

PROF. V.R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR

CENTENARY VOLUME

STUDIES IN SOUTH INDIAN HISTORY AND CULTURE

Dr. R. NAGASWAMY

Prof. V.R. Ramachandra Dikshitar

Centenary Volume

Gandhi

Studies in
SOUTH INDIAN HISTORY AND CULTURE

PROF. V.R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR
CENTENARY VOLUME

STUDIES IN

SOUTH INDIAN HISTORY AND CULTURE

Editor
Dr. R. NAGASWAMY

V.R. Ramachandra Dikshitar Centenary Committee
Chennai
1997

PROF. V.R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR CENTENARY CELEBRATIONS 1997

ORGANISING COMMITTEE

Patron Dr. Kapila Vatsyayan, Academic Director, I.G.N.C.A., New Delhi

Chairman Prof. Dr. S.V. Chittibabu, Former Vice-Chancellor, Annamalai and Madurai Kamaraj University

Co-Chairman Dr. P.K. Ponnuswamy, Vice-Chancellor, University of Madras

Secretary Dr. R. Nagaswamy, Former Vice-Chancellor, Kanchipuram University

Treasurer Dr. V. Balambal, Professor, Dept. of History, University of Madras

Co-ordinator R. Srinivasan, Former Chief Engineer, Neyveli Lignite Corporation

Members Dr. Francoise Gros, Ecole Francais, Extreme Orient, Paris

Dr. David Schulman, Professor, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel

Dr. Peter Schalk, Professor of History of Religion, Uppsala, Sweden

Dr. John Marr, Professor of Tamil (Retd.), School of Oriental & African Studies, London

Dr. Settar, Chairman, Indian Council for Historical Research, New Delhi

Dr. B.N. Mukerjee, Charmichael Professor of History, Calcutta University

Dr. V.I. Subramanian, Former Vice-Chancellor, Tamil University, Tanjore

Rev. Fr. S. John Britto SJ, Principal, St. Joseph College, Trichy

Dr. K.V. Sarma, Former Director, Visvesaranand Indological Institute, Hosiarpur

Mr. Iravatham Mahadevan, Former Editor, *Dinamani*, Madras

Mr. R. Krishnamurthy, Editor, *Dinamalar*, Madras

Prof. T.V. Kuppuswamy, Former Professor of History, Tanjore

Mr. A.R. Damodara Mudaliar, Industrialist, Chennai

Dr. K.K. Raja, Former Professor of Sanskrit, University of Madras

Dr. K.R. Hanumanthan, Former Professor of History, Presidency College, Madras

Dr. Prema Nandakumar, Distinquished Scholar, Trichy

Prof. A.M. Paramasivanandan, Valliammal Education Trust, Madras

Mr. R. Muthukumaraswami, South India Saiva Siddhanta Publication Society, Chennai

Prof. Dr. S. Gurumurthy, Professor of Archaeology, University of Madras

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

1. **Asher. R.E.** Professor,
   Department of Linquistics
   University of Edinburg,
   15, Bucclinch Place,
   Edinburg, EH 89, LN.

2. **Balambal. V.** Dr.
   Professor of History,
   University of Madras,
   Madras.

3. **Burton Stein,** Professor,
   School of Oriental and African Study,
   London.

4. **Iravatham Mahadevan,** Distinguished
   Member of the Indian Administrative Service
   and Former Editor, Dinamani, Madras
   18A, Seaward Road, Valmikinagar,
   Thiruvanmiyur,
   Madras 600 041.

5. **Koppedrayer. K.I.** Dr. Professor
   Department of Religion and Culture
   Wilfred Laurier University,
   Waterloo, Ontario,
   Canada N. 21. 3C 15

6. **Kuppuswamy. T.V.** Prof. M.A. (Hist),
   M.A. (Philosophy), Ph.D.
   Flat No. 53, Plot No. 5, Uttaranchal,
   Patpargamy, Delhi - 110 092.

7. **Lotika Varadarajan.** Dr.
   Jawaharlal Nehru University,
   New Delhi.

8. **Mevissen Gerd. J.R.,**
   Freie University at Berlin,
   Institute Fur Indische Philologie and
   Kunstgeschchte,
   Erasmusstr, 17, D-10553, Berlin, Germany.

9. **Nagaswamy R,** Dr.
   Former Vice Chancellor,
   Kanchipuram University,
   22, 22nd Cross Street,
   Besant Nagar, Madras 600 090.

10. **Parthasarathy. J.** Dr.,
    Formerly Director,
    Tamil and Sanskrit Languages Research
    Institute, 24, Ramanujam Street,
    T. Nagar, Madras 600 017.

11. **Peter Schalk,** Dr. Professor
    Department of History of Religions,
    Uppsala University, Rodbetsgatan 17,
    S. 75449 Uppsala, Sweden

12. **Prema Nandakumar,** Dr.
    Mudal Thirumaligai,
    91, South Chitrai Street,
    Srirangam, Tiruchirappalli 620 006.

13. **Sarma. K.V.,** Dr.
    Former Director, Visvesvaranand Indological
    Institute, Hoshiarpur.
    63, Third Main Road,Gandhi Nagar, Adyar,
    Madras 600 020.

14. **Seshadri. A.,** M.A. M.Phil.,
    Epigraphist, Centre for Indology,
    E.F.E.O., Pondicherry.

CONTENTS

Pg. No.

PART - I

Prof. V.R. Ramachandra Dikshitar
Doyen of Indian History and Culture – Dr. K.V. Sarma 1

A Founding Father of Tamilological Studies – Dr. J. Parthasarathy 8

PART - II

Anthropo-Geography of Vedic India 17

The History of Early Buddhism in India 28

Origin and Early History of Caityas 43

Buddhism in South India 51

The Thirteenth Rock Edict of Aśoka 60

Dharma Vijaya : A New Interpretation 69

Arthaśāstra Re-examined or The Culture and Date of the Arthaśāstra 74

The Religious Data in Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra 78

Daśabandham 83

Rājadharma in the Śaunakīya 88

Kātyāyana—The Jurist 90

South Indian Customs in the Smṛtis 93

South India in the Rāmāyaṇa 98

Geographical Data of the Dekhan and South India as
Gathered from the Rāmāyaṇa 105

Public Opinion in Ancient India : A Bird's-eye View 111

Municipalism in Ancient India 114

Religion of Kālidāsa 125

The Lunar Cult in India 131

The Cow in Hindu Life 134

The Purāṇas : Their Historical Value 142

Paternal 'Despotism' in Ancient India 148

The Satiyaputras, Śātakarṇis, Sātvatas and Nāsatyas 151

Some Aspects of the Kuṛal Polity 157

A Hindu University at Kāñcī 164

Pg. No.

Ancient Karnataka and the Tamils 168

Historical Geography of South Canara 173

Some Jain Teachers in Śrāvaṇa Belgola Inscriptions 178

Kāladi or The Birth-Place of Śri Śaṅkara 182

The Story of the 'Present' 185

A Forgotten Chapter in South Indian History 188

Sultans of Mysore and the Śṛṅgeri Mutt 199

Around the City Pagodas 202

The Marumakkattāyam and the Śangam Literature 215

A Note on the Composition of Sabhā at Uttaramerūr 224

Migration of Legends 227

காரோணம் 233

PART - III

An Early Prakrit Inscription from Kanchipuram – Iravatham Mahadevan 238

Tamil and Typology – R.E. Asher 241

On the Beginning of Buddhism in Tamiḻakam – Dr. Peter Schalk 249

Approaches to Jeevaka Chintamani – Dr. Prema Nandakumar 255

Śiva Worship as a Means of Knowing – Dr. K.I. Koppedrayer, Ph.D. 262

Pāsupata Adhikaraṇam – Dr. R. Nagaswamy 272

Sarabhamūrti in later Medieval art : – Dr. V. Balambal 284

The Stone Chariot at Darasuram and the Myth of Siva Tripurantaka – Gerd J.R. Mevissen, Berlin 290

Land Gifts In Andhra and Tamil Countries – A Comparative Study – A. Seshadri M.A., 308

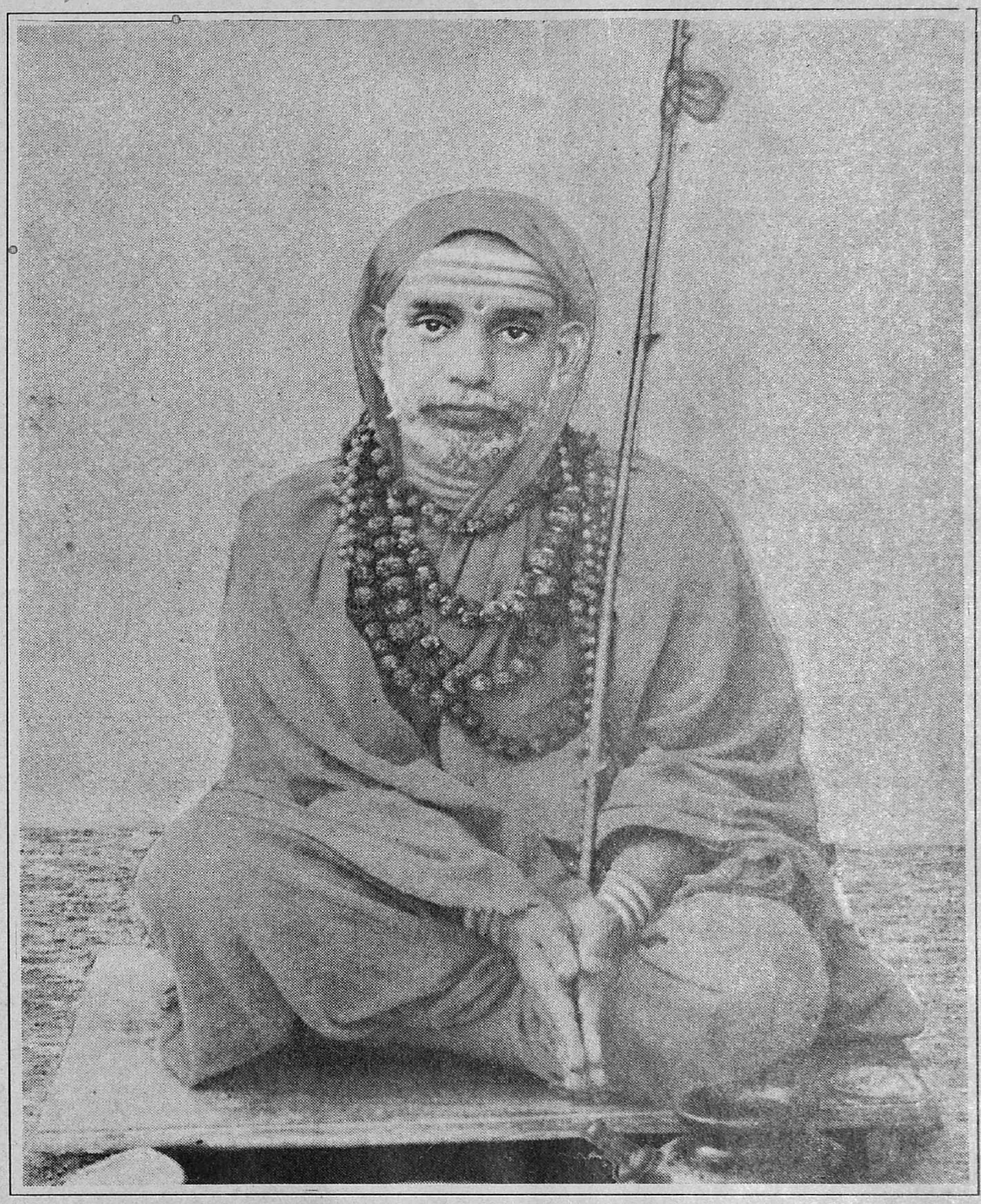
Tamil Literary Genre and Nāyaka Political Dynamics – Prof. T.V. Kuppuswami 310

