is hinted at by describing the sudden disappearance of *Kṛṣṇa* from the company of the *Gopīs* in the verses following 10.29.47 in the *Bhāgavata*. So long as the *jīva* continues to have its ego, it does not find the *Īśvara*. That is why the real devotee gives up even the last vestiges of ego and completely surrenders to the will of God and gets Him. This is hinted at by the episode of *Kātyāyani-vrata*. The Lord finds pleasure in being sought frantically by the *jīvas*. This game of hide and seek is a pastime for the God. That is why the whole creation is said to be a *līlā*. The *Rāsalīlā*, is also a symbolic representation of this creation. Hence it is called a *līlā* or a *kridā*. It is the inherent nature of a child, to remain engrossed in a game. Hence the *Īśvara* is also said to be a child who never becomes an adult. That is why the *Kṛṣṇa* of the *Vastra-haraṇa* episode and the *Rāsalīlā* episode is delineated as a mere child. The circular *Rāsa* dance symbolically represents the whole cosmos, which is also called the *jagat-prapañca*, i.e. the whole expanse of the cosmos. The Sanskrit word *jagat* is derived from the root *gam* 'to go'. The word *jagat* means something which is constantly engaged in the act of going. The cosmos is called *jagat* because it is always in a state of flux. The microcosm is only a replica of the macrocosm, which is in a state of flux. The constant movement of the cosmos is supposed to be a dance and the same dance is symbolically represented by the *Rāsa* dance or by the dance of *Siva*, the *Nāṭarāja*.³⁸ The circle of the *Rāsa* dance also represents the cosmos, which is also called *Viśva-brahmāṇḍa*. The Sanskrit epithet contains the word *anda* meaning an egg. An egg need not necessarily be elliptical in shape. There are eggs also of spherical shape. Here the circle of the *Rāsa* dance represents the spherical shape of the cosmos, the *Viśva-brahmāṇḍa*. Yes, while the duck's egg or the hen's egg is of oval shape, the egg of the fish or the tortoise is spherical. Incidentally, fish and tortoise belong to water and according to Hindu scriptures the process of creation began with the creation

of water and in that water the primordial seed of the cosmos in the shape of an egg has been laid down (अप एव सत्त्वादौ तासु वीषमदास्त, Manu.I.1). In this way a lot of symbolical implications may be presented by the Rāsalīlā episode. The most important implication, however, is that at the culmination of their urge to reunite with the Godhead, the jīvas (i.e. the individual selves) can derive the unalloyed complete joy of reunion, and the Supreme Being also finds a sort of delight in playing this game of reunion although He is Himself an embodiment of complete joy (*bhūmānanda*) and has His all desires already fulfilled (*āptakāma*)³⁹ to such an extent that He finds all the delights from Himself (ātmaraṭa ātmāraṭaḥ)⁴⁰ and need not seek any delight from any other source.

VI

Here, a question arises as to how the Gopīs can symbolically represent all the jīvas, for, there are male Jīvas as well. In this connection, there is a parable prevalent among the neo-Vaiṣṇava devotees. As the story goes, Saint Mīrā Bāī used to freely mix with the male devotees for devotional services or devotional discourses. One day one of the male devotees questioned if Mīrā Bāī did not feel any inconvenience at all in the company of the male devotees. Then Mīrā Bāī replied that there is only one male being in the whole of the universe and he is Lord Kṛṣṇa Himself and all other beings are female beings in relation to this supreme male being Kṛṣṇa (parama-puruṣa-Kṛṣṇa). Be that as it may, the sum and substance of the whole of the Rāsalīlā episode is that the reunion of the jīvas and the Īśvara is as delightful as the union between the male and female lovers. This imagery of the amorous dalliances of lovers is employed to bring home the idea of the intensity of the divine delight of the jīva and the Īśvara. If it is argued that it smacks of a bad taste to employ this erotic imagery, then we may point out that similar erotic imageries are profusely employed in the Sufi literature of Islam. In the *Holy Bible* also, the *Song of Solomon* of the *Old Testament*, which is also highly enigmatic in its implications, is full of erotic imageries with lines like the following ones:

"A bundle of myrrh is my well-beloved unto me; he shall lie all night betwixt my breasts".⁴¹ A situation of separation of lovers, like the one described in *Bhāgavata*, 10.30 and 10.31⁴² is found also in the *Song of Solomon*, cf.

"By night on my bed I sought him whom my soul loveth:
I sought him, but I found him not."

There are descriptions also of more intimate amorous caresses too in the said *Song of Solomon*.

In *Everyman*, a morality drama of Middle English literature, Everyman is the principal character. When Everyman after his death, in course of his approaching God, becomes free from his sins and comes to be in the possession of a record only of good deeds, he is addressed by an Angel as follows: "Welcome, the elected bride of Jesus, you will go above your virtue. Now the soul is detached from the body. Your account is perfectly clear. You will now step into heaven, where those who have lived a clear life will enter before the Day of Last Judgement".⁴³

Here Everyman is called 'the elected bride of Jesus', and this is also a case of erotic imagery. Parallel instances of erotic symbolism in Hinduism and other religions may be a legion. But that is not going to help us in finding a justification for defilement of a spiritual philosophical concept by way of being presented with an erotic imagery. Hence, we want to point out for the first time that this is a case of upabṛhmaṇa of a philosophical idea found in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad*, contained in the following passage:

"तद वा अस्तैतद अतिच्छन्दोऽपहतपाप्माणां रूपम्। तद यथा प्रियया स्त्रिया सम्परिष्वक्तो न बाह्यं किञ्चन वेद नान्तरम्, एवमेवायं पुरुषः प्राङ्गेनात्मना सम्परिष्वक्तो न बाह्यं किञ्चन वेद नान्तरम्, तद वा अस्तैतद आप्तकामम् आत्मकामम् अकामम् रूपं शोकान्तरम् (बृ.अ. 4.3.21)."

"This, verily is his form which is free from craving, free from evils, free from fear. As a man when in the embrace of his beloved wife knows nothing without or within, so the person when in the embrace of the intelligent self knows nothing without or within. That, verily, is his form in which his desire is fulfilled, in which the self is his desire, in which he is without desire, free from any sorrow".⁴⁴

In all probability this passage of the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad* is the final authority for the whole of the Rāsalilā episode of the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*. This is also most likely that many of the ideas and

expressions of this passage provided the model for the ideas and expressions found in the Purāṇa. For instance:

i. Upaniṣad lays emphasis on the imagery of embracing and employs the word परिष्वक्त twice. The Purāṇa also mentions embracing first whenever there is an occasion for referring to various types of amorous carassing (cf. a. bāhuprasāraparirambha, etc., 10.29.46 where *parirambha* means *pariṣvanga* and b. evam *pariṣvanga*, etc. 10.33.17). In the Purāṇa also a word meaning an embrace occurs twice.

ii. In the Upaniṣad there is emphasis also on the epithets āptakāmam, ātmakāmam and akāmam. The following expressions of the Purāṇa seem to be modelled on and inspired by the said epithets of the Upaniṣad:

- (a) आत्मारामोऽप्यरिमत्, 10.29.42; आत्मारामोऽपि लौलया, 10.33.20
- (b) आप्तकामो यदुपति, 10.33.9
- (c) ऐसे स्वयं स्वरतिष्ठ, 10.33.24; चात्मरत आत्मारामोऽप्यखण्डत्, 10.30.34; सिंहेव अस्तमन्यवरुद्ध-सौरत्, 10.33.26.

iii. पुरुषः प्राणेनाद्यना सम्परिष्वक्तः of the Upaniṣad seems to have inspired the expression प्राज्ञं प्राप्य यथा जनः (10.32.9) of the Purāṇa.

It may be pointed out that for creating stories and building up mythologies also the later scriptures may be supposed to have a sanction from the Veda, in so far as the Veda itself has set the model in this direction. The Brāhmaṇas have many a parable presented in the form of an *arthavāda*. An *arthavāda* is meant for praising a *vidhi*. A *vidhi* enjoins a sort of ritual or religious activity and the *arthavāda* tells about the good effects of performing the enjoined ritual or the religious activity.

In the Samhitā also a good deal of weaving of stories is there. M. Winternitz has made a very important observation as follows: "To say it in a word: what renders these hymns so valuable for us is that we see before us in them a mythology in the making. We see gods, as it were, arising before our eyes."⁴⁵

VII

It is surprising that even the traditional scholars did not fail to recognise the actual physical phenomena which often provided the basis for building up a mythology. For instance, Indra is the rain-god. Basically Indra is that force of nature which causes the rains. Indra is a personification of a natural force. The natural force personified as Indra dissolves a lump of cloud and causes rain. When the natural force is personified as Indra, the lump of cloud is personified as an Asura (demon) named Vṛtra. The authors of the Vedic etymology (Niarukta) recognised Vṛtra as cloud (megha) correctly. The authors of the Itihāsa type of works recognised Vṛtra as an Asura named Tvāṣṭra. It may be remembered here that Itihāsas contain upabṛhmaṇa, and as such develop the mythologies as illustrated above. Yāska, the author of the Nirukta, recognised very correctly the scientific fact that rain originates from an interaction between water and sun-rays. But as the story goes, a battle takes place between Indra and Tvāṣṭra, who withholds the waters. When Indra kills Vṛtra, the waters get released. Yāska opines that the battle is only a 'symbolical' representation of a physical phenomenon. Yāska, however, uses the term upamā (i.e. simile) in the sense of employment of symbols. The mantras (i.e. the Samhitās) and the Brāhmaṇas describe Vṛtra to be like a snake. Accordingly, the snake is said to have obstructed the flow of water by enlarging its body. When Vṛtra was killed, the waters began to flow; cf.

"तत् को चूकः। मेघ इति नैस्कतः। त्वाष्ट्रेऽसुर इन्द्रैहिसिकः। अपां च ज्ञेतिष्ठस्त्र
पिशीपावकर्णो वर्षकर्म जायते। तत्रोपमार्थेन युद्धवर्णं पवन्ति। अहिवत्तु खलु मन्त्रवर्णा ब्राह्मणवा-
दाश्च। विवृद्धय शरीरस्य स्नेतांसि निवारयाऽचकार। तस्मिन् हते प्रसास्यन्दिर आपः।"⁴⁶

In this passage Yāska also confirms that the Samhitās and the Brāhmaṇas also contained mythologies and, in our opinion, thus provided the sanction for the creation of mythologies by the later scriptures.

Yāska also very intelligently points out the mechanism of creating a mythology as he says: आत्मेवेषां रथो पवति। आत्मारकः। आत्मायुधः। आत्मेषकः। अतमा सर्वे देवस्य। निस्कत. 7.4). The idea is that the deities are by and large personifications of natural objects. The various aspects of the natural objects are also imagined to be the various accessories associated with the

personality superimposed on the natural object. For instance, the sun is personified as a deity. That deity is supposed to travel on a chariot (*ratha*). According to Yāska's theory the chariot is nothing different from the round orb of the sun. The basic component of the chariot is the wheel, and the wheel is also round. Because of this similarity in respect of the roundness the sun is supposed to travel not with an elephant or a swan, but by a chariot. The spectrum of the sun rays is supposed to be the reins for controlling the horses of the chariot. Like the spectrum spreading out from the sun the reins also spread out from the fist of the charioteer. Incidentally the Sanskrit word रेत् means rays of light as well as reins. The chariot of sun is supposed to be pulled by seven steeds. Presumably the number happens to be seven because the sunlight consists of the seven colours which are found when the sun light passes through a prism. Thus the chariot, the reins and the horses are all identical with the physical object called sun. There is no real physical existence of the chariot, the horses and the reins. Yet the mythology that the sun travels with a chariot pulled by seven steeds has come to stay.

Thus it appears to be the fact that the later Hindu scriptures are related to the Veda in some way or other and they stand on the authority of, and have a direct or tacit sanction from the Veda.

REFERENCES

1. Cf. *mantra-brāhmaṇayor vedanāmadheyam*. For a reference to the entire Vedic literature with the term *veda*, in singular number see *Manusamhitā*, 2.6.
2. Cf. *sadāro vāpyadāro vā ātmavān sanyatendriyah/ vānaprasthāśramam gacchet kṛtakṛtyo gṛhāśramāt// tatrāranya-śāstrāṇi samadhitya sa dharmavit/ ūrddhvaretāḥ pravrajitvā gaccaty akṣarasātmatām// Mahābhārata, Śāntiparvan, 61.4.5. Cf. also *Manusamhitā*, 6.29. It is noteworthy that both the words *vana* and *aranya* involved in *vānaprasta* and *āranya* mean 'a forest'.*
3. *dharmaśāstraṁ tu vai smṛtiḥ*, *Manusamhitā*, 2.10.
4. Sacred Books of the East, vol.48, p.91.
5. The last meaning is given by M. Winternitz (as translated by Mrs. Ketkar), *History of Indian Literature*, vol.I rpt, 1977, p.527, Calcutta University.

6. *Rāmāyaṇa*, 1.4.6.
7. *Tilaka* on *Rāmāyaṇa*, 1.4.6.
8. Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, vol. I, p.218.
9. In the *Manusamhitā* (3.222), however, a difference is suggested between *itihāsa* and *ākhyāna*. See fn.11 below.
10. *Sāṃkarabhaṣya* on *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad*, 2.4.10.
11. स्वाध्यायं श्रावयेत् पित्र्ये धर्मशास्त्राणि चैव हि।
आद्यानानीतिहासांश्च पुराणानि खिलानि च ॥ दृष्टद. 3.222.
The verse number, however, varies from edition to edition.
12. Rām. Bāla. 2.41; Yuddha. 128.105.
13. ibid. Bāla. 4.27.
14. ibid. Yuddha. 128.120.
15. ibid, Bāla. 4.32, Yuddha. 128.118.
16. Bhoja's *Śrīgāraprakāśa*, p.608.
17. "The Indians are not consistent in their use of the expressions *ākhyāna*, *itihāsa* and *purāṇa*, for they sometimes use them as synonyms, but at other times to mean various kinds of narratives. The epic *Mahābhārata* in the Introduction is called alternately *itihāsa*, *purāṇa* and *ākhyāna*", Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, vol.1, p. 311n.
18. Variant reading: विप्रिच्छतां भागवते परीक्षा । The whole verse runs as follows:
वैश्वानरे हाटकसंपरीक्षा
महाहवे जसत्रप्रतां परीक्षा ।
विपत्तिकाले गृहिणीपरीक्षा
विद्युतानां भागवते परीक्षा ॥
19. For the expression इशावास्यमिदं सर्वम् of the Upaniṣad the Purāṇa gives आत्मावास्यमिदं विश्वम्. Although Śridhara recognises the difference in reading yet he says that the concerned verse of the Upaniṣad is just the same as the śloka of the Purāṇa, cf. तथा च श्रुतिः। इशावास्यमिदि यथारलोकमेव। Now the question arises as to what could have been the reason for slightly changing the Vedic text. Presumably it is a case of deliberate alteration so as to avoid the reproduction of a sacred Vedic text in a non-Vedic Purāṇa work. But Śvetāśvatara, 3.16 is reproduced as *Gītā*, 13.13 without slightest change. It is not unlikely that it was possible for the *Gītā* was itself recognised as an *upaniṣad*. In this case also there arises the question of propriety as to how a popular *Itihāsa* work like *Mahābhārata* include an entire Upaniṣad like the *Gītā*. Perhaps to meet this very exigency there was an attempt to give the status of a *Veda* also to the *Itihāsa* and the Purāṇa. Hence in the *Bhāgavata* itself we have: इतिहासपुण्ड्रं च पंचमे

- वेद उच्यते, 1.4.20 and इतिकालपुराणानि पंचमं वेदभीश्वरः सद्गे सर्वदर्शनः, 3.12.39.
20. The concerned verse of the *Rgveda*: चत्वारि युगा त्रयो अस्य पादा, etc. is quoted also by Patañjī in the *Mahābhāṣya*, *Paśpasāḥnika*.
 21. From verse 2.54 to verse 2.71.
 22. तेन त्यक्तेन भूज्योऽहा, ईशोपनिषद्, 1.
 23. *tyaktena* may mean *tyāgena* according to the Mīmāṃsaka's maxim: भूषणव्यसमुच्चारणे भूतं भव्या उपादिश्वतो।
 24. Cf. Harijan, dated 30.01.1937, p.405, quoted in *Eighteen Principal Upaniṣads*, ed. Limaye and Vadekar, Poona 1968, page facing p. 1. Cf. also, "Have I not duly said that the world is not going to lose anything even if all our Vedas are destroyed and only the first mantra of *Ishopanishad* survives?" *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, Publication Division, Ministry of I & B, Govt. of India, vol. 65, p.89.
 25. The *Mahābhārata* war lasted for eighteen days, and it witnessed the fall of eighteen *aksauhiṇīs* of soldiers.
 26. कथितो हारितासु समासविधिकल्पतः।
 27. अस्य गायत्र्यप्रतिपादकत्वधननाय गायत्र्यादिमाक्षरेणोपक्रम्य यादिति गायत्र्यनित्यमाक्षरेण समापितवान्, *Tilaka on Rāmāyaṇa*, 1.1.1.
 28. He is Satyavatisuta-kṛṣṇadvaipāyana-vyāsa. Incidentally there is also a University in Indonesia, named after this Vyāsa as "Universitas Krisnадurpayana". The present address (as in January, 1994) of that University is "Jalan Jatiwaringin, Pondok Gede, Jakarta, Indonesia.
 29. This is a very plain translation. There are, and there might be, other translations also.
 30. Cf. यदिदं किञ्च तद विक्रमते विष्णुः। त्रिष्णा निदये पदम्। पृथिव्यामन्तरिक्षे दिवीति शाकपूषिः। समारोहणे विष्णुपदे गव्यशिरसीत्यौर्ध्वान्तः।, Nirukta. 12.19.
 31. Cf. समूलहमस्य (पांसुरे)प्यायषेऽन्तरिक्षे पदं न दृश्यते। अपि वोपमार्थं स्यात्। समूलहमस्य पांसुल इव पदं न दृश्यते इति., ibid.
 32. See V.S. Apte, *The Student's Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, under the entry 'ahalyā'.
 33. A.A. Macdonel and A.B. Keith, *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, vol.1, under the entry 'ahalyā maitreyī'.
 34. Julius Eggeling opines, "This is another of Indra's love myth about which very little is known", *The Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*, Motilal Banarasidass, edn. 1942, pt. II, p. 81n.
 35. Cf. पुरा महर्षयः सर्वे दण्डकारण्यवासिनः।
दृष्ट्वा रामं हरिं तत्र घोक्तुमैच्छन् सुविग्रहम्।।

ते सर्वे स्त्रीत्यमापन्नाः समुद्भूतारथं गोकुले।
हरि संप्राप्य कामेन ततो मुक्ता भवाण्यात्।।

Padmapurāṇa, *Uttarakhaṇḍa*, quoted in *Ānandacandrikā* commentary of *Viśvanāṭhacakravartī* under *Ujjvalanīlāmaṇi*, *Harivallabhā-prakaraṇa*, verse 41f.

समन्तात् सूभूमदरीच्चयो महोपनिषदोऽखिलाः।।
गोपीनां वीक्ष्य सौधाग्यमसनोर्ध्वं सुविस्मिताः।।
तपांसि श्रद्धया कृत्वा प्रेमाद्या जज्ञिरे ऋजे।।
वल्लभ्य इति पौराणी तथौपनिषदी प्रथा।।

Ujjvalanīlāmaṇi, *Harivallabhā-prakaraṇa*, 45f.

36. Translation given from Radhakrishnan's *Principal Upanishads*, London, George Allen & Unwin, 1974, p. 548. Cf. also: *tadaikṣata bahu syām prajāyeyeti*, *Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad*, 6.2.3.
37. अकामस्य क्रिया काचिददृश्यते नेह कर्हिचित्।
यद यद्द्वि कुरुते किञ्चित् तत्तत् कामस्य चेष्टितम्।। *Manu*.2.4.
38. In his *Orchestra, or a Poem on Dauncing* (1596) Sir John Davies (1569-1626) "represents Penelope as refusing to dance with the suitor Antinous, who thereupon proves to her that the exercise is both ancient and universal, since elements and the heavenly bodies, involved in rhythmic movement are so many dancers". Legouis and Cazamian, *History of English Literature*, 1992 reprint, Macmillan India Limited, p. 317f.
39. Cf. *Bhāgavata*, 10.33.29.
40. Cf. *Bhāgavata*, 10.30.34.
41. Lines quoted from King James Version, 1611 as contained in the American Bible Society, New York edn.
42. Incidentally, the description of separation in the *Bhāgavata* is very long and it is perhaps because the state of separation is the reality for most of the jīvas of the practical world.
43. Quoted from the edn. of S.P. Sen Gupta, Prakash Book Depot, Bareilly 243003, 5th edn. 1992.
44. Trans. as given by Radhakrishnan, op.cit.; Vide n. 36 above.
45. *A History of Indian Literature*, vol. I, Part-1, Calcutta University, 3rd edn. 1962, p.65.
46. *The Nighāṇṭu and Nirukta*, ed. L. Sarup, Delhi, (2nd rpt.), 1967, p. 52..

LOKESH CHANDRA

**CULTURAL CONTACTS OF INDONESIA
AND SRILANKA IN THE EIGHTH CENTURY
AND THEIR BEARING ON THE BARABUDUR**

1. Prof. J.G. de Casparis (1961) has written a fascinating paper on the 'New Evidence on Cultural Relations between Java and Ceylon in Ancient Times' based on the Ratubaka Inscription in Pre-nāgari, dated Śaka 714 = A.D. 792/3. The 12th strophe of the inscription reads:

ayam-*iha jinasūnoḥ padmapāṇeh kṛpaloḥ*
prathita ^{U U U - - U - - U} *pādaiḥ*
jina-vara-vinayoktaih śiksitanām [y]aṭīnām-
abhayagiri-vihāraḥ kāritāḥ simhalanām

Casparis (1961:242) raises a doubt about its syntactic interconnections: "The instrumental case of what is probably a compound ending in ^o*pādaiḥ* could be an attribute to *Jinavaravinayoktaih* but it is difficult to see how any of the meanings of *pāda* could be applied to the words of the Buddha. It is therefore more likely that the instrumental depends on *kāritāḥ*, an epithet referring to those who had the *vihāra* built." The prose order of the strophe would be:

ayam iha prathita...pādaiḥ jinavaravinayoktaih śikṣi-
tānām simhalanām yatiṇām [kṛte] kṛpaloḥ jinasūnoḥ
padmapāṇeh abhayagiri-vihāraḥ kāritāḥ.

It means:

"Here this Abhayagiri monastery consecrated to Jinasūnu Padmapāṇi the Compassionate has been constructed for the sake of Sinhala monks who have been trained in the Vinaya of the Buddha (*jinavara*) as enunciated (*ukta*) by the celebrated (*prathita*) venerable (*pāda*) (name lost in the lacuna of ten syllables)."

This is a crucial strophe for the cultutal history of Indonesia, and merits consideration at length. Two main points are emphasised in this stanza, which were distinctive characteristics of the Abhayagiri-vāsins: (i) The Indonesian monastery was dedicated to Padmapāṇi in his Mahākāruṇika aspect, who must have been predominant at Abhayagiri. (ii) Digression from the Theravāda Vinaya so as to merit special mention of the teacher who initiated the changes and whose name is unfortunately lost though the traces of four aksaras on fragment e may preserve the name of the founder of the Abhayagiri school,¹ namely Dhammaruci (Zeyst 1961: 28). The differences between the orthodox Mahāvīra and the Abhayagiri-vihāra were doctrinal and mainly on account of Vinaya rules. According to the Mahāvamśa 33.95 Mahātissa was expelled from the Mahāvihāra on account of his frequenting lay families. At the instance of Saṅghamitta of Abhayagiri, king Mahāsena withdrew royal support from the Mahāvihāra as their monks did not teach the correct Vinaya. "It is noteworthy that no accusation of heretical doctrine was professed. Soon it became impossible for the monks to continue to live in the Mahāvihāra, and after it had been deserted for nine years, its building material was removed to enrich the Abhayagiri-vihāra." Some three hundred and sixtyfour colleges and great temples were uprooted and destroyed, says an ancient chronicle; and the spoils gathered from them went to enrich and adorn the home of heresy, the Abhayagiri, which, now splendid in ornaments and rich in possessions, stood pre-eminent over all as the greatest and wealthiest monastery in Lanka" (Zeyst 1961: 26). The Abhayagiri monks rejected Parivāra the fifth book of the Vinaya, and in this connection it should be borne in mind that the Mahāyāna canon divides the Vinaya into four and not five parts (Zeyst 1961: 28).

2. Padmapāṇi is Avalokitesvara, whose name appears earlier in line 7 of the inscription as Kamalapāṇi. Sarkar (1971:48v) has not recognised this word as a synonym of Avalokitesvara and has trans-

lated it in a general way "having lotus-like palms", while it means "he who holds the lotus in his hand". Later on Padmapāṇi is rendered by Sarkar as "Lord with his lotus-feet" (sic!). The epithet *kṛpāloḥ* is equivalent to Kāruṇika or Mahākāruṇika which are synonymous with Avalokiteśvara.

3. The Abhayagiri-vāsinas were adherents of *Vetullavāda* as is well known from the Sinhalese chronicles *Dīpavamśa* and *Mahāvamśa* and the commentary on the *Kathāvatthu*. The reading *vaitulya* is found in place of *vaipulya* in the Kashgar manuscript of the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra*. The vulgate title *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-dharma-paryāya* is *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-Mahāratna-Vaitulya-sūtra* in the Kashgar manuscript and in one occurrence the reading is *vaitupulya* (Kern 1907:3.99), a clear indication of the transition from *vaitulya* to *vaipulya*. Thus the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka* (= SP) was an important sūtra of the Vaitulyakas, and as such a scripture of the Abhayagiri-vāsinas. This is confirmed by the fact that they had a monastery dedicated to Padmapāṇi in Indonesia. The 24th chapter of the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka* is a description of the miracles of Avalokiteśvara (*Avalokiteśvara-vikurvaya-nirdeśa*). In Japan, this chapter is treated as an independent sūtra and bears the title *Kannon-gyo* 'Avalokiteśvara-sūtra'. It is recited daily by Japanese devotees to ward off evils and calamities. Avalokiteśvara has vowed to save all beings in His infinite compassion, where He is known as *Daihi-shōja* or *Mahākāruṇikamuni*. The SP says that if a ship sailing on the ocean be cast on the Rāksasi-dvīpa and if in that ship a single being implores Avalokiteśvara all will be saved. In the *Kāraṇḍavyūha* devoted to the glorification of Avalokiteśvara, the Rāksasi-dvīpa is identified with Srilanka (Kern 1909:407, n.1): an ancient link between Avalokiteśvara and Srilanka.

4. The sustained patronage of Sinhalese kings to Abhayagiri must have stemmed from their deep belief in the miraculous protective powers of the SP (Visser 1935:2.621). The state is in constant need of stability and security; and this could be accomplished by the SP. Theravāda had no royal ceremonies; either for the consecration or well-being of the king, or for the stability of the State. Hence recourse to other sūtras. The royal preceptors to the Thai king, in spite of his being a follower of Theravāda, are Śaiva priests who discharge ritual functions of State to this day. In Japan, from olden times this king of sūtras has been worshipped together with the *Kārunikarāja-sūtra* (*Ninnōkyō*) and *Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra* (*Saishōdōkyō*) as "wonderful

texts protecting the state" (Jap. *chingo kokka no myōten*) by all the sects (Visser 1935:2,702). During the early years of the advent of Buddhism prince Shotoku completed a commentary on the SP in A.D. 615 (ibid.622). The blessing power of the SP was invoked by its recitation and making images of Avalokiteśvara not only to secure recovery of imperial personages from illness, but also to suppress rebellion in order to afford peace to the people (ibid. 640). This sūtra was studied and venerated as a "text of the utmost importance and blessing power" (ibid. 677). In A.D. 836 the Japanese Emperor Nimmyo issued an ordinance stating that the protective power of the SP was such that it turned misfortune into felicity (ibid. 655).

5. Avalokiteśvara images in Srilanka. From the 6-7th century onwards upto the present day the worship of Avalokiteśvara has been popular in Srilanka. Statuettes of him belonging to the 6-7th century, are at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts and from Elahera. The most remarkable of Sinhalese statues of Avalokiteśvara for its height and proportions, with an Amitābhā in his headdress, is the one found at Buduruvegala, whose details are finished in stucco. The sunken relief rock sculpture of Avalokiteśvara at Weligama (Southern province), the ten-foot high Dambulla Avalokiteśvara in the cave shrine of the eighth century, the Situlpavva granite statue of the 7-8th century, Ambalantota head in limestone, and metallic images attest the widespread worship of Avalokiteśvara in Srilanka. Cūlavaṇsa refers to the worship of Avalokiteśvara in the reign of Parākramabāhu II (1234-1269). The renowned scholar Śrī Rāhula of the Totagamu vihāra who lived during the reign of Parākramabāhu VI (1415-1467) was a devotee of Nātha Avalokiteśvara. The veneration of Avalokiteśvara during the reign of KirtisriRāyasyinha (1747-1782) is referred to by the Cūlavaṇsa. To this day, worship of Avalokiteśvara continues at the Nātha-devale at Kandy and Lokeśvara-Nātha-devale at Wegiriya (Mudiyanse 1967:8,38,11,10).

6. Hsüan-tsang (Watters 1905:2,335) halted for some time at Kanchi in A.D. 640 in the hope of visiting Srilanka. Prior to his departure the king of Siṁhala died and the country was in disorder so much so that three hundred monks left the country and arrived at Kanchi. It cannot be ruled out that in course of this exodus some of them migrated to Indonesia, stayed on and established themselves there. In times to come, in A.D. 792/3, an Abhayagiri vihāra was constructed for their denomination. Prof. de Casparis says: "The epithets referring to the high standard of learning of the Sinhalese need not imply more

than the conventional kind of praise. It is, however, possible that they were added in order to impress upon the Javanese monks that the Abhayagiri vihāra, of which not many Javanese might have heard, was not just an ordinary monastery but a place that enjoyed great prestige in the Buddhist World". It should be noted that Amoghavajra had travelled from Central Asia for his initiation in Srilanka, sailed to Indonesia where he met his would-be teacher Vajrabodhi in A.D. 718. Vajrabodhi landed at Canton in A.D. 719. A year later Amoghavajra arrived at Loyang in A.D. 720. He worked with Vajrabodhi in China, and on his teacher's death he left China in 741 for Srilanka and South India to acquire new tantra literature, and in A.D. 746 king Silamegha of Srilanka sent through him letters and presents to the emperor of China (Chou 1945:284-307). This is a clear indication that lines of communication between Central Asia, South India, Srilanka, Indonesia and China were open and the sea route was frequented both for trade and culture. Amoghavajra may have been initiated at the Abhayagiri monastery itself. The probability is that the Indonesians were fully aware of the renown and glory of Abhayagiri of Simhala. It was the monastery where Chinese scholars collected Sanskrit texts of the vinaya and tantras. The cultural interflow between Srilanka and Indonesia was brisk and lively as late as the fifteenth century when a manuscript of the poem Jānakīharāṇa was procured from Indonesia by king Parākramabāhu VI of Kotte (1410-1465). The author (Lokesh Chandra 1979) has identified the 28 stanzas of the first canto of this work in the Indonesian palmleaf manuscript or cakēpan preserved at the Leiden University Library Cod.Or. 5089, which affirms the presence of Jānakīharāṇa in Indonesia.

7. Besides strophe 12, Prof. de Casparis (1979) has deciphered and translated the first three invocatory stanzas of this inscription from Ratubaka and tried to link them with the Barabudur.

dhi=gambhīra=guho [vara]smṛti-sīlaḥ sadvākyā-dhātūjj]valo
 maitrī-prasravaṇaḥ samādhi-vanavān=alpecchatā-kandarah/
 yo [ʃ]etābhīr=a(2)pi lokadharma-pravanair=ugrai=na
samkampitas=
 tam samvuddha-sumerum=ūrjita-guṇam jñānogra-śaktin=name
//1//

I pay homage to Sambuddha who is verily the Sumeru, of vigorous qualities, and endowed with awe-inspiring power of knowledge, whose deep caves are [profound] wisdom, whose

rocks are lofty tradition, whose Good Words are brilliant [like the sheet of] metal (*dhātu* [of Sumeru]), whose cascades are Love, whose forests are meditation, whose glens are few desires, who is not shaken by the violent tempests of the eight ways of the world.

*loke carrṣi-vara-pravāhi-samayān=ākramya(3) yo dīpyate
vitrastāḥ pratiyānti tīrthya-vṛṣabhbā yasya prabhāv-oddhatāḥ /
nānā-dṛṣṭi-[vi]marśa-vṛṇdam=api yo bhasmīkaroti kṣaṇat=*
tām sarv-ānu(4)[nib]a]ndha-pradahanām saddharma-vahnin=
name //2//

I pay homage to Him who is the fire of noble Dharma, who shines forth quashing the prevailing beliefs of outstanding heretics, struck by whose majesty the heretics [strong like] bulls panic away in fright, who in an instant reduces to ashes the numerous attachments to heresy and who ~~burns~~ all bondages.

*śaikṣaśaikṣa-sahasra-nakra-makaro yaḥ śūnyatānimitto
nirmmokṣ-aikarasāḥ subhāṣita-mahāratnākaro hṛī-hradāḥ/
[saṃg]ūḍhārtha-vicāraṇā-vara-nadi-vegaiḥ samāpyāyitām
śiksā-vandanāvaddha-velam=amalam=vande gunāgrā[rṇa]vam*
//3//

I pay obeisance to the Ocean of Supreme Virtues whose *nakras* and *makaras* are the thousands of disciples (of the first seven stages) and the arhats (*āśaikṣa*, the eighth stage), who is Voidness (*śūnyatā*) and causelessness (*ānimitta*), whose only essence (*rasa*) is complete liberation, whose is a great mine of jewels: his wise words, whose conscientiousness (*hṛī*) are like the splashing waters (*hrada*, [of the ocean]), nourished-and-invigorated (*samāpyāyita*) by the rushing flow of excellent rivers which are deliberations on esoteric concerns; bounded (*vaddha*) by clean (*amala*) shores (*velā*) which are immaculate (*amala*) discipline and worship.

8. The first stanza compares the Perfectly Enlightened One (*Sambuddha*) to Sumeru which cannot be shaken by raging storms. The components of the montane environs are correlated to the Buddha:

Sumeru	Sambuddha
deep caves (<i>guhā</i>)	profound wisdom (<i>dhi</i>)
rocks (<i>sīlā</i>)	lofty traditions (<i>smṛti</i>)
shining metals (<i>dhātu</i>)	good words (<i>sadvākyā</i>)
cascades (<i>prasravāna</i>)	love (<i>maitri</i>)
forests (<i>vana</i>)	meditation (<i>samādhi</i>)
valleys (<i>kandarā</i>)	few desires (<i>alapechchatā</i>)
violent tempests (<i>ugra pavana</i>)	eight ways of the world (<i>aṣṭa loka-dharma</i>)

Dhi-gambhīra-guho is treated by Casparis as 'whose profound caves are knowledge' which may better be rendered as 'whose deep caves are profound wisdom': *gambhīra* meaning both deep and profound, implying physical depth and spiritual profundity. *Sadvākyadhātūjjvalo* is translated by Casparis as 'whose brilliance is owing to its relic: the Good Word', *dhātu* does not refer to relics but to the precious metals like gold, silver, saphire and amber that adorn the Sumeru mountain:

"he must imagine an earth surface (*bhūmitala) made of many jewels and strewn with gold sand. He blesses it with the formula, *Om cala vi[rā] hūm svāhā*.