Garments for Royalty — The Karuppur Tradition – Dr. Lotika Varadarajan 319

Tamil Bhakti, Communities and Justice claims – Prof. Burton Stein 327

The Origin and Distribution of Graffiti in the Ancient World – Dr. S. Gurumurthy 337

श्री कामकोटिपीठाभिषिक्तजगद्गुरु

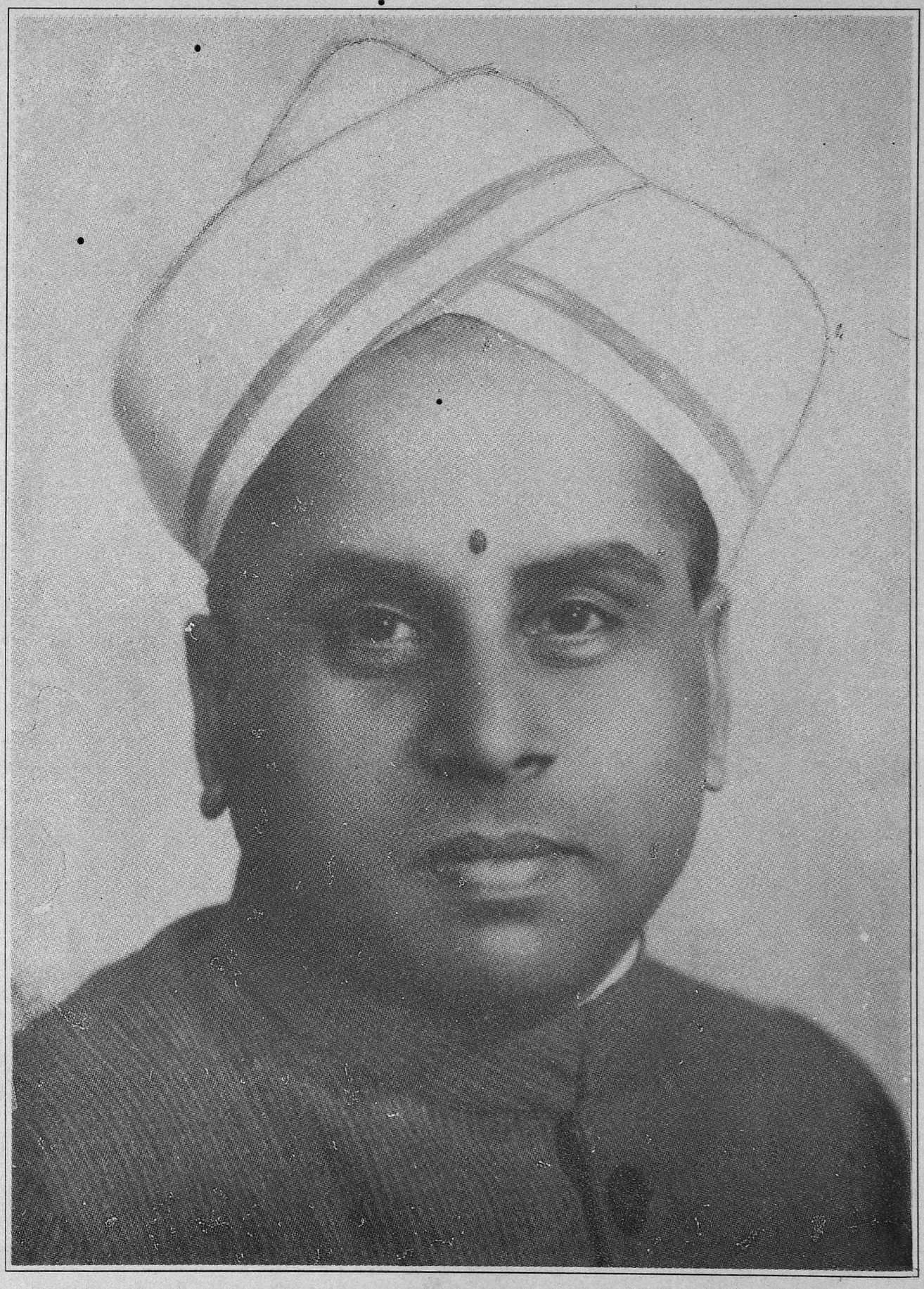


श्री शङ्कराचार्याणां आस्थानात् ।
कलाशालाविद्यार्थिने
वर्णाश्रमधर्माविषयकोषन्यासं लिखितवते
वी.आर. रामचन्द्र शर्मणे
उत्तरोत्तराभिवृध्यै
सानुग्रहं वितीर्ण पारितोषिकम् ।
पिङ्गलसंवत्सर विजयदशम्याम् ।

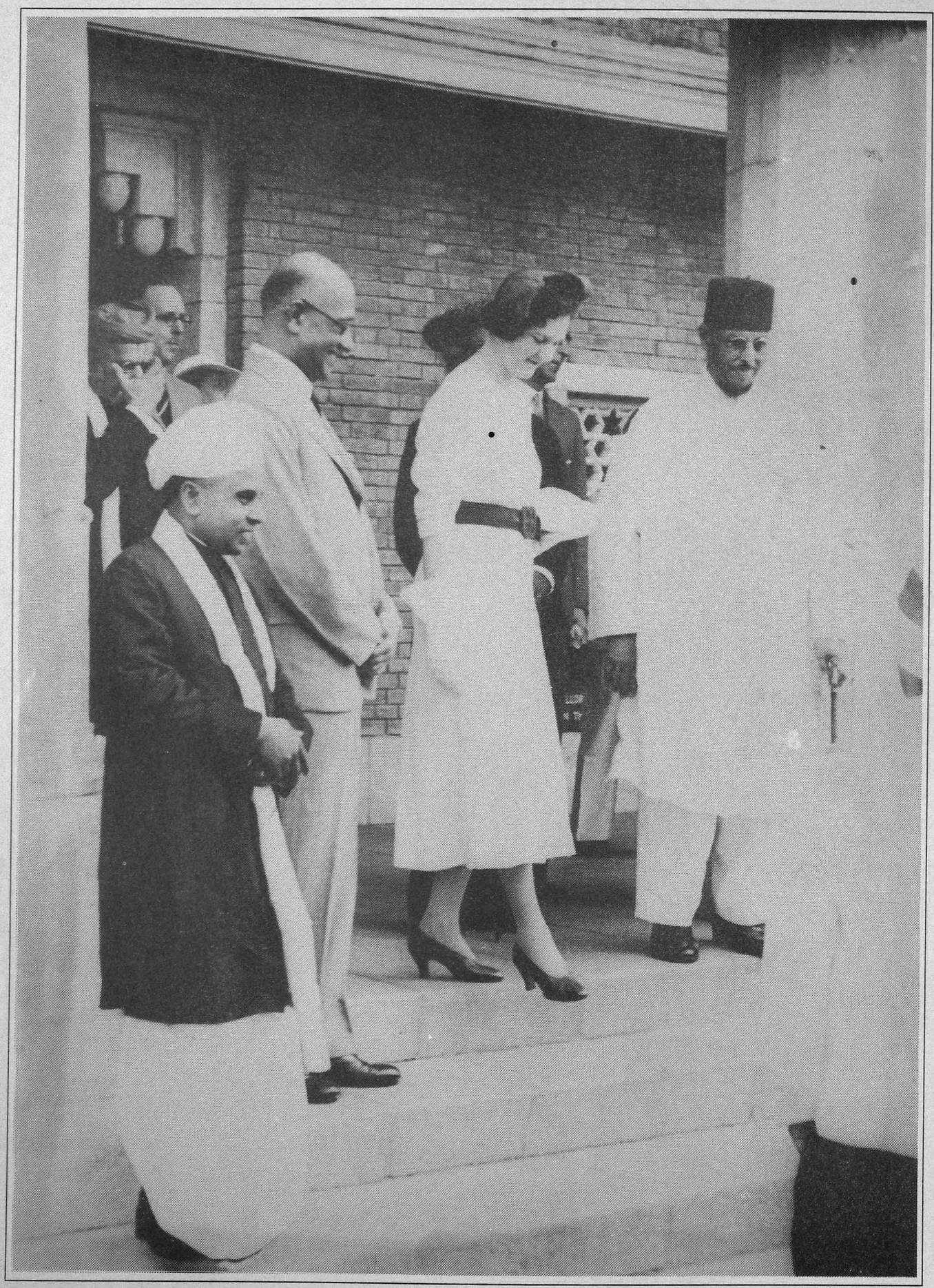
*His Holiness **Sri Chandrasekharendra Saraswati Swamigal,** Sankaracharya of Kanchi Kamakoti Pitha presented a Silver Medal to Prof. V.R.R. Dikshitar in 1917 in recognition of his scholarship.*



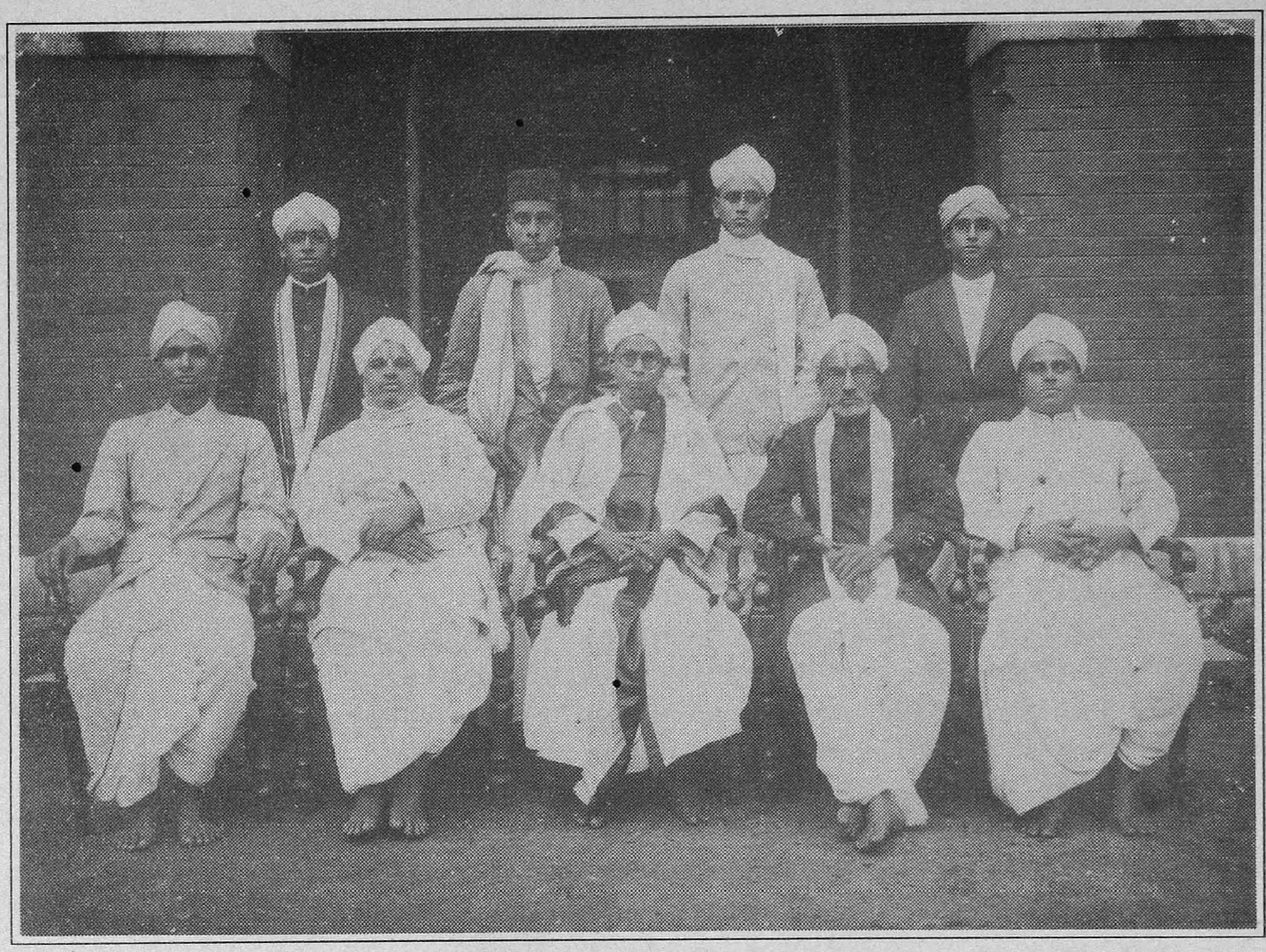
Smt. Janaki Ammal,
Wife of Sri. V.R.R. Dikshitar



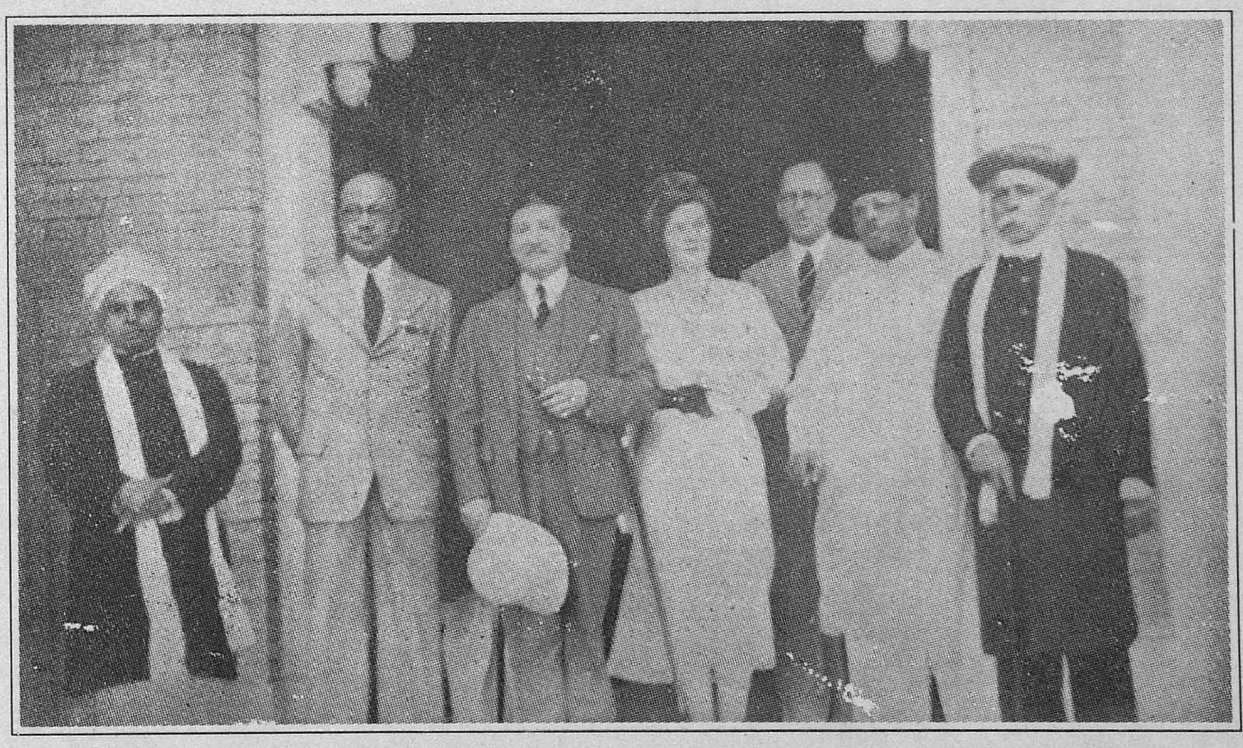
Prof. Dr. V.R. Ramachandra Dikshitar



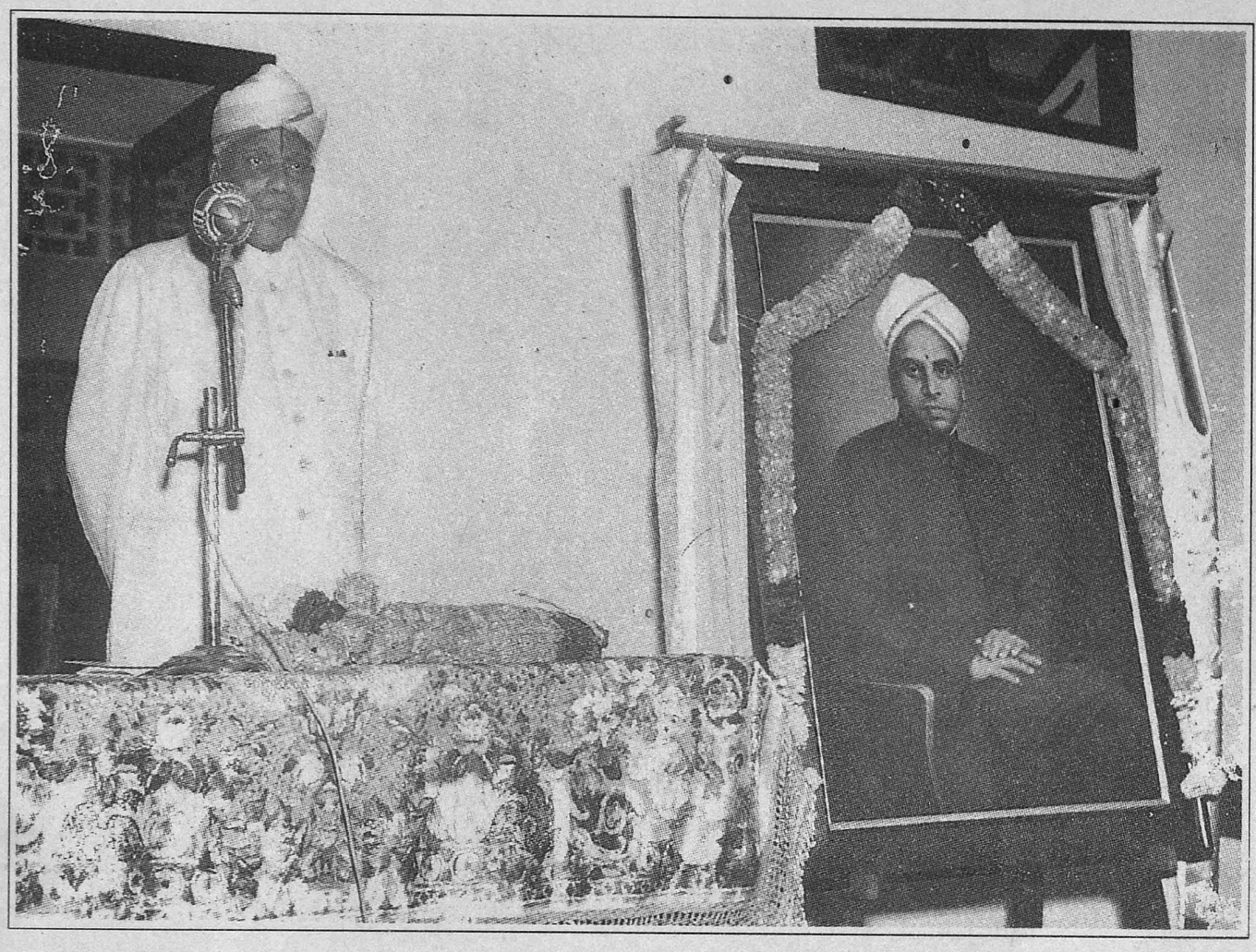
Prof. V.R. Ramachandra Dikshitar with His Excellency Lord Erskine and Lady Erskine, during the Tri Centenary of the University of Madras



Happy Tamil Home
Prof. M. Raghava Iyangar with Prof. V.R.R. Dikshitar and other Tamil savants, Madras