Upon it he imagines an ocean of milk, free from such a fault as fish-gills, adorned with such flowers as the red lotus (*padma*) and the blue lotus (*utpalā*), and over which soar flocks of bejewelled birds. He blesses it with the formula, *Om vimala dhahā hūm*.

In the middle of this [ocean], he imagines a foursided Sumeru mountain, adorned on all four sides with rows of stairs made [respectively] of gold, silver, saphire (*indranīla*), and amber, all over which spring up wish-granting trees (*kalpavṛkṣa*) decorated with a thousand fluttering victory banners. He imagines rising above those to a height of many yojanas a lotus trunk which takes its origin from a shaft in the centre of Mount Sumeru, is graced with many jewels, has leaves made of variegated jewels and [blossoms] whose filaments are of gold, another of amber, and tops of pistils ringed by lines of silver" (Lessing/Wayman 1968:175).

Kandarā is translated by Casparis as 'Mount' but it means a narrow valley, glen (MW): *kaṇṭjelena dīryate iti kandarā* 'that which is cut across by water': the na-ay valleys are counterbalanced by few desires. Casparis reads *aṣṭābhīr=a(2)dhi* wherein the dubious *adhi* has to be corrected to *api* which supplies the requisite emphasis. Casparis translates the third quarter as 'which is not shaken by the eight horrible winds: the worldly qualities': horrible winds should be violent winds and eight does not refer to them but to lokadharma, which are enumerated in the Dharmasangraha 61: *aṣṭau lokadharmāḥ / lābhāḥ, alābhāḥ, sukhāḥ, duḥkhaḥ, yaśāḥ, ayasāḥ, nindā, praśānsā* ceti. These eight are also enumerated in Pali texts (Dīghanikāya, Aṅguttaranikāya, Culla-niddesa, Paṭisambhidāmagga, Vibhaṅga, etc., PTSD). This is a common epithet: *anupalipto lokadharmaiḥ* (Mvy. 873, LV.352.10) 'not defiled by the ways of the world', *aṣṭalokadharmā-nupalipta* in Lalitavistara 275.5, Śikṣāsamuccaya 180.2. Sambuddha-sumerum is translated as a genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound 'the Sumeru of the Buddhas' by Casparis, while the Buddha and Sumera are in apposition: the Sumeru-like Buddha.

9. Now let us take up the second stanza. Casparis reads the first quarter as: *lokair=[va]rsadharapravāhi-samayān=ākramya yo dīpyate*, and translates it as 'which burns after having grasped the tides (of the ocean) which(?)'. The reading has to be emended to *loke carṣī-vara^o*. It refers to the Buddha who vanquishes the might of the prevailing doctrines, carries the day and shines with the newly won laurels. *Dīpyate* is 'burns' in the case of fire; and 'shines forth' in the context of the Buddha. Casparis translates the second quarter as "by whose majesty the heretic bulls, excited, approach without fear". It is contrary to the general tenor of the stanza wherein the Buddha vanquishes the mightiest of heretics who vanish away in fright; *vitrastāḥ* is 'frightened, alarmed, terrified' (MW): *vi* is intensive and not privative (as taken by Casparis: 'without fear'). *Pratiyānti* is not 'approach' but 'go away' or run away in panic. *Uddhata* in the present context means struck out, pushed out, thrown away, uprooted. In the third quarter Casparis reads *nānā-dṛṣṭivijñāṇa* where *viśāṇa* is doubtful. The word *dṛṣṭi* 'view, opinion', is "rarely in a good sense, it is as in Pali, almost always wrong opinion, heresy" (Edgerton 1953:269). Five *dṛṣṭis* are enumerated in the Dharmasangraha 68, Mahāvyutpatti 1955-59: *satkāya-dṛṣṭi, antagrāha-dṛṣṭi, mithyā-dṛṣṭi, dṛṣṭi-parāmarśa, sīla-parāmarśa*. *Dṛṣṭi-parāmarśa*, 'clinging or attachment to heresy' is paraphrased by the Abhidharmakośa v.15,18

as *hinocca-d^o* 'regarding as high what is low' (Edgerton 1953:269-270). The metre requires three syllables and so it cannot have *parāmarśa* which comprises four syllables. It has to be substituted by *vimarśa* which would also alliterate with the next word *vṛṇḍam*. Thus the conjectural *viśāṅka* 'considerations' which does not fit into the context can be replaced by *vimarśa* in the meaning of *parāmarśa* 'clinging to, attachment to ...' (in a disapproved way) and we have a powerful and eloquent statement of the intentions of the author of the inscription. In the fourth quarter the word *anu(4)[niba]ndha* is not quite clear. Edgerton does not give this word, but *vinibandha* 'bondage, attachment' is cited from Mahāvyutpatti 2199, 7232 and the Daśabhūmika 51.14,15. The five bondages of the mind (*cetaso vinibandhā*) are frequently enumerated in Pali texts: Dīghanikāya 3.238, Majjimānikāya 1.103, Aṅguttaranikāya 3.249, 4.461, 5.17, Vibhaṅga 477.

10. The third stanza commences with: *śaikṣāsaikṣa-sahasra-cakramakaro*, translated by Casparis as 'whose makaras are the multitude of those who are in training and those who are beyond training śaikṣa and aśaikṣa are technical terms. Śaikṣa is a disciple undergoing training in the first seven stages of religious discipline, while aśaikṣa is the eighth stage of the arhat who no longer needs training (Edgerton 1953:80). Cakra (Edgerton 1953:221a) is one of the four states of (desirable, happy) existence (in which gods and men may find themselves) enumerated in the Mahāvyutpatti 1603-7 in the chapter on *cattvāri deva-manuṣyāṇām cakrāni*. Similarly in Pali Aṅguttaranikāya 2.32, Saṃyutta-nikāya 1.16,63 (catucakka). The compound *cakrabhedā* 'sowing discard' (Mvy 9114), and the Pali *cakkabhedā*, parallel with *sāṅghabheda*, occurs in Vinaya 2.198, 3.171. As a technical term *cakra* hardly fits our context. Though the reading *cakra* may be explained, yet *nakra* would be preferable if it can be read on the stone inscription. That would counterpose the śaikṣa against *nakra* 'alligator' and aśaikṣa contra *makara*. It would be better diction. Casparis reads *śūnyatānisvaro* where *svaro* is a dubious reading. *Śūnyatā* (Edgerton 1953:532) is often associated with *animitta* and *apranihita* in Saddharma-puṇḍarīka 101.1, 136.13, 137.2, Lalitavistara 422.20, *śūnyatānimitta-pranihitam* in Saddharma-puṇḍarīka 101.1, 136.13, Sīkṣāsamuccaya 6.15 (Edgerton 1953:47b). In Pali it is used as an epithet of *vimokkhā*, *nibbāna*, also as a substitute for the latter (Edgerton 1953:47a). In the inscription *śūnyatānisvaro* (?) is followed by *nirmokṣaikarasalā* and it would be better to read it as *śūnyatānimitto*. In the second quarter, *subhāṣita-mahāratnākaro*

means that while the ocean is replete with riches of the deep, the Buddha is an endless treasurehouse of noble words. *Hrihradāḥ* is translated by Casparis as ‘the Lake of Modesty’: can there be a lake in the ocean? It should have a meaning more coherent in this passage. *Hradin* ‘abounding in water (as a river)’ MBh., *Harivamśa*, *Rāmāyaṇa* (MW.1306-7), *vr̥hād* ‘to sound, roar ...’, *hrādayati* ‘to cause to sound, to refresh, delight’. The original meaning of *hri* may be gleaned from the Pali phrases *hiri-nisedha* ‘restrained by conscience’, *hiri-bala* ‘the power of conscientiousness’, *hiri-mana* ‘conscientious’, *ahirika* ‘shameless, unscrupulous’, *hiriyatī* ‘to feel conscientious scruple’ (Davidson/Stede 1921). Thus *hrada* refers to the surging waters breaking in the joy (*hrād/hlād*) of waves, and this oceanic abandon of the Buddha is the overflow of Cosmic Consciousness that He is. The third quarter *sāṅgūḍhārtha-vicāraṇā* is rendered by Casparis as ‘the discussion on hidden(?) meanings’. It is a reference to the constant development of Buddhist thought culminating in the esoteric systems of the tantras. This becomes clear when we bear in mind that the present inscription pertains to a monastery of the Abhayagiri denomination, which was constantly in touch with development of Buddhist thought in the mainland of India, in contradistinction to their opponents the adherents of Mahāvihāra. The static orthodoxy of the Theravādins of Mahāvihāra was in sharp contrast to the evernew philosophic dynamism of the Abhayagiri-vāsins. This was predominantly in the context of the development of the esoteric (*sampūḍha*) doctrine of Tantras, which *sāmāpyāyita* ‘nourished, invigorated and refreshed’ (MW) the new order. The torrential flow (*vega*) of mighty (*vara*) rivers emptying into the ocean is put into bounds (*vaddha*) by undefiled (*amala*) beaches (*velā*). This brings us to the fourth quarter: *śikṣā-vandana-vaddha-velam amalam* which is translated by Casparis as ‘whose tides reflect the praising of the (Three) Instructions’. Here *velā* is not tide, but ‘coast, shore’ (*velāyām* ‘on the seashore, coastwise, MBh.’ (MW.1018). *Velā* is “boundary of sea and land (personified as the daughter of Meru and Dhārinī, and the wife of Samudra)” (MW). Śikṣā are the Three Instructions of the Vinaya in reference to moral conduct (*adhiśīlam*), by the Sūtra in reference to thought, intellect (*adhicittam*), and by the Abhidharma in reference to wisdom, insight (*adhiprajñām*). *Vandanā* is the first of the seven acts of worship (*saptavidhā anuttarapūjā*) which are enumerated in *Dharmasaṅgraha* 14. Śikṣā refers to the way of śrāvakas and *vandanā* to that of Mahāyāna. This twofold division is well known in Tibet (Lessing/Wayman 1968:17,21).

11. The first three invocatory stanzas refer to Sumeru, fire (*vahni*) and waters (*arṇava*), corresponding to the *mahābhūta* or elements: earth, water, fire and the fourth element wind may be found in the succeeding stanza. The four elements alone are recognised by Vasubandhu in his *Abhidharmaśāstra* (Visser 1931:6). The fifth element ākāśa 'ether' is not included in his system. In the Vajradhātu mahāmaṇḍala too only these four elements guard its corner directions (Lokesh Chandra 1972:464-467).

12. In the three stanzas the terms *lokadharma*, *śaikṣaśaikṣa*, *sūnyatānimitta* refers to śrāvakayāna (Theravāda). *Subhāṣita-mahāratnākara* may veil an allusion to the Ratnakūṭa sūtras. Ratnākara is the name of a mountain in the Mahāmāyūri 253.32 (Edgerton 1953:452b), and the Ratnakūṭa sūtras of the Andhrakas are mentioned in the Nikāya-saigraha as being prevalent in Srilanka (Mudiyanse 1967:17). The Abhayagiri-vāsins were assailed by orthodox Theravāda sects but remained unperturbed and unshaken (*na samkampitah*). They went on progressing into the ever-evolving world of Buddhism, from the Vedalla/Vetulla/Vepulla sūtras into Vajrayāna. The Nikāya-saigraha explicitly states that their Vetulla-piṭaka had texts of all shades of the spectrum of Vetullavāda from early Mahāyāna to Ratnakūṭa and finally to the Tantras. *Samgūḍhārtha-vicāraṇā-vara-nadi-* *vegaiḥ samāpyāyitam* refers to the spread of esoteric (*saṃgūḍha*) texts of the various tantras in Srilankas. This brings us to the consideration of the denominational system or systems prevalent among the adherents of Abhayagiri who went to Indonesia.

13. In the reign of Voharika Tissa (A.D. 209-301) the Abhayagiri-vāsins who "had earlier received a body of Vajjiputta monks from Pallārāma in India led by their teacher Dhammaruci, are reported to have adopted some views belonging to the Vetulya-vāda" (Zeyst 1961:25). "In the time of Silakāla (518-531) a Vaipulya Sutta (Mahāyāna text) known as *Dhammadhātu* was brought from India by a merchant of Kāśī, named Pūrṇa. This text was readily accepted by Abhayagiri and was honoured in the palace". In the ninth century a follower of the "Vajraparvata sect in India came to reside in Abhayagiri from where he spread his secret teachings" (ibid.26) "The Abhayagiri monks seem to have kept up constant contact with various Buddhist sects and new movements in India, from which they derived inspiration and strength... The Dhammarucikas of Abhayagiri are supposed to have accepted the Vetulya-piṭaka. The Vetulyas or

adherents of *Vetulla-vāda* are well known by name both in the Sinhalese chronicles and in the commentary to the *Kathāvatthu*" (ibid.27). In Pali *vetulla/vetulya* occurs as a dissenting sect in ⁰*vāda* (*Mahāvanssa* 36.41, *Dīpavanssa* 22.45) and in ⁰*vādin*. Davids/Stede say that the "Pali form is not clear; it probably rests on dialectical translation of a later term". *Vaitulya* is a derivative of *vitula* 'incomparable', vi 'not' *tula* 'comparable', like *atula*. In Pali, which preserves an earlier tradition, the form *vepulla* does not occur as a variant for *vetullas*.

14. The word *vetulla* is *vaitulya* in Sanskrit. In the Kashgar manuscript of the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka*, the title is 'constantly' *sūtram mahāvaitulyam bodhisattvotpādam* (Kern 1909, Preface ix, 65 n.1) instead of the Nepalese *sutrāntam mahāvaipulyam bodhisattvavāvādam*. In the Central Asian manuscript of the *Mahāparinirvāna-sūtra* written in Upright Gupta script we get *sarvamahāyāna-sūtra vaitulya-param-āmṛta-saddharma ...* (Hoernle 1916:95.8). *Siksāsamuccaya* (ed. Bendall 354.6, 415) cites from the *Candrapradipa-sūtras* (= *Samādhīrāja*): *vaitulya-sīkṣitāḥ*, where Tibetan has *rab-rgyas-dag-gis* bslabs which is a translation of *vaipulya* and *dag-gis* is instrumental plural. The *Samādhīrāja-sūtra* is also a *vaipulya-sūtra* (Mudiyancse 1967:18). In later manuscripts *vaitulya* has been replaced by *vai-pulya*. *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka* calls itself a *vaipulya-sūtra-rāja* (1.3), and speaks of the plurality of *vaipulyasūtrāṇi* (46.4), *vaipulya-sūtrāṇa* (98.3). This sūtra also terms itself as *dharmaparyāyam sūtrāntam mahāvaipulyam bodhisattvavāvādam* (19.12), *saddharma-puṇḍarīkam* (followed by the same four words as in 19.12) in 21.6, 22.15, 65.1, *saddharma-puṇḍarīkam nāma dharmaparyāyam sūtrāntam mahāvai-pulyam*. *Vaipulya* and *mahāvaipulya* are used as synonymous terms. *Lalitavistara* speaks of itself as a *mahāvaipulya sūtra*: *lalitavistaro nāma dharmaparyāyāḥ sūtrānto mahāvaipulya-nicayo bodhisattva-kuśala-mūla-samudbhāvanaḥ* (4.18), *lalitavistaro nāma dharmaparyāya-sūtrānto mahāvaipulya-bodhisattva-vikriḍitaḥ* (438.20), *vaipulya-sūtra* (7.9).

15. The *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka*, *Lalitavistara* and *Samādhīrāja* are three of the nine sūtras (*nava-dharmāḥ*) of the Buddhists of Nepal, the other six being *Laiķāvatāra*, *Aśtāsaḥasrikā*, *Gaṇḍavyūha*, *Daśabhūmika*, *Suvarṇaprabhāsa* and *Tathāgata-guhiyaka* (*Guhyasaṃjā*). These nine texts might have formed a part of the *Vaitulya-piṭaka* of the *Vaitulyavādins*, referred to in the *Nikāyasāṅgraha* 32, along with other texts.

16. The Saddharma-puṇḍarīka, Lalitavistara and Samādhiraśa were (Mahā)Vaitulya/Vaipulya texts as is evident from these Sanskrit texts themselves. The Tibetan and Chinese titles show that there were other texts of the (mahā)vaipulya class: The Avatāraśaka is a mahāvaipulya sūtra: it is entitled *Buddhāvatāraśaka nāma mahāvai-pulya-sūtra* in the Tibetan Kanjur (Toh.44) and Mahāvaipulya Bud-dhāvatāraśaka-sūtra in the Chinese translation (Nj.87=T.278, Nj.88=T.279). The Mahāvairocanābhisaṃbodhi-vikurvit-ādhiṣṭhāna-vaipu-lya-sūtrendra-rāja nāma dharma-paryāya (Toh. 494, T.848=Nj.530) is the basic text (*mūla-tantra*) of the division of caryā-tantras.

17. The tradition of the Vaitulya/Vaipulya sūtras starting with the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka, Lalitavistara and others continued to develop, culminating in Vajrayāna. This sequence of development is preserved and owned in its entirety by the Vajrayāna tradition in the following classification:

- A. (1) the biography of Śākyamuni
 - (2) compilation of the Word by the great śrāvakas in the Hinayāna tradition
 - (3) compilation of the Word in the Mahāyāna tradition.
- B. Sūtras which show principally the Pāramitā-yāna fall into four groups:
 - (1) Vinaya-vastu arising from the first promulgation (Bkāh) which was the Wheel of the Law concerning the Four Truths (Toh.1-7)
 - (2) the Prajñā-pāramitā side arising from the intermediate (pro-mulgation) which was the Wheel of Law concerning lack of characteristics (i.e. sūnyatā) (Toh.8-30)
 - (3) The Ratnakūta and Avatāraśaka arising from the last (pro-mulgation) which was the Wheel of Law concerning perfect discrimination (i.e. yoga experience) (Toh.44 Avatāraśaka and 45-93 Ratnakūta)
 - (4) The numerous sūtras which pertain in some measure to all three Wheels of Law, arranged in a single major class (Toh.94-359).
- C. Tantras which show principally the Vajrayāna fall into four groups:
 - (1) Anuttara-yoga-tantra (Toh. 360-478)
 - (2) Yoga-tantra (Toh. 479-493)
 - (3) Caryā-tantra (Toh.494-501)
 - (4) Kriyā-tantra (Toh.502-827)

18. The Abhayagiri-vāsins followed the same tradition of accepting the entire evolution of Buddhism over the centuries. Hsüan-tsang says that the Abhayagiri-vāsins "studied both vehicles, and widely diffused the Tripitakas" (Beal 186:2.247), which shows their ecumenical approach. The Nikāya-saṅgraha (p.20) records that in the reign of Sena I (846-866) vajriya-vāda was introduced to the virānikura monastery by a monk of the Vajraparvata-nikāya of India, and the king accepted these doctrines (Mudiyanse 1967:8). In a prior context the Nikāya-saṅgraha (p. 9-10, Mudiyanse 1967:17) enumerates the titles of 34 works of different divisions of tantras:

- (1) Varṇa-piṭaka of the Hemavatas
- (2) Aṅgulimāla-piṭaka of the Rājagirikas
- (3) Gūḍha-Vessantara of the Siddhārthakas
- (4) Rāṣṭrapāla-garjjita of the Pūrvāśailīyas
- (5) Ālavaka-garjjita of the Aparāśailīyas

Works of Vajraparvatavāsins (6-34)

- (6) Gūḍha-Vinaya
- (7) Māyājāla-tantra
- (8) Samāja-tantra
- (9) Mahāsamaya-tattva-tantra
- (10) Tattva-saṅgraha-tantra
- (11) Bhūtaḍāmara-tantra
- (12) Vajrāṇīta-tantra
- (13) Cakra-saṇīvara-tantra
- (14) Dvādaśacakra-tantra
- (15) Herukādbhuta-tantra
- (16) Mahāmāyā-tantra
- (17) Padanikṣepa-tantra
- (18) Catuṣpiṣṭa-tantra
- (19) Paramardda-tantra
- (20) Māricyudbhava-tantra
- (21) Sarvabuddha-tantra
- (22) Sarvaguhyā-tantra
- (23) Samuccaya-tantra
- (24) Rāja-kalpa
- (25) Herambha-kalpa
- (26) Trisamaya-kalpa
- (27) Rāja-kalpa
- (28) Vajra-gandhāra-kalpa
- (29) Mārici-guhya-kalpa

- (30) Śuddha-samuccaya-kalpa
- (31) Māyā-Mārīci-kalpa
- (32) Vaitulya-piṭaka of the Vaitulyavādins
- (33) Ratnakūṭa-sūtras of the Āndhrakas
- (34) Aksarasāriya-sūtra of the Mahāsāṅghikas

19. The aforesaid texts can be arranged into the following groups according to the Vajrayāna system of classification (Lessing/Wayman 1973:233-239):

Ratnakūṭa genre of texts (Toh.45-93, Ns.34)

Sūtras:

Rāṣtrapāla-paripṛcchā (Toh.62, Ns.4)

Aṅgulimāliya (Toh.213, Ns. 2)

Anuttara-yoga-tantras

Herukābhuyudaya (Toh.374, Ns.15 Herukādbhuta-tantra. Tantras pertaining to the Heruka group are Toh. 368-427).

Cakrasaṃvara-tantra (Toh.385, Ns.13)

Mahāsamaya-tantra-rāja (Toh.390, Ns.9 Mahāsamaya- tattva-tantra)

Mahāmāya-tantra-rāja (Toh.425, Ns.16 omits ^orāja)

Catuṣpiṭha-vikhyāta-tantra-rāja (Toh.430, Ns.18 Catuṣpiṭha-tantra)

Vajramṛta-tantra (Toh. 435, Ns.12)

Guhyasamājā-tantra (Toh.449, Ns. 8 Samājā-tantra). The Guhyasa-māja section extends from Toh.442 to Toh.453 (both inclusive, Wayman 1973:235)

Māyājāla-mahātantra-rāja (Toh.466, Ns.7 Māyājāla-tantra)

Yoga-tantras

Tattva-saṅgraha (Toh.479, Ns.10 adds ^otantra)

Paramādyanāma mahāyāna-kalparāja (Toh. 487, Ns.19 Paramardatantra)

Caryā-tantra

Padanikṣepa-tantra (Ns.17). Padanikṣepa is one of the Eight Mahāvidyārāja in Shingon or Japanese mantrayāna (Taishō Zuzō 164 no.1, 165 no.1 Hachi-dai-myōō-zuzō ‘figures of aṣṭa-mahāvidyārāja’, two scrolls kept at the Daigōji monastery).

Kriyā-tantras

Māyā-Mārīci-jāta-tantrād uddhṛtam kalpa-rāja (Toh.565, Ns. Māyā-Mārīci-kalpa)

Mārīcy-udbhava-tantra (Ns. 20), Mārīci-kalpa (Ns.24), Mārīci-guhya-kalpa (Ns. 29) can be compared to Toh.566.

Bhūtaḍāmara-mahātantra-rāja (Toh. 147, Ns.11 B.-tantra).

General

Kriyā-samuccaya (Toh.3305, Ns. 23 Samuccaya-tantra)

Trisamayarāja-sādhana (Toh.3144,3401), Trisamaya-samaya-sādhana (Toh.3147) can be compared to Trisamaya-kalpa (Ns.26) and Rāja-kalpa (Ns.27)

Vajragāndhāra-kalpa (Ns. 28) can be compared to Vajragāndhārī-sādhana (Toh.3260,3385,3594,3595).

20. The Nikāva-sangraha makes it explicit beyond doubt that the Ratnakūṭa and all the four divisions of Tantras were prevalent in Srilanka among the Abhayagiri-vāsins, who shared this rich pre-Tantric and Tantric heritage with the Indonesians. The mention of Tattva-sangraha-tantra (Ns.10), the basic text (*mūla-tantra*) of the yoga-tantras is of special importance. Quotations from an explanatory tantra of yoga-tantras, namely, the Śrī-paramādya-mantra-kalpa-khaṇḍa (Toh.488), also known as Adhyardha-śatikā Prajñāpāramitā in its Chinese version, have been traced in the Indonesian text San hyai Kamahāyānan Mantranaya (Jong 1974:469). The Tattva-sangraha is important because it is visualised as the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala. Its graphic expression is a painting of this maṇḍala. This maṇḍala can also be constructed as a gigantic architectural structure, which in terms of Tantric ritual is ādhārotpatti. In tantric rites meditation with japa or muttering is divided into three sections: (1) preliminary acts, (ii) main part, and (iii) terminating acts. The main part has, *inter alia*, generation of deity in front in six steps. The first step is ādhārotpatti or generation of the residence for the deities and the second step is invitation to the deities to be resident therein (*ādheya*). These details have been cited earlier in paragraph 8. It has to be borne in mind that the ocean (*arṇava*) and Sumera were vital to Tantric evocation and elaborate reference to them in the invocatory stanzas of the Ratubaka Inscription implies a Tantric milieu in which it was written. The Ratubaka Inscription attains fundamental relevance to the definition of the general framework of Śailendra monuments for it provides us the denominational context in which these works of great art arose within less than a century.

21. The Ratubaka Inscription provides the following footholds:

- (1) The Abhayagiri-vāsins were present in Indonesia in A.D. 792/3.
- (2) As monastery was constructed for them by a Śailendra king, in which Padmapāṇi was consecrated and Padmapāṇi Avalokiteśvara stems from the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka. The Ratubaka complex could well be this monastery.
- (3) The Abhayagiri-vāsins followed Vaitulyavāda which comprised Vait(p)ulya sūtras like Lalitavistara, Saddharma-puṇḍarīka and the Tantras as can be ascertained from the list of the Nikāya-saṅgraha.
- (4) The invocatory stanzas of the inscription refer to Sumeru and the Ocean whose evocation is the first step in Tantric ritual. It implies that they were written in the milieu of Vajrayāna. The Śailendras were followers of Vajrayāna and the presence of Abhayagiri-vāsins was but natural. The fame of Indonesian centres of Vajrayāna had reached far and wide, so much so that Vajrabodhi and his disciple Amoghavajra visited Indonesia in the eighth century, prior to their journey to China where they resided for life, and translated Tantras into Chinese to introduce Vajrayāna there.
- (5) The contacts of Abhayagiri with Indonesia and the multiplicity of textual traditions followed at Abhayagiri lends confirmation to the fact that the Śailendra monuments should also pertain to the immensity (*vaipulya*) of the sūtras and tantras, the various stages of whose continuous development were preserved in the synthesis of the ecumenical approach of Vajrayāna, and that the Barabudur was an expression of this broad and universal approach. We cannot but agree with Prof. de Casparis "that there are a number of contemporary or near-contemporary inscriptions which may throw light on the basic problems of Barabudur", though his presumption will have to undergo modifications in details. For instance he says that the Javanese text Sañhyā Kamahāyānikan is based on "still unidentified Indian prototype (or on several prototypes)": two of the prototypes have been identified by Jong (1974). The Ratubaka Inscription does not refer specifically to any monument, certainly not to the Barabudur, in the compound *samvuddha-sumeru* but only to its general context indicated above. It points to the fact

that the 8/9th century was the golden age of Vajrayāna in Java, when the Barabudur came into existence. As we have already shown in a paper to be published in the proceedings of the seminar on "The Symbolism of the Stūpa" held at the South Asia Institute, Heidelberg in 1978, the Barabudur was the Sumeru, the residence for the images of deities to be resident. The bipolarity of the ādhāra (Sumeru) and ādheya (deities) was also expressed in the Barabudur being in stone and the deities in precious metals and hence now lost.

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AJAY MITRA SHASTRI

BĀLĀGHĀT PLATES OF VĀKĀṬAKA
PRITHIVĪSHENA II: SOME REFLECTIONS

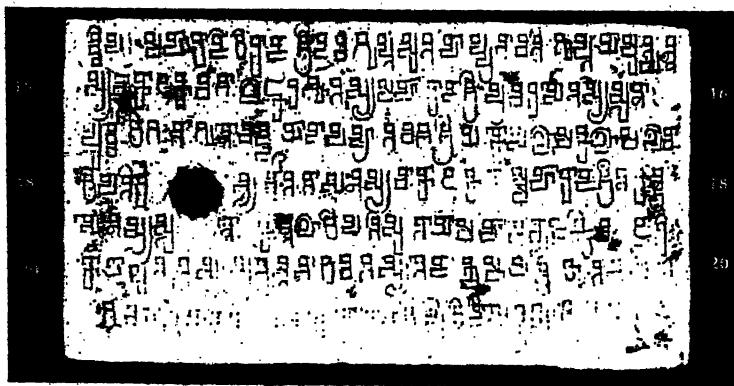
Though the Bālāghāt plates, which are now known to contain so very important information about the reign of the Vākāṭaka king Prithivishena II, were found some time before May 1893 when they were forwarded by the Deputy Commissioner of Bālāghāt to the Asiatic Society of Bengal,¹ they were first published together with facsimiles by F. Kielhorn in the *Epigraphia Indica*, vol.IX, meant for 1907-08.² They were reportedly found 'hanging to a tree in the jungle.'

The set consists of five plates, but only the first three plates bear writing, the first and the third only on one side: first only on the inner side and the third only on the first side. The other two plates are left uninscribed, and similar is the case with the seal which is sliding on the ring but bears no writing or device or both. Then again, in the first line on the inscribed face of the first plate there is left uninscribed space for the word *drishtam*, which, generally speaking, serves as authentication mark. The king's order just begins in line 35 which is the last line on the first side of the third plate, while the remaining plates including the second side of the third one are left blank. All these facts show that the charter is left unfinished deliberately for some unascertainable reason.

The extant text is engraved in the box-headed characters common to Vākāṭaka charters and is in Sanskrit prose the draft of which is

mostly familiar from other charters of the branch of the dynasty to which the issuer Prithivishēṇa II belonged. However, before the discovery and publication of this charter we had the grants only up to Pravarasena II. There is even now no grant available of his son and successor, Narendrasena, and this was then the only known grant of his son Prithivishēṇa II. Naturally therefore the description of Narendrasena and Prithivishēṇa II till the time of the issue of this charter had to be added. And it is here, viz., the description of Narendrasena and Prithivishēṇa II, that the importance of this charter lies primarily. In fact, we were not aware of even the names of these two kings who were brought to light for the first time by this charter. And for this reason the record is of great historical value despite the fact that it is left incomplete. And even now when we have as many as three other records of this king, which are complete,³ this inscription is of great historical value for it brings to light a fact about his reign which is not known from any other source.

The charter was intended to be issued from the king's temporary residence (*vāsaka*) at Vembāra which V.V.Mirashi identifies with modern Bembāl about twenty-eight miles east of Chāndā (Chandrapur) and two miles to the west of the river Waingaṅgā.⁴



Māndhal Plates of Prithivishēṇa II, Year 10

Vide: Line 17 for the expression

pūrvv-ādhigata-guṇavad=dāyād-āpahṛta-va/m/śāśriya/h*/*

Upto Pravarasena II the description is fairly common and well-known from the grants of Pravarasena II dated upto his thirty-second year.⁵ But the description of Narendrasena and his son Prithivishēna II is, or rather was, entirely new and a contribution of this charter. In connection with Narendrasena some phrases occur the reading and interpretation whereof is a matter of controversy. Let us take note of them. The first phrase in the description of Narendrasena was read as *pūrvv-ādhigata-guṇa-viśvāsād=apahṛita-van(i)n̄śa-sriyah* doubtfully by Kielhorn⁶ followed by Mirashi.⁷ Kielhorn was very doubtful about the reading *viśvāsād* as would appear from the fact that he put an interrogation mark after the *akshara sā* which was followed by Mirashi as well. V.B. Kolte, while editing the Māhurjhārī plates of this king,⁸ also adopted this reading, perhaps without trying to verify it. The only thing he did was to drop the question mark following *sā*.⁹ But while publishing the subsequently discovered Māndhal plates of his tenth year I discovered that this reading was erroneous and misleading as regards the five letters following *ṇa* and preceding *pa*, and that the correct reading of this portion was *vad=dāyādā* which revolutionised the interpretation of the entire passage which now became a source of highly invaluable historical information about king Narendrasena. Therefore the exact reading of the passage in question is *pūrvv-ādhigata-guṇavād=dāyād-āpahṛita-vanīśa-sriyah*.¹⁰

19	पूर्व अधिगता गुणवाद् दायाद आपहृता वनीश श्रीया	14
20	दीप्ति विजय विजय विजय विजय विजय विजय	20
21	स वार्षिक दीप्ति विजय विजय विजय विजय विजय	21
22	स वार्षिक दीप्ति विजय विजय विजय विजय विजय	22
23	स वार्षिक दीप्ति विजय विजय विजय विजय विजय	23
24	स वार्षिक दीप्ति विजय विजय विजय विजय विजय	24

Māndhal Plates of Prithivishēna II, Year 10

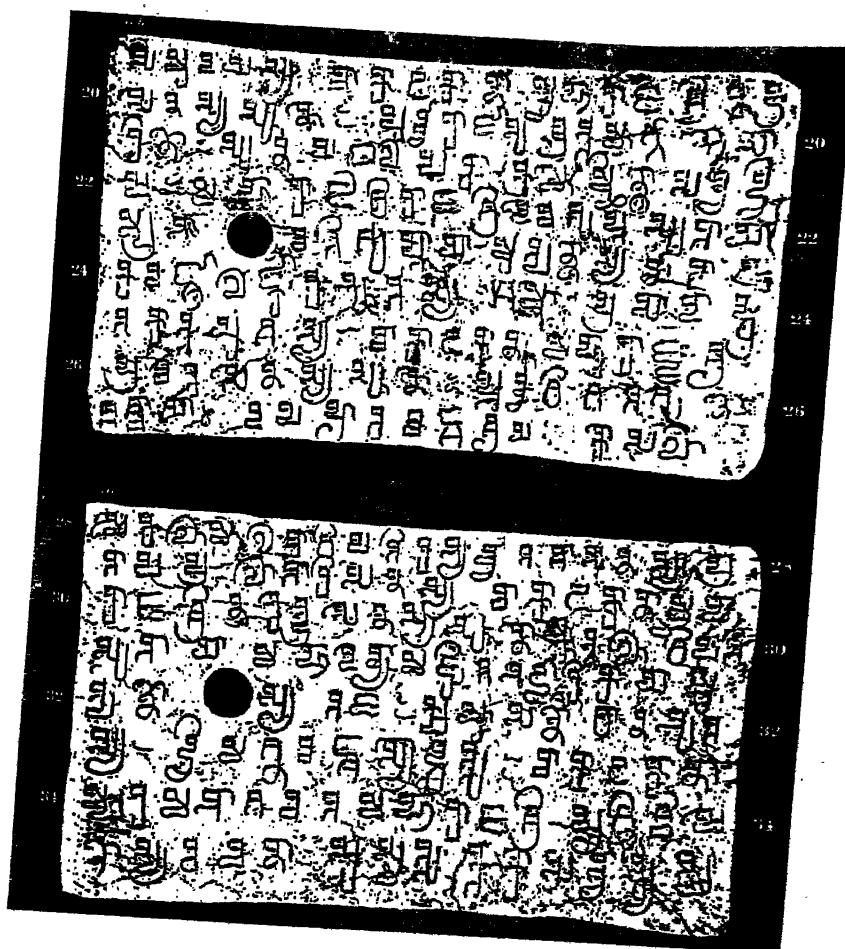
Vide: Line 17 for the expression

pūrvv-ādhigata-guṇavād=dāyād-āpahṛita-van(i)n̄śa-sriya[h]*

On checking the facsimile of the first side of the third plate of the Māhurjhārī charter accompanying Kolte's paper where this expression occurs in this charter I was simply astonished to find that the suggested reading was much clearer there and finally confirmed my reading. The Bālāghāt grant also appears to contain the same reading though it became uncertain and doubtful because of blurred engraving. No doubt whatever exists regarding the reading of the portion pūrvv-ādhigata-guṇa. The letter following it is apparently va, though the lower portion of the square of the letter has not been accommodated in the plate: what is read as medial i is but a meaningless inadvertent scratch. The next letter, though looking slightly like śvā, is in fact wrongly engraved ddā with its openings to right closed by oversight. The following akshara is clearly yā, and Kielhorn had read it as sā doubtfully in order to make the phrase yield some sense, and others merely followed in his footsteps. Thereafter in the facsimile accompanying Kielhorn's paper there is a meaningless scratch which is followed by d without a stroke for the medial ā and was correctly read by Kielhorn as da. However, the other two plates (Māndhāt grant of his tenth year¹¹ and Māhurjhārī charter of his seventeenth year¹²) show the mātrā of ā very clearly, which demonstrates that the letter in question was there also intended as dā. We may thus conclude that the correct intended reading even in the Bālāghāt charter was purvv-ādhigata-guṇavad=dāyād-āpahṛita-varīśa-śriyāḥ, and it is much clearer in the aforesaid two charters of his tenth and seventeenth years.