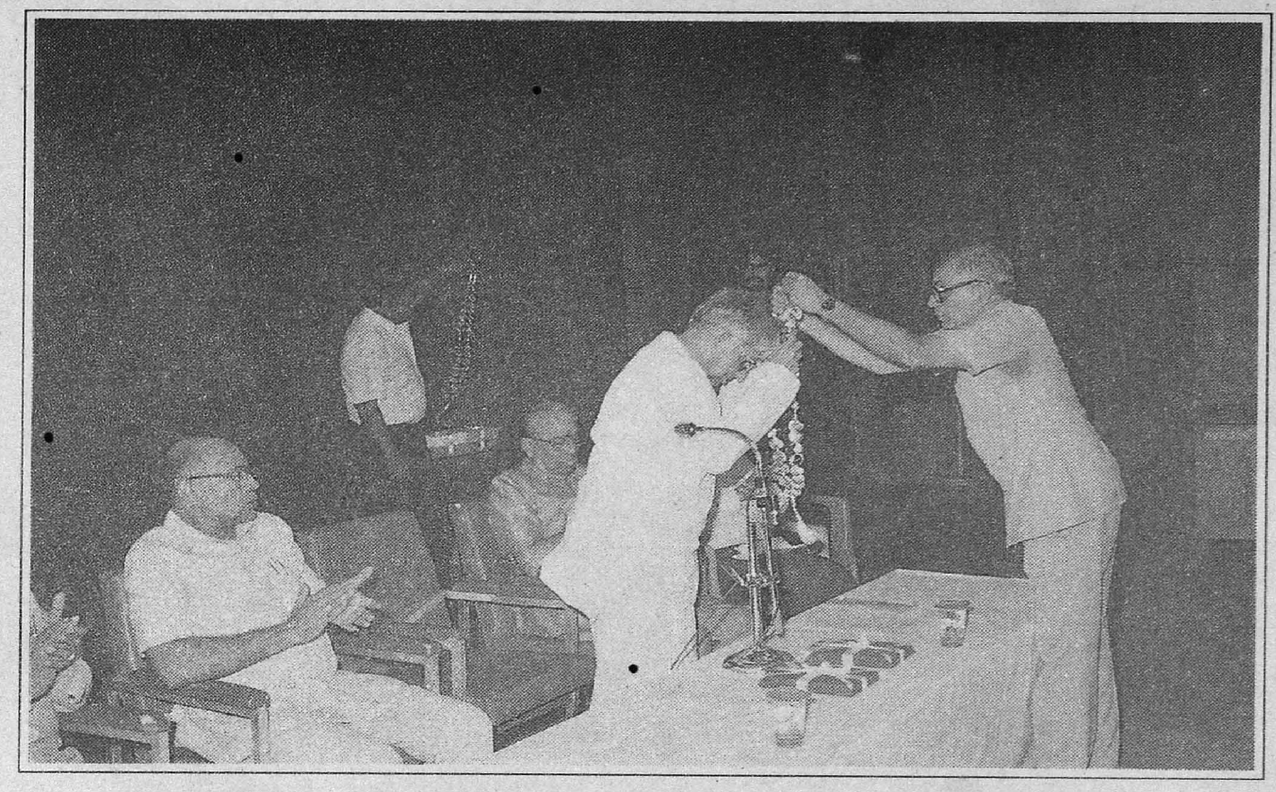
Tri Centenary Celebrations of the Madras University
Left to Right : Prof. V.R. Ramachandra Dikshitar (Secretary), Dewan Bahadur S. E. Ranganadan (President), His Excellency Lord Erskine (Governor of Madras), Lady Marjorie Erskine, G.H. Hodgson, M.L.A., Sir Mahomed Usman, Rao Bahadur R. Krishna Rao Bhonsle (Treasurer)



Dr. A.L. Mudaliar unveils the portrait of Prof. V.R. Ramachandra Dikshitar at the Centenary Building, University of Madras, 1963.



சிலப்பதிகாரம் (ஆங்கிலம்) வெளியீட்டு விழாவில்
அமைச்சர் இராம. வீரப்பன், சிலம்புச்செல்வர் ம.பொ.சி.
டாக்டர் மால்கம் ஆதிசேஷய்யா, வி. ஆர். இராமசந்திர
தீட்சிதர் மனைவி, மகன், பேரன் மற்றும் குடும்பத்தினர்



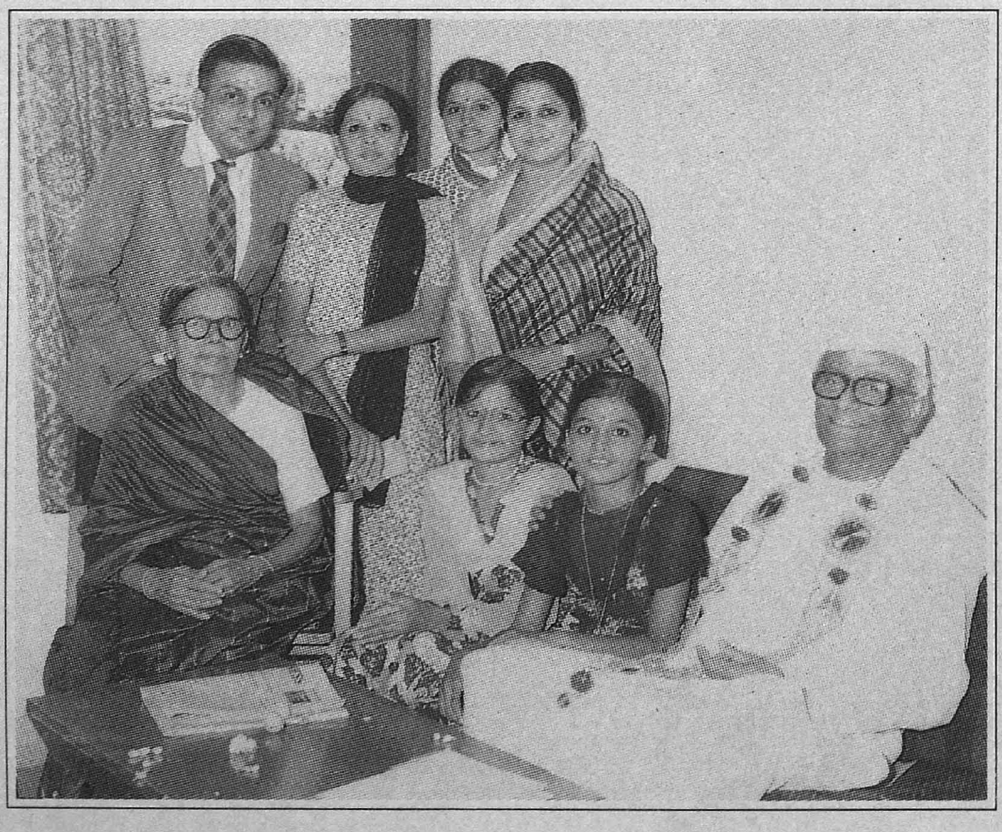
Release of Prof. V.R.R. Dikshitar's books
Mauryan Polity and Gupta Polity.
Sri R. Srinivasan garlanding Mr. C. Subramanian,
Governor of Maharashtra State (Retd.)
at Bharathiya Vidya Bhavan Hall, Madras, 1993.



Release of the Translation of Thirukkural, *by V.R.R. Dikshitar.*
Smt. Rajam Srinivasan receiving the first copy
at Theosophical Hall, 1995



A copy of the English Translation of Silappadikaram, *by Prof. V.R.R. Dikshitar, being presented to Hon. Sri Sanjeeva Reddy, President of India, by Sri R. Sreenivasan, the son of V.R.R. Also in the picture is Janaki Ammal, V.R.R.'s wife*



PREFACE

Prof. V.R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, was a shining luminary in the horizon of South Indian History and Culture. Deeply rooted in Vedic and Sanskrit tradition – his ancestors were eminent vedic scholars and performers of vedic yagas, – he took it as his life's mission, to expound the history and culture of the soil to which he belonged – the Tamil region and worked tirelessly in that direction till his death. Very early in his life, he started studying ancient Tamil literature, which he soon mastered. In the Preface of his *"Studies in Tamil Literature and history"*, V.R.R. Dikshitar states "To the earnest student of Indian History and particularly of South Indian History, a deep and critical study of ancient Tamil literature is of utmost importance. The necessity for such a study came home to me strongly in 1923 when I was nominated to a Research Studentship of the University of Madras. In the course of the investigation on the subject of *Hindu Administrative Institution* I felt more and more the need for an intensive study of the priceless literary treasures of Tamil". His intimate understanding of Tamil texts enabled him to translate the immortal Tamil works – *Silappadikaram* and *Thirukkural* into English. These two translations, classics by themselves reflect truly the inner meaning of the texts and remain closest to the original among many that have appeared to this day. His studies in Mauryan and Gupta Polity, and also Wars in Ancient India are pioneering works in the field. He realised the importance of the study of the Puranas, and brought out three volumes of Purana Index under the auspices of the Madras University. The work, *Hindu Administrative System* is indeed a landmark in administrative history.

V.R.R. Dikshitar, an orthodox Hindu, in precept and practise, was a true historian, transcending the narrow limits of emotions or subjective preferences. Every one of his articles, included in this volume, would illustrate the objectivity with which he analysed this material and presented them within the discipline. Most of his articles are of everlasting interest and breath freshness and deserve to be studied with attention. Besides the monumental books he has published, most of which have appeared in reprint, many articles he contributed to various journals and research publications, remained inaccessible to scholars. We have collected and included them in this volume for the benefit of scholars.

It was our desire that we should pay our tributes to the memory of this great savant during the centenary year of his birth and this volume is the fragrant flower we offer at his memory. Dr. Kapila Vatsyayan, Academic Director, Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, New Delhi, who is rendering yeomen service to Indian Art and Culture, and has kindly agreed to be our Patron has taken personal interest in the celebrations and guided the publication of this volume. We record our sincere thanks for her kind gesture. I must record that this work would not have been possible without the sincere, untiring and devoted dedication of V.R.R.'s son, Sri R. Srinivasan, who is the coordinator of the centenary committee. We are thankful to Prof. Chittibabu, the chairman of the centenary committee, who evinced great interest in the centenary celebrations. To all the members of the committee I owe a great debt of gratitude. Our special thanks are due to Dr. K.V. Sharma, our guide and philosopher, who not only advised us in this venture but also went through the proofs. I also record my thanks to Dr. J. Parthasarathy, for rendering special assistance to us in this publication. Several eminent men have helped us with funds, to see this volume published. To all of them we express our profound gratitude. Our thanks are due to the world of scholars who have joined us in paying tribute to Prof. V.R.R. Dikshitar, by their articles.

Mr. Diwakar of COMPUPRINT, Madras, has done an excellent job of typesetting and printing neatly this volume.

Chennai
March 1, '97

Dr. R. Nagaswamy

Part I

V.R. Ramachandra Dikshitar

Prof. V.R. Ramachandra Dikshitar: Doyen of Indian History and Culture

Biographical Sketch and Bibliography of Published Writings

Dr. K.V. Sarma

V.R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, (1896-1953), Professor of History and Archaeology in the University of Madras, was a doyen of Indian history and culture in general and of studies in South India and Tamil literature in particular. The number of books and articles he has produced reflect his mature scholarship, wide outlook and facile penmanship. He had a sound knowledge of Sanskrit and Tamil. He also knew French and German which aided him greatly in his studies and researches and also in putting across to his compeers the findings he ferreted out through a deep study of his source books. His scholarly temperament and unassuming nature were instrumental in his being respected by the scholarly world and liked by his students and colleagues.

Prof. Dikshitar was born on April 16, 1896 at Vishnampet, Tanjore Dist., in Tamilnadu (South India) in an orthodox Brahmin family as the last of four brothers. Two of his elder brothers, Ramaswamy Dikshitar and Natesa Dikshitar, were erudite scholars in Sanskrit and performers of the Vedic Soma sacrifice. He had his early education in the Sir P.S. Sivaswami Iyer's High School at Thirukkattupalli and his collegiate education in the St. Joseph's College, Tiruchi, from where he graduated in 1920. He was brilliant in his studies and was an active member of the College Debating Society, factors which endeared him to his professors.

In 1920 he took service as a clerk in the Postal Audit Department, Madras, and in the course of the three years that he remained in this service he was also pursuing his studies. In 1923 he got his M.A. degree in History and Diploma in Economics. His marriage with Janaki Ammal too took place during this period.

From 1923 to 1927 he continued his studies as a Research Scholar in the Department of History and Archaeology of the Madras University. In 1927 itself he joined the St. Joseph's College, Bangalore, as Lecturer in History and the next year, in 1928, he was drafted as Lecturer in the Department of History and Archaeology of the Madras University. He was elevated as Reader in the Department in 1946 and as full-fledged Professor in 1947, a post which he held with distinction till he passed away on November 24, 1953.

Apart from being associated with a number of bodies, both academic and administrative, in the Madras and Travancore (now Kerala) universities, special mention might be made about his holding important offices in the Indian Historical Records Commission, the Indian History Congress and the All-India Oriental

Conference, in the last of which he functioned as the President of the History Section in its Ninth Session held at Trivandrum in 1937. In year 1915 H.H. Shri Sankaracharya of Kanchi awarded him with a Silver Medal in recognition of his scholarship. In memory of his services to the Madras University for over a quarter of a century a V.R.R. Dikshitar Memorial Committee was formed under the presidency of the Vice-Chancellor of the University, Dr. A. Lakshmanaswamy Mudaliar, which in 1963 unveiled a portrait of Prof. Dikshitar in the University and also instituted in his name a Prize for the best student in History passing out of the University every year.

Prof. Dikshitar's books numbering twenty and the large number of research papers written by him bear testimony to his erudition, analytical skill and critical evaluation of facts. His writings cover a wide field including Vedic and Purāṇa literature, religion, society, culture, archaeology, mediaeval and later history, polity, state administration, the art and practice of war, and particularly to South Indian history, political and commercial relations between this part of the country and Southeast Asia and China during early times, the Tamil language and its spread, and Tamil classics like *Śilapadikāram* and *Tirukkural* which he translated into English with Notes. A perusal of the Bibliography of Professor Dikshitar's published writings appended to the present Biographical Sketch and the study of the items contained therein could be highly instructive. A work which Prof. Dikshitar could not take up, though his mind was set on it and though he had been pressed by friends to undertake it, was the translation of *Maṇimekalai* in line with the translation of its sister Tamil classic *Śilappadikāram* which he had already accomplished.

Bibliography of the Writings of V.R. Ramachandra Dikshitar

I. BOOKS

I. History and Culture

1. *Pre-historic South India* : Sir William Meyer Lectures, 1950-51. University of Madras, 1951.
2. *Hindu Administrative Institutions* : University of Madras, Madras 1929.
3. *Polity in Ancient India* : English rendering of. Kalidas Nag, Les Theories diplomatique in Ind ancien,
4. *War in Ancient India* : Macmillan and Co., Madras, 1944; Second edition, Madras 1948; Rep., Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1987
5. *Mauryan Polity* : University of Madras, Madras, 1932; Rev. Second edition, Madras, 1953; Rep., Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1993
6. *Gupta Polity* : University of Madras, Madras, 1952; Rep., Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1993
7. *India Varalāttu Churukkam* (in Tamil) (Short History of India). University of Madras, Madras, 1951
8. *Origin and spread of the Tamils* : Adyar Library, Madras, 1947; The South Indian Saiva Siddhanta Works Pub. Soc., Tirunelveli–Madras, 1991
9. *Southern India and China* : Calcutta, 1945; Madras, 1991
10. *Kulottunga Chola III* (in Tamil), Madras, 1941, Pari Nilayam, Madras,1972
11. *Selected South Indian Inscriptions* : Ed. with Introduction,
12. *Karṇāṭaka-rājākkal Savistara Charitam* : (in Tamil) (Detailed History of the Kings of Karṇāṭaka). Govt. Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, 1953
13. *Lalitā Cult* : University of Madras, Madras, 1942; Rep., Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1991

II. Language and Literature

14. *Purāṇa Index* : University of Madras, Madras, 3 Vols., 1951, 1952, 1955; Rep. Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1995
15. *The Matsya Purāṇa-A study*. University of Madras, Madras, 1935
16. *Some Aspects of Vāyu Purāna* : University of Madras, Madras, 1933
17. *Bhāradvāja Śikṣā* : Ed. with commentary, Jointly with P.S. Sundaram Aiyar, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1938
18. *Studies in Tamil Literature and History* : Luzac and Co., London, 1930; Second edn., University of Madras, Madras, 1936; Third edn., Saiva Siddhanta Kazhagam, Madras, 1983
19. *Śilappadikāram or The Lay of the Anklet* : Translated (from Tamil) into English with Introduction and Notes. Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1939, Second edn., The South India Saiva Siddhanta Works Pub. Soc., Madras, 1978
20. *Tirukkural* (Tamil), in two parts, I. Translation in English, II. Text in Roman, Adyar Library, Madras, 1949; Rep. 1995

II ARTICLES

Abbreviations

ABORI	Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona
AIOC	All-India Oriental Conference, Proceedings/Summaries
ALB	Adyar Library Bulletin, Madras
AP	Aryan Path, Bombay
Com.	Commemoration Volume
IA	Indian Antiquary, Bombay
IC	Indian Culture, Calcutta
IHQ	Indian Historical Quarterly, Calcutta
JI	Journal
JBORS	Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna
JI.Mad.Uni.	Journal of the Madras University, Madras
NIA	New Indian Antiquary, Bombay
PO	Poona Orientalist, Poona

I. History and Geography

a. General

1. Presidential Address, History Section, All India Oriental Conference, 13 (Nagpur, 1946) Proceedings, Pt. ii. 408-16
2. The Culture of the Indus Valley, *Jl.Mad.Uni.*, 6 (1934) 65-86
3. Aryanisation of East India, *IHQ* 21 (1945) 29-33
4. A note on Gaṇarājya, *ABORI* 23 (1942) 103-6
5. I-tsing's India, *IHQ* 28 (1952) 7-18
6. The story of the Present, *Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission*, 1929, Calcutta, Govt. of India Press, 1930, pp 1-3
7. The Satya-putras, Sātakarṇis, Sāttvatas and Nāsatyas, *IC* II (1935-36) 549-56
8. Anthropo-geography of Vedic India, *AIOC*, 11 (Hyderabad, 1941) Sum., 1-4; *Jl. of the Madras Univ.*, Madras, 16.i (1945) 23-37
9. A note on the Purāṇa-janapadas, *IHQ* 6 (1930) 181-83
10. The Thirteenth Rock Edict of Asoka, *Woolner Com. Volume*, Lahore, 1940, pp. 68-76
11. An intriguing statement in Asokan Inscriptions, *Prof. K.V. Rangaswami Aiyangar Com. Volume*, Madras, 1940, pp. 25-30

b. South India

12. South India in the Rāmāyaṇa, *AIOC* 7 (Baroda, 1933), 243-52
13. South India and Ceylon, B.M. Barua Com. Volume 1949; *IC* 15 (1949) 91-106
14. A forgotten chapter in South Indian History : Āyi country and its kings, *AIOC* 9 (Trivandrum, 1937) 691-708

15. Some Pāṇḍyan Kings of the 13th century, *IHQ* 5 (1929) 218-24
16. Ancient Karnataka and the Tamils, *Karnataka Historical Review*, 5 (July 1938) 10-15
17. Karṇāṭaka in Ancient Tamil Literature, *AIOC* 10 (Tirupati, 1940) 433-39
18. Sultans of Mysore and the Śṛṅgeri Mutt, *A Volume of Indian and Iranian Studies presented to Sir. E. Denisson Ross*, Bombay, 1939, pp.99-101; *NIA* 2 (1939-40) 255-57
19. Around the City Pagodas, *The Madras Tercentenary Commemoratian Volume, 1639-1939*, Madras, pp. 353-69
20. Lithic Monuments in early South India, (Summary), *AIOC* 15 (Bombay) 1949 Summaries, 203-4
21. Geographical data of Dekhan and South India as gathered from the Rāmāyaṇa, *IC* 1. (1934-35) 579-85
22. Historical Geography of South Kanara, *J1. of the Madras Geographical Association* (19) 238-43
23. Kāroṇam (in Tamil), *Kallaimakal*, Madras, Vol. 1, pp. 245-52
24. Kāladi, the birth place of Śaṅkara, *J1. of the Gujarat Research Society*, Ahmedabad, Vol. (?), pp. 86-90
25. Some aspects of the administration of Candragupta Maurya. *Bharatiyavidya* 5 (1943-44) 43–54

II. Society and Culture

a. General

26. Vedic origin of the ideal of service, *Vedānta Keśari*, 38 (1951-52) 162-69, 203-6, 242 ff.
27. A note on cow veneration in ancient India, *A Volume of Eastern and Indian Studies in honour of Professor F.W. Thomas*, Bombay, 1939, pp. 73-77
28. Cow in the Hindu life, *J1. of Benares Hindu University*, Vol. (?) 471-81
29. 'Dharmavijaya' : a new interpretation, *K.B. Pathak, Com. Volume* Poona, 1934, pp. 280-86
30. Kātyāyana, the jurist, *IHQ* 11 (1935) 313-16
31. Rājadharma in *Śaunakīya, NIA* 1 (1938-39) 337-39
32. Indian Martial Tradition, *J1. Ganganatha Jha Res. Inst.*, 3 (1945-46) 263-67
33. The concept of ancient Indian warfare, *AP* 17 (1946) 62-67
34. Arms and armoury in ancient India, *YMHA* Annual, Bombay, 1948, 67-79
35. Public opinion in ancient India-A bird's eye-view, *Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri Com. Volume*, Madras, 1937, pp. 119-22
36. Municipalism in ancient India, *The New Review* (Sep. 1938)
37. Paternal despotism in Ancient India, *JBORS* 24 (1938)1-7
38. Dása-bandham, *J1. of Indian History*, 13.ii (1933-34) 1-7