What is the most likely meaning of this expression? Kielhorn, who first edited the Bālāghāt charter, took the expression, as read by him, as alluding to a conflict for succession and felt that Narendrasena took away the kingdom (probably from his brother).¹³ To Mirashi, it meant that Narendrasena 'from confidence in the excellent qualities previously acquired by him took away the (royal) fortune of (his) family',¹⁴ and he observed that no reference to a disputed succession was intended and that this is only a poetic way of stating that Narendrasena attracted royal fortune by his noble qualities.¹⁵ According to A.S. Altekar, the compound meant that Narendrasena 'took away the fortune of his family' and suggested a forcible seizure.¹⁶ To him, it alludes to the restoration of family fortunes by Narendrasena after defeating the Nalas of Bastar who had for some time been in possession of a sizeable portion of the Vākātaka kingdom.¹⁷ Kolte followed

this interpretation and felt that the expression *pūrvita-varisā-sriyah* denoted 'one who snatched away the fortune of the family'.¹⁸



Bālāghāṭ Plates of Prīthivīśeṇa II

Vide: Lines 26-27 for the expression
pūrvv-ādhigata-guṇavad=dāyād-āpahṛta-va[m]śāriyah*
 and line 33 for *dvimagna-vai(m)-śriyah*

This was the position till the said correct reading of the relevant phrase was pointed out by us on the basis of the aforesaid Māndhal and Māhurjhāri plates and as we have just seen, is also the intended reading in the Bālāghāṭ charter. The compound thus restored becomes highly important historically inasmuch as it alludes to an hitherto unknown episode of the reign of Narendrasena wherein his dāyādas were involved. The phrase may be split up as *pūrvam adhigatā* (*paśchād*) *guṇavatā dāyādena apahṛitā varṇā-srīḥ yasya tasya*¹⁹ which would indicate that Narendrasena had at first succeeded to his family fortune, viz., ancestral kingdom, but was later deprived of it by his dāyāda or dāyādas. The word *dāyāda* primarily denotes 'heir or heirs to the property, viz., sons or brothers with reference to each other who are entitled to inheritance'. In case we were to adopt this primary sense, it would follow that Narendrasena was divested of his kingdom or its major part by his co-sharers, i.e. brothers or other close relations, in the later part of his reign. We may therefore conclude that Pravarasena II's demise was followed by a conflict for the throne in which his son (or one of the sons) Narendrasena at first succeeded, but later some other *dāyāda* or *dāyādas* had an upper hand and seized the family fortune from him. But the word *dāyāda* has a secondary meaning as well, viz., a distant relative or kinsman,²⁰ and if this meaning is applied in the instant case, it may refer to some conflict between the two branches (the other branch being that founded by Sarvasena I, viz., Vatsagulma branch) of the dynasty during Narendrasena's reign wherein he was worsted.²¹ It is very likely that this is the meaning intended here. The absence of more dependable evidence makes it difficult to be more precise on this point. There is, however, no doubt whatever that the phrase in question throws welcome light on the history of that branch of the dynasty whereto Narendrasena belonged and gives a lie to the hitherto prevailing notion that the succession among the Vākāṭakas was peaceful and that the mutual ties between their two branches were always cordial. It also demonstrates that Narendrasena's troubles were due much more to his own kinsmen than to any outside power. We are inclined to hold that while his succession was challenged by his unknown brothers, perhaps with the knowledge and encouragement of the Vatsagulma branch, after Narendrasena's success in ascending the throne, his contemporary ambitious king Devasena of that branch came out openly against Narendrasena and occupied his kingdom or its major portion. Thus, the correct reading and interpretation of this passage sheds a flood of light on an important critical phase in the reign of

Narendrasena in particular and the annals of the two branches of the dynasty in general.

The statement following this expression that his behests were obeyed by the rulers of Kosalā (Chhattisgadh region), Mekalā (Amara-kantak area) and Mālava (Mālwā) presently in Madhya Pradesh as well as that he kept in check the enemies humbled by his valour²² look rather boastful in view of the critical situation he was put in by his own kinsmen. We may perhaps take the second statement to refer to his initial success against his kinsmen who had obstructed his accession. In any case at present we have absolutely no independent evidence to sustain the claim of his success in these regions put on his behalf in the records of his son. No records of the Vākāṭakas during this period have as yet been reported from the area north of the Narmadā²³ nor do the numerous inscriptions of other ruling families contain even the slightest hint of Vākāṭaka authority. In case of Mekalā this claim was till recently thought to find support on the basis of assumed allusion to Narendrasena in the Bamhani plates hitherto attributed to the Mekalā Pāṇḍava king Bharatabala, who was taken to be his vassal.²⁴ This baseless assumption which was inspired by the claim of Narendrasena's authority over the Mekalā king in this as well as other records of his son²⁵ has been knocked out of bottom by the recently reported Mallūr plates of the Pāṇḍava king Śūrabala alias Udirnavaira. This charter contains a prose sentence introducing Bharatabala's son and successor Śūrabala²⁶ which is left out by inadvertence in the Bamhani plates which too were issued not by Bharatabala, but his son Śūrabala. Moreover, as we have shown elsewhere,²⁷ Bharatabala and his son Śūrabala flourished considerably after the end of the Vākāṭakas and that consequently there could be absolutely no question of the two being connected in any manner. And as such it is difficult to sustain these claims and understand their true nature. We are aware, however, that the Gupta king Kumāra Gupta I was in great stress in the closing years of his reign, and it is possible that taking advantage of their sovereign's difficulties some of his vassals asserted their independence. In view of the cordial relations between the Guptas and the branch of the Vākāṭakas to which Narendrasena belonged till the end of this branch,²⁸ it is likely that the Vākāṭaka king rendered valuable assistance to his Gupta cousin in curbing this rebellion and re-asserting his authority over these recalcitrant chiefs. Narendrasena may have played a vital role in these expeditions either as a prince-commander or after his accession, and this formed the

basis of the claim of victory over these chiefs on his behalf in his son's records. It is also not impossible that taking advantage of his cousin's problems he carried out hurried raids in these regions.

With reference to Prithivishena II, the donor of the charter, the record employs the expression *dvi-magna-varisasyo-doddhartri*.²⁹ Both Kielhorn and Mirashi, who edited this charter, surmised that the intended reading probably was *nimagna-varisasyo-doddhartri*³⁰ and took it to mean that Prithivishena II had raised his sunken family.³¹ It appears, however, that the proposed emendation of the reading is totally unwarranted and that the composer of this record deliberately added the word *dvi* with the object of referring to the sinking and retrieval of the family fortune twice, not once, by his patron. This finds support from a couple of Prithivishena II's charters discovered thereafter. These are the Māndhal plates of his tenth year and Māhurjhārī charter of his seventeenth year, both hailing from the Nagpur district of Maharashtra.³² Both these records contain this expression, but without the word *dvi* prefixed to it.³³ In these records the intention was to refer to Prithivishena II as one who had rescued his sunken family. It is only in the Bālāghāt plates that we find the word *dvi* prefixed to *magna*, thereby conveying that the Vākāṭaka king had actually rescued his sunken family fortunes twice. It is thus clear that Prithivishena II had retrieved the fallen family fortunes only once up to the seventeenth year of his reign and that sometime after that the family fortunes had sunk again and it became necessary for him to restore the same once again. This situation was sought to be reflected by adding the word *dvi* to the phrase which had already found a place in his copper-plate charters. It is difficult in the present state of inadequate information to determine as to what these two calamities were. But it may be reasonably surmised that the first catastrophe was apparently the one that had led to Narendrasena's loss of his kingdom or its major portion due to a close or distant relation(s), and the first task before Prithivishena immediately following his accession must have been the restoration of fallen family fortunes. This had obviously been achieved latest by the tenth year of his reign.³⁴ The second calamity was in all probability the Nala invasion resulting in the occupation of a large part of the realm including the erstwhile metropolis of Nandivardhana by the Nala king Bhāyadattavarman.³⁵ Needless to say that the Bālāghāt plates which as yet form the only record to have the word *dvi* prefixed to the expression in question must have been issued sometime after the seventeenth year of his reign.³⁶

As we have seen above, the Bālāghāṭ plates have been left unfinished. There is, however, no doubt that they were issued later than the other charters of Pr̥ithivīshēṇa II known to date. They contain an allusion to two calamities and following retrievals of family fortunes by him as against other two charters referring only to one such event. But exactly how much later cannot be ascertained as the portion giving the regnal year which is normally at the end of the record has been left unincised.

V.B. Kolte, while editing the Māhurjhāri plates, has taken a very serious note of the unfinished condition of this (Bālāghāṭ) charter. He feels that it could not be completed and had to be left unfinished because of a third disaster which again reduced the Vākāṭaka power to shambles. And when the very existence of the kingdom was in doubt, the land-grant had no value. However, it need not, and perhaps could not, have been so.³⁷ There could, and perhaps most probably, be some other reason for it. The king might have decided to abandon the grant when some unpalatable facts about the beneficiary/beneficiaries³⁸ or some points about the land to be donated³⁹ were brought before him or for such other cause. And only for this reason alone we need not assume another calamity befalling the Vākāṭaka kingdom. There are some other examples of unfinished charters among the Vākāṭakas. The solitary Durg plate is one such example where also at the beginning (in line 1) space enough to accommodate the word *drishṭam* and space sufficient for five letters is available at the end of the fifth and last line.⁴⁰ If Kolte's explanation about the unfinished character of the Bālāghāṭ plates were to be accepted, some similar reason will have to be found out in this case also. Under the circumstances it is best to leave such reasons unspeculated. The case is akin to numismatics where also scholars are in the habit of speculating some such reason as, for example, insecurity caused by some alien invasion for cause of interring hoards of coins underground and drawing some very important though totally unfounded historical deductions therefrom, forgetting that in the pre-banking days it was a common practice to bury coins, by themselves or in pots, underground and even after the banks came into existence, several people continued to bury their treasure under the earth, sometimes even currency notes with results disastrous to the owners. In any case, while in the field of numismatics it is common to draw such unfounded important historical deductions, in the field of epigraphy we are not aware of any other such inference.

It would be seen from the above the Bālāghāṭ plates, though left unfinished, are of great value for the history of the branch of the Vākāṭakas to which Prīthivīśheṇa, the donor, belonged. Even though the charter under reference is left incomplete for some indeterminable reason which need not be speculated about, the condition in which the plates were found perhaps sheds some welcome light on the physical aspect of the preparation of a charter. After it was decided to issue a grant and after the text of the charter was finalised, the plates required for the purpose were strung together in a copper-ring to which the disc meant for the seal was attached. The engraving then started. And when the entire text was incised, it was checked and as a mark of this final act the word *dṛishṭam* was finally engraved and the seal engraved on the metallic disc, turning it into a regular authenticated charter. And if in the course of engraving, some irregularity or fact going against the grant came to notice it was abandoned. Thus so far as the Vākāṭaka copper-plate grants are concerned, this set of plates throws welcome light on the physical aspect of their preparation.

In resume we can say that :

- (i) The Bālāghāṭ plates were important when discovered because they first brought to light Narendrasena and Prīthivīśheṇa II.
- (ii) As indicated by two other charters of Prīthivīśheṇa II found subsequently, the correct reading of the expression read by Kielhorn followed by Mirashi as: *pūrvv-ādhigata-guṇa-viśvāsād=apahṛita-varṇā-sriyāḥ* is *pūrvv-ādhigata-guṇavād=dāyād-āpahṛita-varṇā-sriyāḥ* which sheds welcome light on a crucial phase in the life of Narendrasena by showing that the demise of Pravarasena II was followed by a struggle for succession in which Narendrasena succeeded but was later divested of his kingdom or its major portion by his relations, perhaps of the Vatsagulma branch.
- (iii) In view of the difficult situation in which he was placed because of his kinsmen the statement that Narendrasena's behests were obeyed by the rulers of Kosalā, Mekalā and Mālava cannot be taken literally.

- (iv) The expression *dvi-magna-varis-oddhartuḥ* used with reference to Prithivīśeṇa II does refer to two catastrophes from which he rescued his family. The first of these was that which had led to his father's deprivation of his kingdom or its major part from which he had rescued it before his tenth year and the second calamity, perhaps the invasion of the Nalas, took place after his seventeenth year.
- (v) The charter throws new light on the preparation of the Vākāṭaka copper-plate grants.

REFERENCES

1. See EI. IX, p. 267.
2. ibid. pp. 267-71 and plates between pp.270 and 271. The charter has been re-edited by V.V. Mirashi, in his *Inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas*, CII. V, Ootacamund, 1963, pp. 79-81 and plates opposite pp. 80-81.
3. These are Mandhal plates of his second and tenth years (Ajay Mitra Shastri, "Māndhaṭ Plates of Prithivīśeṇa II, Years 2 and 10", EI. XLI, pp. 159-80) and Māhurjhārī grant of his seventeenth year (V.B.Kolte, "Māhurzari Plates of Prithivīśeṇa II", ABORI. LIII, pp. 183-94 and plates following p. 194).
4. EI. XXII, p. 210, fn. 6; CII. V, p.80.
5. V.B. Kolte, "Pauni Plates of Pravarasena II", EI. XXXVIII, pp. 53-56.
6. ibid. IX, p. 271, lines 26-27.
7. CII. V, p.81, lines 26-27.
8. ABORI. LIII, p. 193, lines 21-22. Vide also Vidarbha Saṃśodhana Maṇḍala Vāṛṣhika, Nagpur, 1971, p. 75, lines 21-22, especially line 22. I also had originally adopted this reading while editing the Māndhaṭ charter of Prithivīśeṇa II's tenth year in ibid. 1977, line 17, and in my paper entitled "Bālāghāṭ Plates of Prithivīśeṇa II" published in *Srinidhīḥ: Perspectives in Indian Archaeology, Art and Culture: Shri K.R. Srinivasan Festschrift*, ed. K.V. Raman et al, Madras, 1983, pp. 443-49.
9. Vide references to Kolte's publications in the preceding fn.
10. Ajay Mitra Shastri, "Māndhaṭ Plates of Prithivīśeṇa II, Years 2 and 10," EI. XLI, p. 177, line 17. For discussion, see ibid. pp.

- 172-74; *The Age of the Vākāṭakas*, New Delhi, 1922, pp. 241-42.
11. EI. XLI, pl. iib, line 17, opposite p. 177.
 12. *Vidarbha Saṃśodhana Maṇḍala Vārshika*, 1971, pl. VI, lines 21-22; ABORI. LIII, relevant plate and lines.
 13. EI. IX, p. 269.
 14. CII. V, pp. xxv and 79-81.
 15. *ibid.*
 16. G. Yazdani (ed.), *Early History of the Deccan*, Oxford, 1960, p. 182.
 17. *ibid.* pp. 182-83.
 18. He rightly stressed that *hṛi*, when prefixed by *apa* as in this case, actually alluded to forcible seizure.
 19. It can as well be split and explained as: *pūrvv-ādhigatā gunavato dāyādād=apahṛitā varṇśa-śrīḥ yena tasya* or *pūrvv-ādhigatena gunavatā dāyādena apahṛitā varṇśa-śrīḥ yasya tasya*. But they do not yield any satisfactory sense and consequently cannot be upheld.
 20. For the connotation of *dāyāda*, see *Amara-kośa*, Nirnaya Sagar Press, Bombay, 1944, III.3.89; Monier-Monier Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 474, s.v. *dāyāda*. See also P.V. Kane, *History of Dharmasāstra*, Poona, III, 1946, pp. 543-44.
 21. The employment of the word *gunavat* as an adjective of the *dāyāda* who was the source of trouble to Narendrasena is rather enigmatic. It may have perhaps been intended to avert that even though the *dāyāda* was endowed with virtues, he indulged in acts like seizing his relation's (Narendrasena's) throne. Alternatively, and this is more likely, it may have been used in the sense of *gauna* 'minor', a derivative from *guṇa*, with reference to a member of the Vatsagulma branch of the dynasty.
 22. The expressions are *Kosalā-Mekalā-Mālav-ādhipatibhir=abhy-archchitasāsanasya* and *pratāpa-pralāt-ārisanasya* (CII. V, p. 81, lines 28-29); the latter being apparently an error for *pratāpa-praṇatāri-sāsanasya* which is the restored corrected reading met with in the Māhurjhari plates (ABORI. LIII, p. 193, line 23).
 23. The Nachnā-kī-talāi and Ganj inscriptions of Vyāghradeva belong to the reign of Prithivishēpa I and not his homonymous great great-grandson as believed by some scholars. See for our discussion, *The Age of the Vākāṭakas*, pp. 10-12 and our paper on the problem under publication in JESI. XXI.

24. This suggestion was floated by B.Ch. Chhabra while editing the Bamhani plates (EI. XXVII, pp. 137-38) and followed by V.V. Mirashi (CII. V, pp. 83-84). This was based on the word *narendra* in verse 11 of this record which was taken to make a veiled allusion to the Vākāṭaka king Narendrasena. But the recently published Mallār plates of Bharatabala's son Śūrabala also contain this word and leave absolutely no doubt that there is no pun on this word which has the sense of 'king' only.
25. This claim is made in all his charters except only the Māṇḍhal plates of his second year which just name Narendrasena without any reference to his achievements. See for these plates, EI. XLI, pp.

165-69.

26. The prose sentence in question is *tasya putras=tat-pād-ānudhyātah parama-māheśvarah parama-brahmaṇyah parama-guru-devatādhidaivata-viśeshah śrīmatyāṁ Mahādevyām=utpannah śrī-mahārāja-Śūrabalaḥ*. Vide B. Sitaraman and M. Jayarama Sharma, "Mallār Plates of Pāñdava King Śūrabala, Year 8", *Studies in Indian Epigraphy* (JESI), III, pp. 190-91, lines 26-28. These plates have been later edited by us in our *Inscriptions of the Sarabhupuriyas, Pāñduvarṣins and Somavarṣins*, Part II, New Delhi, 1993, pp. 83-85.
27. "The Date of the Bamhani and Mallār Plates of Śūrabala Udirṇavaira," *Bhāratī-Bhānam: Dr. K.V. Salma Felicitation Volume*, ed. Bhaskaran Nair, Hoshiarpur, 1980, pp. 439-43.
28. This is clear from the fact that the marriage of Rudrasena II with Prabhāvatīguptā, daughter of Chandra Gupta II, continues to be referred to till the time of Prithivīśeṇa II, the last known member of this branch.
29. EI. IX, p. 271, line 33.
30. ibid. p. 271, fn.15; CII. V, p. 81, fn.7.
31. ibid. V, pp. xxvii, 81; EI. IX, p. 269.
32. ibid. XLI, p. 177, line 21; ABORI. LIII, p. 193, line 26.
33. The correct form of the expression in both these charters is *magna-varṣ-oddhartuḥ*, the genitive singular of *magna-varṣ-oddhartṛi*.
34. This is the date of his second set of Māṇḍhal plates.
35. The Riddhapur charter of the Nala king Bhavadattavarman (called Bhavattavarman in the record, which is perhaps an error or perhaps the popular spelling of the name) was issued from Nandivardhana (modern Nagardhan or Nandardhan) and registers the grant

of land situated in the Yawatmāl district, showing that the occupied territory included the whole of the region extending from the Nāgpur district up to the Yawatmāl region. For the plate, vide: *ibid.* XIX, pp. 100ff.

36. The Māhurjhārī charter was issued in this year.
37. ABORI. LIII, p. 189.
38. As the plates are left unfinished, it is difficult to ascertain if there was only a single donee or more.
39. It is difficult to determine, because of the incomplete nature of the charter, if one or more villages or piece/pieces of land were intended to be granted. The reason for giving up the grant could have been the earlier unknown fact that they were already donated to some other person/persons by some earlier king(s) of his own/another family.
40. CII. V, plate opposite p. 78.

APARNA CHATTOPADHYAY

**THE TERM 'HIDA' OR 'IDHA' IN ROCK
EDICT I AND OTHER AŚOKAN EDICTS**

In Rock Edict I Aśoka says that 'here (idha) not a single living creature should be slaughtered or offered as a sacrifice'.¹ The exact implication of the term has been interpreted differently by historians. The term *idha* in Rock Edict I may mean Aśoka's palace, or his capital Pāṭaliputra, or it may mean his whole empire. Let us examine the view of Bhandarkar first. Bhandarkar says that it should be taken to denote Aśoka's palace or royal establishment because all the other items mentioned in this edict are connected with either Aśoka personally or his royal household. Bhandarkar says: "He (Aśoka) may therefore be supposed to have prohibited the performance of sacrifice not universally in his empire but only so far as he or his family were concerned".²

The above view of Bhandarkar cannot possibly stand for the reasons given below. If this prohibition was meant for his own palace only, the edict would have been engraved on a slab of stone or on a pillar within the precincts of his palace. But RE. I, which is one of the fourteen major Rock Edicts of Aśoka is to be found all over India, right from West Pakistan upto Erragudi in the south and from Gujarat to Orissa. Secondly it is perhaps, not correct to hold that other points in Rock Edict I are connected with Aśoka's personal life or his household. In this edict we find the stoppage of *samāja*. *Samāja* was not a function meant for the Maurya palace or for Aśoka and his family. It was a social function for the whole nation.³ Whatever may be the exact nature of *samāja*, it is certain that it was not exclusively

meant for Ásoka or Maurya dynasty or Maurya palace. So the term *idha* or *hida* in RE. I does not mean just the palace of Ásoka.

If the prohibition was meant for Pāṭaliputra as suggested by Mookherji⁴ and V.S. Smith⁵ it is more logical that this edict would have been located somewhere within the city of Pāṭaliputra, or in its immediate neighbourhood.

The third alternative is that the term means Ásoka's dominions.⁶ Since the edict along with the remaining thirteen is noticed all over the Maurya empire, this alternative seems to be more appropriate. Another alternative, a fourth one as suggested by an author,⁷ is that the term *idha* means the particular spots where stood the versions of Rock Edict I. It is needless to say that this suggestion seems unacceptable because the very spots where the fourteen Rock Edicts including the first one stand, had no such special significance so that only those spots bloody sacrifices were to be stopped.

The possible reason for the lack of clarity regarding the exact meaning implied in the term *idha* can be the following: Ásoka wanted to stop bloody sacrifices; but he could not be so drastic as to give clear order for its stoppage throughout his empire. It would have caused great resentment among the followers of Brāhmaṇical faith. And in India the Brāhmaṇas formed the foremost community as noticed in Greek sources.⁸ And we learn from Hsuan Tsang that India was a land of the Brāhmaṇas.⁹ So Ásoka's undefined term *idha* was meant to see the reaction of the people to his desire of stopping bloody sacrifices. From Sahabazgarhi and Mansehra upto Erragudi and from Girnar and Sopara to Dhauli and Jaugada, the Rock Edict I, conveyed to the people this message of the king that bloody sacrifices were to be stopped. Now it was to be seen how far Ásoka's wishes were respected by his subjects.

To understand the implication of the term *idha* one has to analyse the nature of Ásokan statesmanship. Maurya officials used to misuse their power particularly in distant provinces. So Ásoka introduced five-yearly and three-yearly tours of high dignitaries of the central government and the state governments to put check on royal officials.¹⁰ But Ásoka does not specify any punishment for officers misusing their power or position. He noticed arbitrary imprisonment made and torture of prisoners which sometimes became the cause of their death.¹¹

But to check all these he did not introduce any specific punishment for officers who were responsible for such injustice done to people. At least our sources of Aśokan history including his edicts are silent about it. If he had done so it might have made his officers much more cautious and alert in performing their duties.¹² It is only in his schism edicts that we find him giving orders to his mahāmātras to expel those monks and nuns who were fomenting schism, from the Buddhist church.¹³

It seems Aśoka's policy was a policy of moderation. He wanted to see how far his proclamations received due response from the people and his officials. So, when he desired that bloody sacrifices were not to be performed, he made his proclamation in such a manner that the reaction favourable or unfavourable on the part of his subjects, would be clearly understood.

Some more points that we can add are the following. The term *idha* or *hida* has been used in the sense of Pāṭaliputra in Rock Edict V, as the study of Rock Edict V at Girnar, Mansehra, Kalsi and Shahbagarhi shows, and in the sense of Aśoka's dominion in Rock Edict XIII and Minor Rock Edict I (Rupinath). It is the context of the term which needs consideration to find out its implication. In Rock Edict V, Aśoka says about the Dharmamahāmātras that 'they are appointed to look after the welfare of all sects' they are occupied everywhere here and in all the outlying towns¹⁴ In the Girnar version of Rock Edict V we find '..... they are occupied everywhere, both in Pāṭaliputra and in the outlying.....'¹⁴ Instead of *idha* or *hida* we find Pāṭaliputra in Girnar version of RE. V. But the nature of the narration in all the versions of Rock Edict V is such that it specifically points to all kinds of sects and communities and social groups and people living in Pāṭaliputra and also within the heart of the empire and the people living on the borders like the Gāndhāras, Kāmbojas, etc. Aśoka says 'they are employed for the welfare and happiness of the Yonas, Kāmbojas, Gāndhāras, the Rishikas and Petenikas and also of those other people who are inhabitants of western border.¹⁵ So the term *hida* in other versions of RE. V could be taken as Pāṭaliputra even if the term *pāṭaliputra* instead of *hida* is not written in these versions of Rock Edict V.

In Rock Edict XIII we find the following: '..... this conquest has been won by Devānāmpriya both here and among all his borderers

even as far as at (the distance of) six hundred yojanas, where the Yona King named Antiyoka is ruling' Likewise here in the king's territory.¹⁶

Here in this RE. XIII the term *hida* clearly means king's dominion.¹⁷ The same point is noticed in Minor Rock inscription I.¹⁸

But in the matter of stopping bloody sacrifices, in none of the fourteen versions of Rock Edict I, it is made clear whether the term *idha* means Pāṭaliputra or the whole empire or Aśoka's palace or the spots where the Rock Edict I was engraved. The fact that the context will matter most in understanding the true idea behind the term *idha* or *hida* used in different edicts is clear when we pay attention to the use of the term in Lumbini Pillar Inscription and in Rock Edict XIII. In Lumbini Pillar Inscription the term is used in its narrowest sense meaning just the Lumbini garden where Lord Buddha¹⁹ was born and in Rock Edict XIII it is used in its widest sense, that is, the empire of Aśoka. So we can conclude that by the term *idha* or *hida* in Rock Edict I, Aśoka wanted to convey the idea of his whole empire but he left it to the people's noble choice to follow the new principle laid down by the monarch, since the new principle was not in conformity with the existing Vedic practices.

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15. ... ते पाटलिपुत्रे च बाहिस्तु च, RE. V, Girnar; E. Hultzsch, op. cit., pp. 9-11.
16. RE. XIII, Shahbazgarhi, E. Hultzsch, op. cit. p. 70.
17. ... इथ राजविसयमिंह ..., RE. XIII, Girnar; हे क्ये वा हिदा लाजविशवर्णि, RE. XIII, Kalsi; एकमेव हिद खजविषवर्ण्यि, RE. XIII, Shahbazgarhi; E. Hultzsch, op. cit., pp. 23, 44, 66.
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19. ... हिद तुषे जाते सक्षम्यमुनी ति, Rummimdei Pillar, E. Hultzsch, op.cit., p. 164.

M.SRIMANNARAYANA MURTI

RĀMĀYANA THEME AND SOCIAL CHANGE

0.0 The *Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa* (c. 500 B.C.) stands midway between the sacrificial literature - comprising the prayers (*sāṃhitā*), the doctrine of sacrifice (*brāhmaṇa*) with the auxillaries (*vedāṅgas*) -, and the philosophical literature (*āraṇyaka* and *upaniṣad*). Further the abstractions found in the Vedic sacrifice are illustrated in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and again it has become the source for further abstractions in the form of *kalpa-sūtras*. A chronological study of the mythical episodes of the epics, *purāṇas*, their recasts as ornate and folk-song literature corroborated by the abstractions in the *kalpasūtras* and *smṛti*s reveal the history of evolution of the Indian cultural heritage which is characterised by a continuous search for finding a balance in the material, mental and spiritual aspects of life against the ideas and ideals about the conduct of human being and the social institutions with formidable belief in transmigration and destiny.

0.1 Again the social practices as found in the *kalpa-sūtras* underwent several changes of which some lapsed into oblivion¹ and some modified or altered, the causes of which could not be ascertained otherwise than by literature. The literature on the other hand developed from epic to folk-song with bias retaining the names of men and women of the epics for their heroes and heroines without changing in correspondence to their times. Thus Sītā and Rāma reappear time and again in different situations reflecting the period in which each piece

of literature was composed. Thus Sītā and Rāma are certainly different from poem to poem; but they are landmarks of different cultural epochs. Here we shall observe how the episode of Rāma's marriage is distorted and made use of to popularise the culture of the day, without disturbing the basic concepts.

1.0 The use of Rāma's marriage episode of the Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa for propagation of the child marriage in the post-Vālmīki period is very striking and interesting. The practice of child marriage gained the attention of the legalists and code-writers as early as the third century B.C., as some of the *grhya-sūtras* have clearly given preference of child marriage to the post-puberty marriage.

1.1 The episodes of Apālā (RV. 8.91; JB. 1.220), Akūpārā (SV. 2.1.26; PB. 9.2.14) and Sītā Sāvitrī (TB. 2.3.10) and such words like *kumāriputra* (VS. 30.6; TB. 3.4.2) in the Vedic literature give clear evidence of the post-puberty marriages.² In the Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa also Sītā was certainly a grown up lady as there are two evidences. Firstly Sītā herself says to Anasūyā: "My father looking at my age which is fit to be associated with husband became agitated as a pauper at the loss of wealth."³ After the announcement of the *svayamvara* 'self selection (of the bride by pledging valour, *viryaśuṅka*)' a long time elapsed when Viśvāmitra brought Rāma and Lakṣmana to Mithilā.⁴ Secondly Sītā is described as entering into the bedroom of Rāma to enjoy the pleasures of secret, soon after coming from Mithilā to Ayodhyā after marriage. Not only Sītā, but all the brides were courted with carnal pleasures by their husbands.⁵

2.0 Some of the ritual codes like the *Gobhilagṛhya-sūtra* prescribe child marriage side by side the post-puberty marriage. Their prescriptions also express a dilemma in ancient India regarding the marriageable age of girls. We find paradoxical and indecisive statements even within the text of an author.⁶ For example Gobhila prescribes that the bride should be from outside the families of the father (*asagotra*) and of the mother (*asapinda*).⁷ He also prescribes that it would be preferable if the bride is a *nagnikā* 'a girl of eight years'.⁸ The exegetic commentator Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa briskly holds that it is preferable for the father to give away his daughter in marriage when she is eight; for, Atri prescribes that a *brahmacārin* can marry a *gaurī* 'a girl of twelve years'.⁹ But they did not rule out the post-puberty marriages, as the

legalists like Manu have upheld the *gāndharva*, *rāksasa* and *viroma* marriages, in which the girl is certainly grown up, as legally valid.¹⁰

3.0 We find the influence of these dilemmas in the *purāṇas*, ornate poetry and folk-songs. For example the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* evidences the admittance of the *sapinda* marriages,¹¹ in spite of their being vehemently condemned by all the legalists right from Manu. Similarly the heroines of Kālidāsa like Śakuntalā, Mālavikā, Indumati and Pārvatī are grown up ladies with wisdom to choose their spouses.

3.1 But Bhavabhūti (8th cent.) on the other hand advocated child marriage and depicted his Sītā of the *Uttararāmacarita* as a girl of eight years with cavities in her teeth row because of the fall of deciduous teeth. Sītā came along with Rāma after marriage and delighted her parents-in-law:

“A child having a face the expression of which was engaging by reason of her bud-like teeth, not very dense, some having fallen off at the intervals, and with fine locks dangling about the temples, gave delight to my mothers by her sweet limbs, exceedingly charming, delightful like the moonlight and possessed of natural grace”.¹²

To reaffirm his predilection for child marriage, Bhavabhūti reiterates the same idea in other words through the mouth of Janaka, who laments at Sītā's distress in the forest, recollecting her face at the time of bidding farewell to the newly married bride to Ayodhyā along with Rāma:

“I remember thy lotus like face as a child, prone to capricious smiles and tears, in which glittered the points of some soft bud-like teeth, the sweet prattle of which was faltering and senseless”.¹³

4.0 We find a similar reformatory attitude in folk-songs also. For example the Āndhras have advocated and promoted extensively child marriage and extended the *sapinda* marriage from offspring of the mother' side to the offspring of the sister. In other words the boy's marriage with his maternal niece (sister's daughter) is legally valid.