39. *Arthaśāstra* reexamined or The Culture and date of the *Arthaśāstra*, *ABORI* 13 (1931-32) 326-32
40. Is *Arthaśāstra* secular? *AIOC* 3 (Madras, (1924) 615-21
41. Bhāṣa nad Kautalya, *A Volume of Studies in Indology presented to Prof. P.V. Kane*, Oriental Book Agency, Poona, 1941, pp. 165-67
42. Kauṭalya and Machiavilli, *IHQ* 3 (1927) 176-80
43. Some aspects of the *Kural* polity, *Bhārata Kaumudī : Studies in Indology in honour of Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji*, Parts I & II, Allahabad 1945-47, pp. 1095-106.
44. The Marumakkattāyam and the Saṅgam literature, Paper for the 18th Congress of Orientalists, Leiden, 1931. Pub., Zeitschrift Ind. u. Iran. Bd. IX. 255–67.

b. South Indian

45. South India customs in the Smṛtis, IC 5 (1938-39) 7-13
46. A Hindu University at Kanchi, *Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar Com. Volume*, Madras, 1936, pp. 304-7
47. Tirukkāmakkoṭṭam, *The Indian Historical Research Institute Silver Jubilee Com. Volume*, Bombay, 1953, pp. 99-102
48. A note on the composition of *Sabhā* at Uttaramerur, *Āchārya - Pushpānjali : Volume in honour of D.R. Bhandarkar*, Calcutta, 1940, pp. 59-61
49. Urban life in Vijayanagar, *C. Ramalinga Reddy Saṣṭyabdapūrti Com. Volume* Part II, Waltair, 1940 pp. 91-95
50. Seṭṭi in literature and epigraphy, *Raja Sir Annamalai Chettiar Com. Vol.u*, Annamalainagar, 1941, pp. 777-92
51. The art of war as practised in South India, *ABORI* 8 (1926-27) 379-97
52. Disposal of the dead in South India, *AIOC* 10 (Tirupati, 1940) 530-33
53. Religious toleration of Vijayanagar rulers, *IHQ* 13 (1937) 255-60
54. Craftsmanship and Culture in South India : The five Trades, *AP* 12 (1941) 252-57
55. The Kośar : Their place in South Indian History, *IC* 1 (1934-35) 97-102

III. Language and Literature

a. General

56. Purāṇa-s : A study, *IHQ* 8 (1932) 747-67
57. The Purāṇa-s : Their historical value, *PO* 2 (1937-38) 77-83
58. The Purāṇa-s and the theory of human evolution, *AP* 14 (Jan. 1943)
59. The age of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, *IHQ* 7 (1931) 370-71
60. The date of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, AIOC 15 (Bombay, 1949) Summaries, 191-92
61. Migration of legends (A study of Indian folklore and tradition), *ABORI* 15 (1933-34) 212-19

b. South India

62. The late Mahamahopadhyaya Ganapati Sastri, *ABORI* 8 (1926-27) 322-25
63. Early Tamil religious literature, *IHQ* 18 (1942) 1-19
64. Tamil Śaiva mystic poets of Medieval South India, *IHQ* 19 (1943) 173-78
65. Some Jaina contributions to Tamil literature, *AIOC* 16 (Lucknow) 1951) Part ii , 276-80
66. *Śivatattvaratnākara* (summary), *AIO* 5 (Lahore, 1928), Summaries, 141-44
67. The Age of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, *IHQ* 7 (1931) 370-71
68. Kātyāyana the Grammarian. *IHQ* 11 (1935) 316–20

IV. Religions and Sects

a. General

69. Hindu pluralism, *Poona Orientalist*, 6 (1941-42) 195-208
70. Religion of Kālidāsa, *Dr. C. Kunan Raja Presentation Volume*, Madras, 1941 pp. 302-11
71. Antiquity of Śaivism, *Kalyana-Kalpataru*, 7 (1940)
72. The Lunar cult of India, *IA* 62 (1933) 175-76
73. The religious data in Kauṭalya's *Arthaśāstra*, 252-58
74. History of Early Buddhism in India, *AIOC* 5 (Lahore, 1928), pt. II 911-36; *IHQ* 14 (1938) 240-51
75. The Origin and history of Caityas, *Winternitz Memorial Number : IHQ* 14 (1938) 240-51

b. South India

76. Buddhism in South India, *Professor C.S. Srinivasachari Sixty-First Birthday Celebration Volume*, Madras, 1950, 83-92
77. The place of Buddhism in South Indian history (summary) AIOC 5 (Lahore, 1928), Summaries, 215
78. Buddhism in Andhradeśa, *B.C. Law Volume* Parts I & II, Calcutta, 1945; Poona, 1946, 346-53
79. Early history of Jainism in South India (summery), *AIOC* 8 (Mysore, 1935), Summaries, 78-79
80. Some Jaina teachers in Śravaṇa-Belagola inscriptions, *IC* 7 (1940-41) 141-45

A Founding Father of Tamilological Studies

Dr. J. Parthasarathy

Professor V.R. Ramachandra Dikshitar occupies a seat in the Hall of Fame with Indologists of great achievement of the first half of this century whose researches in the then nascent field of Tamilology also entitle them to be acclaimed as the founding father of the new discipline. With his roots in his ancestral Vedic learning and Sanskrit he received a modern English education, equipping him with the wide sweep of Western antiquarian scholarship and tools of analysis. He also had at his command a knowledge of French and German which he had acquired early in life. When he joined the Madras University as a Lecturer in 1928, this institution gained, without knowing it, a historian of India in its many facets, gifted with a wide world vision, perceptive understanding and untiring industry, who could set new records of academic study and research and dynamism in all things he took up.

As a student of Indian history and culture in its wholeness, Dikshitar's first fruits of scholarly labour came up in the main Indological field. His solid research publications in this field, to mention only *Hindu Administrative Institutions, The Mauryan Polity, The Gupta Polity, Some Aspects of the Vāyupurāṇa. The Matsya-purāṇa: A study and the Purāna Index* in 3 volumes, have put his name indelibly on the pan-Indian canvas of celebrities. Side by side the history and culture of South India and especially of the Tamil country fascinated him and his researches embraced this special area, on which we find him working ever and anon in his books and the vast output of learned papers scattered over many journals (which defy exhaustive bibliographical listing). Indeed the subjects which Dikshitar has touched on and enriched range 'from China to Peru', from Anthropo-geogrpahy of Vedic India, and the Edicts of Asoka through the culture of the Indus valley to the by-ways of Tamil history like the Kōsar and the Āy kings, Chinese connections with South India, and 'Buddhism and Jainism in South India'. I wish to speak a little here of some striking aspects of 'Dikshitar's work falling under Tamilology and having particular relevance to scholars currently working in the area of Dravidian languages and cultural history.

Dikshitar's publications in book form of Tamil interest date from 1930 when his *'Studies in Tamil literature and History'* was published by Luzac and Company, London. This volume incorporates his articles contributed to journals earlier, along with fresh material. In the preface to this volume he speaks of how he entered the field of Tamil studies out of a felt necessity in his researches.

"To the earnest student of Indian history particularly South Indian history, a deep and critical study of ancient Tamil literature is of the utmost importance. The necessity for such study came home to me strongly in 1923 when I was nominated to a Research studentship of the University of Madras. In the course of the

investigation on the subject *'Hindu Administrative Institutions'* I felt more and more the need for an intensive study of the priceless literary treasures of Tamil. Hence I devoted my leisure hours to a study of Tamil literature.

His guide and helper in the study of ancient Tamil literature was none other than M. Raghavå Iyengar, a doyen of Tamil scholarship, famed for his own researches with a historical orientation on Tamil, (similar to those of Dikshitar) who worked on the staff of the university Tamil Lexicon from 1913 to 1939. The bond of kinship these two scholars, based on their allegiance to Tamil lasting throughout their lives, proved beneficial to Tamil studies in more ways than one.

The First Harvest

Dikshitar's first volume of *Studies in Tamil Literature and History*, the harvest of his early mastery of Tamil, introduces us in a short compass to the whole field of ancient and middle Tamil the Sangam legends and classics and some of the prominent poets of the period, the corpus of ethical poems in which Tirukkuṛaḷ is classed and the mystic saint-poets-the Nāyanmārs and the Āḻvārs-of the bhakti-period. Accounts of mystics of later centuries like *Tāyumānavar* and *Rāmaliṅga Svāmikaḷ* have also been given, so that, readers can realise, in Dikshitar's words "that there has been an unbroken and noble succession of religious mystics in the ancient land of the Tamils and that "thanks to these mystics our religion and our religious faith were saved from extinction during many an hour of peril and crisis" (p. 123-4 of the Edition of 1936). At each stage of his exposition, he assesses the element of historicity likely to be embedded in semi-legendary accounts like those of the Saṅgams and of our mystic saint-poets. There is a separate chapter devoted to Tiruvaḷḷuvar, specially valuable for the collection of parallels cited there between the *Kuṛaḷ* couplets and Sanskrit texts like the *Bhagavad-Gīta*, the *Arthasāstra*, the *Mānava-Dharma-sāstra* and the *Kāma-sūtra*. While citing these parallels, Dikshitar has taken care to refrain from coming to any conclusions that these may suggest, and makes the following remarks:

"If Parimēlaḻakar's views could be adopted, then the author of the *Kuṛaḷ* must have been familiar with Sanskrit literature and especially the *Dharmaśāstra* and the *Arthasāstra* literature. If this position can be accepted, it is reasonable to assume that Tiruvaḷḷuvar follows mainly in his *Aṛattuppāl* the most popular *Dharmaśāstra* of *Manu*, in his *Poruṭpal* the well-known *Arthasāstra* of *Kauṭalya* and in his *Kāmattuppāl* the *Kāmasūtra* of *Vātsyāyana*. To these may be added portions of the *Rāmāyana* and the *Mahābhāratha* and other allied literature. Whether Vaḷḷuvar's *Muppāl* is an independent growth or is indebted to Sanskrit literature, it is for future research to determine conclusively". The parallels given by Dikishitar show his extensive reading and analysis of literatures and provide valuable data for comparative literature studies. The book concludes with three chapters picturing before us how community life in Tamil Nadu in those very early years must have been. The treatment is in terms of three periods-the prehistoric age, the age of *Tolkappiyam*, the age of *Tiṛukkuṛaḷ* and the age of the Epics *(Silappadikāram and Manimēkalai)*. The information available from the old classics

combined with other historical sources has been codified in these chapters on *'Administrative Institutions'* (like kingship, council of ministers, set-up of taxation and courts etc), *'Art of War'* (dealing with the nature of wars and expeditions on land and sea, composition of armies, offensive and defensive tactics, ethics of warfare etc) and *social life.* (Speaking of urban and rural living conditions, marriage customs, dancing, music and other arts etc).