These concepts were very well popularised through folk-songs with Rāma and Sītā as their dear hero and heroine. The marriage episode of Rāma is so popular in the Āndhra-deśa that the marriage ritual of taking hold of the hand of the bride (*pāṇigrahaṇa*)¹⁴ shall be accomplished with the recitation of the verse from the Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa:

iyam sītā mama sutā sahadharma-cārini tava/
pratīccha caināṁ bhadram te pāṇīm gr̥hṇīṣva pāṇinā// 1.72.17

“This Sītā my daughter is your helpmate in fulfilment of your ritualistic duties. Accept her happily. Hold her hand with your hand”.

4.1 To propagate child marriage and to educate the populace the social customs and codes of conduct, groups of folk-songs were composed by poets of unknown identity on the theme of Rāma’s marriage. To mention there are four songs called 1) Sītā’s Farewel, 2) Sītā’s Hide and Seek, 3) Sītā’s Puberty and 4) Sītā’s Latch deserve a special mention here.¹⁵ These four songs are to be read together to connect with the facts available in epigraphs, sculptures and paintings. These songs are recited by womenfolk in domestic functions on different occasions.

4.11 Sītā’s Farewel (*Sīta-appagintalu*): In the Āndhra tradition a social ritual is performed as the last item of the marriage function in the night in which the bride is given a warm farewell to her husband’s house and she is handed over to the bridegroom, parents-in-law and other important members of the family like daughters and sons-in-law. The song is thus consists of two parts; one part is the message to the bride and the other is the request to the groom’s party to look after the girl well. This song is composed against the background of the customs of child marriage and *sapiṇḍa* marriage. As the function is held at night, the bride is asleep, being a small girl. So Sītā was woke up and brought to the marriage hall. The parents teach dos and don’ts in the house of the parents-in-law. The bride is so young that she cannot digest the spirit of the ceremon. Now the mother of the bride (i.e. Sītā’s mother) turns to the mother-in-law to acquaint the bride’s nature and skills. So Sītā’s mother addresses Kausalyā:

“This is surely Oh! sister-in-law, your younger brother’s daughter I give this to you drenched her (hands) in milk.”¹⁶

Note: This verse testifies the popularity of the *sapiṇḍa* marriages by which even in distant matches the relationship of sister and brother-in-law between the pairs of parents is reciprocally associated along with the relationship of wife and husband between the bride and the groom.

Now Sītā's mother addresses Sumitrā:

“Oh! sister-in-law this little girl does not indeed know
to make ghee from butter
Teach her with tact all the work of the household
A very tender child is the Earth-born not knowing
to eat herself alone
Oh! friend, sister-in-law, she does not know how to churn curd
Treat this lad as one among your own
She forgets herself when she goes to play
Mildly call her back home with tact.”¹⁷

Sumitrā gives assurance to the mother in reply:

“Daśaratha's daughter is Śāntā
and indeed the fond child of Kausalyā
Your Sītā shall be the same as our Śāntā
Believe Oh! flower-like tender lady with eyes
as broad as lotus.”¹⁸

4.12 Sītā's Hide and Seek (*Sīta-dāguḍumūṭalu*): Sītā is sent to her in-law's house. Promise given by Sumitra is fulfilled in another song, ‘Sītā's Hide and Seek’. Śāntā organises the play ‘hide and seek’ with her little sisters-in-law in the gem-decked quadrangle. The young Rāma enters into the quadrangle and the girls fight shy to play in his presence. So Śāntā reacts in tender tone:

“Why do you Rāma! come here?”
“Because of the desire to see the game
played by your sisters-in-law”¹⁹

is the reply. So Śāntā responding to his childishness sends all the girls excluding Sītā and plays with Sītā and Rāma, in which Rāma is defeated and Sītā wins. Śāntā says with affection for a joke:

"Sītā! you won the game.
Claim your prize money from Rāma."²⁰

Sītā holds the edge of this garment and demands the prize money. But Rāma says:

"Is it right to hold my garment Oh! lady".

"Why do you play?
Why do you get angry when demanded for a prize?"²¹
is the reply. Śāntā intervenes and tells :

"Rāma! is not Sītā your prize money?"²²

4.13 Sītā's puberty (*Sīta-samarta*): Days rolled in this way. One day the little girl becomes a young lady. Now the 'Sītā's Puberty' is sung by women to introduce the innocent lady to the secrets of bed and charms of married life. The song ends with Rāma's happy note:

"In association with woman like Sītā day and night
no hunger, no thirst and no fatigue felt."²³

Vulgarity in expression is inevitable and hence the song ends with a *phala-śruti* 'merit for listening':

"Sung or heard with pomp this Sītā's Puberty
(He) bestows protection, all desired wealth and prosperity."²⁴

4.14 Sītā's Latch (*Sīta-gadiya*): Now she is grown up and has to be taught of household duties before she goes into the bedroom at night. Thus 'Sītā's Latch' is sung. It gives a list of duties of the daughter-in-law which includes service to parents-in-law with reverence, shampooing the feet of the mother-in-law, preparing the bed for the father-in-law, fanning the mother-in-law to sleep, besides looking after the house. It is already late. Now the daughter-in-law takes a bath, dresses herself, combs her hair, puts on costumes and ornaments and proceeds to the bed room holding a water pot in one hand and betal leaves in the other. To her dismay Rāma bolted the latch and was rolling on the bed restlessly.

"I am standing at your door
 Open the door, I am getting sleep".
 "What if you do not have enough sleep
 The bell like light is my companion.
 What if you stand at the entrance
 The sandal and saffron are my companions
 What if you stand at the entrance
 The bed on the cot is my companion."²⁵

Poor Sītā seeks the help of the mother-in-law to get the door opened. At Kausalyā's intervention in the romance the door is unlatched. Sītā at once cuts a joke at the expense of Kausalyā:

"Mother-in-law! Daśaratha is alone
 Oh! mother-in-law please proceed to him."²⁶

5.0 Leaving alone the literary merits in these poems and folk-songs, the interpolations and distortions²⁷ in the Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa themes signify several facets in the Indian tradition and manifest unity in diversity. The reformatory ideologists of different epochs of culture, in their earnest desire to change the mentality of the people and to alleviate their sufferings resort to interpret, reinterpret and also misinterpret the Vedic, the epic and the purāṇic themes, so as to afford illustrations to popularise their beliefs, superstitions, customs, ethics and morals among the elite and the masses. As the mythology reinforces the beliefs, the characters of yesterday and today gain in the hands of reformatory poets the garb of the epic and purāṇic heroes and heroines of reverence.

5.1 The ornate poetry reaches the elite and the folk-songs the masses. The poet of the ornate poetry remains prominent and his ideologies are distinctly felt. The poet of the folk-songs, on the other hand, goes to the background with his ideas gaining acceptance for being passed on to the common man as of originated in the remote past. Thus the influence of the folk-songs is far reaching. A thorough investigation into this literature on the basis of the recurrence of themes and phenomenology of religion shall provide clues for the elimination of the legendary portions in the mythological episodes and reinforce the conclusions drawn from the epigraphs, coins, sculptures and paintings. The corroborations between literary and physical evidences

give strength to validate the historical information known hitherto exclusively from the ancient literature.

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2. See my article: 'Position and Status of Women in the Age of the Liturgical Samhitās, Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads', in: *Position and Status of Women in Ancient India*, vol.I, ed. by L.K. Tripathi, pp. 11ff. Department of AIHC & Arch., BHU, Varanasi, 1988.
3. *patisamyogasulabham vayo dṛṣṭvā tu me pitā/ cintām abhyāgamad dīno vittanāśād ivādhanaḥ // Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa*, 2.110.33 (cr.ed.).
4. *sudīrghasya tu kālasya rāghavo 'yam mahādyutih / ibid.43.*
See also:
vīryaśulketi bhagavan na dadāmi sutām aham/ ibid.1.65.17.
5. *devatāyatanañc āśu sarvās tāḥ pratyapūjayan / abhivādyābhivādyāṁś ca sarvā rājasutās tadā / rémirē muditāḥ sarvā bhartṛbhir muditā rahaḥ //ibid. 1.76.11-12.*
6. For example compare the views of Manu on the inter-caste marriage between a brahmin boy and a sūdra girl, Manu. 3.17 and 44.
7. *upanyāhṛtya gurave 'nujñāto dārān kurvīta. asagotrān. mātūr asapindān, Gobhilagṛhyasūtra* (with Bhāṭṭa Nārāyaṇa's *Bhāṣya*), 3.4.2-4, pp. 604-609; Calcutta Sanskrit Series, 17.
8. *nagnikā tu sresthā, ibid. 3.4.5, p. 612.* A girl is classified into nagnikā, gaurī, rohini and kanyā; cf.
apraptā rajase gaurī prāpte rajasi rohini / avyāñjita bhavet kanyā kucahinā ca nagnikā // Angira. 2.18.
9. The commentator Bhāṭṭānārāyaṇa interprets this on the basis of the *Manusmṛti*, 9.94 and *Atrisamhitā*, 55. The *Manusmṛti*, 9.94 prescribes that a man of 30 years shall marry a girl of 12 years and a man of 24 years a girl of 8 years:
dvādaśavārsikīm / tryastavārṣo 'stavarṣām vā dharme sīdati satvaraḥ //

The *Atrisamhitā*, 55 prescribes that one should have many sons, so that at least one of them can marry a girl when she is a *gaurī*:
eṣṭavyā bahavaḥ putrā yady eko 'pi gayāṁ vrajet /
gaurīṁ vā udvahed bhāryāṁ nīlāṁ vā vṝksam utsrjet //
 (This verse occurs with variants in the *Viṣṇusamhitā*, 8.5.67 and *Bṛhaspatismhitā*, 1.12).

10. *Manusmṛti*, 3.21-34.
11. For example Kṛṣṇa spares the life of Rukmin, in spite of the latter's resolve to avenge the abduction of Rukmini, in order to allow the bonds of fraternity to grow and to soften human relations besides solving problems arising out of politics. Kṛṣṇa's son Pradyumna marries the daughter of Rukmin. Even though Rukmin harboured hatred and enmity in his heart he concedes for the marriage of his grand-daughter (*pautrī*) with his grandson (*dauhitra*) Aniruddha, *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, 5.28.6-8.
12. English translation by P.V. Kane and C.N. Joshi of the verse:
patanaviralaḥ prāntomīlanmanoharakuntalair
daśanamukulair mugdhālokam śiśur dadhati mukham /
lalitalalitair jyotsnāprāyair akṛtīmavibhramair
akṛtamadhusair ambānāṁ me kutūhalam aṅgakaiḥ //
Uttarārāmacarita, 1.20, Motilal, Delhi 1971.
13. *aniyatataruditasmītaṁ virājat*
katipayakomaladantakudmalāgram /
vadanakamalakāṇ śiśoh smarāmi
skhalad asamañjasam añju jalpitam te // ibid. 4.4.
14. The whole marriage ritual is called in the *grhyasūtras* and *smṛtis* as *pāṇigrahaṇa*, because of its utmost importance; cf. *Gobhilagṛhyasūtra*, 2.1.11: *pāṇigrahaṇe purastāc chālāyā agnir upasamāhito bhavati*; *Manusmṛti*, 3.43: *pāṇigrahaṇasaiṣkārah savarṇāśūpa-diṣyate*.
15. These folk-songs were compiled and edited by Kṛṣṇaśrī (Śripāda Gopālakṛṣṇamūrti) and published under the title: *Strīla-Rāmāyaṇapupāṭalu* ('Women Songs of Rāmāyaṇa') by Āndhra Sārasvata Parisat, Hyderabad 1986 (2nd edn.). Even though they are meant for singing by the uneducated women, each line is full of literary merit and of high language. So some lines are reproduced in transliteration.
16. *nīku tammuni paṭṭi nijamu vadina*
pālalō mūncetti nik-istin-amina, ibid. p. 82.
17. *nēyi kācanēradu nelata sumi vadina*
nērputō panulella nērapavaminā

*kuḍuvanēradu cinna pasibāla sunimi
vērugān-avanija tān-āragimpcadu
calla cēya nēradu saklija sumi vadina
mī bālalalon-okka bāl gā cūdu
āḍabōyinacōta aṭte yumdenu
mellagā nērputō piluvavāyammā*, ibid. p. 82.

This refers to the social custom that a daughter is expected to attend to the churning of curd into butter and making ghee out of butter in the house of the parents, more particularly so in the village domiciliation. Interestingly this practice corresponds to the derivative sense of the Indo-European word *duhitā* (Skt), derived from the root *duh* 'to milk (a cow or her udder)'. Its cognates are Eng. daughter, Gk. *thugatros*, Goth. *daughtar*, Lat. *ductē*.

18. *daśarathu-kūturu sānta-girikanyā
kausalya-gārābu-paṭti sumi vadina
mī sīta mā sāntasamamugān-umqu
nammumā pūboṇi nalināyatākṣi*, ibid. p. 82.
19. *ikkada rāmacandra nīku panulu ēlarā?
akkada nī-maradāmḍru āḍucumḍagā
vekkasamuga cūda vasti vēḍukāyenu*, ibid. p. 109.
20. *āṭa nīvu gelicināvū atīva jānaki
kōṭidhanamul-iyyamāni kōmal-āḍagave*, ibid.
21. *komma nākoṇgu baṭṭa sammatavun-āṭē
āḍanelā tamaru māṭō vōḍanēṭiki
ōḍinādhanamul-āḍuga kōpam-ēṭiki*, ibid.
22. *rāma nīdu dhanamu kāda rāma sīta!*, ibid.
23. *sīta nīvamti strīlatō rātri pagalu kūḍunnā
ākali dappika bāyunu alasaṭē tōcadu*, ibid. p. 98.
24. *vēḍukatō sīta-samarta pāḍina vinna gāni
iṣṭasampadalu vaibhogamul-icci rakṣiṇpcunu*, ibid.
25. *talupēya kōpāṇunu tālamgagalāñ
nilucunna pāḍālu cēṭulunu nocce*, ibid. p. 105.
marṇci oka nidraina śaraṇomdi pōdu, ibid. p. 106.
*nidra nīku lēkumṭe nāk-ēmi sīta
gamṭavale dīpamnu adi nāku toḍu*

nīvu nilcumṛtēnu nāk-ēmi sīta
 gamdhamu kastūri adi nāku tōdu
 nīvu nilcumṛtēnu nāk-ēmi sīta
 patṭemamāṇcaṁ parupu adi nāku tōdu, ibid.

26. mā māma daśarathulu okkar-unnāru
atta mīru poṇdi māmakadaku, p. 106.
27. A best example of the distortion is found in the *Brahmavaivarta-purāṇa*, in which Sītā was connected with Draupadī. When Rāma was in the forest, Agni appeared before him and advised him to send Sītā to safety and replace in her place another lady of the same configuration. Rāma consented. As the replacing lady is similar to Sītā she is called Chāyā. Rāvaṇa abducted her and Rāma released her from abduction. In the meanwhile Chāyā fell in love with Rāma. But Agni took her away to safety and substituted her with real Sītā, when she entered into the fire to prove her chastity. Now Chāyā moved to the bank of Nārāyaṇa-sarovara and meditated upon Śiva for hundreds of years. She was blessed with a boon of five husbands; but all of them are different physical configurations of Indra, who in turn is an aspect of Viṣṇu or Rāma. So Chāyā is called Vedavatī in the Kṛta-yuga, Sītā in the Tretā-yuga and Draupadī in the Dvāpara-yuga:

kṛte yuge vedavatī tretāyāṁ janakātmajā /
 dvāpare draupadī chāyā tena kṛṣṇā trihāyani //

Brahmavaivarta-purāṇa, 116.23, p. 863: Ānandāśrama ed.

R.S. BETAI

KĀLIDĀSA NĀTYAKĀRA AND MAHĀKĀVYAKĀRA

Discussing the problem of the sublime, A.C. Bradely in his book *Oxford Lectures on Poetry* narrates one incident. After gazing at the falls for some time he (i.e. Coleridge) began to consider what adjective would most precisely lead to the impression he had received, and he came to the conclusion that the proper word was 'sublime'. Two other tourists arrived and standing by him, looked in silence at the spectacle. Then, to Coleridge's great satisfaction, the gentleman exclaimed, "it is sublime", to which the lady responded, "Yes, it is the prettiest thing I ever saw".

In her *Feeling and Form*, when Sussenna Langer discusses the problem of emotional experience in the theatre, she refers to the Indian 'Rasa Theory' in words of admiration.

"Some of the Hindu critics, although they subordinate and even deprecate art in favour of the literary elements it involves, and understand much better than their western colleagues the various aspects of emotion in the theatre, which our writers so freely and banefully confuse; the feelings experienced by the actor, those experienced by the spectators, those presented as undergone by characters in the play, and finally the feeling that shines through the play itself - the vital feeling of the piece."

This admiration of the 'Rasa Theory' by the Western aesthetician shows how significant the theory is and how it enters the very depth of the emotional experience of the spectator, *sāmājika* in the Indian terminology, even though his exposition of the Rasa theory that follows is far from satisfactory. 'Sublime and Beauty' on one side and 'Rasa' on the other, are the real pivotal points in poetry.

Kālidāsa is the poet of the sublime and the beautiful and he attains to his lofty poetic heights on the path of depiction of Rasa, based as it is on multifarious emotional experiences of human beings, coming as they do from the unfathomable depths of the human mind and heart. It is rightly stated that Kālidāsa gives poetic expression to what is the best in Indian culture, the greatest and noblest human and divine traits that it has cultivated through the ages. The greatness of this poet, the brightest and the most beautiful star in the galaxy of Indian poetry, is based on his seven poetic compositions - 3 dramas, 2 epics and 2 *Laghukāvyas*. Unlike Bhāsa, Bhāravi, Māgha and Bhavabhūti, Kālidāsa has experimented upon three popular forms instead of one of poetry and in each he has given to us the best representative works: *Sākuntalā* in *Nātya*, *Raghuvamśa* in *Mahākāvya* and *Meghadūta* in *Laghukāvya*.

A poet is naturally free to choose his own poetic form for each of his poetic compositions. He is expected only to know as to which poetic form will be most suitable to his creative work. But once the poet chooses his form, certain questions arise:

- i. Has the poet's poetic composition found expression at its best in the form chosen by him?
- ii. Could any other form have been chosen instead?
- iii. Which is the form which is conducive to revealing the *pratibhā* of the poet at its best?
- iv. Which is the form in which his *pratibhā* has free and natural play, in which his imagination moves to the loftiest heights unhindered?

It can be accepted as a general rule that criticism follows creation and any form that comes to poetic usage is based on poetic compositions that give shape to it. Later poets of mettle can also modify it or shape it further. If we were to study Kālidāsa from the point of view of form and get answers to the above mentioned questions, we will have to study how his *pratibhā* 'imagination' has formed in

the realm of Nātya and in the realm of Mahākāvya. This means a comparative study of Kālidāsa's achievements as a Nātyakāra and as a Mahākāvya-kāra.

I. NĀTYAKĀRA

Kālidāsa has given three rūpakas to us; two are Nāṭakas and one - the Vikramorvaśiya - is a Troṭaka as some scholars opine, even though it has all the traits of the form of a Nāṭaka. Without entering into this controversy, we examine Kālidāsa's attainment as a Nātyakāra from the point of view of form and his *pratibhā* that works on it.

The very first and most important feature of Kālidāsa as a Nātyakāra is that both poetic and dramatic qualities are found in his works which are of high order and further, these form a unique identity. As a result, Kālidāsa's plays have all scope to be fully successful on the stage as is expected of a rūpaka form, and they give lofty poetry to us, so that he lives for centuries. Kālidāsa is rightly adjudged as a front-rank dramatist and also as a front-rank poet in these three rūpakas. Kālidāsa's popularity as a poet rests on his rūpakas as some scholars opine.

Rūpaka is a dr̥ṣyakāvya and therefore it has naturally greater appeal because of its stageability and the rasāsvāda that it can yield more easily to us. Rasāsvāda of an epic is definitely not easy and a higher *pratibhā* as a reader is expected. This is so in spite of the fact that dramatic composition is a very difficult art indeed. If the form of drama facilitates the composition of a rūpaka, it can also place grave limitations on the poet who prefers to compose a rūpaka.

That the three rūpakas of Kālidāsa are a great success on the stage from most of the points of view, is a matter beyond doubt. With the exception of Bhāsa, Śūdraka and Bhavabhūti he has no rival in the sphere of dramatic success. But with this, it cannot be forgotten that the stories in all the three compositions are conventional and comprise of the usual jealousies of other queens, the sure success of the hero in the end and the forced reconciliation of the jealous queens. The psychological depiction of events and characters that can take drama to far higher heights and command greater respect, are very poor in all the three plays. This is so in spite of the fact that the suffering

of Mālavikā, Ausinari, Kaśyapa, Śakuntalā, etc., and the chance that the poet had for its depiction in his *Vikramorvāsiya* and *Śakuntala*, is limited.

Elements of conflict and suspense are the very soul of drama, and these elements are also poor in all the three plays. The stories, the way they develop, are too well-known and therefore not much likely to make the spectators stunned, all-attentive and identifying themselves with the emotion in the play. This is in spite of the fine depiction in the 4th Act of the *Vikramorvāsiya* and the 4th, 5th and 6th Acts of the *Śakuntala*.

The greatest, the most dramatic and the most poetic would have been some of the events on which the poet is forced to keep the curtain down because of the limitations of the form of drama in which these do not fit in:

Mālavikāgnimitra: Mental affliction of Dhārinī, and Irāvatī.

Vikramorvāsiya: Mental affliction of Ausinari, propriety of Urvāśi hiding her pregnancy, growth of Āyus.

Śakuntala: Propriety of Kanva's behaviour before departure of Śakuntalā, after-sorrows, sorrows of Śakuntalā till she is reunited with Dusyanta, how Dusyanta passed his years, etc.

The poet has preferred to adjust his plots in the popular form of Nāṭaka available to him, and, except in Rasa-depiction, he has not done much to shape the form or to modify it, evolve and shape it better. He succeeds in revealing the potentialities of the form, but he has not contributed much towards its modification or for the betterment that we might have expected. This also shows that his *pratibhā* is not able to move freely in the form. He concentrates more on the art.

II. MAHĀKĀVYAKĀRA

Keith opines that by western standards, the *Kumārasambhava* of Kālidāsa is an epic in the real sense of the term. If we were to read the two epics, we will feel that from the point of view of the problem of human life posed, the lively story and its construction, the extraordinary characters and their mental conflicts, psychological analysis, depiction of the art of the epic - in all these, the two *kāvyas* are equally great and it would be difficult to prefer one to the other. The *Kumārasambhava*

is an epic with one hero and the *Raghuvamśa* has many heroes. The story of the love of Śiva and Pārvatī, who win each other through austerities and its fruition into marriage for the sublime good of the universe in the *Kumārasambhava* and the story of the great Raghu race starting with the awe-inspiring greatness of kings from Dilipa to Rāma and the sad downfall of this great race with the lusty, weak, fickle and immoral king Agnivarṇa - these are stories with maximum potentialities of epic composition. The poet takes maximum advantage of the potentialities of the two stories and brings the problem of the "Love in human life and its fruition" to the utmost blessing and happiness of the lovers as also the entire universe in the *Kumārasambhava*, and the grand problem of the realms of love, heroism, martial and other attainments, highest ethics and morality, realization of the best that life offers in the *Raghuvamśa*. The greatness of the work is suggestively laid down with the very description of the race.

As we study the two epics and enjoy them, we find:

1. Kālidāsa is a grand success in the epic shape that he gives to the two stories mentally shaped by him along with the grand human problems are universal from Indian point of view. Everything is great, choice both from the point of view of art and the emotion depicted in his two epic works.
2. Some of the loftiest events in the two works unforgettable and it is notable that there is a series of these in both. Some of the events that touch the very vitals and depth of our heart are: the sublime description of the Himālayas; the picturesque and description of untimely spring with Lord Śiva in meditation about to be attacked by the very delicate arrows of Kāma in the presence of youthful Pārvatī who is the very incarnation of woman's beauty; Rativilāpa; Pārvatī in meditation; marriage of Pārvatī; the monsoon season in the *Kumārasambhava*, and Dilipa in service of Nandinī; dialogue between Dilipa and the lion, battles between Raghu and Indra; Svayamvara of Indumati; Ajavilāpa; hunting pursuit of Daśaratha; abandonment of Sītā, etc. in the *Raghuvamśa*.
3. The descriptions of nature are brief and infused with suggestion far wider, identified with the story and add to its loftiness. They show Kālidāsa's art of miniature painting, picturesqueness, the play of Dhvani and Rasa and his unique artless art.
4. Nowhere is the *pratibhā* of the poet found suffering from limitations of the form; it has full free play throughout the works and he composes both with exuberance and enthusiasm on one side and

the calm and quietude on the other as any natural and great poet should do.

5. Actually the form of Mahākāvya as defined by ācāryas, beginning from Bhāmaha down to Viśvanātha, is, for the first time, shaped in these two great epics of Kālidāsa. There is nothing in the definitions of the ācāryas that we may not find here. Thus, the shape of Sanskrit Mahākāvya owes its origin to these two epics.
6. Viśvanātha describes the exact form of Mahākāvya in his detailed, all-embracing definition. The two *kavyas* of Kālidāsa have all traits in entirety found here. Actually the definition is shaped by Viśvanātha on the basis of the two grand works of Kālidāsa. Here, creation has shaped criticism, or, the definition finds all traits as if as the creator, the poet would have them.
7. More important are the elements of Mahākāvyatva, epic heights and epic depths that we come across in some definitions like those of Bhāmaha and *Agnipurāṇa*. This Mahākāvyatva is found in its entirety in these two works that pose before us grand problems of human life.

In Sanskrit, Kālidāsa has no rival in the realm of epic form in which he attains to the top of epic heights. We can go even a step further and state that these two are the only Mahākāvyas worth the name in Sanskrit language while most of the rest are only Mahākāya-kāvyas. This is so in spite of the accepted poetic worth of the epic works of Bhāravi and Māgha. They too cannot claim to stand near Kālidāsa. Even if the western concept of epic and the epic heights as also the types of epic are considered, Kālidāsa stands the test with all success.

Conclusions:

In this comparative study of Kālidāsa's dramas and Mahākāvyas from the viewpoint of form, we come to the following conclusions:

- i. Kālidāsa is greater in his Mahākāvyas than in his Rūpakas even though the latter are of no mean value.
- ii. His epic *pratibhā* works in all independence and freedom in his Mahākāvyas, not so in his Rūpakas.
- iii. Kālidāsa has contributed the most in shaping of the form of Sanskrit Mahākāvya in which the convention laid down by him is overruled by none; not so the form of the Rūpaka. No other Mahākāvya has contributed anything substantial towards shaping the form.

- iv. Kālidāsa has some rivals of high order in the Rūpaka form, but none in the Mahākāvya form in which he reigns supreme in Sanskrit poetry.
- v. As compared to many of the Mahākāvyas in Sanskrit, including the principal ones, Kālidāsa only proves the meaning of the word *mahākāvya*, *mahā* in particular. Long descriptions and a vast number of verses are rare. What matters to him is the lofty Himalayan heights of poetic achievement in all aspects of poetry, separately and as a whole. His art of suggestion, his life-like picturesqueness, his flights of imagination and depths of the human heart that he effortlessly touches, in all these he stands unrivalled. This *Kavikulaguru*, the *vilāsa* of poetic beauty and the very soul of poetry stands unrivalled almost for all time.
- vi. The two Mahākāvyas place him as an epic poet of no mean order even on the international plane.

Kālidāsa is therefore first a Mahākāvyakāra and then a Nātyakāra even though he is praised more as a dramatist for obvious reasons discussed above. The greatness and the secret of his Mahākāvyas deserve patient, careful, deep study following their enjoyment by readers of high talent and taste. So far very few such studies and *rasāsvādas* are available in print. Tagore would be our guide in this matter. We may dispute the interpretation of *Sākuntala* given in his “Inner meaning of *Sākuntala*”, but surely not his papers on the *Kumārasambhava* and *Raghuvamśa* in his *Prācīnā*.

B.N. MUKHERJEE

ŚRĪ AUROBINDO
TRADITION AND MODERNITY

In a literal sense the term 'tradition' (*prathā*) means transmission of social, economic, religious, technological and cultural elements in a community from a generation to its next and so on. But in a restricted sense 'tradition' denotes only those elements which indicate an idea expressing a value judgement. Such elements or ideas are part of the heritage (*aitihya*) of the community concerned. A set of such social norms, apparently practised through the ages, was referred to as *porānā pakiti* (<Skt. *purānā prakṛti*) or ancient practice in the Second Minor Rock edict of Asoka. On the other hand, modernity is an attitude of mind which tends to subordinate the traditional to the novel and to adjust the established and customary to the exigencies of the recent and innovating. "The practical effect of this attitude may be conservative or revolutionary. It is conservative where the subordination of the old to the new saves the old from destruction through desuetude or attrition. It is revolutionary where the subordination takes the form of nullification of the old via desuetude and attrition".¹

On the whole, tradition is the sum total of beliefs and practices, material and spiritual, handed down through generations. Modernity nullifies, modifies and replaces the tradition and adds novel features to the society. But there are often elements which do not change or change a little and which form the eternal ethos of a people. These are *sanātana*, even if *purātana*.

In an article published towards the end of the first decade of this century Śrī Āurobindo observed that anything old was not acceptable only because of its age, if it was not eternal. The eternal (*sanātana*), which is appreciated by self-realisation, is omnipresent and imperishable. It transcends ages.² Śrī Āurobindo stressed on the essentials (Indianness) in the early art, thought, literature and religion as the forces that must uplift the nation. He declared that to recover them and "to solve the problems that perplex the world in an Indian spirit and from an Indian standpoint is the mission of nationalism". National Education was a means to achieve that end. But material development must be at par with that of the outside world. So Āurobindo conceded that 'as in politics, so in commerce, we must learn and master the European methods in order that we may eventually rise above them'. The practice of commercial *svadesi* and a new school of art was a part of national awakening. But Āurobindo warned at the same time that 'industry can only become again beautiful if poverty and the struggle for life are eliminated from society and the co-operative state and commune organised as the fruit of a great moral and spiritual uplifting of humanity'.³ So here was a superman, deeply rooted in the values of the past, rejecting all old superficials and accepting modern beneficial innovations in order to build in future an egalitarian society based moral, spiritual and material values.

In his writings from 1914 to 1921, Śrī Āurobindo again and again delved deep into the cultural ethos of India. To him the culture of a people is the expression of a consciousness of life which formulates itself in three aspects. "There is a side of thought, of ideal, of upward will and the soul's aspiration; there is a side of creative self-expression and appreciative aesthetics, intelligence and imagination; and there is a side of practical and outward formulation." He found philosophy and religion as the soul of Indian culture and spirituality as 'the master-key' to the "Indian mind." He also thought that actions based on the great objects of life (*dharma, artha, kāma* and *mokṣa*) facilitated the growth of Indian civilisation. But realisation of the existence of 'the eternal and impersonal behind one's being and action and the attempt at unity with it' were considered by him as desiderata to achieve "largest greatness and power." This spiritualism as well as materialism he traced to early Indian art, literature and polity. Even in polity *dharma* (ethical, social and religious laws) had been supreme.⁴

The spiritualism and inner beauty are perceptible in early Indian and also in mediaeval Indian art. Aurobindo discovered spiritual and psychic beauty as well as dignity in the human figures created in the best Indian tradition.⁵ This observation is largely true of many of the representations of deities produced in early India. Śrī Aurobindo also remarked that 'the Taj is not merely a sensuous reminiscence of an imperial amour or a fairy enchantment hewn from the moon's lucent quarries, but the eternal dream of a love that survives death. The great mosques embody often a religious aspiration lifted to a noble austerity which supports and is not lessened by the subordinate ornament and grace. The tombs reach beyond death to the beauty and joy of paradise. The buildings of Fatepur-Sikri are not monuments of effeminate luxurious decadence (an absurd description of the mind of the time of Akbar), but give form to a nobility, power and beauty which lay hold upon but do not wallow on the earth.'⁶ In these monuments an Indian mind, absorbing west Asian influence, uplifts sensuousness to a certain immaterial charm or "in the religious mood touches with a devout hand the skirts of the Divine."⁷ While thinking that after the advent of Islam there had been a struggle 'between two civilisations', he did not fail to see that 'Akbar attempted to create a common political patriotism'.⁸

It appears that Śrī Aurobindo noticed striking features in early and mediaeval Indian civilization, where spiritualism, transcending religion, formed a base and survived through the periods. The knowledge of this spiritual ethos is necessary for the survival of modern India and its rise to the coveted greatness.

To Aurobindo adherence to nationalism was a must for achieving freedom and future greatness for India. In a speech delivered in Bombay on January 19, 1908, he declared that 'there is a creed in India today which calls itself nationalism. Nationalism is not a mere political programme. Nationalism is a religion that has come from God; nationalism is a creed in which you shall have to live. If you are going to be a Nationalist, if you are going to assent to this religion of Nationalism, you must do it in the religious spirit. It is a religion by which we are to realise God in the nation, in our fellow-countrymen'.⁹

Here Aurobindo was infusing an eternal religious fervour into a sort of modern creed, which tended to transcend the barriers of traditional religions and thus had the capacity of serving as the catalyst of national

unity and pride. This remarkable development, achieved in Bengal by Aurobindo and several others, attracted the notice of the outside world. J. Ramsay Macdonald, who later became the Prime Minister of Britain, observed that Bengal was idealising India and 'transforming nationalism into religion, into music and poetry, into painting and literature'.¹⁰

Śrī Aurobindo pointed out two paths for reaching the goal of political freedom - through active or aggressive and through passive or defensive resistance, preferring the latter in the existing circumstances. The passive resistance or refusal to do anything helpful to the British and their administration in India was summed up in one word, viz., "boycott."¹¹ He seems to have been the first modern Indian leader to advocate non-co-operation through his doctrine of 'Passive Resistance'. The usefulness and modernity of his thought was proved by its useful application by Gandhi in India's struggle for freedom.¹²

Śrī Aurobindo stood for freedom of a united India. In his message to the nation on August 15, 1947, he noted, "India is free, but she has not achieved unity, only a fissured and broken freedom..... The old communal division between Hindu and Muslim seems to have hardened into the figure of a permanent political division of the country..... If it lasts, India may be seriously weakened, even crippled: civil strife may remain always possible, possible even a new invasion and foreign conquest. The partition of the country must go, - it is to be hoped by slackening of tension by a progressive understanding of the need of peace and concord, by the constant necessity of common and concerted action, even of an instrument of union for that purpose. In this way unity may come about under whatever form - the exact form may have a pragmatic but not a fundamental importance. But by whatever means, the division must and will go. For without it the destiny of India might be seriously impaired and even frustrated. But that must not be."¹³

With prophetic vision Aurobindo realised in 1947 the evils now threatening India's stability and progress - not only of the truncated India but of the whole subcontinent. The remedy is unification or a sort of confederation of the three political units - present day India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. This will ensure peace and will be conducive to prosperity in the subcontinent.

India of today is faced with fissiparous tendencies in different regions, which are clamouring for more autonomy or even independence. As realised by Aurobindo, early India's unity had been spiritual and cultural (and not essentially political). Therefore, too much centralised administration of any empire, based on military strength, could not effect 'living political unity'.¹⁴

The Indian subcontinent, demarcated by the Himalayas and the seas, is from time immemorial a well defined geographical unit. An umbrella culture was provided by Brahmanism to different areas without really destroying local distinctions. In fact, the great tradition was often influenced by little traditions and locally transformed into regional traditions. The pan Indian culture had local variations, sometimes almost assuming the air of independence. But the presence of a fundamental geographical as well as cultural unity led the Purānic authors to speak of the whole territory to the south of Himalayas and to the north of the sea(s) as Bhāratavarṣa and its inhabitants as Bhāratī.¹⁵ This situation was reinforced and a new hue was added to the existing picture by the advent of Islam. But these geographical, cultural and historical compulsions were ignored by the authors of the partition in 1947.¹⁶ The result is disastrous, as we now know, but which was foreseen by Aurobindo in 1947.

Even to save the truncated India from further split, regional autonomy and aspirations shall have to be respected and accommodated by the centre. A strong but sensitive central administration, quick to respond to legitimate local demands and ready to foster cultural unity and socio-economic justice, can save the nation in the coming decades. The germ of this life saving formula for the nation one may find in Aurobindo's thoughts.

Sri Aurobindo was a spiritual man, a mystic; but was ever alert to India's mundane need. Even as a mystic he was concerned with the social results of his mystical intuition. He believed that the achievement of the supermind in the Life Divine would lead to an enriched order of humanity.¹⁷ Deeply rooted in India's traditional and eternal values, he devised means for curing India's ill.

Aurobindo believed, as indicated in one of his writings,¹⁸ that India 'can, if she will, give a new and decisive turn to the problems over which all mankind is labouring and stumbling, for the clue to their

solutions is in her ancient knowledge.¹⁹ This knowledge he interpreted in a revolutionary way. He also indicated a formula which may help the nation in the coming century. If ever a traditional man was truly modern, it was Sri Aurobindo.

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THE CONCEPT OF KĀRAKAS IN ŚĀKAṬĀYANA-VYĀKARAÑA

The concept of kārakas introduced by Pāṇini to examine the relation between the words in a sentence bear an important role in the field of linguistics. This theory leads one to accept the sense of a sentence whatever be the order it which it has been presented. Here an attempt is made to compare the method adopted by Śākaṭāyana - the Jaina grammarian - in treating the kāraka with that of Pāṇini.

Śākaṭāyana has accepted six kārakas - *kartṛ*, *karma*, *hetu*, *avadhi* (*apādāna*), *ādhāra* (*adhikarāṇa*) and *sampradāna*. In fact the *sampradāna* has not been mentioned by name though the dative case-affixes are ordained. He does not treat these kārakas as technical terms and hence no corresponding rules are introduced to state the cases for the kārakas respectively. This method has contributed much to avoid confusion which is found in Pāṇini while treating the technical terms like *karman* (Pāṇ. 1.4.49) and *nadi* (Pāṇ. 1.4.3), for they have a non-technical sense also. *Anablihita*, in the domain rule (*adhikāra-sūtra*) of Pāṇini under which all kārakas function, is replaced by the word *apradhāna* (Śāk.1.3.100) in the Śākaṭāyana-vyākaraṇa though it is not put as an *adhikāra-sūtra*. Śākaṭāyana introduces the cases in the order from *prathamā* to *saptamī* by enjoining the related *sup* affixes. The aphorism *prathamādiḥ*, Śāk. 1.3.182 allows *prathamā* to *saptamī* for the triplets like *su-au-jas* to *ni-os-sup* respectively. Śākaṭāyana presents the case-affixes in the following order:

1. *avyayāt sv-*au*-*jas**, 1.3.97.
2. *hā-dhik-saṁnayā-nikaśopary-upary-adhy-adhyadho 'dho 'ty-antarā-ntareṇatas-pary-abhi-sarvobhayaiś cāpradhāne 'mauṭśas*, 1.3.100.
3. *tā-bhyām-bhis siddhau*, 1.3.127.
4. *nie-bhyām-bhyas*, 1.3.135.
5. *nasi-bhyām-bhyas stokālpakatipayakṛcchrād asattve*, 1.3.152.
6. *nas-*os*-ām*, 1.3.163.
7. *kteno niy-*os*-sup*, 1.3.171.

*Avyayāt sv-*au*-*jas** (*Sāk.* 1.3.97) enjoins the affixes *su*, *au*, *jas* to the indeclinables. In the example *adho uccair mama gṛham* ‘*adha*’ and ‘*uccais*’ are indeclinables to which the *su*-affix is added. *Śākaṭāyana* states that all the nominal stems bear their gender and number along with their meaning. So, by the next *sūtra eka-dvi-bahau*, 1.3.98 nominative case affixes are enjoined to every meaningful nominal stem to denote their meaning, number and gender. The *upapada-vibhaktis* explained by *Pāṇini* in 2.3.4: *antarāntareṇa yukte* and *Kātyāyana* in *ubhasarvatasoh kāryā⁰*, *Vārttika* 1444, and *abhitah-paritah-samayā-nikasā⁰*, *Vārttika* 1443 are presented here by one *sūtra*: *hādhik⁰*, *Sāk.* 1.3.100.

Śākaṭāyana simply frames the *sūtras* admitting the accusative case for those prefixes having the capacity to denote *lakṣaṇā*, *itthambhavaṇa*, *bhaga*, *hetu*, *sāhitya* and *utkṛṣṭa* by four *sūtras*: *Sāk.* 1.3.101 to 104. The *karman-s* characterised as *nirvartya*, *vikārya*, *prāpya* and *akathita* are brought under one *sūtra*: *karmani*, *Sāk.* 1.3.105. The other cases applicable to fulfil the scope of *karman* and the negation of this *karman* along with some particular roots are also presented here. The genitive case enjoined by *Pāṇini* under the heading *śeṣe*, *Pāṇ.* 2.3.50 takes the form of negation of accusative case in the *Śākaṭāyana-vyākaraṇa*, (1.3.166).

Pāṇini’s rule *apavarge tṛtiyā* (2.3.6) is replaced by *tā-bhyām-bhis siddhau* (1.3.127); e.g. *māsena prabhṛtam adhitam*. *Hetukartṛkarane-tthambhūtalakṣaṇe* (*Sāk.* 1.3.128) allows the affixes *tā*, *bhyām*, *bhis* in the sense of *hetu*, *kartṛ*, *karana* and *itthambhūtalakṣaṇa*. *Śākaṭāyana* also introduces the *sūtras* which allow other cases along with their instrumental case in this context (e.g. *Sāk.* 1.3.132).

The rule *nie bhyām bhyas* (*Sāk.* 1.3.135) allotsthe dative case where one wishes to connect another with an object using the verb

dā to give *galhādibhir bahulam* (Śāk. 1.3.149) states the optional usage of the dative case (e.g. *devadattāya dharmāṇi brūte*, *devadattāṇi dharmāṇi sāsti*). According to the rule *niasi-bhyām-bhyas-stokālpa-katipaya-kṛcchrād asattve* (Śāk. 1.3.152) the starting point (*avadhi*) from where the departure is taken place also carries the pāñcamī-vibhakti. Patañjali has omitted the sūtras *parājer asodhaḥ* (Pāñ. 1.4.26) and *bhītrārthānām bhayahetuḥ* (1.4.25), and the vārttika: *jugupsā-virāma-pramādārthānām upasamkhyanām* (1072). Śākaṭāyana has followed the theory of the Bhāṣyakāra and has put the scope of these sūtras and vārttika under his sūtra *apāye 'vadhau* (Śāk. 1.3.156).

Nas-os-ām (Śāk. 1.3.163) admits the genitive case to express the mutual relation of words. Śākaṭāyana has placed some sūtras which allow the meanings of *karman*, *kartṛ* and *karaṇa* in the course of the study of accusative case in the form of prohibition by which we get the negation of compounds. Kteno nyos sup (Śāk. 1.3.171) shows the place of locative case. The abode of the action through the medium of agent or object also takes this case. Towards the end of the third quarter of the first chapter Śākaṭāyana has suggested the occurrence of more than two cases of *upapada-vibhakt* together with some words like *pṛthak*, *nānā*, *vinā*, *dūra*, *antika* (Śāk. 1.3.192f).

The arrangement of the sūtras in the Śākaṭāyanīya proves the fact that he has not given much importance to the semantic concept of *kāraka*. He successfully classifies the occurrence of different cases first and states their denotative capacity of *kārakas* like *karman* and *kartṛ*. Śākaṭāyana has also included some words like *satra*, and *avabaddha* for their grammatical validity.

Thus one can understand that the concept of *kārakas* introduced by Pāṇini in the most comprehensive way needs further explanation and that Śākaṭāyana gave more emphasis on the morphological approach than on mutual relation of the words in a sentence.

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TEXTS & STUDIES

**ĀNDHRA BRAĀHMINS
THROUGH AGES UPTO 1325 A.D.**

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CONTENTS

Preface	105
Pre-Sātavāhana Period	109
Sātavāhana Period	117
Post-Sātavāhana Period	121
Cālukya Period	140

PREFACE

Social mobility is one of the most striking characteristics of Medieval Andhra History. The general classification of social mobility is horizontal and vertical. Horizontal mobility is geographical, movement of persons or groups of persons from one place to another whereas vertical mobility is moving upwards or going downwards in the scale of social ranking. In Medieval Andhra, all important sections of people - the brāhmaṇas, the ruling elite, the peasants, merchants and artisans - experienced mobility of one sort or the other or at times even both.

Several factors lead to horizontal mobility of people. Natural calamities like draught, famine and pestilence, pressure of population in a given area leading to shortage of material resources, shifting of the centres of political power which were in those days the main sources of patronage for arts and letters; religious factors such as fear of persecution and attraction of rising religious institutions; creation of new agricultural facilities like building tanks and clearing forests; and finally troop-movements in course of wars and campaigns may be mentioned as important factors responsible for horizontal social mobility. All sections of people including brāhmaṇas are influenced by these factors in medieval Andhra.

Improved economic position, service at the court or in the camp, liberal socio-religious reform movements and migration to distant lands facilitate vertical or upward social movements. However, the brāhmaṇa is not subjected to vertical mobility. He cannot move upwards as there is no higher rung in social ladder than the one which he occupies. He does not go downwards because his position is defended by tradition and guaranteed by *Dharmaśāstra*. Whatever may be the profession he chooses and however mean it may be he is not deprived of his ritual status. However heinous may be the sin a brāhmaṇa commits there is provision for expiation through which he regains his original status.

On the other hand the so called but old ksatriya families like the Cālukyas and Haihayas, in order to buttress their declining political power condescended into matrimonial alliances with the rising sūdra elite and got ultimately merged with it. This provides a good instance of downward social mobility.

Particularly for the sūdras and especially for the aborigines living on the periphery of the civilized societies this is a very fortunate period. The politico-economic compulsions enabled the aborigines to get absorbed into the different strata of the society, especially into the sūdra castes. In the *Brahmadeya* and *Devabhoga* villages, whose number multiplied, the life style of the brāhmaṇ became a model and was imitated or adopted by the peasant and artisan classes. The origins of the process known today as 'Sanskritisation' may thus be traced to this period. But the *agrahāras* provided not only the inspiration for vertical or upward social mobility but also the wherewithal for its attainment. The sūdras who cultivated the giftlands as arthasīris consolidated their economic position and thereby gained access to the court where they could rise in civil and military service which in its turn proved the gateway for admission into the ruling elite. If economic and political power raised them in social status, heterodox Jainism and the cosmopolitan *bhakti* cults conferred ritual status on them who started claiming ksatriya-hood and even equality with brāhmaṇ.

Increased agricultural output more than sufficient to satisfy the local requirements broke down the feudal rural insularism and stimulated industry and encouraged intrastate and inter-state trade. A net work of merchant-cum-artisan guilds developed improving the lot of both the classes. Again money proved the means of many social developments, religion playing its purifying role. Merchants started claiming vaiśya-hood, appropriating *Rsi*-gotras. Artisans, especially, the telikas and the pāñcālas (*pāñcānam-vāru*) fabricated for themselves high sounding pedigrees, justifying their equality in social and ritual status with the ksatriya and brāhmaṇ respectively.

In the following four essays the above complex process of social developments in Medieval Āndhra has been outlined. The approach to the subject is neither purely economic nor sociological nor political but only historical. Besides, it is far from being an attempt to fit the study and its conclusions into any hide-bound theoretical framework. On the other hand, it is an assessment of the interaction of the economic,

political and religious factors galvanising social mobility, based upon the available literary and epigraphical source material. But lack of adequate source material is a serious handicap under which the student of Andhra history works. Till about the middle of the 11th century A.D., there are no works in Telugu and even afterwards for about more than one century the works in Telugu were only translations of Epics and Purāṇas from Sanskrit and hence not of much use to students of history. Nor are there inscriptions throwing useful light on the major political events, administrative machinery and socio-economic developments. Most of the available inscriptions are short temple records noting the gift of a lamp or half a lamp (*artha-dīpa*) or a few cattle for its maintenance. However, here is an effort making "the best out of a bad bargain".

The aim with which the study is undertaken may sound ridiculously too lofty to be achieved. Misconceptions, misunderstandings and misinterpretations of historical events and developments would lead to social tensions and an effort at removing them is the duty of every conscientious student of history to his society. Noting a few of such misconceptions is not out of place. The brāhmaṇins of Andhra or of South India in general seek to perpetuate the myth that they are pure-blooded descendants of the great Vedic seers and therefore the other classes of people in the land naturally look upon them as intruders into their life from the north. Another misconception about the brāhmaṇins is that they had been dominant in society through out the long milleniums of history. The word *kamma* is given imaginary meanings and attempts are made to connect them with legendary and historical kṣatriya ruling families. Still it is strange that the kammas insist upon the use of the suffix *caudari*, without knowing its origin and meaning. Those who claim vaiśya-hood detest the word *komati* and resist the use of the suffix *setti* though the two words are more respectable than *vaiśya*. Among the pāñcālās (*pāñcāṇam-vāru*) there is an aggressive crusade against the use of the meaningful word *kamsāla* (> *karmaśālā*) in preference to the word *viśvabrāhmaṇa* which in fact has no history. The present effort is only to clear such cobwebs of prejudice so that there may develop mutual sympathy and understanding leading to social harmony.

I thank the Indian Council of Historical Research for granting me a Fellowship for two years and thus enabling me to undertake the study. For giving me all facilities for the study, my profound thanks are due

to the Hindu College, Guntur to which I owe, more than in one way, my career as a teacher and research worker.

— *B.S.L. Hanumantha Rao**

* The sudden demise of the learned Professor B.S.L. Hanumantha Rao on 9.8.1993 is condoled.

I. PRE-SĀTAVĀHANA PERIOD

The brāhmaṇi occupies the first place in the Vedic social hierarchy dominated by the concept of *varṇa*. The *Puruṣasūkta* of the tenth *Mandala* of the *Rgveda* gives an exposition of the system. According to it the brāhmaṇi, the kṣatriya, the vaiśya and the śūdra emanated respectively from the face, shoulders, thighs and feet of Prajāpati or Brahmā.¹ Assigning intellectual pursuits, war, agriculture and crafts and service to the above four *varṇas* the *Puruṣasūkta* gives an occupational connotation to the entire scheme. The word *varṇa* means colour and it is rather inexplicable how it can be applied to occupations. In the *Bhagavadgītā* the lord declares: "He had created the four *varṇas* on the basis of *guṇa* (character or qualities) and *karma* (occupation)".² There are only three *guṇas* - *Sattva*, *Rajas* and *Tamas* and it is not known what the fourth *guṇa* is on which the śūdra is based. However, it is generally held that the *Puruṣasūkta* was a very late interpolation in the *Rgveda*.

The *Rgveda* describes Dāsa-Dasyus, the antagonists of the Āryans, as *kṛṣṇavarna* (black coloured) and *kṛṣṇatvaca* 'black skinned'³ and by implication the Āryavarṇa in contrast was *śveta-varṇa* 'white'. The Āryans known therefore only two *varṇas* (colours), Ārya-varṇa and Dāsa-varṇa. In this context the word *varṇa* is used definitely, to denote the colour of the race and hence is of ethnic significance. But during the early Vedic period there were only three occupational groups - priests (brāhmaṇins), Warriors (kṣatriyas) and peasant-cum-artisan-cum-merchants (vaiśyas), all of whom were of Ārya-varṇa. The situation gradually underwent a radical change. As the Āryans steadily expanded eastwards and southwards, developing agricultural economy, attempts were made to extend the frontiers of the socio-economic system by absorbing Dāsa-Dasyus with whom they came into increasing contact. An effective machinery of acculturation became necessary. The Sāntiparvan of the *Mahābhārata*⁴ advises the king to be kind and considerate to Dāsas and Dasyus and even to recruit them into the army. Loyal and efficient military service, it is needless to say, is an 'open sesame' not only to more political favours but also to upward

rise in social respectability. Even mixed marriages were encouraged in the frontiers of newly occupied regions.⁵ As a result not only the concept of varṇa was extended to the newly absorbed aborigines, who as śūdras formed the fourth varṇa but also the higher varṇas lost their purity. The Jātaka literature (300-200 B.C.) holds the Udīca-brāhmaṇins are superior to those of other regions.⁶ In the Ambaṭṭha-sutta,⁷ the Buddha (500 B.C.) ridicules the claims of a brāhmaṇin youth Ambaṭṭha to purity of blood. In his Vajrasūcī, Aśvaghoṣa doubts the Āryan origin of even the Vedic seers. There is a strong view that being in the stage of pastoral nomadism, the early Āryans could not have sufficient surplus produce to maintain a priestly class and hence the institution of priest-hood did not develop among them. There was no probability of occupational differentiation and its crystallisation among them. This is supported by Kunhan Raja. On the other hand, most of the archaeologists are of opinion that the Harappans were probably ruled by priest-kings. The broken image of a man with an amulet on his forehead, a trifoil designed upper cloth worn below the right arm and over the left shoulder (exactly in the position of yajñopavīta) with overgrown beard and cleanly shaved head and upper lip looks like a typical priest. It is, therefore, likely that the institution of priest-hood was adopted by the Āryans from the Harappans. The Vrātyastoma was probably the ritual at which the non-Āryan priests were admitted into the Āryan social order. Aśvaghoṣa's description of the Āryan sages gives rise to the doubt whether they were not the priests of the respective totemistic tribes of indigenous origin, like Acala, Keśapiṅgala, Agastya, Kausīka, Vaśiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra.⁸

In this context another piece of evidence from the Brahmanical literature may also be considered. The Brahmanical literature condemns yatis or munis. But the Pañcavīṣa-Brāhmaṇa says that Indra took under his protection three yatis that survived the slaughter.⁹ The Atharva-veda mentions Vrātyastoma, a sacrifice at which the vrātyas had to pay heavy dakṣinās,¹⁰ probably with the aim of escaping destruction and getting admitted into the Āryan fold. A.L. Basham is of opinion that the vrātya of the Atharva-veda was a priest of the non-Āryan fertility cult and great efforts were made to convert them to the Āryan faith like Acala, Keśapiṅgala, Agastya, Kausīka, Vaśiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra, and to find room for them in the orthodox cult and the converted vrātya, was probably responsible for the new doctrines and practices which the Āryans gradually adopted.¹¹ Such

of the non-Āryan priests that were admitted as brāhmins were given high-sounding gotras - Vasiṣṭha, Māṭhara, Gautama and Kauśika.

The Śāntiparvan of the *Mahābhārata*¹² contains another interesting piece of evidence as to the extension of the varṇa system. The epic says that the Niṣāda king Kāpavya was an observer of kṣātra-dharma (*kṣātradharmānupālaka*) and lavishes praise on him as a protector of the brāhmaṇin, the woman and the cow. It is already noted that the same epic advises the Āryan king to recruit the neighbouring Dāsa-Dasyus into the army and it is needless to say military service or the profession of arms was a passage into *kṣātra-varṇa*. Thus the non-Āryan priests and princes were admitted into brāhmaṇa and kṣatriya varṇas and the rest into the vaiśyas, which word means 'people in general'.

The extension of the varṇa concept to entire non-Āryan races like the Āndhra makes an interesting study. The Brāhmanical literature, from the *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa* down to the Epics and Purāṇas unanimously castigate the Āndhras as *mlecchas*.¹³ The *Manudharma-śāstra* (MDS) develops the concept of mixed castes or *samkīrṇa-varṇa* as a powerful machinery to integrate the non-Āryan races into the caste hierarchy. According to MDS, the Āndhras are a mixed caste along with medas born of a vaidehaka father by a kaivṛta and niṣāda woman respectively and deserve to live outside villages.¹⁴ But MDS includes tribes and races like mallas, licchavis, ābhīras and dravidas among the mixed castes.¹⁵ The medas who were mentioned by MDS, along with the Āndhras appear as a caste or an occupational group in Central India during the medieval period. The inscriptions of Chandellas who ruled over Bundelkhanḍ mention the medas are just above the *candālas*.¹⁶ But historically speaking, none of the above tribes ever appear in Indian society as a caste. The mallas and licchavis were republican tribes whereas the ābhīras took their tribal name (as Pallavas) as a dynamic name. The *Matsya-purāṇa* knows the Āndhras both as a race (*mlecchas*) and as a dynasty (*sātavāhanas*). The famous sūtrakāras, Bodhāyana and Āpastamba, who lived much earlier than the compilation of MDS do not include the Āndhras among the mixed castes and, therefore, Manu's concept of mixed castes is not adequate enough to explain the process of extending the varṇa system to the races like the Āndhras and Dravidas and inconsistent with the historical developments as all the four varṇas appear among the above races by the time of its compilation (3rd century B.C.).¹⁷

As this process of acculturation was in steady progress, the famous *sūtrakāras*, Bodhāyana and Āpastamība appeared and framed rules and regulations with a view to regularise the newly forming social relations and established a stable and harmonious social order. These law givers lived roughly between 450-250 B.C. and it is agreed that they lived in the Deccan and South India most probably in Āndhra-deśa. About Bodhāyana, Bühler says, "it must not be forgotten that most of the best MSS of Baudhāyana's Sūtras are found in Southern India. There are also some faint indications that the Āndhra country is the particular district to which Baudhāyana belonged. For his repeated references to voyages by sea and his rule regarding the duty payable on goods imported by sea, show that he must have lived in a coastal district, where sea-borne trade flourished and the fact that he uses the Āndhra recension of the *Taittirīya-Āranyaka* makes it probable that he was an inhabitant of the Eastern Coast".¹⁸ Bodhāyana was familiar with the customs like the cross-cousin marriages prevalent in the South especially among the Āndhras and gave official recognition to it. Though there prevails much ambiguity among scholars about the home of Bodhāyana, there is unanimity among scholars that Āpastamība lived and framed his laws at the mouth of the river Godāvāri.¹⁹ The meticulous care which these *sūtrakāras* have exhibited in giving detailed instructions about Do's and Do'nts in every aspect of social life confirms the impression that the brāhmaṇical social system in Āndhra was still in a nebulous stage.

That the Āndhras were not in an uncivilised condition at the time of Āpastamība is further attested by literary and archaeological evidence. Especially the Buddhist literature makes copious references to the Āndhras and their land. The *Bhimasena-Jātaka*²⁰ refers to the Vedic sacrifices and Brāhmaṇical social organisation in Āndhra. The *Serivapija-Jātaka*²¹ mentions Āndhra-nagari on the banks of the river Telivahā. The *Paramārtha-dīpanī*²² says that Mahākātyāyana, one of the foremost disciples of the Buddha preached the Dhamma to the king of Assaka. Pliny quotes Megasthanes as saying that the Āndhras had thirty walled towns and a mighty army. The military might of the Āndhras is attested by *Cullakalīṅga-Jātaka*²³ which describes the victory of the king of Assaka over the king of Kalinga. It is further supported by the Tamil poem, *Ahanānūr*²⁴ of the well-known Saigam poet Māmūlnār according to which the Vadugār archers formed the vanguard of the army of *vomba moriyar* 'Mauryan upstart' identified

with Candragupta, the founder of the Mauryan dynasty, in his march as far as Podiyil Hill in the Tinnevelley District in Tamilnad.

The recent archaeological discoveries fully support the literary account of Āndhraadeśa. Excavations have brought to light ruins of townships, at times fortified, all over Āndhra, the most important being Dhūlikatta, Kotiliigāla, Pedabankūr, Kondāpūr and Phanigiri (Telangāna), Virāpuram, Sātānikoṭa (Rāyalasima), Dhānyakaṭaka, Bhaṭṭiprolu, Vaddamānu and other places²⁵ amply vindicating the evidence of Megasthanes. The megalithic culture, clear traces of which are found almost all over Āndhra, was built by the producers of rice, black and red ware and iron implements. Recent calculations point to 700-200 B.C. as the time of the megalithic culture in South India.²⁶ At Amarāvati megaliths are found 7' below a minor stūpa assigned to 2nd century B.C. and therefore calculated to have been built during the 4th century B.C.²⁷ The iron implements and weapons and gold ornaments found in the megaliths indicate the advanced knowledge of the people in working with metals. At several places in Telangāna such as Kondāpūr evidence of smelting of iron and casting of steel is found.²⁸ The concentration of Aśokan Edicts in the Raichur-Anantapur belt suggests that the Mauryan imperial rulers had cast their eyes on the gold mines of the region which had been in operation since a long time.

In western Āndhra was thus digging and working metals, the fertile, coastal plains abounded in agricultural products. From the east coast, rice and cotton were exported across the sea since very early times. The Bhīmasena-Jātaka refers to the manufacture of textiles in Āndhra. Especially, the river Kr̥ṣṇā was navigable from its mouths probably upto Dhānyakaṭaka. Recent excavations brought to light a navigable canal dating back to the 4th century B.C.,²⁹ connecting Dhānyakata with the river. The aggression of Aśoka on Kaliṅga was motivated both by political as well as economic considerations. In those days Kaliṅga extended upto the mouths of Godāvari and was carrying on profitable trade with Tambapanni and Subañjadipa, on which Aśoka desired to establish his control. Āndhraadeśa was connected with Magadha by land routes - one from Assaka via Mulaka, Vidarbha and Avanti and the other from Dhānyakaṭaka along the coast across Veṅgi, Kaliṅga and Kosala. Kauṭilya says that the Southern Trade Route was more profitable than even the Taxila Route as it passes through important mines. Aśoka is believed to have visited Suvarṇagiri from which he issued orders to the governor at Isila. He

might have reached the place along the eastern route suggested by the provenance of his records at Dhānyakatāka, Rājula-maṇḍagiri and Yerragudi and the stūpas of Sālihundam, Veṇigī and Culīye attributed to him by Yuan Chwang. The large quantities of NBP found in the excavations at Amarāvatī and Vaddamānu reinforce the views about the commercial and cultural contacts between Magadha and Āndhra.³⁰ Growth of agriculture, development of crafts based upon agricultural products and minerals and expansion of inland and maritime trade led to the rise of rich gāhapatī, kamara and sētti classes of people.

Such a multi-dimensional economic activity presupposes some sort of social organisation and the protection of well-administered and well-equipped state. The fortifications noted by Megasthanes suggest not only accumulated wealth but also protection to it. One of the classical writers, Arrian states that the Āndhras had 30 states or kingdoms, which might have formed around the thirty fortified towns of Megasthanes. The historicity of some of these states is borne out by literary and archaeological evidence. According to the Vāyu-purāṇa, the kingdoms of Assaka and Mulaka were founded by the Ikṣvāku princes from Ayodhyā³¹ whereas the Buddhist literature calls them Āndhra Janapadas.³² The rule of the Sebakas³³ (śabaras?) and mahisakas³⁴ respectively over the Karimnagar and Mahaboobnagar districts is evidenced by the discovery of their coins and at times even seals. The Bhāṭṭiprolu records of the 3rd century B.C. introduce to us Rāja Kuberaka, son of Savīra.³⁵ Bhāṭṭiprolu is held identical with Pratiपālapura of Jaina Dharmāṁṛta. According to the work, during the 5th century B.C., an Ikṣvāku prince Yaśodhara established the kingdom of Pratiपālapura.³⁶ The Buddhist establishment of Vaddamānu was built at the instance of Rāja Somaka³⁷ whereas the early inscriptions of Dhānyakaṭaka mention princes Avatama and Samaliya.³⁸ Most of these kingdoms gave enthusiastic support to Jainism and Buddhism. The local Buddhist monks organised themselves into Goṣṭhis. The Bhāṭṭiprolu and Dhānyakatāka records mention simha³⁹ and vanda⁴⁰ goṣṭhis respectively. Besides thegoṣṭhis, the inscriptions mention nigamas which were guilds of merchants. Thus there were political (rājan), economic (nigama) and religious (goṣṭhi) organisations, carrying on their activities co-operating with one another. The paleography of these records and the NBP found in association with the records and the other pieces of evidence suggest that these rulers were contemporaneous with imperial Mauryas who wisely allowed them autonomy.

The accounts of the sūtrakāras and of the Buddhist and Jain literatures supported by inscriptions clearly suggest that there was competition between Brāhmanism and the non-Vedic religions, Jainism and Buddhism for drawing the peoples of the Deccan into their respective folds. The attractiveness of Buddhism or Jainism was that it permitted a warrior to achieve legitimacy and Āryan respectability without necessarily accepting the elements of contemporary peasant culture with which Hindu sects had become associated at that time.⁴¹ Flexibility was displayed by the sūtrakāras in their injunctions. The heterodox religions thus successfully fulfilled their historic mission of narrowing down the racial differences between the Āryans and the non-Āryans in the South. Such a fluid situation could easily lubricate the process of extending the Brāhmaical social system to the South Indian tribes. In the words of Grierson "we have the process before our eyes. Animism is discovered to be orthodoxy. Local aboriginal deities are discovered to be identical with Śiva or some other member of the Brāhmaical pantheon and the distinction of caste is conferred upon converts - the aboriginal customs and beliefs are at first left untouched and are allowed to develop themselves into one of the many branches of modern Hinduism."⁴²

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II. SĀTAVĀHANA PERIOD

The scanty literary and epigraphical evidence does not give us a clear picture of the brāhmaṇa caste during the age of the Sātavāhana (220 B.C.- A.D. 225) and Ikṣvāku (225-300) periods. Some scholars¹ argue that the Sātavāhanas were themselves brāhmaṇins. Their view is based upon: 1) the performance of numerous Vedic sacrifices listed in the Nānāghāṭ record of Nāganikā by her royal consort, Sātakarni, 2) the description of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi² as abode of Vedic learning (āgamānāṁ nilaya), protector of brāhmaṇin families (dvijavara-kutumbavivardhana) and more than all as ekabrahmaṇa, and 3) the brāhmaṇin queens of the later Sātavāhanas. But it is hardly possible to reconcile the conflicting pieces of evidence and ascertain the caste of the Sātavāhanas. While Gautamīputra claims to have destroyed the pride and honour of the kṣatriyas (kṣatriya-darpa-mānāpaśamana-kara), his mother calls herself as rājarṣi-vadhū. Though Nāganikā takes pride in having participated in the Vedic sacrifices of her husband, her father's name 'Tranakāyairo' sounds un-Sanskritic and quite aboriginal. The silence of the Sātavāhanas about their own gotra is conspicuous even while proclaiming the gotras of their mothers. It is clear from all this that the Sātavāhanas were neither true brāhmaṇins nor true kṣatriyas. The *Kathāsaritsāgara*³ and the *Dvātrimśatputṭhalika*⁴ state that the Sātavāhanas were of low or mixed origin. It may be recalled that the Sātavāhanas might have been one of the several Āndhra totemistic tribes, particularly the Assakas. The Āvaśyaka-sūtra of the Jains claims that the early Sātavāhanas were Jains and built a number of Jain temples in their capital Pratiṣṭhāna. The recent discovery of Sātavāhana coins in caves,⁵ supposed to be Jain attest to the association of Sātavāhanas with Jainism. The Buddhist work *Paramārthaśāpanī* describes how Mahākātyāyana, one of the principal disciples of the Buddha taught Buddhism to the king of Assaka.⁶ These accounts suggest that the Sātavāhanas, one of the early non-Āryan tribes of Deccan gained admission into the Āryan fold through Jainism and Buddhism, whose historic mission had been to pull down the racial and tribal barriers.⁷

The Sātavāhanas who had thus entered the Brāhmaṇical fold soon changed over to Bhāgavatism as evidenced by the Nānāghāṭ inscription of Nāganikā⁸ which opens with the invocation of Saṅkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva, and by the name Kanhā (Kṛṣṇa) of the second king in the dynasty. In view of the politico-religious developments in Magadha, i.e. the overthrow of the non-brāhmaṇist Mauryas by the brāhmaṇi Suṅgas, political expediency dictated that the Sātavāhanas too should give up the non-brāhmaṇical religions. They soon embraced theistic Bhāgavatism. As the brāhmaṇins had already reconciled with Bhāgavatism, Sātakarṇi and Nāganikā gained eligibility for Vedic rituals. The result was the ritualistic exuberance matching his unbounded enthusiasm springing from his newly won social status. Sātakarṇi had excelled his north Indian royal counterpart, Pusyamitra in performing Vedic ritual, exhibiting probably the zeal of a new convert.

The successors of Sātakarṇi, including Ekabrāhmaṇa never cared for Vedic sacrifices. Nor do we find any inscriptions of Sātavāhanas recording their patronage of brāhmaṇins. On the other hand Gautamīputra and his son Vāśiṣṭīputra subordinated religion to politics and made gifts to Buddhist fraternities of the Nāsik region, which the former had conquered from the Kṣaharāṭhas and the latter was anxious to save his patrimony from the Kardamakas.⁹ But the brāhmaṇins became eager for matrimonial alliance with the Sātavāhanas. The aim of such alliances appears to have been improving their own position in society and to win royal support to the emerging neo-brāhmaṇism against the atheistic religions. Brāhmaṇin families with prestigious gotras - Gautama, Vasiṣṭha and Kauśika - did not hesitate to give their daughters in marriage to the Sātavāhana kings, probably because as noted above, ethnically both the castes were of the same stock. But from such alliances, as it appears, the brāhmaṇins did not gain much. However, the Sātavāhanas allowed their sons by the brāhmaṇin queens to have the gotras of their mothers as prefixes to their names and probably nominated them as their successors to the throne. This appears to be the reason for the metronymics, which were all Rṣi-gotras of the later Sātavāhanas. The first off-spring of such a union was Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi who tried to rise to the expectations of the contemporary brāhmaṇins as indicated by his titles, which were atleast flattering to brāhmaṇins: āgamānāṁ nilaya, vinivartita, cāturvarṇa-saṅkara and dvijavara-kuṭumba-vivardhana.¹⁰ Especially the last of the titles may even suggest that by that time the condition of brāhmaṇins was not enviable. But some of these titles appear to have been mere

boasts. None of the measures that Gautamiputra adopted to promote the interests of brāhmaṇi families is known. On the other hand, two of his inscriptions record his gifts to the Buddhists of the Nāsik region. His title *vinivartita-cāturvarja-saṅkara* is rendered meaningless by the marriage between his son Vāsiṣṭhiputra Śiva Śrī and the Saka (*mleccha*) princess Rudradamanikā.¹¹ The *Gāthāsaptaśatī*, the core of which was assigned to the Sātavāhana period makes only stray and indirect references to brāhmaṇins. In only one śloka it notes sacrificial fire and says that fire burns in a *vajñāśāla*¹² as well as a toddy shop. Again there are two verses which refer to *vratas*,¹³ in the performances of which the services of brāhmaṇins were probably required. But the *vrata* which the sūdras also could perform is a means of non-brāhmaṇisation of religion.¹⁴

There is no evidence to say that the brāhmaṇins occupied high positions at the court. Even Gautamiputra had a vaiśya minister, Śivagupta.¹⁵ On the other hand, the *gāhapati* and *śeṭṭi* sections by virtue of their command over the sources of wealth appear to have dominated the court and the camp.