The *Indian Antiquary* in its review of the book commended Dikshitar's handling of 'the traditional evidence with discrimination and good sense? Professor A.B. Keith known for his work on Sanskrit literature, wrote that the chapters on administration, the art of war and Social life were very attractively written and ensured a cordial reception for the author's work. Indeed the born historian's eye can discern living details of the past from material we take for granted and pass by in our usual reading.

Silappadikāram

Dikshitar's involvement in Tamil history as gleaned from ancient Tamil literature, led him to take upon himself the task of the professed student of that literature-the task of the English translation of its time-worn classics and laying bare the contemporary scene clothed in their pageantry of enchanting poetry, in all its vivacity, richness and colour, suggestive also of earlier and succeeding events. He embarked on his famous English translation of the *Silappadikāram* (the Epic of the Anklet) fulfilling the insistent need for introducing it to a world-wide audience eager to savour the treasures of the Orient and completed the first drafts by 1934, though the final publication came only in 1939 after further preparations, discussions and revisions. This translation in plain running English prose carries the palm for its faithfulness to the import of the text of the poem, and its sensitive handling of special nuances, allusions and hundreds of points of interest to the student of old Tamil culture; there is quite a wealth of background information on all these in footnotes appearing ubiquitously through the book and in its Appendices. Two further English translations of *Silappadikāram* by Alan Danielou and K.N. Subramanian have come out after Dikshitar's work; they may claim merits of style but not the remarkable combination of readability with usefulness in research displayed by their predecessor work. As Jules Bloch the eminent French linguist-savant, puts it in his Preface to the work:

"The historian has resorted to the more difficult and often ungrateful, but also more beneficent, task of translation. Let the reader have the plainest possible access to the text; help him with all the needed current explanations and reserve personal inductions for the introductory survey. This will be a boon not only to the student of history but also to the literary man and to everybody interested in Tamilian culture."

The penetrative scholarship in Indian culture in its many aspects which lights up the text of the poem on almost every page, may be illustrated by one example. In Book I, canto 6 *(Kaḍalāḍukātai)* of the epic, a *vidyādhara* hero enumerates to his wife eleven dances of celestials which would be enacted in the city of Pukār

celebrating Indra's festival. Dikshitar provides the *Purāṇic* references involved in these celestial dances in his footnotes and about the sixth one, "the *Kuḍai* (umbrella dance) by (Subrahmaṇya) lowering the umbrella before the Asuras who gave up their arms in great distress" he has the following footnote which only he could have given us :

"It is not possible to trace this legend. To venture a conjecture, the reference is to the greatest victory of the baby Subramaṇya, six days old, over the great Tārakāsura and his satellites, a match for Vishṇu, Indra and other Gods. See *Matsya Purāṇa* Chapter 160. It is said that Subrahmanya screened his face with a parasol and played in exultant derision the *Kuḍaikūttu* or the umbrella-dance. This is sometimes performed during temple processions when 'the God's umbrella-bearer cuts some capers with his unwieldy parasol; but the *Kāvaḍikkūttu* is a greater favourite in these days in Murukan's worship and festivities". T.A.S. II P. 185 of. Nighaṇṭu 14th ed. P. 179. For the sculptured figures representing the two varieties called the *Kuḍaikkūṭṭu* and the *Kāvaḍikkūttu*, see the two *yāḷi* panels flanking the entrance of the sanctum of the Adbhuta-Nārāyaṇa temple at Tirukkaḍittānam (Chenganachery Taluk-Kerala) T.A.S. Vol II P. 187."

The Introduction to this translation running to eighty pages is of course rich in providing varied information with related discussions on the Epic and the culture and history based on it. We have here the full portrait of Śeṅkuṭṭuvan the hero of the Epic's third book, and the most memorable figure in the history of ancient India, as Dikshitar calls him, piecing together details of his rule from Vañci (identified with Karuvūr), his expeditions and campaigns and far-reaching conquests, his veneration of Vedic Gods, his patronage of arts like dancing and singing with which he diverts himself, his liberal rewards and gifts to men of learning and to warriors of mighty valour and the punishments he inflicted on enemy kings of the North for their insolent words of challenge to Southern monarchs.

We also meet with a perceptive analysis of the political conditions of North India when Śeṅkuṭṭuvaṉ led his army through the Gangetic plain to procure a sacred stone from the Himālayas suitable for making the holy image of Pattini Devi Kaṇṇaki.

The Andhras were in the position of allies. Kanishka, the other powerful king, was already dead. The smaller chieftains were not strong enough to face the conquering monarch from the South who was assisted with boat to cross the Gaṅga by his allies the *Nuṟṟuvar-Kannar* identified with the Śātakarṇis. These kings were connected with the Andhras who established an all-India empire after conquering Magadha. The result of the Śeṅkuṭṭuvaṉ's campaign was a total defeat of the Northern chiefs who were captured, excepting those slain or fled from the battle-field in disguise. The subsequent story of the humiliation of the two leader-chiefs-Kanaka and Vijaya-and their release on grounds of compassion are well-known.

The identification of Kanaka and Vijaya, said to be the sons of Balakumara in the Epic, remains a problem on which Dikshitar sheds light, letting in evidence from

Ptolemy and *Matsya Purāna*. We have a certain Vijaya an usurper-successor of the contemporary Śatakarṇi ruler (Second half of the second century A.D.) This Vijaya may have opposed the Southern monarch.

Tirukkuṛaḷ

Unlike the feast of Tamil literature set in all the glory of its many-sided culture with which Dikshitar regales us in his *Silappadikāram*, his book on the *Tirukkuṛaḷ* with the Tamil text in original and in Roman transliteration (published by the Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar in 1949 and reprinted recently) confines itself to an excellent English translation of 1330 couplets whose teachings as Sir. A. Ramaswami Mudaliar says, commending the work in his foreword, "are to Tamilians an eternal inspiration and guide" It is noteworthy that the translation presses into service only brief sentences of pith and force, matching the original's incomparably terse suggestiveness. For Dikshitar's views and notes on this universally acclaimed classic, we have to turn to the *Studies in Tamil literature and History* he brought out earlier.

Who are the Dravidians and what was their Original Home?

Two seminal publications of Dikshitar addressing themselves to these questions appeared in the later phase of his career, establishing his claim to be placed among the great path-finders of Tamilological studies. These are : *Origin and Spread of the Tamils* (1947) and *Prehistoric South India* (1951) delivered as lectures under endowments in the Madras University. It is worth while here to follow his exposition of these subjects in detail. He rejects the theory of separate races as Aryan and Dravidian with all their associated political propaganda and speaks of Aryan culture and Dravidian culture which evolve independently of racial stocks whatever these may be. He quotes Maxmuller who says emphatically: "If I say Aryan, I mean neither blood nor bones not hair nor skull: I mean simply those who speak an Aryan language ... To me an ethnologist who speaks of Aryan race, Aryan blood, Aryan eyes and hair, is as great a sinner as a linguist who speaks of a dolichocephalic dictionary or a brachycephalic grammar." He further clarifies his approach thus: "Particular modes of life lived by a people for ages together in a particular locality produce specialized forms of human types and it is therefore unscientific to speak of race. The racial characteristics of skin, colour and nose forms are due to climate and geographical influence ..... There was no racial distinction as Aryan and Dravidian in Indian literature ... When ever the term Aryan is used, it is either a resident of Aryāvarta, who speaks an Āryan tongue or a nobleman, an honoured one ... So also a Dravidian was a resident of Drāvida-desa, who spoke a Dravidian language. Drāvida was the home of the ancient Tamils. It is a name just like Aṅga, Vaṅga or Magadha". (*Origin* and *Spread* p. 19)

Dikshitar takes the name "Dravidian" as used in Sanskrit to refer to Tamils, the residents of the country bounded by the Tirupati hills on the North and by the sea on either side (including the Malayalam-speaking region). This country of the Tamils has always had its distinct Dravidian culture, marked by the division of its territory into five natural divisions *(tiṇais)*, its praise of coolness and avoidance of heat, total

absence of Asiatic tablelands or the vine and the fig of Chaldean regions and its indigenous flora and fauna mentioned in the Sangam works of Tamil.

Could this independent and uniquely indigenous culture be said to have been developed by immigrants called Dravidians from the Mediterranean regions? Dikshitar answers this question with an emphatic 'no', pointing out in detail how all available evidence bears witness to its continuous evolution, proceeding by stages from the Paleolithic age to Neolithic and later ages in ordered progress. he also cites the views of two other eminent South Indian historians - P.T. Srinivasa Iyengar and V. Rangachariar who hold that the development of man in South India was in unbroken succession from the Old and New Stone Ages themselves.

The archaeological finds from South Indian sites like Adichanallur, unearthed and studied by R. Bruce-Foote and of the sites of the Nilgiris investigated by J.W. Breeks in the last century comprise many artifacts in quartzite stone, so varied in their nature as to justify the inference that South Indian Paleolithic men were not gross savages, unlike Paleolithic men of other lands. These Paleolithic finds are classified in ten shapes, the leading ones being ovals as axes, spears, digging tools, circular implements, choppers, knives, scrapers, cores and hammer stones. We do not see any traces of fire or pottery but fire seems to have been known. The finish and workmanship of these instruments has led Bruce-Foote to conclude that their makers were an intelligent people.

The Paleolithic age shades off into the neolithic one using black trap rocks found abundantly in the South; Foote's collection has over a thousand specimens of neoliths. We find that coloured pottery has come into use, as also coloured stones, emerald green amazon stone and felspar. Neolithic sites of the South which have pottery relatable to the Iron age show that this area did not pass through the intermediate Bronze and Copper ages in its transition from the Lithic to the Iron period as the Indus region did.

In the later Iron age man in South India, as elsewhere, got to know the art of making the alloy and we come across implements and vessels in different metals-gold, bronze and copper. According to Prof. Gowland, an explorer of the Japanese Islands and a well-known metallurgist, the smelting of iron may have been hit upon by accident by man. This happy accident could very well have happened in our Peninsula with an iron industry, more ancient than in Europe and European iron cultures may probably be indebted to Indian sources.

Pottery, more finished than in the Neolithic period follows close on it and is prominent in many South Indian burial sites with megalithic tombs. We meet with vases closely resembling Egyptian, Greek and Etruscan ceramic wares and terracota sacrophagi closely parallel with Etruscan and Mesopotamian coffins. This megalithic culture period is considered to be the time of the influx of a Mediterranean people identified as the original Dravidians, carrying their culture from their Mediterranean habitat into South India. This theory is challenged by Dikshitar as invalid and untenable. It puts the cart before the horse and it is like saying that Aśoka was a Buddhist at a time when we cannot prove that Buddhism

had fully assumed the role of a religion. It sets at nought the fundamental unity of South Indian culture whose origins are rooted in the uninterrupted sequence of development from Paleolithic through Neolithic and Iron cultures to the Megalithic one. Neither the archaelogist nor the historian can furnish tangible proof of a displacement of peoples and of culture from one age to the other, either by a catastrophe or other causes. On the other hand here is everything in favour of continuity.