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mentions an artisan by name Ānanda who has the metronymics Vāsiṣṭhiputra. We cannot hold that Ānanda's (*kumāra*) mother was a brāhmaṇī lady of Vāsiṣṭha-gotra. In this case Bühler's suggestion that the metronymics were the result of the practice of having the *gotra* of one's own priest as prefix to his name, a practice coming down from Vedic times may be considered.

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III. POST-SĀTAVĀHANA PERIOD

The post-Sātavāhana period saw the gradual amelioration of the condition of brāhmaṇins. The short period of the Ikṣvāku rule of about seventy years (A.D. 225-300) appears to have been the trend-setter. Far-reaching developments in the economy together with the momentous changes in religion had a profound impact on social relations in favour of brāhmaṇins as a caste.

In fact there was a three pronged movement to promote the interests of brāhmaṇins: 1) performance of Vedic rituals which reached climax under Viṣṇukundin Mādhabavarman, 2) temple building and (3) appointing brāhmaṇins in civil and military service.

The Sātavāhana dynasty appears to have been overthrown in a politico-religious revolution.¹ The founder of the Ikṣvāku independence Vāsiṣṭhiputra Śrī Cāmtamūla² endeared himself to the brāhmaṇins by performing numerous Vedic sacrifices including Aśvamedha, Vājapeya, Agniṣṭoma and Bahusuvarṇa.³ The discovery of aśvamedha-vedikā among the ruins of Vijayapuri is a proof of Cāmtamūla's sacrifices. These are probably the earliest recorded Vedic sacrifices performed on the Āndhra soil. The metronymics of Cāmtamūla may suggest that the brāhmaṇins of the region had already recognised the rising political importance of the Ikṣvākus and started courting their favour. The marriage alliances with the brāhmaṇins might have improved the social status of the Ikṣvākus and as in the case of Sātakarṇi-Nāganikā, access to independent political power should have induced Cāmtamūla to establish his claim to the corresponding ritual purity by performing Vedic sacrifices. Whatever may be the motive of Cāmtamūla, brāhmaṇins must have been the beneficiaries of the Vedic rituals. The Vedic or brāhmaṇin scholars should have officiated at the rituals and received rich rewards. Cāmtamūla is further credited with gifting hundreds of thousands of ploughs (*hala*), cattle (*gō*) and crores of money (*hiranya-koti*), the lion's share of which also should have gone to the brāhmaṇins.

Śrī Cāntamūla was not only a sacrificer. He was a devoted worshipper of Mahāsena Virūpākṣa.⁴ Mahāsena is believed to have been the guardian deity of Vijayapuri and there was a temple of Mahāsena guarding each of the citadel gates. The images of Mahāsena and His consort Sakti have been recovered from the ruins of a temple complex at Vijayapuri. Not only the āśvamedha-vedikā but also the temple of Mahāsena must have been built by Cāntamūla, but temple-building activity gained momentum from about the middle of the reign of Ehuvala Cāntamūla. The rapprochement between Brāhmaṇism (ritualism) and Bhāgavatism (devotionalism) whose beginnings are traced in the inscriptions of Nāganikā has thus recorded remarkable progress under the Ikṣvākus at Vijayapuri. Though Bhāgavatism was non-Vedic in its origin, the brāhmaṇists, reconciled with it, as it was atleast theistic, with the hope of checking the progress of non-theistic Buddhism and Jainism. It was through Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism that the Ābhīras, Yavanas, Śakas and mostly Kuṣāns were absorbed into the fold of neo-brāhmaṇism.⁵ The inscriptions of the time mention a number of temples that sprang up in and around Vijayapuri. The temples of Puṣpabhadra,⁶ Aṣṭabhuja,⁷ Sarvadeva,⁸ Nodagirisāmī,⁹ Halampura-sāmī,¹⁰ Bhūtagrāhaka,¹¹ and Jīvasivavāmī¹² are mentioned in the records of the age. Besides, the ruins of atleast two temples of Goddess Hārīti and those of Yakṣa Kubera have been located at Vijayapuri.

The brāhmaṇins naturally became priests in these temples. Having mastered the Āgamas and Purāṇas and specialised in temple-ritual, these brāhmaṇins known as Devalakas developed into a class by themselves as against the Vedic scholars that generally officiated at rituals like Āśvamedha. Land grants to the temples proliferated. It is interesting to note that inscriptions of Ehuvala's reign record¹³ the gift of the village Pradoketam probably to a temple as that of akṣayanīvi of dīnāra-masakas to the Buddhist sect of Aparāśailas. The brāhmaṇin priests might have been the recipients of the land grants, managed them and enjoyed their fruits.

During the Sātavāhana period, land grants to religious institutions in Āndhra are very rare. The Sātavāhana state was based mainly upon industrial and commercial economy. The artisan and merchant communities were the chief contributors to the state exchequer and the chief patrons of religious institutions. The records of the age mention as many as 18 craft guilds and Mahānāvikas and Setti-pamukhas. The money economy of the age is testified by the large quantities

of the Sātavāhana coins found all over Deccan. After Gautamiputra Sātakarnī, the Sātavāhanas lost control over western ports and flow of merchandise stopped from eastern Deccan - Andhra - to those ports. The Roman empire which had been the major market for the Decani goods was also passing through troublous times. In spite of the encouragement given to overseas trade by Pulamāvi and Śrī Yajña as indicated by their ship-marked coins, trade rapidly declined, which had a tragic effect on the local industry. The excavations in the Nāgārjunakonda valley (Vijayapuri, the capital of the Ikṣvākus) reveal the poor state of industry.¹⁴ The compulsions of changed economic situation made agriculture the basis of state economy. The rulers began to bestow unprecedented interest in promoting agriculture as evidenced by the gifts of Śrī Cāntamūla which included hundreds of thousands of ploughs and cattle. Attention was being paid to improve water sources and traces of an irrigational canal¹⁵ have been unearthed in the Nāgārjunakonda valley. The Ābhīra general Śivasepha repaired a well, known as Mahānanda, dug two tanks and laid a palmyra grove (tālavana) near Sethagiri.¹⁶ The land and village grants to temples also point to the change in the direction of the state economy. Even Buddhist institutions started receiving land gifts. The Pūrvasailavihāra of Allur (Krishna district) received several nivartanas of land. Viṣṇukundin Govindavarman gifted the village of Peinkapara to the Mahādevī-vihāra at Indrapālanagara.

The inscriptions of the age reveal that brāhmaṇins started taking to civil and military service and were occupying high places at the court. The uncles of Bodhi-siri, the great benefactress of the Buddhist church, Bhadra and Bodhiśarman were treasurers.¹⁷ Śivasepha of Bhāradvāja-gotra occupied several positions at the Ābhīra court. He was called mahāgrāmaka, mahātalvara and mahādanḍanāyaka and he led the Ābhīra armies to Vijayapuri, probably to assist Ehuvala against his enemies.¹⁸ Tisyaśarman of Bhāradvāja-gotra was an amātya and was probably the ājñā-pati of the grant. Another Nāgārjunakonda inscription¹⁹ mentions that a certain Dharmasarman was killed in battle and a chāyāstambha was erected in his memory. Āryabhūti is described in an inscription as mahātalvara and mahādanḍanāyaka²⁰ and from his name he may be taken to have been a brāhmaṇin.

Besides the above, the brāhmaṇins of the age appear to have taken up occupations, involving even manual labour. The Kānukallu Prakrit plates of Śālankāyana Nandivarman (c. A.D. 350) record the gift of a

village as a number of rathakāras (JAHRS.XX). They belong to different *gotras* and *carāṇas*, engaged in *svādhyāya* and being masters of four Vedas, possessed the spiritual powers of *sāpa* 'curse' and *anugraha* 'bless'. The Kānukollu Sanskrit grant of Śālaṅkāyana Skandavarman (*ibid*) registers another grant to rathakāras. There is a difference of opinion about the interpretation of the word rathakāra in the inscriptions. Some like to take its common meaning: the caste of rathakāras, but others prefer its etymological meaning: those who adopted the profession of carpentry.

Since the later Vedic times, the rathakāras had become an influential section of the society as their profession gained importance as war chariots, agricultural implements and means (vehicles) of transport were in great demand. Though some of the texts included him among the victims at *Puruṣamedha*, he could rise to the position of rathin. The sūtrakāras are divided about his origin and status. The Baudhāyana-dharma-sūtra count him among mixed castes of vaiśya father and śūdra mother (I.9,17) whereas Yājñavalkya-smṛti (I.95) holds him as an off-spring of *māhiṣya* (kṣatriya-śūdra) father and *karāṇa* (vaiśya-śūdra) mother. He is generally placed below the first three varṇas but above the śūdras. Bodhāyana allows him the right of *upanayana*, but Āpastamba denies it.

In Āndhra the rathakāras are mentioned for the first and the last time only in the Kānukollu records. During medieval times the artisans goldsmith (*kampsāli*), blacksmith (*kammari*), metalsmith (*kañcari*), carpenter (*vaḍraigī*) and mason or sculptor (*kāse*) are known by the term *viśvakarma*. They traced their descent from sage viśvakarman who had received parasol, throne, etc., the insignia of authority, from Lord Śiva.²¹ In view of the sūtrakāras' accounts of non-brāhmaṇ origin of the rathakāras and the later history of those artisans as revealed by the above records, it seems not reasonable to hold that the rathakāras of the above records were of the caste of carpenters.

The age of Śālaṅkāyanas, as seen, witnessed remarkable social and economic developments. The inscriptions reveal that the population of brāhmaṇs greatly increased. On the other hand, there was tremendous expansion of agriculture, requiring the production of agricultural implements on a large scale. In such circumstances several brāhmaṇ families might have taken to carpentry. The *Manudharma-sāstra* allows the brāhmaṇ such occupations like mechanical works in times

of distress.²² It seems therefore reasonable to take the etymological meaning of the term *rathakāra*, i.e. those who adopted the profession of carpentry, but not the popular meaning as *rathakāra* caste. It may be added that if the grant was made actually to the *rathakāra* caste, the phrase *rathakāravidhānena* is not necessary.

However, according to the foregoing account, it appears that the brāhmaṇin caste in Āndhra came to be differentiated into three major groups: i. Vedic scholars, ii. temple priests and iii. state servants, and professional diversification thus led to sectarian differentiation.

The decline of industry and trade and expansion of agriculture brought about interesting socio-economic changes which had their impact even on the religious situation in the land. Most of the erstwhile craft and trade guilds disintegrated. From the declining industrial and commercial centres people who had depended upon them migrated to the rising agricultural villages and the erstwhile artisans and merchants turned into peasants who flocked to land.

Only those crafts whose production was essential for local consumption were carried on by individual artisans in the new rural setting. Trade routes fell into disuse and the trade and industrial centres - the fortified cities of the Mauryan and Sātavāhana times - languished and gradually fell into ruins. Agricultural land was being alienated to temples and priests. In consequence, the poor and the needy obtained land on lease from its owners - temples and priests. As a result there developed a class of tenant-cultivators, who were loyal to the institutions of temple and the brāhmaṇ-priest imbibe and patronise the culture based upon and supported by them.

No other part of contemporary India can boast of such unparalleled exuberance of Vedic ritualism during the period between A.D. 225-500 as coastal Āndhra. In almost every dynasty known as the successors of the Sātavāhanas, there is at least one who performed a horse sacrifice. The rituals of Śrī Cārtamūla have already been noted. Śivaskandavarman²³ and Kumāraviṣṇu²⁴ of the Pallavas and Vijayadevavarman²⁵ of the Śelaṅkayana dynasty were Aśvamedhins. The Vedic ritualism reached climax under Viṣṇukundin Mādhabavarman. He first performed *Suvarnagarbhamahādāna* which, indicating rebirth may be taken as a purificatory ritual or a mechanism of conversion. He performed it because his parents - Govindavarman and

Paramabhaṭṭārikā were inclined to Buddhism. Having thus purified himself, he performed *Suvarṇa*, *Pauṇḍarīka*, *Vājapeya*, *Yudhya*, *Śodasi*, *Rājasūya*, *Prādhiṣṭāya* and *Prājāpatya*, besides eleven *Aśvamedhas* and hundred thousand *kratus* (*agnistoma-kratusahasrayājin*) and thereby claimed the status of *Parameṣṭhi* (*parameṣṭhitva*).²⁶

It is not known whether *Parameṣṭhi* himself performed all these sacrifices.

These reasons for such overwhelming enthusiasm on the part of the above rulers of coastal Andhra are not far to seek. Originally they appear to have been either local aborigines or Indianised 'foreigners' who entered the fold of civilised society either through Buddhism or Bhāgavatism. The case of the Ikṣvākus has already been noted. The consensus among historians is that the Pallavas were an Indianised foreign tribe who adopted the tribal name (*pahlavas*) as dynastic appellation.²⁷ One strong view is that the Śālāṅkāyanas too were a branch of a foreign tribe that had settled down in North Western India long time back.²⁸ The early Visṇukundins are known Buddhists. Later they claimed to have combined in themselves the splendour of brāhmaṇa and kṣatriya castes *brahma-kṣatra-tejo-bhṛtām*.²⁹ By virtue of political power they became kṣatriyas and by championing brāhmanism through the celebration of innumerable sacrifices got recognition as brāhmīns. All these princely families sought the good offices of brāhmīns, the custodians of brāhmanical culture, in whose power it was to recognise the social status of and confer ritual purity on any one. The situation can be compared to the one prevailed during the early Vedic period when the *yatis* and *munis* of non-Āryan stock purchased protection and admission into the Āryan fold by paying heavy *dakṣinās* at *vrātyastoma*. The princes and brāhmīns were in close alliance during this period for mutual advantage and *Brahmadeyas* and *agrahāras* multiplied all along the coastal Andhra from the confines of Utkala to the Boarders of Draviḍa. Having thus gained their objective, the princes undertook to protect the system of *Varna* and *Āśrama*.

The inscriptive data about the *Brahmadeyas* and *Devabhogas* may be tabulated in the following way:

TABLE I: BRAHMADEYAS

King	Grant	Nature of the grant	Donee	His des- cription	Ref.
BRĀHATPĀLĀYANAS					
1. Mahāraja Śrijayavarman	Pāṇḍūra	Brahmadeya (divided into 24 shares)	1. Savagutaja (Sarvaguptāryā) 2. Savigija between 8 brāhmains	Gautama Tanavya — 4. Bhavaṁnaja 5. Rudaveṁnhija (Rudraviṣṭāryā) 6. Īśaradatta (Īśvaradattāryā)	Konḍamudi plates EI. VI, 315ff.
				7. Rudaghosaja (Rudraghoṣāryā) 8. Khaṇḍarudaja	
				Kauśīka (Skandarudāryā)	

King	Grant	Nature of the grant	Donee	His description	Ref.
2. PALLAVAS					
1. Yuvamahārāja Sivaskandavarman II	Viripara (Karmarāṣṭra) 432 Patikas	Brahmadeya According to out of crown land in Chandalur (Karmarāṣṭra)	1. Puvakotaja 2. Gonandija Bhavaskanda- trāta	Agnivesya Agnivesya Kaundinya- gotra, Chandoga- sūtra	Mayidavolu gr. EI. VI, 1-10. Chendalur gr. EI. VIII, 233-36.
2. Kumāravīṣṇu II	Ongodu (part) (Karmarāṣṭra) Nedunugaraṇaya	Brahmadeya Sarainika (village)	Golasarman Nadipibhoja (Doddisvāmin) Kannasvami	Kāsyapagotra Divedin	Omgodu plates EI. XV, 249-52. Nedunugaraṇaya plates, Bhāratī, VIII, 699-713. Ongodu plates EI. XV, 252-55.
3. Vijayasha- ndavarman II	Ongodu (part) (Karmarāṣṭra)	Brahmadeya	Devasarman	Kāsyapa	
4. Yuvamahārāja Viṣṇugopa	Nedunugaraṇaya			Resident of the village Konḍür	
5. Simhavarman II	Part of Ongodu	Brahmadeya		Kāsyapa	
6. Simhavarman	Pīkira (Munḍarāṣṭra)	Brahmadeya (excluding devabhogahala)	Vilāsasarman	Pitira grant EI. VIII,	
7. Simhavarman	Māṅgadūr (Vengarāṣṭra)	"	10 Brahmins	159-163. Māṅgadūr grant IA. V, 154,157	

8.	Sinhabarman	Vilavatti (Mundarāstra) together with banniets & taxes	Brahmadeya	Viṣṇuśarman	Gautamagotra Chāndogyā sūtra	Vilavatti gr. EI. XXIV, 296-303.
9.	Viṣṇugopa	Cura (Karma- rāṣṭra) 100 nivartanas, a house site and a garden	Brahmadeya	Cesamisarman Resident of Kunetür	Kāśyapagotra	Chura gr. EI. XXIV, 137-43.

3. KINGS OF ĀNANDAGOTRA

		A number of brāhmaṇas	Mattēpadu plates, EI. XVII, 327-330
1.	Damodaravarman	Kaigūra	Kāśyapa Āpastamba sūtra
2.	Attivarman	Antulkkira, on the banks of Kṛṣṇa	Kottisarman master & Rg, Yajus, Sāman
			4. ŚĀLAṄKĀYANAS
1.	Vijayadeva- varman	20 nivartanas land house site and house sites to servants, gate keeper Pidiha	Elūra plates, Devarvarman, EI.IX, pp. 56-59.
2.	Nandivarman	Rathakāra- vidhāna	Rathakāras ⁷⁶ and nanagata- caranya
			Sōpāṅgaga samatthana tapassājihāya niratassa catuvejana
			Kanukollu plates of Nandivarman JAHRS. V, 175-77.

King	Grant	Nature of the grant	Donee	His des- cription	Ref.
3. Hastivarman	Mudūda		brāhmaṇins of different gotras and carāgas, observing 6 karmas		Penugonda Plates of Hastivarman
4. Acanavarmān	Dharikāṭīra		Donneppa Bhatu- kanam Bhayaśkanda- sammajja, Bhati-		Dharikatura Plates
5. Skandavarman	Kompara (Kudrahāra)	Rathakāras	Svāmicandrärya	Kanukollu Sans- krit Plates	
6. Nandivarman	Kuruvāda (Kudrahāra)			Maudgalya JAHP 5, pp.21-32.	Kanteru plates
7. Vijayanandi- varman	{2 nivartanas Leduñurupalli (Küdürüuhāra)		175 brāhmaṇin residents & Kuravaka		
8. Vijayashanka- varman	Lekumāri		Srivarāgrahāra Sivārya	Maudgalya- gotra	Kanteru Plates EI. XXV, 42ff.
1. Mādhavavarman	Pulimburu and (Brahmadeya)		4 nivartanas of land in	5. VIṢNUKINDINS	Gautamagotra Polamūr Pts. No. 7 ME Rs.1914.

Mayindavataka
(Guddavadi-visaya)

- | | | | | | | |
|----|----------------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 2. | Mādhavaravarman | Vilembali
(Guddavadi) | Agnisarman | Vatsa | Ipūr plates (1) | El.XVII, 334-37. |
| 3. | Mādhavaravarman II | Murokaki | Agnisarman,
Indrasarman | | Ipūr plates (2) | |
| 4. | Indravarman | Peruvādaka | Agrahāra | Nagnasarman | El. XVII, 337-39 | Rāmatirtham pīts, |
| 5. | Vikramendra-
bhāttārakavarman | Tūṇḍi | Agrahāra | Svāmisarman
Resident of Aki | El. XII, P. 133.
El.XXXVI,10ff. | El. XII, P. 133.
El.XXXXVI,10ff. |

6. KINGS OF KALINGA

- | | | | | | | |
|----|---------------------|--|----------|---|--|--|
| 1. | Pṛthvīmūla | Cuyipāka Taru-
pāka-visaya | Agrahāra | 43 brāhmains | Upādhyāyakula Godāvari Ins.
of Atharvaveda | JIRAS 1906 |
| | | (Tatiṣṭhā) Razole | | | | |
| 2. | Pṛthvi-
mahārāja | Tq. E. Godavari
Tandivāda
(Pāgūnāra
visaya) | Agrahāra | Bhavaśarman
(Resident of
Kondamanchi) | Kāmakāyanasa Tandivada Pīts.
master of Veda, El. XXIII, 88ff. | Vedāṅga, Nyāya,
Yoga, and Upanisads |
| | | | | | performed many sacri-
fices - studied 3000
vidyās & 20 commen-
taries. His father | Prthvīsarmān |

was a student and
teacher of 3000 vidyās

King	Grant	Nature of the grant	Donee	His des- cription	Ref.
				gifted away his wealth at innume- table sacrifices. His grandfather Vinnā- śatīman was a master of Sutris and Sāmritis and performed Agni- ṣṭoma, etc.	
3. Śaktivarman	Rakalava (Kaliṅga vīṣaya)	Agrahāra Villages were ordered to pay gold and other things to the donee as usual	Kumārasarman & Nāgasarman and Duggasarman	Brothers of Śakunaka gr. Kātyayana-gotra C.P. No. 24 of Taittirīya school MER 1934-35	
4. Anantāśakti- varman	Śakunaka (Varṣāhavartani vīṣaya)	Agrahāra	8 Brahmins		
5. Anantavarman	Tontāpara	Agrahāra in the group of Kharapūrimadamba and paid tax - it was freed from that group and made tax free	6. Sinipuram Plts.	EL. XXIV, 47-52. they were engaged in 6 karmas	

6.	Anantavarman	Kindeppa (Tellavalli visaya)	Agrahāra	Hatrīśarman bhogika of Acanṭapura Devasarman	Kauśikagotra Taittiriya school	Śrungavarapukota gr. EI. XXIII, 56-61.
7.	Caṇḍavarman	Kohetūra	Agrahāra	Bhāradvāja Vājasanīya	Konarti Plates. EI. IV, 142-45.	
8.	Umāvarman	Bṛhatposthā	Agrahāra	Haridatta	Anupamanyasa Balvṛca school	Bṛhatposta gr. EI. XII, 4-6.
		seperated from Dantayavāgu-				
		bhogas and added to 36 royal agrahāras				
9.	Umāvarman	Gift of land		Vyāśasarman	Kāśyapa	Tekkali gr. JAHRS. VI, 53-54.
10.	Nandaprabha- ñjana	Devayati	Agrahāra free from all taxes	Hariscandra- svāmin	Devarāta gotra	Chicacore Plts. IA. XIII, 48-50.
11.	Caṇḍavarman	Tirithana	The village was added to 36 royal agrahāras	To a number of brāhmaṇins of various gotras		Thirithana gr. CP 12 of MER 1834-35.
12.	Umāvarman	Kohetura		Śillaśarman		Dvāvalapcta Gr. JAHRS. X, 143-44.
13.	Lord of Cīkūra	Pulaka		Agrahāra (Malendra- bhoga-visaya)		Śarabhalavaram gr. EI. XIII, 104-108.

TABLE II: DEVABHOGAS

134

SNo.	Ruler	Donee	Gift	Reference
1.	Cārudevī	Kulimahātāraka temple of God Nārāyaṇa at Dālure	4 nivartanas of land below the king's tank at Kadake (?)	British Museum plates, I, VIII, 143-146.
2.	Yuvamahārāja Viṣṇugopavarman	Temple of Viṣṇuharadeva built by Viṣṇuvārman in the village Kundukūra.	200 nivartanas of land in the village Uruvapalli as Devabhoga.	Uruvapalli Gr. IA.V, 50-53.
3.	Sirhavarmān	Gifis Brahmadeya in Devabhogahala, Kapoteśvara of Cezeria.	Māngadūr in Venigo- rastra, exclusive Setting up of some shrines and gifts to the principal deity.	Māngadūr gr. IA.V, 154-157.
4.	Kandara			Cezerla stone Ins. SII. VI, No. 594.
5.	Nandivarman	Viṣṇughasvāmin	Land in the villages of Arutore, Mundura, Cenzeruva and Kanburanceruvu, addressed to the officers of Pratara-executed by Mulaikura Bhojaka.	Pedavegi plates, JAHRs, I, 92-102.
6.	Vikramendra-varman II	Somagiriśvaraṇāṭha temple of Tryambaka	Regonran on the bank of Kṛṣṇabēṇā	Chikkulla plates El. IV, 193-98.

The above tables reveal that after A.D 300 temple building activity lost much of its earlier tempo. Temple building and temple gifts became very rare. The claim of pro-Buddhist Viṣṇukunḍin Govindavarman that he had built innumerable temples³⁰ all over his kingdom is not supported by archaeological evidence. By about this time, Buddhism started declining and the brāhmaṇists might have had a sense of fulfilment. The purpose of reconciling with Bhāgavatism had been more than achieved and probably the brāhmaṇins tried to halt its further progress. They preferred to remain Vedic scholars than to become temple priests, as a stigma came to be associated with the latter. The *Manudharma-sāstra* includes the *devalakas* by which term the temple priests were known among the *apapātras*.³¹ The *Bṛhannāradīya-purāṇa* denounces the *devalakas* and warns that whoever that lives on the earnings of a *devalaka* would be condemned for hell for one *kalpa* and then would be born as a *candāla* for hundred successive terms. Moreover, Purāṇic theism on which temple culture was based was liberal and gave a place in its system even to the *sūdras*. The orthodox Vedic scholar could not probably reconcile to the idea of the participation of *sūdras*, their own tenants or servants, along with them in temple ritual.

The proliferation of *agrahāras/brahmadeyas* had tremendous socio-economic impact, accelerating the process of acculturation. The *agrahāras* formed the nucleus of agricultural expansion which brought the aborigines of the neighbouring of the forest and hill tracts into closer contact with the centres of civilized life,³² and gradually absorbed them into different strata of the society basing their respective positions in their tribal organisation. Some of the brāhmaṇins we come across in inscriptions of the period sound more like aboriginal and non-Sanskritic. Goginaja of the *Kondamūdi* plates,³³ Gonandija of the *Maidavolu* record³⁴ and Kottiśarman of *Gorantla* plates³⁵ record are some of such names. Interestingly the gotra of Goginaja is not mentioned which may indicate that his absorption into the brāhmaṇ caste is not complete. Brahmins of *Kāsyapagotra* are frequently met within inscriptions. Law Givers, especially Bodhāyana suggests *Kāsyapagotra* for the social rehabilitation of lowly born people.³⁶ The brāhmaṇins of the age had either *śarman* or *ārya* as the suffix of their names which mean ‘vedic scholar’ and ‘respectable’ respectively. But some brāhmaṇins had both *śarman* and *ārya* as suffix as in the case of *Bhavaskanda-śamajja* and *Bhaṭṭi-śamajja* of *Dhārikātūra* plates³⁷ which reveals their anxiety to get recognition as high born Āryan brāhmaṇins.

The brāhmaṇins of the age appear to have been the most mobile section of the society. Vedic scholars went in search of patronage and the movement was generally in the direction of the centres of political power. However, many scholars are found migrating from Karmārāṣṭra to the north or south as the former was politically disturbed and was far away from the seats of power, Venī and Kāñcī. Several inscriptions of the period refer to such migrations. Devaśarman of Koṇḍūr resorted to Omgoḍu.³⁸ Cāmiśarman proceeded to Cūra where he obtained 100 nivartanas of land, a house site and garden and settled down.³⁹ Śivaśarman of Āki received Tuṇḍi from Vikraniendra⁴⁰ whereas Bhavaśarman of Koṇḍamañci obtained Tāṇḍivāḍa as an agrahāra⁴¹ from Pr̥thvī-mahārāja. A Bohogika of Ācaṇṭapura migrated to Kalīṅga where he was granted Kiṇḍoppa by Avantivarman.⁴² Migration to distant places and settlement among strangers might have helped the brāhmaṇins to consolidate their newly won social status.

The brahmadeyas/agrahāras developed into centres of Vedic scholarship and traditional culture. The brāhmaṇin is expected to engage himself in *pañca-yagñas* and *śat-karmas*. Among the brāhmaṇins there were dvivedins, trivedins and caturvedins. The Polamūru grant mentions a Śivaśarman who was a master of four Vedas.⁴³ The Godāvari plates of Pr̥thvīmūla describes 43 brāhmaṇins as belonging to *Upādhyāyakula* of the Atharvaveda.⁴⁴ Besides the Vedas, the brāhmaṇins mastered *Upaniṣads*, *Vedāṅgas*, *Dharma-sāstras*, *Āgamas*, *Purāṇas*, *Itihāsas* and *Darśanas*, particularly Nyāya and Yoga. The Tāṇḍivāḍa plates of Pr̥thvī-mahārāja mentions Bhavaśarman who was a master of 3000 *vidyās*⁴⁵. His father Pr̥thvīśarman was devoted to the study and teaching of 3000 *vidyās*. Guptaśarman of the Pedamaddāli plates was thorough with 70 commentaries on Tarka.⁴⁶ Ghatikas were established and patronised by the kings probably as appendices of agrahāras, where fourteen *vidyās* were taught.⁴⁷ As the study consisted of śravana ‘hearing’, manana ‘repetition’ and dhāraṇa ‘memorisation’, learning was scholastic and was far from being intellectual. As learning was by rote and the subjects were not committed to writing much of the knowledge of the age was lost to the posterity. It is not possible therefore what the above 3000 *vidyās* were or who the authors of the 70 commentaries on Tarka were.

The Ellūra plates of Śālāṅkāyana Vijayadevavarman⁴⁸ contains a hint about the economic pattern of a Brahmadeya which might have governed the others as well. While gifting 20 nivartanas of

land to Gupasarman, the king granted house sites to him and to his servants/gate-keepers and to the tenants. Further, the record stipulates that the tenants should pay half of the produce to the donee and by implication the tenant could retain the other half for his maintenance and to meet the cost of the next crop. Fifty per cent of the produce appears to have been the standard share of the tenant, recognised even by Law Givers. The tenant is therefore called the *artha-siri*.

The brāhmaṇ with his profound scholarship in traditional lore and by his systematic pious life became the idol of his tenants and servants that lived close to him. As he was the source of their sustenance, they naturally developed loyalty towards him and supported the culture for which he stood. The Brahmadeyas/Agrahāras thus became the keystone of Coramandal culture. The life style of the brāhmaṇ influenced that of the tenant-peasants who gradually adopted their daily habits in the villages.⁴⁹ The Brahmadeyas and Agraharas thus became strongholds of religious orthodoxy and radiating centres of Sanskrit culture.

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2. EI. XX, NKD. Inscriptions, B. 2.
3. ibid. C 3.
4. The names of the Śakas such as Dakṣamitrā, Rṣabhadatta, Rudradāman and those of the Kushans such as Vāsudeva reveal their Śaivite and Vaiśnavite leanings. It is too well-known that the Greek ambassador, Heliodorus erected a Garuḍa pillar in honour of Vāsudeva at Besnagar.
5. EI. XXXIV, pp. 19-20.
6. ibid. pp. 197-204.
7. EI. XXXIII, pp. 147-149.
8. ibid. XXXV, pp. 4-7.
9. ibid. XXVI, pp. 123-125.
10. ibid. XXXII, pp. 182-85.
11. ibid. pp. 82ff.
12. ibid. XXXIV, pp. 17-22 refers to the grant of a village as *akṣayanī* whereas the inscription EI. XXXIV, pp. 20-21 records *dināramasaka* as the *akṣayanī* gift to the *aparaśailiyas*.

13. H. Sircar, Presidential address, A.P. History Congress, Guntur session, 1986.
14. Irrigational canal NKD.
15. EI XXXIV, pp. 19-20.
16. ibid. XX, No.3 They are called *kostagārikas*, ibid., pp. 23, n 1.
17. EI. XXXIV, pp. 19-20.
18. M. Rama Rao, *Ikṣvākus of Vijayapuri*.
19. ibid. pp. 209.
20. EI. XXXV, pp. 16-17.
21. AR. No. 223 of 1892 & 575 of 1909.
22. SBE. 25, X. 116, 120, p. 427.
23. EI. I, pp. 1-10.
24. ibid. VIII, pp. 233-236.
25. ibid. IX, pp. 56-59.
26. ibid., IV, pp. 193-198.
27. ASI, 1906-7, pp. 207-212 and R.K. Bhandarkar, *A Peep into Early History of India*, (1920), p. 37.
28. The territory of Sālāṅkāyanaka mentioned by Pāṇini as that of Sālāṅkāyanas must be located in the north-west, *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, 4.1.9.
29. S. Sankaranarayanan, *Viṣṇukuṇḍis and Their Times*, pp. 24ff.
30. Indrapālanagara plates, set I, JIH. XLIII, p. 735.
31. R.N. Nandi, 'Client Ritual and Conflict in Early Brahmanical Order', *Indian Historical Review*, VI, pp. 64ff.
32. R.S. Sarma, *Material Culture and Social Formations*, p. 147.
33. EI. VI, p. 186.
34. ibid. VI, pp. 84-89.
35. ibid. IX, pp. 102-103.
36. *Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra*, Pravara Praśna, 54. Pr̥thvī Mahārāja of the Godāvari Dt., was of Kāśyapa gotra (Tāṇḍivāḍa grant, EI. XXIII, pp. 88-89). The Codas of Renādu claimed that they were of Kāśyapa gotra (352 of 1905 and 466 of 1906).
37. EI. XXXV. pp. 1ff.
38. ibid. XV. pp. 249ff.
39. ibid. XXIV, pp. 137ff.
40. APG. Arch. Series.
41. *Journal of Oriental Research*, IX, 188-94.
42. JAHRs. vol. VIII, p. 153, EI. XXIII, p. 56.
43. ibid. VI. p. 17.
44. IA. X. p. 244.

45. op. cit.
46. IA. XIII, pp. 107-138.
47. B.S.L. Hanumāntha Rao, *Religion in Andhra*. p. 202. n. 74.
48. EI. IX, pp. 56-59.
49. Burton Stein, op. cit.

CĀLUKYA PERIOD

The establishment of the Veṅgi or Eastern Cālukyan Kingdom (A.D. 624) is generally taken to mark the beginning of medieval period in the history of Āndhras. During the period are manifest most of the features of medievalism, domination of economy by agriculture, alienation of agricultural lands to religious institutions and administrative or military officers, insular rural economy, internecine warfare, administrative system geared to the military requirements of the State, theologically inspired art, learning and literature and degeneracy of religion into a bundle of superstitions.¹ Politically too it was an unfortunate period in the history of Āndhras. The kingdom of Veṅgi was limited to the coast and the rest of Āndhra-deśa became a part of the empires of the Early Cālukyas, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the later Cālukyas successively, which were ruled from capitals outside Āndhra. Having embraced the rich rice-producing deltas of Kṛṣṇā and Godāvarī and having command over a long seaboard, Veṅgi became prosperous and excited the greed and jealousy of the ambitious western empires. She was, therefore, attacked frequently by them and at times reduced to vassalage.² All these political and socio-economic developments had their own repercussions on the brāhmaṇa community which had passed through during the period many vicissitudes of fortune.

The Cālukyas having entered Āndhra as conquerors followed a cautious two-fold policy to consolidate their authority: i. conciliate the local military chiefs and intellectual leaders, and ii. import some of the above sections of people from their native land, so that there could be built up pockets of loyalty and support to their authority. Pulakesin II himself appears to have initiated the policy. According to his Māruṭū record³ Pulakesin granted that village to a group of eleven brāhmaṇas and added to the territory of Alukurāja of Maṅgalanilaya, which is identified with Maṅgalagiri in Guntur district as the other places Kolur and Māruṭūr mentioned in the record are in the same region and may be the same as Maṅgalapanya of the Nāgārjunakonda inscriptions of the 3rd-4th centuries A.D.⁴ But some scholars prefer to identify Alukurāja with the Lord of Alupa in the western parts of the

Cālukyan empire⁵ and there is some support to the identification as it is stated in the record that Alukurāja met Pulakesin of Kollūr after a long and arduous journey even dispensing with food on certain days. As it is stated that Pulakesin granted the *agrahāra* on the recommendation of his queen, it may also be assumed that even the brāhmaṇins too were immigrants from Karnāṭaka. It appears therefore that with Cālukyan conquest, Āndhraadeśa was exposed to the immigration of princely and priestly classes from outside.

Kubja Viṣṇu whom Pulakesin appointed as his Governor over Venī continued his brother's policy. He took into his service Buddhavarman who was a Durjaya.⁶ The latter might have been a scion of the Durjaya family of Piṭhāpūr whom Pulakesin had defeated in the battle of Kunāla. Aṭavi Durjaya was another general in Kubja Viṣṇu's service.⁷ His name which means 'irresistible in forest' suggests that he was the leader of a forest tribe, probably in the Kalinga region. The Cīpurupalli plates⁸ say the Aṭavi Durjaya belonged to the Matsya family. It may therefore be said that he belonged to the family of fish totem or to the family of fisherman (besta) caste. There is no basis for the assumption of R.N. Nandi that he was a brāhmaṇin.⁹

The process of acculturation assumed new and interesting dimensions under Jayasimha, the son and successor of Kubja Viṣṇu. Jayasimha was an ambitious king who extended the southern frontier of the Venī Kingdom into the Boya Koṭṭams.¹⁰ The boyas were no doubt an aboriginal tribe but interposed between the Pallava and Cālukya Kingdoms, they could not remain in a stage of savagery. The word Koṭṭam means either a territorial division¹¹ or a fortified settlement and it suggests that the boyas had already organised themselves politically into tribal states each around a fortified town. Even socially as their names such as Ālaboya (cow-boya), Dūdiboya (cotton-boya), Manduboya (medicine-boya) and Koilboya (temple-boya) reveal, they were organised into occupational groups.¹²

More than all, the term, *prithivi-vyāghra* which is believed to be the name of a boyā chieftain¹³ would reveal the love of the boyas for Sanskritisation. The great Sanskrit writer of the 7th century, Dandin who is said to have composed his *Daśakumāracaritra* at the Pallava court wails over the deplorable plight of the brāhmaṇins who had to live among the forest tribals,¹⁴ eating their food. These brāhmaṇins

were compelled to live in the Boyakotṭams, teaching the boyas Sanskrit and training them in religious practices.

In imitation of the brāhmaṇins of the neighbouring regions, the boyas priests might have taken the *gotras* of the brāhmaṇins of more likely the *gotras* of their brāhmaṇin teachers. D.N. Majumdar draws our attention to the aboriginal societies in North India that live in the periphery of the Brahminical society adopting Brahmanical *gotras*. Some of the Gond clans of Madhya Pradesh call themselves as oponymous groups of Kāśyapa and Śāndilya.¹⁵ A more interesting instance comes from an inscription of Kākatiya Gaṇapati's reign.¹⁶ A certain Somamantri claims to have belonged to the lineage of Bharadvāja-muni. He does not claim Bhāradvāja-gotra but says that his ancestors were worshippers of gods and brāhmaṇins. Evidently, Somana was of non-brāhmaṇin origin but was unable to identify himself with any of the politically rising castes - Velama, Reddi and Kāpu. By virtue of his office he took the suffix *mantri* and tried to fabricate a R̄ṣi lineage for himself.

Jayasiṁha conquered the boyakotṭams but left the task of consolidating the Cālukyan authority there to his successors who carried the policy which Viṣṇuvardhana had followed in Veṅgi into the boyakotṭam. The records of his immediate successors, the Koṇḍanāgūr grant of Indravarman,¹⁷ the Reyūr grant of Viṣṇuvardhana¹⁸ and the Candalūr record¹⁹ of Sarvalokāśraya Maṅgi contain the names of brāhmaṇin donees which end in the suffix -*boya*. These appear to have been boyas priests whom the Cālukyan rulers enticed with land grants to settle in Karmarāṣṭra which was an integral part of the Veṅgi kingdom. The names of the donees in these grants reveal the process of acculturation. In the Reyūr grant the names of the donees end in the Brahmanical suffix -śarman which means Vedic scholar. They are further described as Āla-boya, Mandu-boya, Düdi-boya, Koil-boya which might have been their family names derived from their erstwhile occupations or as Laṭṭalūr-boya, Rāmpūr-boya, Cantūr-boya, Kaṭmūr-boya, Muddanūr-boya and the like with reference to the villages from which they hailed. The Candalūr grant recognises the high socio-economic status of the boyas in the village by inviting them to be witnesses to the gift. Within a short time of thirty years more than seventy boyas brāhmaṇins were settled in Karmarāṣṭra which may indicate the first attempt of the Eastern Cālukyas to break up the boyas concentration in the Kotṭams and their hope to get the boyas reconciled to their newly established rule through the good offices of

their own priests. The Eastern Chālukyas might have further expected that the boyā brāhmaṇin villages within Karmarāṣṭra but adjacent to Boyavihāradeśa might even serve as the buffers between their own kingdom and the troublesome Koṭṭams or the Pallava kingdom.

The boyā priests too readily, as it appears, accepted the alluring offers with a two-fold hope: improving their economic status and going higher up in social heirarchy and gain equality of ritual purity with the brāhmaṇins of the traditional ‘Hindu’ order, which would be very easy in distant lands among strangers, and with the support of the king or his officers. They were not disappointed is demonstrated by the Reyūr grant which added the suffix -śarman to their aboriginal names such as bādi, pāla, jet̄ti, eddonḍa, goboṭa, etc. In the Konḍanāgūr record there is one Somayājulu among the witnesses, simply demonstrating the ritual status which the boyā priests had already gained.

In the Korraparru grant of Vijayāditya II (A.D. 808-847)²⁰ we come across brāhmaṇins with peculiar names with the suffix -śarman. They are venna, caṭi, viḍa, māviṇḍi, guñja, bādaḍi. B.V. Krishna Rao remarks that “the names are very peculiar. They have long ago fallen into disuse, but it will be an interesting study for the linguist to trace the origin of these curious names to the Prakrit names of the earlier period. Some of the village names (from which they had hailed) too are peculiar.”²¹ It may be recalled that Vijayāditya II who had the title ‘Narendra-mṛgarāja’ is said to have fought 108 battles²² with his younger brother Bhima Saluki and his allies the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and hence the troubled condition of the kingdom was favourable for acculturation and unless otherwise proved the above names may be taken to be non-Sanskritic and of some tribal priests who had been absorbed into caste heirarchy.

Not only the names of brāhmaṇins and their villages are peculiar. The names even of some of the officers sound strange, betraying probably their aboriginal origin. We have seen the case of Aṭavi Durjaya. Kāla Kampā is also a strange name. Maṅgiyuvarāja had a dūtaka by name Nissaramiji who carried out the order of the king records in the Nūṭulaparru grant.²³ According to the Peñkaparru grant²⁴ Jayasiṁha-vallabha II (A.D. 706-18) gifted four (*nivartanas*) of land to Era Drona Sarman at the request of a certain Gobbaḍi, who might have been been a Cālukyan feudatory or officer. The first word era in the name of Droṇa Śarman also is not Sanskrit and a popular name among the

aboriginals. In the service of Viṣṇuvardhana III (A.D. 719-55) there were *dūtakas* or the *ājñapatis* of his records whose names are Nisaraminni and Eriyama who was also known probably as Kāṭa Eriyatāṭaya.²⁵ It is, therefore, quite evident that like the boyas many other aborigines had been absorbed gradually into the traditional social order during the early days of the Eastern Cālukyan rule.

This process continued till about the middle of the 9th century A.D. R.N. Nandi cites the case of the Krovi family.²⁶ The word *krovi* means a shrub with red fruits (*Bryonia grandis*). Guṇḍamayya and Müsiyya of the family who received land from Ammaraja II²⁷ and acculturated with the brāhmaṇins received Bhāradvāja-gotra and were absorbed into the traditional order.

One important result of the acculturation leading to the absorption of the aborigines was increase in Brahmin population. The inscriptions of the period give an eloquent testimony to this development, which can be observed from the following table:

TABLE III

No. of Brahmins	Gift village	Reference
40	Kamulūru	Timmāpurāmu plates of Viṣṇuvardhana EI. IX, pp. 317.
100	Koṇḍukava- laṅgavāda	Velaṅgavāda Gr. of Maṅgi II, CP 12 of 1908-09.
100	Kañjeru	Veṭṭuvāda Gr. of Kokkilu II CP 8 of 1908-09.
20	Korraparru	Korraparru Gr. of Vijayā- ditya II, IA. XX, p. 414.
105	Podegu	Pounangi plates of Vijayāditya III CP 3 of 1908-09.
14	Irutūr	Urutūr plates of Vijayāditya III, Tel. Akademi, I, p. 140, CP 3 of 1913.
100	Sātulūr	Sātulūr Gr. of Guṇaga, JAHRS. V, p. 101.
46	Vedatalūr	Masulipataṁ plates of Cālukya Blīma I, CP No. 1 of 1914.

TABLE IV: BOYA BRAHMINS OF THE EASTERN CĀLUKYAN INSCRIPTIONS

SNo Record	Name	Description	Gotra
1. Kondanāgūr grant of Indravarman A.D. 673 EI.XVIII, pp.1-5	Ālapākaboya (?) ...ppiboya Somayājula Vellakkiboya Mārataboya Vaingaboya Kolippuraboya Pidenaboya	They were witnesses to the grant Kaundinya " " " "	Kaundinya " " " "
2. Chendalūr grant of Sarvalokasāraya (A.D. 681-705) EI.VIII, 236-241	Kuriyidaboya Kodikiboya Kundiśarman Maqdāśarman Kumārasarman Saikāresarman Kumārasarman Agnisarman Kappaśarman Katiśarman Revāśarman Randasarman	Kālabava Bhāradvāja Bhāradvāja Bhāradvāja Kaundilya Kaundilya Kaundilya Kaundilya Kaundilya Kaundilya Kaundilya Kaundilya	Kaundinya " " " "
3. Reyūru grant of Viṣṇuvardhana II I.A.VII, 186-91			

SNo. Record	Name	Description	Gotra
	Bādisarman	Koyilaboya	Bhāradvāja
	Pālásarman	Utpitoruboya	Kānya
	Kundisarman	Kavilaboya	Gautama
	Padisarman	Alabunnaboya	Kāsyapa
	Sarvasarman	Cintirboya	Bhāradvāja
	Jettisarman	Mudubamboya	Kaundilya
	Kundisarman	-	-
	Sampakasarman	-	-
	Saryasarman	-	-
	Iuddasarman	-	-
	Katisarman	-	-
	Sarvaparītan	-	-
	Saṇḍudisarman	-	-
	Jetisarman	-	-
	Añjasarman	-	Son of Palaśarman
	Revagātarman	-	Son of Puloñiboya
	Vasusarman	-	Son of Bendiboya
	Āruvāśarman	-	-
	Yedāśarman	-	Kaundilya
	Akkisarman	-	-
	Vedāśarman	-	Bhāradvāja
	Sarvaśarman	-	Kaundilya
	Vasudevaśarman	-	Kaundilya
	Nāgasarman	-	-

Devaśarman	Pauummuddiboya	Kaundilya
Badiśarman	—	—
Gabotśarman	Düdiboya	Kaundilya
Revaśarman	Tonḍaūrboya	Kausīka
Revaśarman	Ceyürboya	Kaundilya
Anantaśarman	Miriboya	Kāsyapa
Pulaśarman	Cintürboya	Kāsyapa
Duggaśarman	Mudugonthaboya	Bhāradvājī
Pālaśarman	Caṇthrūrboya	Kāsyapa
Venniśarman	Mārataboya	Kaundilya
Revaśarman	Muddamūrboya	Kāsyapa
Revaśarman	—	—
Kumārasarman	Boppiboya	Kāsyapa
Sarvaśarman	Ponnadūrboya	Kāsyapa
Kundiśarman	Vegimūrboya	Kāsyapa
Luddiśarman	Kutnurboya	Bhāradvāja
Kundiśarman	Kondāliboya	Kāsyapa
Venniśarman	Muttinthiboya	Kaundilya
Bhaṭṭiśarman	Alabunnaboya	Kaundilya
Vinayaśarman	Kesavaboya	Bhāradvāja
Vinayaśarman	—	—
Jetiśarman	Rāmpurboya	Kaundilya
Revaśarman	Pulkonithaboya	Kāsyapa
Pavvasarman	Pandiriboya	Bhāradvāja

SNo Record	Name	Description	Gotra
	Vināyaśarman	Kēsavaboya	-
	Vināyaśarman	Māraṭaboya	Kaundilya
	Cāmudisarman	-	-
	Śivesarman	-	Kāsyapa
	Donaśarman	Rekādiboya	-
	Revaśarman	Rakādiboya	Bhāradvāja
	Kandasarman	Munkolboya	-
	Vīrasarman	Cebumdothiboya	Kāsyapa
	Nīgaśarman	Eddondiboya	Kāsyapa
	Nāgasarman	Luttalūrboya	Kāsyapa
	Nandisarman	Ciccaludiboya	Kāsyapa
	Venjisarman	Samatiboya	-
	Kattisarman	Manduboya	Bhāradvāja

Note :- Among these Boya-brāhmaṇins there are 14 of Kaundinya, 12 of Kāsyapa and 10 of Bhāradvāja gotras. Several others are not yet given any gotra in spite of their suffix śarman which may mean that they were not completely rehabilitated into the Brahmanical order.

TABLE V: DEVABHOGAS

S.No	Name	Native place	Gift village	Reference
1.	Vedaśarman	Mūgamūr	Irbuli (Karmavāṣṭra) Kumilūru	Kopparan plates of Pulakesin II, EI. XVIII, pp. 257-260.
2.	Brahmins 40 in number	Potunūṅka	Penukaparu	Timmēpuram plates of Viṣṇu- vardhana I, EI. IX, pp. 317.
3.	Guptaśarman	Pogulūra	(Gudrañāra-visaya)	Pedamaddali Plates of Jayasimha I IA. XIII, pp. 137-138.
4.	Mandaśarman	Vanaparu	Mopparu (Gudivada Tq)	C.P. No. 9 of MER. for 1919-20
5.	Kātiśarman	Asanapura	Niduparu	Nidupari grant of Jayasimha, EI. XVIII, p. 55.
6.	Somaśarman	Kukkanūr	Kombaru (Kanderiyāṭī)	Pedavegi plates of Jayasimha I, EI. XIX, 256-61.
7.	Rudraśarman	Asanapura	Pulibūnra (Guddavada)	Pulibunra grant of Jayasimha I, N.I., XIX, 254-58.
8.	Kuttiśarman	Otoḍu	Pamidimukka (Velanāḍu)	Pamidimukka grant of Viṣṇuvardhana II CP No. 14 of 1917.
9.	Kundidoṇasārman	Kramia	Nūtulaparu	Nutulaparu grant of Kaigī I, IA. XX. p.104.
10.	Era-Dronasārman	Vaigiparu	Penukaparu	Penukaparu grant of Jayasimha II, EI. XVIII, p. 314.
11.	Kesavaśarman	Kommara	Field in Jalayūru with a house site and garden (prulunāḍu)	Ipūr plates of Viṣṇu- vardhana III, EI. XVIII, 58.
12.	Soma耶ji-vīra- śarman	Peravali	Nāvinthipalli (Veṅgināḍu)	Peravali grant of Viṣṇuvardhana II, CP No. 3 of 1915.

Another interesting result was the horizontal movement of the brāhmaṇi community. The migration of brāhmaṇi families might be due to the stress of increased population. More interesting is the fact that migrations took place mostly from Karmarāṣṭra northwards, i.e. to Venigirāṣṭra and Gudrahāra. It is also likely that the traditional brāhmaṇi families could not reconcile to the absorption of the boyabrāhmaṇins into their own order and left their homes. The tables IV and V on pages 145-148 reveal the rise of temple culture and its effects.

Rise of Temple Culture & its effects

From about the middle of the 8th century A.D. Āndhra witnessed remarkable socio-religious developments. Since the Cālukyan conquest, Jainism had made steady progress in Āndhra-deśa. All those sections of people - the peasant, artisan and merchant classes who had earlier patronised Buddhism became enthusiastic about Jainism. The Vedic orthodoxy of the Brahmins might have once again driven them into the fold of another heterodox religion. Even several brāhmaṇi families, disgusted probably with the exclusiveness of their own caste preferred the Jain cosmopolitanism. It appears that Jainism also followed a clever policy. It recognised the ritual status of the brāhmaṇi²⁸ promising the śūdra at the same time rise to higher social status, approaching almost ritual purity²⁹. The earliest epigraphical reference in clear terms to the prevalence of Jainism in Āndhra comes from the Misinikunda plates of Viṣṇuvardhana III (A.D. 624-642).³⁰ The Rāṣṭrakūṭa who overthrew the Cālukyas of Bādāmi by about A.D. 750 and their subordinates like the Cālukyas of Vemulavāda were great patrons of Jainism³¹ and innumerable Jain centres sprang up all over Āndhra. The liberal social outlook of Jainism the royal patronage it was enjoying, the profound and subtle logic of its Ācāryas and its adoption of vernaculars to propagate their religion posed a serious threat to the exclusiveness of the Vedic scholars³² so far confine themselves to their agraharas. They were, therefore, forced to shake off their complacency and devise ways of saving not only their economic condition but also their status in society.

The first step in the direction was to reinvigorate and uphold purāṇic theism to counter-balance the menacing influence of Jainism. It is interesting to note that till about the middle of the 8th century A.D., the Venig Cālukyan records are silent about temple building

and temple gifts. The earliest references during this period to temples come from the records of Viṣṇuvardhana III who had renewed the grant of Muṣinikūḍa to the Nēduṇibī Jain Vasadi. The Selapāḍu lithic record³³ of the reign notes a private grant to a temple, of which the details are not available. The Ahadanakaram record³⁴ assignable to the same reign mentions the gift of the village named Rēṇuvāḍalanadimipatṭana to the temple of Karigalla Vodayār of Pr̥thvīpallavapatṭana by a local merchant guild. The name of the god, Karigalla Vadayār betrays Tamil influence and Pr̥thvīpallavapatṭana in all probability was a colony of Tamil merchants. The village is identified with Pallapatla in Repalle taluk, Guntur district, which is not far off from the sea-coast.³⁵ Kari (galla) Vodayār may mean the Black Lord or Lord Kṛṣṇa and the temple might have been built by the Tamil merchants. In Tamilnad, it was a period of vigorous theistic activity by (Vaiṣṇavite) Āḻvārs and (Śaivite) Nāyanārs under whose influence the Jains and Buddhists were even persecuted.³⁶ The Ahadanakaram record may therefore be taken to contain the earliest reference to the influence of Tamil Vaiṣṇavism on coastal Andhra.

Gradually temple gained importance, eclipsing the agrahāra. Narṇdramṛgarāja Vijayāditya II (A.D. 818-846) claims to have built 108 Śiva temples,³⁷ one on each of the sites where he fought his agnates and their allies, the Rāstrakūṭas. Another great warrior king among the Ven̄gi Cālukyas is Cālukya Bhīma I (A.D. 892-922) who is said to have built the famous temples of the five great ārāmas - Amarāvati, Dākṣārāma, Bhīmārāma, Kṣīrārāma and Cālukyārāma besides the Coḍa Bhīmeśvara temples of Cebrolu.³⁸ One of his officers Caṭṭapa is known to have built the Pārthiveśvara temple on the Indrakila hill at Bezwada.³⁹ It was probably the beginning of Bezwada as a Śaivite kṣetra. Thus the attention of the rulers and people was diverted from the Vedic scholar and the system he stood for to the maintenance of temple and promotion of its culture. Earlier mostly the rulers evinced interest in upholding the culture of brahmadeya whereas from A.D. 750 both the rulers and more than the rulers, the people became anxious in promoting the culture of devabhogas as indicated by the Selapāḍu and Ahadanakaram records.

The political developments of the period also tended to reduce the importance of the brāhmaṇa in society. Since the beginning of the 8th century, the Ven̄gi Cālukyan kingdom had been disturbed by frequent wars of succession. The overthrow of the Bādāmi Cālukyas about

A.D. 750 had further adversely affected the political situation in Veṅgi. Taking advantage of the family feuds at Veṅgi, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas made constant efforts to reduce that kingdom to vassalage. The aggressive imperialism of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas therefore increased the military requirements of Veṅgi, which had to concentrate on building up its resources.⁴⁰ In consequence, the rulers of Veṅgi showed great concern for creating military fiefs than adding to the number of Brahmadeyas. Such a process which was started during the reign of Guṇaga gained greater momentum as the conflict with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas grew more and more fierce.

The brāhmaṇins too could understand the changed situation and realised that they had two alternatives before them. Either to migrate to places where they could find patronage to their scholarship or to come out of their scholarly exclusiveness and accept state service - at the court and in the camp.

Brāhmaṇin migrations

Large scale brāhmaṇin migrations are observed from about the middle of the 8th century, from coastal Āndhra, especially Karmarāṣṭra, where there was an excessive concentration of brāhmaṇin settlements during the earlier period. Added to the socio-religious and political developments frequent military operations and the pressure of rising population might have caused these migrations.

The Tandatotṭam plates⁴¹ of the Pallava king Vijaya Nandivarman record the gift of several villages in Tamilnadu to Vedic scholars, as many as 204. Among them there were 104 Caturvedins, 20 Trivedins, 20 Saṅgaṇgavids and others were Bhṛṭṭas and Karmavids. They had hailed from several villages, the names of which correspond to the names of those in Veṅgi and Karmarāṣṭra. They are: Tanukkil (Taṇuku), Karambicedu (Kāramcedu), Irakkondūru, Irugandi, Nambūru, Karanjai (Kāja), Pinukiparru (Peikaparru), Velipāru (Velpūr), Poparru, Nuttilaparru (Nūtulaparru), Vaṅgiparru, Attambarru, Mudiparru, Viriparru (Vipparla) and Arasaparru (Asanapura). The Vedic scholars of Veṅgi might have been attracted to Kānci which had already established a wide reputation as a centre of Vedic learning and they expected patronage from the Pallavas. It is further interesting to note that a large number of the villages now held by the

Śrīvaiṣṇava families in Tamilnadu such as Vaṅgiparri, Karanibiceḍu, Putnūr, Urputtūr, Settalūr (Sāṭulūr), Viravalli and Kuṇḍūr are the villages in Āndhraadeśa. It is probable that the above Vedic scholars built these villages and their descendants embraced Vaiṣṇavism during the time of Rāmānuja. It is also likely that the presence of these Vedic scholars in Tamilnadu was largely responsible for the emergence of Śrīvaiṣṇavism of Rāmānuja as an approachment between Vedism and the devotionalism of Tamil *Prabandha*.

Again several brāhmaṇi families migrated to the west and distinguished themselves in different fields of activity. Many of such families were Jains. In fact they could not find favour with the Eastern Cālukyas, most of whom were stout champions of Brahmanism and now hopeful of patronage from the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, their subordinates and their successors, the later Cālukyas (of Kalyāṇ). The *Kaifiyat* of Warangal⁴² says that as Rājarājanarendra launched a vigorous policy of persecution (probably under the influence of the Colas), many Jain families migrated to Anmakonḍa from Rājamahendravaram.

The first great poets in Kannada were Pampa, Nāgavarman I and Ponna who were Jain brāhmaṇi emigrants from Karmarāṣṭra.⁴³ The family of Pampa lived originally in Vaṅgiparru near Guntur and his grand-father was a Somayajin. His father Bhīmana might have become a Jain and he left his native place for Vemulavāḍa where at the Court of Arikesari II (A.D. 940-55) Pampa composed the Kannada *Mahābhārata* and thus won the honour of becoming the first poet in that language. Another great Kannada poet also claimed to have been a native of Vaṅgiparru, ‘one of the seven delightful villages of Veṅgiviṣaya’. Ponna migrated from Punganūr in Kammanāḍu to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa court where he was honoured by Kṛṣṇa III with the title *ubhayakavicakravarti*. One of the ministers of Kṛṣṇa III was Gajāñikuśa whose original name was Nārāyana⁴⁴ and he too is held to be a Telugu emigrant. Several inscriptions from the districts of Dharwar, Hasan, Chitradurg, Chikmagalur and Mysore refer to kamma-brāhmaṇins. Vennaya-bhaṭṭa, the Mahāsenādhipati of Cālukya Vikramāditya V (A.D. 1010) was of Kammakula.⁴⁵ Sarvadeva and Cāmuṇḍarāya, the generals of Vikramāditya VI were of the same *kula*.⁴⁶ More interesting is the history of the family of Basaveśvara, the founder of Viśiṣṭādvaitism. His father Mādirāja was the Chief of Baza-wada (*puravarāḍhiśvara*). In the poem, (*Basavarāja-devara-ragale*)⁴⁷, Mādirāja is described as belonging to kamma-kula. In this connection,

P.B. Desai remarks⁴⁸ that Kanuna-nāḍu "roughly comprised the northern part of Nellore district and the southern part of the Guntur district. The emigrants of this area consisting of a community of the family units by themselves were apparently styled with reference to their original territory as belonging to Kamma-kula. Durgasimha (c. 1025 A.D.) an eminent scholar and author of Kannada Pañcatantra was a scion of Kamma-kula. The famed poet Janna (1209 A.D.) is described as of Kammavāṁśa ...faithful emigrants (from Kamma-rāstra) made memorable contributions to the language, literature and religion of Karnataka. Among such Basaveśvara stands out foremost."

Incidentally it may also be noted that the family of Gaṅgādhara, the minister of Rudradeva migrated to the Anmakonḍa region from the agrahāra of Vellaki in Veṅgi. The family might have left their native agrahāra three generations earlier and sought service under the Kākatiyas. Gaṅgādhara joined service under Prola II and rose to the position of minister under Rudradeva.⁴⁹

In State service:

Brāhmaṇins probably with a lesser spirit of enterprise joined the service of the Eastern Cālukyas but it is interesting to note that they distinguished themselves as valiant generals and had to their credit astounding military exploits.

Guṇaga Vijayāditya had in his army several brāhmaṇin generals, of which the family of Kaḍeyarāya stands out prominent. Kaḍeyarāya is the Prakrit form of Kaṭakarāja, which means officer in charge of military camp which in other words means commander-in-chief.⁵⁰ His father was Bhaṭṭakāla, which word means Kāla (Yama) among Bhaṭṭas (brāhmaṇins) and suggests that he too was a distinguished soldier. Kaḍeyarāya laid down his life on the battle-field while fighting by the side of his lord. His son, Pāṇḍuraṅga succeeded him as the commander-in-chief of Gunaga's army and had won most of the victories which are usually ascribed to Guṇaga. He raised to the ground the battlements of Kattam, burnt down Nellore Paṭṭana, the strongholds of the boyas and shattered the boyā concentration in the region.⁵¹ He was the leader of the great Lāhala expedition, in the course of which he inflicted crushing defeats on the Rāṣtrakūṭas and their allies the Cedis and reduced Cakrakūṭapura, Kiranapura and Acalapura to ashes, thus enabling his master to assume the proud title Tripuramartya-maheśvara.⁵²

Vinayidīśarman was another brāhmaṇī general in Guṇaga's service.⁵³ Besides being well-versed in the Vedas and *Vedāṅgas*, Vinayidīśarman appears to have been a master of logistics. In the battle against the Nolambas, Vinayidī's timely advice turned a threatened defeat into a victory and Guṇaga expressed his gratitude by granting him the village of Tandaparu in Gudrahāra-viṣaya. Rājāditya was the other brave brāhmaṇī general who served Guṇaga.⁵⁴ He was an immigrant from Tonḍai-mandalam. His father Kumāramūrti was the commander of king Kāḍuveṭṭi (probably a local Cola chieftain). Rājāditya rendered valuable service to Guṇaga on the battle field, in recognition of which Guṇaga granted him the village of Kāṭlaparu, as a tax-free agrahāra.

Cālukya Bhīma had a number of brāhmaṇī generals in his service. Kadeyarāja, probably grandson of Pāṇḍurāṅga was the Commander-in-Chief of Bhīmas' armies. His cousins Ayyaparāja and Bijayarāja also held the positions of generals. Raṅgādhi Kakkara of Kaundinya-gotra and son of Vidiśarman took active part in most of the battles of Bhīma. Bhīma openly acknowledged the services of Kakkara when he granted him the village of Pandipāka by declaring *asmat-khadga-vahaya-nimitte*.⁵⁵ Besides, Kakkara was made the lord of 18 neighbouring villages. Two brāhmaṇī generals Viddamayya Guṇḍamarebhaṭṭa were in the army of Cālukya Bhīma II.⁵⁶ The former who had hailed from Vaniparu was steadfast in his loyalty and service to Bhīma throughout the civil war and received as reward the village of Digu-baru. Guṇḍamabhaṭṭa is said to have pleased the king in both the royal council and the battle field.

Brāhmaṇins held several offices under Ammarāja II (A.D. 945-970). Kaṭakādhipati Vijayāditya Durgarāja was the commander-in-chief of Ammarāja II.⁵⁷ Durgarāja appears to have belonged to the family of Kadeyarāya-Pāṇḍurāṅga of Guṇaga's times. One of his predecessors was Pāṇḍurāṅga who held the post of Kaṭakarāja under Cālukya Bhīma. Durgarāja was called *mahāsāmanta* and enjoyed the honour of using the *pañcamahāśabdās* at public places. His fief extended between the rivers Svarṇamukhī and Guṇḍakamma with Kandukūr as its headquarters. He had Mūsiyaśarman of Krovi family and Bhāradvāja-gotra as his minister. Durgarāja built Durgarājapāṭṭana which is presently called Ārmugam. Another distinguished brāhmaṇī officer in the service of Ammarāja II, Kuppanayya of the Mitrāyū (maitreya)⁵⁸-gotra. He is described as a devoted *amātya* and *sāmanta*. Kuppanayya was

a native of Rūciparu Nīkhāgrāma and received from the king the villages of Tāñderu and Dētipinḍi in Pāvunāravīṣaya.

Koramiya of Kāśyapa-gotra was the Śrīkaraṇamukhya-suvarna-bhāṇḍāgārika of Ammarāja.⁵⁹ The members of the family are described as hereditary officers in the service of the Cālukyas. Koramiya in particular was a man of excellent qualities and character, discerning intellect, devoted and loyal to the king. Ammarāja granted him the village of Yelavarū in Kaminanādu.

It may be added that the pressure of constant warfare in which Ammarāja was involved appears to have compelled him to set up a network of Sāmantas who could look after the local administration, maintain armies and held him in his wars against his hostile agnates and their foreign enemies. The Veṅgi Cālukyan kingdom thus acquired feudal character under Ammarāja II. Durgarāja was even allowed to enjoy royal insignia (*pañcamahāśabdas*). Both Durgarāja and Kuppanayya built and patronised temples by themselves. Kuppanayya who had the title *vipraṇārāyaṇa* built the temple of Kuppeśvara at Dāksārāma, whereas Durgarāja built the Kaṭakābharaṇa Jinālaya.

Vimalāditya was ably served by a number of able brāhmaṇin officers. Nṛpakāma⁶⁰ was his *dandanāyaka* and Gajasāhini, whereas Rācārya Pedderi held the post of Kaṭakādhīśa or the superintendent of the capital city. However, the most important of the brāhmaṇin officers was Vajjiya-preggaḍa⁶¹ who was the Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief of Vimalāditya. He appears to have been the last of the series of brāhmaṇin officers in the service of the Eastern Cālukyas. By his statesmanship and diplomacy, Vajjiya helped Vimalāditya in consolidating his authority on Veṅgi and extending his sway over Poṭṭapi which was given to the loyal Mudigonda Cālukyan chiefs. Out of gratitude, Vimalāditya almost shared his power with Vajjiya. He granted the Preggaḍa special distinction of royalty, the *saptāngas* and conferred on him the supreme honour of the state, namely the use of *mayūrapiñcha* (white parasol) and Śridvāra - ornamental floral arch like the *makaratoraṇa* in the forefront. Vajjiya was described by poet Bhīmanabhaṭṭa (son of Rācāya Pedderi) as *budhavajraprākāra, amātyasikhāmaṇi* and *saujanyaratnākara*. Vimalāditya granted him the village of Ranasthipūḍi together with Paruvāla. Bhīmanabhaṭṭa says that there was, there is and there will be no god like Bhīmānātha.

of Dāksārāma, no king like that of Veṅgi and no minister like Vajrapreggaḍa.

By the time of Vimalāditya, the Veṅgi Cālukyan kingdom assumed atleast politically the characteristics of a feudal state. There was a network of Sāmantas consisting of the Durjayas, Haihayas, Paṭṭavardhanis, Mudigonda Cālukyas and probably the Matsyas which was hoped to serve as a bulwark to the Veṅgi Cālukyan authority. In addition, there were created a number of military fiefs held by officers and self-governing brāhmaṇi agrahāras all of which worked for extreme decentralisation of authority. Ammarāja II and Vimalāditya were generous even to share their authority with the officers of distinction and loyalty. Ammarāja allowed Durgarāja to use the pañcamahāśabdas whereas Vimalāditya granted the saptāṅgas and Śridvāra to Vajjiyapreggaḍa. Officers like Durgarāja and Kuppanayya built temples in their own name and patronised them. Durgarāja built Kaṭakābharaṇajinālaya whereas Kuppanayya built at Drāksārāma the temple of Kuppeśvara and was praised as *vipranārāyaṇa*,⁶² ‘God Nārāyaṇa for the brāhmaṇins’.

Sectarianism

The multifarious developments which the land witnessed broke up the unity of the brāhmaṇin caste and led to the growth of sectarianism. The emergence of feudal principalities in the wake of the declining Veṅgi Cālukyan kingdom and the mutual wars between them generated among people narrow loyalties limited to their own territorial division or *nāḍu*. These differences were reinforced by marriage traditions dominated by endogamy. Of all such territorial divisions Kamma-nāḍu, Vela-nāḍu and Āruvela-nāḍu (*sātśahasramanḍala*) were the most prominent as they formed the core region of kingdom of Candol, ruled by Durjayas, the most powerful of the ruling families who exercised authority over the entire coastal Āndhra, first as the viceroys of Cālukya-Colas of Tanjore and later as independent rulers. The people of these regions began to describe themselves with reference to the region of their nativity. Several inscriptions from coastal Āndhra and western Āndhra refer to Kamma-brāhmaṇins ‘brāhmaṇins of Kamma-nāḍu’.⁶³ Today kammanāṭi-brāhmaṇins are not found in the coastal Āndhra. As Kamma-nāḍu, Vela-nāḍu and Āruvela-nāḍu were overlapping, it is likely that they got merged in the Velanāṭi and

Āruvela-nāṭī sects. Even the agricultural castes or the pāṇṭa-kāpus (especially velamas and kannmas) came to be differentiated on regional basis.

The brāhmaṇins mentioned above were also divided on the basis of the profession they adopted. Those who took to socio-religious or priestly occupations settled down as vaidikas as those who accepted state service - secular occupations - became niyogis (which word means employed). The former were distinguished by the suffixes *peddi*, *ārya*, *bhaṭṭa* and *sūri* and the latter added the suffix *preggada* or *mantri* or *amātya* or *rāju* to their names. These occupational divisions in fact cut across the territorial boundaries as both vaidikas and niyogis are found all over the land. However the niyogis are generally qualified by the territorial name āruvela probably because the *ṣaṭsahasra-maṇḍala* was the nucleus of the sect. That this division vaidika and niyoga did not grow rigid even by the Kākatiya period as evidenced by the case of Gaṅgādhara. He was a family of Vedic scholars who had migrated to Telangāna from the *agrahāra* of Vellekki in Venig. Having become a minister, Gaṅgādhara received the insignia of his office (*niyogavṛtti*)⁶⁴ and ultimately became Gaṅgarāju. Many families might have undergone such a transformation during the period.

Several sections of brāhmaṇins who could not traverse the path either of Kumārila (Mīmāṃsā) or of Śaṅkara (Vedānta) accepted the devotional path of Śaivism. The different sects of Śaivism - Pāśupata, Kālāmukha, Śuddhaśaiva or Golagi were merged in the Ārādhyā system of Mallikārjuna-paṇḍita and the Ārādhyas formed a prominent sect among the Andhra brāhmaṇins. The system became agreeable to brāhmaṇins as it did not totally repudiate Brahmanism but brought it into compromise with Bhāgavatīsm. Mallikārjuna is said to have declared to Basava that he could neither give up his love for devotion nor his association with Brahmanism. This approachment reflects in the principles and practices of the Ārādhyā brāhmaṇins. They "wear the sacred thread and the linga and worship Gaṇapati. They adopt the Lingāyat forms in private worship but intermarry with smārtabrahmaṇins and will not done with other Lingayats". They perform śrāddha to their pitṛs but do not use kuśa grass and seasamum (*tila*) and with *yajñopavīta* in the *apasavya* position. Their widows do not have tonsure but wear only white clothes. "In short they are best regarded semi-lingāyats (*viraśaivas*), half converted smārtas".⁶⁵

Vaiṣṇavism had spread rapidly among the fourth caste after Rāmānuja, but was limited only to small sections of brāhmaṇins. But even these Vaiṣṇava brāhmaṇins were divided into Śrīvaiṣṇava and Vaikhānasa sects. An inscription from Bapatla⁶⁶ dated in A.D. 1023, i.e. earlier than Rāmānuja, mentions Śrīvaiṣṇavas. The record makes it clear that Rāmānuja was not the originator of the system but he perfected and broad-based it so that it could command wide popularity. Most of the former were immigrants from Tamilnadu and sought employment mainly as temple priests. The latter claimed descent from the Vedic sear Vikāhanas and that their system is Brahmanical. Famous temples like Tirupati, Simhachalam and Srikurram are the big centres of Śrīvaiṣṇava concentration. Besides the śrīvaiṣṇavas, there are nambis among the priests in Vaiṣṇava temples and the distinction between the two is pointed out in several temple inscriptions.⁶⁷ The śrīvaiṣṇavas had their mathas and kūṭas attached to temples and the pontiffs used to undertake tours of prosylatisation.

Economic condition of brāhmaṇins:

Kumārila and Śaṅkara tried to revive the waning faith in Brahmanism. But neither the Mīmāṃsā system of the former nor the Vedānta of Śaṅkara as destined by their very nature could not find favour with the people. However furious the polemics of Śaṅkara had been they could not undermine the popularity of non-Vedic Jainism. The religious situation in the land was therefore, favourable to the old devotional cults of Saivism and Vaiṣṇavism. These cults provided alternative not only to the orthodox Brahmanism but also to heterodox Jainism. Especially from the middle of the 9th century, the radical system of Kālāmukha Saivism had spread all over Āndhra, breathing new vigour and vitality into temple culture. They developed the institution of initiation into religious knowledge and ritual. Their mathas which developed as appendices of temples became centres not only of religious propaganda but also of popular learning and training. Right from the middle of the 11th century, entire coastal Āndhra and parts of Telangana felt the impact of Śrīvaiṣṇavism of Rāmānuja who laid emphasis on Bhakti, and made Karma and Jñāna its aids.

Devotionalism is the religion of common people, the bulk of which are the fourth caste. As arthasiris, in agrahāras and brahmadeyas, the śūdras not only improved their economic condition but adopted the

life style of their brāhmaṇin landlords. They now found in the devotional cults a promising means of raising themselves in social status and respectability. They threw themselves, therefore, heart and soul into promoting temple culture. In consequence, unlike during the earlier centuries, 6th to the 9th, from the middle of the 10th century the sūdras actively participated in religion specially in temple festivals. The peasants, the artisans and merchants and their womenfolk, once again as during the Buddhist epoch, gave enthusiastic support to the temple and its institutions. Temple gifts steadily increased in number and variety. Even the lowly and the humble appears to have made it his or her life's ambition to visit temple and make a gift atleast a lamp or half of a lamp. Statesmanship requires that the ruler should support the religion of his people and most of the rulers of the period were themselves sūdras. The attention of the ruling class, therefore, turned from the brāhmaṇin to the temple. Such a process of non-Brahminisation of religion adversely affected the economic position of the brāhmaṇin. Formation of *agrahāras* and *brahmadeyas* is rarely found during the period. It is observed above that even from the 8th century the Cālukyas preferred to create more military fields than *brahmadeyas*. Interestingly several inscriptions dated during the 11th and 12th centuries record instances of brāhmaṇins selling away their gift land which were mostly purchased by rich sūdras to be donated to temples, *mathas* and *satras*.

In the town of Ponnūr, Vedic scholars (*asēśavidvanmahājanālu*) sold away their lands in favour of the local Viṣṇu temple and the Pāpavīsu-*matha* attached to it.⁶⁸ An inscription from Munagalapalli⁷⁰ (Nandigama taluk, Krishna distirict) records that the brāhmaṇins of Kandrūru, Nandigāma, Muppāla and Īpūr villages sold away their lands most of which were gifted to the temples. In the village of Kodamagundi,⁶⁹ taxes such as *Perusumkālu*, *Vaddarāvalamu*, *bīra-nālu*, *Kolacusumkamu*, etc., which were due to a brāhmaṇin by name Īsanapreggaḍa were diverted for the maintenance of worship in the local temple and for the support of students. The *mahājanas* (brāhmaṇins) of the village were ordered to respect the new arragement. In another instance, a certain Appana Preggaḍa, an *ekabhogi*⁷⁰ is found selling away his lands. The Telangana region too, especially the kingdom of Kandūru Codas, witnessed similar developments.⁷¹ These instances clearly reveal how under the pressure of the new socio-religious developments the earstwhile *agrahāras* disintegrated, replacing to a large

extent brāhmaṇī landlordism by temple landlordism. It may further be noted that though the ownership changed - from brāhmaṇin to temple - the tenancy was mostly retained by the same people. A comparison of the following tables(6, 7 and 8) makes the point clear.

Even at the court, the number of brāhmaṇin officers was on steady decline. No doubt they are found in high position of responsibility such as *pradhāni*, *sāmasta-senāpati* and *rājādhyakṣa* but their number sank down to a minimum. With the exception of the above noted topmost positions, the rest of the administrative machinery, civil as well as military was dominated by the members of fourth caste. They are found occupying such posts like *mudiseli-mūlabhṛtya*, *padihāri*, *padālu*, *preggaḍa*, *dandanāyaka*, *sarvādhikāri* and *mahāmandalesvara* (*māṇḍalikaśekhara*).⁷² Even in temples they held such responsible and respectable positions as that of *bhaṇḍāruvu*.⁷³ The śrīkaraṇa of the Śrikūrmam temple was a kāyastha.⁷⁴ The village administration has also passed into their hands. Several inscriptions mention *raddikams*⁷⁵ held by the Nāyakas of the fourth caste. The *raddikam* may be an office for a group of villages. The members of the fourth caste holding such responsible posts must have been properly educated to discharge their duties efficiently. It is not unreasonable to hold that they should have received appropriate training in the institutions of Jainism and the devotional cults of Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism.

TABLE VI: DEVABHOGA VILLAGES

SNo.	District	Date	Donor	Name of villages granted	Name of the temple or God	Reference
1.	Warangal	1185 A.D.	Rudradeva	(Su) Mudapalli	A Siva Temple	IAP, WI.41.
2.	Warangal	1206	Natavādi Rudra	Cintapalli	Siva	IAP, WI. 49
3.	Warangal	1213	Recerla Rudra	1.Nekkonda 2.Upparapalli 3.Borlapalli 4.Nadakudi 5.Bodapadu 6.Pādanipalli 7.Venayrapalli 8.Bodukodūru	Rudrēsvara Gaurisa Kāṭesvara Kāmesvara Mallikarjuna of Śrisailam Rāmēsvara Kesāvadeva Ekkesvara Bādidevara Yelavarā	IAP, WI. 50 IAP, WI. 57
4.	Warangal	1217	Recerla Kāṭaya	Gollakota Part of Kundavaram	" 55 Rudrēsvara, Mahādeva, Surya, Ganapēsvara	IAP, WI. 51
5.	Warangal	1217	Vennappa Reddi	Pincarepalli	—	IAP, WI.54
6.	Warangal	1217	Recerla Kāṭaya	Vainayakaspari	—	CITD.III pp.166-170
7.	Warangal	1219	Queen Kundamābā	—	—	Ibid, pp.31-35
8.	Warangal	1236	Kāṭaya	—	Puruṣottama	CITD.III pp.114-118.
9.	Khammam	1235	Devanapragada	—	—	—
10.	Nizamabad	1273	Viriyālasīra	—	—	—

11.	Karimnagar	1199	Allumprolāja- and Mañci- bhāttopadhyāya	Koṭapalli	Kesavadeva Mahādeva	IAP, kn.28.
12.	Karimnagar	1236	Kātiaya	Piñcarapalli	Śiva, Mallinātha	IAP, Kn.30
13.	Mahaboobnagar	1294	Sthātau	Kannenāyaka- pali	of Magatala	Tl.II, pp.153-157.
14.	"	1280	Cāmūpetti	Trakkavrolu	Rudresvara	CITD III,
			Bhaṇḍāru		Rāmanātha,	Mn.41.
			Pocaya		Mallinātha,	
					Somanātha,	
					Poceśvara,	
15.	"	1224	Śrīkaranam	Peddapalli	Buddhesvara,	
			Bhimadevara		Sahasralinga	
			Preggada		Ganapatīsvara	
					Laksminarasimha	
					Nāyāya	
					Prasannabhairava	
					Bhīmanātayāya	
					Kundunī- coḍuśāśa-	
16.	"	1168	Māñdalika	Karapanula	nāmu - Ca- ritra, Sanskriti,	
			Tāndā		Mārkanda	p.220-222.
17.	Nalgonda	1258	Pradhāni	Pocāpuram	Gopinātha	Tl.I,
18.	"	1132	Maiṭambikā (Queen)	Bollamraju	Coda	pp.71-72.
				Part of	Bhīma-	Tl.I,
				Pittampalli	nārāyaṇa	pp.157.

SNo.	District	Date	Donor	Name of villages granted	Name of the temple or God	Reference
19.	Nalgonda	1253	Cerukul Immadi Viśvanātha Danḍanāyaka	Rempundi	Bolleśvara, Malleśvara, Ganapeśvara, Viśnu, Malikārjuna, Keteśvara, Yeśvara Yeśvara Mahādeva	T.I.II, p.115-121.
20.	"	undated	Rudramadevi Maṅgaya	Ambalapalli Tādimadā		CITD.IV, 26. ibid. 30.
21.	"	1250	Ganapeyya, (Gajasāhini)			
22.	"	undated	Vibhūvana Vallabha Mallidevaranḍu Ramadeva	Gummalamu Krottātru, Epiṛu, Aṛeḍu Tekulapalli	Yeśvara	ibid. 43.
23.	"	"	Mahārāju	Velpunur	"	ibid. 48.
24.	"	"	Podakannuri, Siddhirāju	Kambalapalli	"	ibid. 56.
25.	"	"	Gudivada Mahreddi Nāyakas	Kompalli	"	ibid. 57.
26.	"	1290			Svayambhū ¹ Somesvara ² Perur Viśnu	PI. 13. KCSCS.
27.	"	1100	Kurnārekonḍaya	KoHūru		

TABLE VII: AGRAHĀRA VILLAGES

SNo.District	King/Donor and date	Name of the Agrahāra village New name	Type of Agrahara	Reference
1. Warangal	Kākati Durga 1090 A.D.	Śivapuram	Sarvamānya	A.P, WI. 15
	Nāvāḍī Buddha- rāja 1161	Indrapuram	Ekabhoga	ibid. 16
2.	"	Caunḍapura	Sarvamānya	ibid. 48.
3.	"	Caunḍapura	-	ibid. 58.
4.	"	Kundayaram	CITD.II, pp.16-17	CITD.II, pp.16-17
5.	Khammam	Kāṭukur	-	-
6.	Medak	Kūcenīru	Kucenīru	ibid. pp.32-35
	Triphuyana- malla Yikra- māditya ^a (undated)	Vaināyakapuri	-	ibid.
7.	Nizamabad	Rudramadevi 1273	Mallikājuna- puram	PP.114-118
8.	Karimnagar 1199	(Gajapati- deva) (Māuciibhatto- pādhyāya Allum Pro- laraju)	new agrahāra (name not known)	No.of brahmins IAP, Kt.28

SNo.District	King/Donor and date	Name of the Agrahāra village New name	Type of Agrahara	Reference
9.	Karimnagar	Gaiāgadhara- Pantri 1171 Kataya 1236	—	"
10.	Karimnagar	Piñcarapalli	Brahmins & temple	ibid. 25 ibid. 30
11.	Nalgonda	Beti Reddi	Erukapuram	TII. pp.31-38
12.	"	1208 Mailamāmbikā (undated)	Bhīmanārāyāṇa- puram Gaṇapapuram	CITD.IV, 114 CITD.II,73-78
13.	"	Devapāla- nāyaka 1213	—	—
14.	"	Kumāra Talapa 1119	Brahmins & Temples	PI. No.3
15.	"	Mallināyaka (undated)	—	PI.No. 14
16.	"	Maitīrīnāyaka (undated)	—	An agrahāra, whose name is not mentioned Ekarbhoga
17.	"	Mailama 1124 A.D.	Kāsyapalli	ibid.

TABLE VIII: TRANSFORMATION OF BRAHMADEYAS INTO DEVABHOGAS IN TELANGANA 167

S.No.	Original Holder	New Grantee	Transformed by	Reference
1.	Gundyanā Peddana	Lord Nr̄siṁha	Mariśetṭi purchased and donated	Māṇīlapalli record of Kundūru Coḍula Śāsanamulu Ollāla, ibid.
2.	Ollāla Agraḥāra	Lord Kēśava	Appana Preggaḍa	
3.	Pitampalli reallocation	Bhīmanārāyaṇa	Mailama	Panugallu TI. I, 157
4.	A Purohit (The Brāhmaṇas were resettled)	Lord Mallikā- rjuna	Śrīkaraṇam Brahmadevayya	Parada, Kundūru Coḍula śāsanamulu Perūr Ins. 9
5.	Māṇīlapalli Agraḥāra	Lord Nr̄siṁha	Bhīma and Gokarna	
6.	Malkayabhaṭṭu	Svayambhūdeva	Mallanāyaka	ibid.

The process climaxed under the Kākatiyas, especially the later rulers of the dynasty which is a period of conflicting socio-religious developments. From the time of Kākati Rudra there were efforts at gradual brāhmaṇisation and Sanskritisation of religion. Rudradeva was the first Kākatiya king to have a clear Sanskrit name. His minister was Gaṅgādhara⁷⁷ a smārta brāhmaṇ and his court was under the influence of Rāmeśvara Dīkṣita who was a śrautakriyā-karmāṭha.⁷⁸ He built Rudrēśvaram in which he installed Śiva, Keśava and Sūrya,⁷⁹ the principal deities of pañcāyatana, the worship of which had been advocated by Kumārila and Śaṅkara.⁸⁰ Gaṇapatiadeva was a patron of Śuddhaśaivism of the Golakī-māṭha⁸¹ which was also pro-Vedic. This process of Brahmanisation and Sanskritisation of religion appears to have culminated at Vijayanagara court dominated by the school of Vedic commentators headed by Śāyaṇa and Mādhaba. But peculiarly as religion was brahmanised, the state was non-brahmanised. From the time of Gaṇapatiadeva most of the offices at the Kākatiya court and in the army were held by the śūdras - reddis and velamas. Brāhmaṇ ministers and generals were almost exceptions. The Indulūru family was the only brāhmaṇ family that enjoyed considerable influence at the court of Rudramadevi⁸² but they too were non-brahmanised with their marriage alliance with her.⁸³ The most important officers of Gaṇapatiadeva - amātya, (Allūru Prolarāja), pāttasāhiṇi (Boppayadeva), tantrapāla (Prolurautu), pañcakaraṇādhipati (Mādhavadeva), sakalasenādhipati (Boppayadeva), bhaṇḍāru (Konḍapareddi) and bahattara-niyogādhipati (Gaṇḍapendāru Gaṅgayayasāhiṇi), aśvasāhiṇi (Gaṅgayayasāhiṇi), gajasāhiṇi (Jāyapa) were all non-brahmins. The court of Rudramadevi was dominated by the Recerlas. The most influential officers in her government - Gōna Gannāreḍdi, Nāgadeva, Potināyaka, Parvata-nāyaka, Misaragunda, Adidamma, Vallanāyaka (probably kaṭakapāla Dādi Gannaya, and Dādi Somaya were all of the fourth caste. The situation did not change under Rudradeva. Among the 75 or 77 nāyākkaras between whom Pratāparudra divided his kingdom, it is rather doubtful whether there was a single brāhmaṇ.⁸⁴ It is not far from truth to say that the Kākatiya state was a śūdra state par excellence.

The fast changing socio-religious milieu compelled the brāhmaṇ scholar to abandon his native home and go in search of a living. They had to shake off their scholarly pride, outgrow the traditional inhibitions and accept service in temples, where they became not only sthānāpatis but even pūjāris.⁸⁵ Along with their womenfolk, they

further condescended to undertake menial service. Some became cooks and others water carriers and their ladies held the *vijanas* in the sanctum.⁸⁶ An inscription from Simhachalam speaks about the appointment of brāhmaṇins to several activities in the temple of Nṛsiṁha on the hill.⁸⁷ One of them Keśavabāṭṭu (the suffix -bāṭṭu suggests that he was of an orthodox scholarly family) sought employment as water-carrier.⁸⁸ There were altogether in the temple of Śrīkūrmam 30 brāhmaṇin and 15 Vaiṣṇava brāhmaṇin employees.⁸⁹ It is too well-known that temple culture was not based upon the *Veda*. But we find in the temples of the period brāhmaṇin reciters of the different *Vedas* of different sections of the *Vedas* as the *Puruṣasūkta*.⁹⁰ In temple ritual there is practically no place for brāhmaṇin masters of such subjects like grammar (*Vyākaraṇa*), aesthetics (*Alaṃkāra*), literature (*Kāvya* and *Nāṭaka*). Strangely enough even these scholars are found employed in some temples with their services to the employer unspecified.⁹¹

The Purāṇic theism, of which the temple was the core came thus to the rescue of the brāhmaṇins in these difficult days. The "extravagances and superstitions" of purāṇic theism⁹² reflected in the nurtured beliefs in *tīrtha* and *dāna* proved advantageous to the brāhmaṇins. Especially the concept of transfer of merit led to the practice of priests or brāhmaṇins officiating for the *yajamānas*. In order to offer oblations to their own *pitaras*, people used to send brāhmaṇins on their own behalf to Banaras and Gaya.⁹³ Again brāhmaṇins undertook for money pilgrimages to sacred places and even austerities like taking bath in the Ganges and during winter circumambulating sacred hills such as Śrīsailam.⁹⁴ R.C. Hazra is right in observing that the "purāṇic rites and customs were mainly influenced by the economic and social needs of the sacerdotal class".⁹⁵ The Vedic scholars thus took shelter under temple culture which they had once despised. Charles Eliot praises the wisdom of brāhmaṇins in making such compromises⁹⁶ with a view to retain their supremacy atleast in socio-religious life of the land.

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76. 645 of 1920, 231 of 1892, 386K of 1896.
77. IAP. Kn. No. 20.
78. ibid. Wl. No. 14.
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REVIEWS

COMPROMISES IN THE HISTORY OF ADVAITIC THOUGHT.
By Mahāmahopādhyāya Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri. The Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute, Madras 600 004, 1993 (reprint) Pp. vi+37+xx. Price: Rs. 20-00.

HIGHWAYS AND BYWAYS OF LITERARY CRITICISM IN SANSKRIT. By Mahāmahopādhyāya Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri. The Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute, Madras 1993 (reprint). Pp. vi+94. Price: Rs. 25-00.

संस्कृतव्यवहारः - SPOKEN SANSKRIT. [ed. by S.S. Janaki]. The Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute, Madras 1995 (2nd edn.). Golden Jubilee Year Publication. Pp. xxv+195. Price: Rs. 120-00.

ECLIPSES IN HINDU LIFE AND THOUGHT. By Jayasree Hariharan. The Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute, Madras 1995. Golden Jubilee Year Publication. Pp. viii+105. Price Rs. 70-00.

It is an acknowledged fact that Mahāmahopādhyāya Professor S. Kuppuswami Sastri was one of the early stalwarts of the Indian indologists who pioneered the studies in Indian Philosophy, Sanskrit Philology and Poetics in Sanskrit curriculum on western style in South India, while the Europeans at that period were chiefly engrossed in the Vedic studies. The introduction of the *Vākyapadiya*, *Dhvanyāloka*, *Rasagangādhara*, *Tarkasamgraha*, etc. into the classroom of post-graduate courses goes to his credit. The first two books under review, which are indeed endowment lectures delivered by him, stand

testimony to his foresight and wisdom. These two books have been productive in generating interest in modern research methods among Indian students in Sanskrit ever since they were published. They continue to serve the cause; hence their republication is commendable by the Research Institute, which was established by his admirers and named after him.

In his *Compromises in the History of Advaitic Thought*, Sastri gave a over view of the accommodations and compromises made by the Advaitins from the Vedic age upto the times of Śrī Brahmananda Sarasvatī (18th cent.). In fact the two lectures demonstrate the compromising behaviour as the foundation for uninterrupted continuation of the Indian heritage. For example while accounting for the rise of Viśiṣṭādvaita and Dvaita, Sastri said: "In the history of Vedantic thought there are two groups of teachers who seceded from Advaita. One group is headed by Rāmānuja, who is solicitous to accommodate his way of monistic thinking on the one side to pluralistic realism, and on the other, to advaitic monism. ...Another group of seceders from Advaita, showing a somewhat unaccommodative attitude, is headed by the strongest and the boldest of India, viz. Madhvācārya" (pp.31-32).

The Highways and Byways of Literary Criticism in Sanskrit speaks of Sastri's catholic view for a synthesis of traditional Indian interpretation with modern western literary criticism. Eventhough sixtyfive years elapsed since he delivered these lectures at Annamalai University, it is very doubtful whether the Indian research fulfilled his aspirations, perhaps it is the reason why the book still remains fresh and attracts for a reprint. Here is his watchword: "Complete pessimism is unknown to Indian culture. Sometimes, people in their mistaken zeal for certain modern ways of alien philosophy proceed to condemn Indian systems of philosophy as being pessimistic in their tone" (p. 75).

So we look forward that these works of Sastri remain to inspire the younger generation too to realise their goals of research in Sanskrit.

The last two books show the zeal of the Institute to propagate Sanskrit and Indian culture. The publication of a second edition of *Spoken Sanskrit* in 1995, just after 5 years of its first edition in 1990, speaks of its utility and popularity. One of the causes of its success is that these lessons were finalised on the basis of the response from the students in the classroom. The eighteen lessons with notes at the end

of each lesson are graded and the glossary shall be of use for learning the language in translation method.

Smt. Jayasree Hariharan has presented in her monograph *Eclipses in Hindu Life and Thought* the concept of eclipse from the points of view of mythology, religion and ritual, carefully collecting materials from the Vedic, epic, purāṇic, astronomical and ritualistic literatures. Thus it provides a bird's-eye view of the holistic approach adopted by Indians and of the nature worship from time immemorial. The convincing astronomical calculations of the eclipses confirm that the metaphysics of our ancient Aryans stands in perfect harmony with the modern Astronomy. But the Indian science needs to be updated by adopting corrective methods in calculations to readjust with the cycle of the moving zodiac evolving a new system to perfect the computing and forecasting future eclipses with the one actually observed. The symbolism of darkness and white, etc., are also touched upon. The words dark (*tamas*) and light (*bhāṣa/tejas*) represent metaphorically bad and good. At times an evil may envelop good, but it cannot be permanent and the light again returns to its normal position. The darkness that can envelop light is very strong and dreadful (*drugdha*) and hence symbolized as demon. The act of it is thus metaphorically called swallowing (*gārīt*) (p. 17). The nature, which taught the man as to how he should behave in order to derive full benefit out of it without over exploitation, is also worshipped with due reverence by such rituals like *śrāddha* and *japa*. S.S. Janaki and Jayasree Hariharan deserve hearty approbation for their endeavours in popularizing Sanskrit and Aryan concepts of harmonious life.

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RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY OF THE JAINS. By Virchand Gandhi, ed. by Nagin J. Shah. Jain International, 21, Saumya Apartments, Navrangpura, Ahmedabad - 380 014, 1993. Pp. 232. Price: Rs. 80-00.

CONCEPT OF PRATIKRAMANA (An abridged version of Pt. Sukhlalji's Introduction to Pañca Pratikramana). International Centre for Jaina Studies, Gujarat Vidyapith, Ahmedabad - 380 014, 1993. Pp. vii+31. Price Rs. 40-00.

The Vedic and its substitutional counterparts - the Buddhist and the Jain religions - are based upon three common principles

truth (*satyam*), consecration (*dīkṣā*) and penance/meditation (*tapas/ dhyāna*). They differ of course vastly with regard to the philosophical and logical tenets. For a proper understanding of the basic values of Indian socio-religious conduct in the present juncture of Indian national discomfort, easily readable monographs representing the correct ideas about each religion are of great demand. The two books under review are of such type.

The *Religion and Philosophy of the Jains* is by Late Virchand Raghavji Gandhi who represented Jainism at the World's Parliament of Religions held at Chicago in 1893 A.D. He dedicated to disseminate the knowledge of Jaina philosophy in America for nearly three years. The present book under review is a selection of passages from his lectures and arranged in a connected and coherent manner by Nagin J. Shah in order to provide a systematic account of the Jaina philosophy. The book is divided into four parts. The cultural environment in which Jainism had its origin was shown in the first part. The basic Indian culture is neither Brahmanic, nor Jaina nor Buddhist. The essentials of Jaina Philosophy like liberation, nine 'reals', six substances, six kinds of living beings, four states of existence, karma, transmigration, soul are elucidated in a lucid style in the second part. The third part is devoted to the exposition of the Karma theory. The fourth part extensively deals with the doctrine of spiritual development. "Protection to life in all forms is the behaviour natural to a highly developed soul" (p.152). The universality of Indian Philosophy is time and again manifested by the statements of Gandhi like: "The truth of the philosophy must not be blamed, but the cause of the suffering should be looked for in the past actions" (p.167).

This monograph is published in commemoration of the centenary celebrations of the First Parliament of Religions (1893).

In correspondence with six acts of *adhyayana*, *adhyāpana*, *yajana*, *yājana*, *dāna* and *pratigraha* recognised in the Brahmanical Vedic society, some Jaina *sthavira* conceived six essential acts called *sāmayika*, *caturvimsatistava*, *vandana*, *pratikramana*, *kāyotsarga* and *pratyākhyāna*, for Jaina monks, which are dealt with in the *Āvaśyaka-sūtra*. The *pratikramana* 'to go back' means the process of refraining from sinful acts and seeking forgiveness for those acts committed in the past. The word *pratikramana* is also used in its broad sense for all the six acts of spirituality. There are five types of *pratiramaṇa*, namely

devasika (daily), *rātrika* (nightly), *māsika* (monthly), *cāturmāsika* (four-monthly) and *sāṃvatsarika* (yearly). These five processes are elaborately discussed in the book *Pañca-pratikramana* which was published in 1921 with an introduction in Hindi by Pt. Sukhlalji. This introduction was abridged and translated into English by Nagin J. Shah (pp. 1-16). This was prefixed by a Forward by Ramlal Parikh and Preface by Dalsukh Malvania and suffixed by Madhu Sen's explanatory note on *Pratikramana* (17-23) and selected *Pratikramana-sūtras*.

These two monographs are published with a view to revive research in Jainism and to promote complete toleration of all established religions.

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FRAGRANCE FROM BENGAL. By Amal Sarkar. Pub. Krishna, 262/B, Regent Park, Rahara - 743 186, N. 24 Parganas, West Bengal. (1996), Pp. xxiii+272. Price Rs.160-00.

The regional, social, religious, political and communal considerations work jointly or separately for finding affinity with or alienation from persons or groups. But they are needed to perpetuate culture. In spite of adverse effect on nationalism and integration. Here is an example from Amal Sarkar. He has offered in his book *Fragrance from Bengal* poetical renderings into English of the Sanskrit lyric *Gitagovinda* of Jayadeva, 50 pieces of Maithili (Brajaboli) *Vaiśnavapadāvali*, and selections from the Bengali *Śrīcaitanyacaritāmṛtam* of Kṛṣṇadās Kavirāj. Eventhough the media of compositions are different, the poets are borne on the soil of Bengal. But the philosophy and religion couched in them represent in fact the Bhakti movement that has revolutionized the Indian concept of God and service to the humanity. The ardent faith in God is stressed time and again in every epoch and in each part of the country. Thus in every region, the works of this type are abundant.

The relationship entertained by the devotee with the God form the basic principle on which depends uninterrupted and continuous meditation of the god. Of several relationships that between a man and his wife is more proximate in human experiences in the mundane world. Hence love based devotion has been preached and practiced by saints, poets, and religious leaders. The happy English rendering of the

Gītagovinda reposes in the non-Bengali readers of faithfulness of other two works too to the originals.

The *Vaiśnavapadāvali* is a chrestomathy of lyrics composed in rapturous melody by various poets like Vidyāpati, Caṇḍīdāsa, Govindadāsa and Jñānādāsa streaming in the same devotional love of *Gītagovinda*. Love in separation is most amusing and exquisite to the heart leading to quick realization of the goal. Each lyric stands as the best of all for its excellency in imagery, in spite of identical diction.

The *Śrīcaitanya-caritāmṛta* describes the exploits and religion of Śrī Caitanya, the founder of Bengal Vaiśnavism mingled with his life sketch. Śrī Caitanya was born in Navadvipa in A.D. 1485 and breathed his last in 1533. During a short span of 48 years he could influence many a devotee not only in Bengal but also in Orissa. The poem refers to the prominent devotees like Nityānanda, Jagai, Madhai, Paramānanda, Keśavabhāratī, Brahmānandapuri, Keśavapuri, Svarūpa Damodara, Rāmānanda, and Bijuli Khan. The simple style in versification in English gives not only a good reading but also provides a bird's-eye view of influence of Vaiśnavism in medieval India.

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SĀHITIMŪRTI ĀCĀRYA JĪREDDI CENNĀREDDI-GĀRĪ
SAHASRA-CANDRODAYADARŚANOTSAVA ABHINANDANA-
SAMCIKA (Telugu). Pub. J.A. Prasad and J. Sudati [1-5-533, Balaji
Colony, Tirupati - 517 502], Pp. vi+138.

MARAKATAMANIMĀLA (Collection of 108 popular verses from Līlāsuka's *Śrīkrṣṇakarṇāmṛta*). Compiled by T. Subba Rao. [1-5-533,
Balaji Colony, Tirupati-517 502]. Pp. vii+39.

In an oriental ceremonial function blended with an occidental festive flare brought about by the admirers, friends and relatives on 31st January 1996, Dr. Jeereddi Chenna Reddy, formerly Professor and Director of this S.V.U. Oriental Research Institute, was felicitated befitting on the occasion of completing one thousand months of fruitful life with the presentation of these two books under review. Both of them are mainly in Telugu. The *Abhinandana-samcika* comprises of two parts. While in the first part the life sketch of Prof. Reddy, and his scholarship and contribution to Telugu literature are elucidated, in the

second part his erudition is illustrated with reprinting of four papers published earlier in the back volumes of our *S.V.U. Oriental Journal*. These two parts are complemented in the middle with compliments showered on the occasion by literati.

The *Marakatamanāmāla*, a pseudonym, is a compilation of 108 verses from the *Śrīkrṣṇakarṇāmrta* (Sanskrit) of Līlāśuka together with Telugu rendering by Velagapūdi Veṅgayāmātya of 15-16th century. The *Kṛṣṇa-karṇāmrta* is so popular in Telugu that there are many scholars who believe that Līlāśuka was an Āndhra by origin. The Telugu rendering, of course, is exquisitely elegant in its idiom sometimes even surpassing its original. These two books are hoped to enthuse the youngsters towards intellectual exercise.

- M. Srimannarayana Murti

**Statement about ownership and other particulars about
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