The Megalithic tombs are inseparably connected with the customs of burial integral to Tamil culture and cannot be ascribed to non-indigenous sources. Among the finds in burial-sites are: large urns or jars, legged urns, excavated cave-tombs and pit-chamber graves connected with Malabar *Tholoi* cut in rock and having a central opening in the domed roof, covered with a capstone, *Tholoi* (a Tamil word meaning 'a hole') is the very word used in Crete for these pit-chamber tombs raised in brick on stone foundations used for family burials. The Tamil classic *Maṇimēkhalai* though of the historical period, speaks of three ancient customs of burial: burying in deep pits, in pottery cists and in sepulchral urns. The pit-burials of the old megalithic age, paralleled by Cretan tombs as mentioned above, have their modern survivals in the family tombs maintained by households in Kerala.

Far from the Dravidians coming to South India from the Mediterranean, the evidence to the contrary, of the diffusion of the speakers of Dravidian speeches from the South to the lands with similar cultural traits is quite strong and can be pieced together in a convincing manner. Neolithic Egypt in 4000 B.C. knew only stone and metal. The pottery of Neolithic South India is in evidence in pre-dynastic Egypt, testifying to the relations between the two countries even in Lithic times. It is known that Neolithic Egypt was the source of spread of Neolithic culture in the Aegean basin and Crete. Who could have been the actual authors responsible for the early culture of Egypt and the Aegean? These latter lands have a strong tradition of immigrants bringing in the early culture, who were not speakers of an Aryan dialect. The assumption that these immigrant authors came from South India having the same culture, gains credence when we observe the uninterrupted evolution of human culture in this habitat from the Lithic ages to the Megalithic age without Bronze and Copper ages, getting replicated in Crete in the Aegean region. Most importantly the Dravidians were a seafaring people as well as adventures using land routes and were in communication with the Mediterranean area, rendering their spread therein quite a probability.

Dikshitar does not deny that there may have been human drifts-immigrations-from various lands both from the East and West into South India even from prehistoric times. But he points out that people coming by such drifts get absorbed with the indigenous tribes and never substitute them. To say that the Mediterraneans came to South India and formed the 'Dravidian race' assuming that there were no people here with a culture developed by themselves, would be contrary to archaeological and other data. Students of anthropo-geography of South India know about its characteristic five types of culture. These persisted in the region from

neolithic times, surviving in the *marutam* and *mullai* areas with their agricultural and cattle-rearing communities while in the *kurinji, palai* and *mullai* areas the hunting and fishing communities may be traced far back to Paleolithic times. The conclusion is warranted that Peninsular India, with its geological history going back to a submerged continent connecting it with Africa, when the Indo-Gangetic plain was not formed, was a part of the original Dravidian home and the source of the so called Mediterranean race. This has a wider implication that "the Dravidian element is not to be found in Indian culture alone but is largely traceable in Cretan, Aegean, Sumerian, Babylonian, Egyptian, Polynesian and other cultures of the ancient world."

Evidence of the diffusion of Dravidian Culture in Mesopotamia, Egypt, Mediterranean, Eastern Archipelago and America

Having propounded the thesis that South India was the original home of the Mediterranean race identified with the autochthonous speakers of Dravidian tongues, Dikshitar points out that the diffusion of this race which must have taken place by contacts of South India with lands to the North, West and East of it, is also evidenced by many facts of ancient history. There were sea-routes pursued by Dravidians to Sind, Sumeria, Egypt, Phoenicia, Asia Minor and the Mediterranean, besides caravan routes through Persia and Sumeria carrying various merchandise from India. In important towns these enterprising men from South India seem to have settled and imposed their language and culture on them; they also assimilated traits of the new lands without losing their identity and transmitted them to their homeland. The islands of the Eastern Archipelogo, Polynesia and Malaysia were also subject to colonisation by the Dravidians; from these countries this culture spread to the Americas as seen from the Mayan civilisation and the culture of Mexico retaining Indian beliefs.

Place-names like Elam in Mesopotamia and Caria adjoining Lycia are based on the Tamil words *īlam* and *Cera,* after settlers from Ceylon and Kerala had gone there. Linguistic affinities between languages like Somali and Tamil with agglutinative structures are noteworthy. The process of diffusion is also suggested by the presence of certain special artifacts and customs in common between South India and other countries. the boomerang, the earliest weapon in use, is supposed to have been introduced into South India from Australia. But we find it already functioning in the Tamil area with the Maravas in Madurai district who use an indigenous crescent-shaped weapon (called *vallari*) with a knob at one end. It was in use in the Nile valley and most likely it was taken to Egypt from South India in Lithic times. Finds like golden bands tied round the heads of the seventeenth dynasty of Egypt in a burial, regarded as from a foreign source, are relatable to the Tamil land where the same custom survives. Funerary pottery, terracota sacrophagi, teak and cedar found in Sumerian sites from the 5th to the 3rd millennium B.C. provide the data for working out a reliable chronology of Indian connections with Mesopotamia. Many other cultural traits may be listed here. These are the worship of the mother-goddess as 'Amman' (same as Tamil Amman) in Egypt, the practice of

dedicating girls to deities (called *dēvaraḍiyāḷ* in the Tamil land) in Phoenicia, Syria, countries of Asia minor and Mesopotamia well up to the 2nd century A.D., offering hair to deities like Athene, fire-walking ceremonies in the worship of Artemis in Cappadocia, the Nāga cult and the worship of the Moon prevalent in Crete, Asia Minor and the East Mediterranean area, the cult of the Bull and Phallic worship evidenced in Mohenjo-Daro, Crete and Egypt, the prevalence of a matrilineal system in South Europe particularly in Crete, Asia Minor, Mesopotamia and Egypt, wearing long hair with tufts current in ancient Crete and Egypt, besides Mohenjo-daro, the appearance of the earliest of domesticated animals-the cock-harking back to its origin in the geological age, connecting South India with East Africa and Madagascar) and its adoption as the ensign of the god Apollo, reminding us of the close parallel of Murugan the youthful Tamil god and cock-fighting in Tamil Naḍu. Even in Mohenjo-daro - one amulet seal portrays two jungle-fowls in a fighting attitude.

The arguments of Dikshitar have been set out above, following his exposition in his *Origin and Spread of the Tamils.* The evolution of South Indian Tamil culture with the geological history of its habitat and the varieties of evidence of the Paleolithic, Neolithic and Metal ages are discussed at meat length along with disquisitions on ethnology and language studies by him. In his substantial volume of *Pre-historic South India.* These enforce with all the wealth of insights of wide-ranging scholarship, the main conclusions arrived at in the *Origin and Spread.* It is hoped that the summary of his views on a subject of great current interest will stimulate further research on the Dravidian element in other ancient cultures.

Part II

Contributions of

V.R. Ramachandra Dikshitar

Anthropo-Geography of Vedic India[1]

I. Territorial Divisions

The earliest literature in which mention of the earth is made in the Ṛg Veda Samhita. Reference is made in it to the earth (pṛthivī) as being very broad, though unfortunately its extent is not given.[2] It is significant that the Vedic hymns are completely silent on the route of the so-called Aryan invasion of India. It is also significant that the Vedic hymns contain no reference whatever to the nine-fold division of the earth later on adumbrated in the Purāṇas or the three-fold division of India, called then Bhāratavarsha. It is only in later Vedic literature that we meet with these three broad divisions — Brahmavarta or Aryavarta, Madhyadeśa and Dakshiṇāpatha. But there is a very important expression in the Ṛg Veda,[3] dakshināpata, evidently a reference to the Deccan and perhaps South India. It is said there that it was then a home for those banished from the land. This then gives an indication that the ancient Aryavarta stopped with the Vindhyas on the south. This political or geographical division continued till the time of the Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad[4] and the Mānava Dharmaśāstra.[5] In the last two books we have further references to the Madhyadeśa. But if we are to believe the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa,[6] which refers to madhyamapratiṣṭhadis, 'the country of the middle recently established', then this geographical division of the Madhyadeśa should have been effected before the composition of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa. This new kingdom was peopled by the Kurus, Pancalas, Vasas and Uśīnaras. As the authors of the *Vedic Index* observe, the Vasas and Uśīnaras slowly disappeared from the scene and the Madhyadeśa became practically the country of the Kuru-Pāncālas.[7] The boundaries of this Madhyadeśa shifted from time to time. In the Jātakas we often meet with the term Majjhimadeśa where learning is said to have been in evidence and in which were the Videha country and the Arañjaragiri.[8] According to the Divyāvadāna, Uśīragiri formed the northern boundary of this territorial division. Perhaps this is connected with Uśīnaras of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa. The Buddhist texts give an indication that the Middle Country extended in the north up to the lower Himalayas, and in the south up to Avanti. Rhys Davids who has examined this question in extenso believes that by the Middle Country the Buddhists meant the whole of Aryan North India. This seems to me to be begging the question. For if the

---

1 Paper read at the Eleventh All India Oriental Conference, Hyderabad

2 RV. VII, 7. 2, 5: 99. 3, etc.

3 RV. X, 61, 8,

4 II, 13.

5 See Bau. Dh. Sutra, I, 1, 2, 13.

6 VIII, 14. 3.

7 II, p. 126.

8 III, 115, 116: 364: 463.

whole of North India is computed as the Middle Country, there must necessarily be some territory north of this middle country, recognised as being a part of the Indian continent. Therefore, it could not have been the whole of North India but definitely a portion of North India as also a portion of South India.[1]

Though Madhyadeśa formed a part of the Aryavarta, still there was the Aryavarta proper, which was the original home of the Aryans. I shall not discuss here the several unproved theories and hypotheses as to the first home of the Aryans. Suffice it to say that the internal evidence of the Ṛg Veda does not give any clue to an invasion of India by the Aryans. The whole difficulty is due to the acceptance of the fantastic theory of separate Aryan and Dravidian races, which is not historically a fact. According to the Mahābhāṣya of Patānjali the western boundary of Aryavarta consisted of the Adarsa mountains.[2] But it is rather difficult to locate the exact dividing lines between these ancient territorial divisions.

II. Rivers

In the Vedic literature a number of rivers are mentioned. The Ṛg Veda has a Nadi-stuti or a sūkta in praise of rivers.[3] Arjikīya, Urṇāvatī, Krumu (modern Kurum), Gomat (identified with Gomal), Tṛṣṭāmā (unidentified), Paruśṇī (Ravi?) in connection with the battle of the Ten Kings, Marudvṛdhā, Mehatnu, Yamunā (Jamna) on whose banks lived the Śālvas, Vitastā (the Hydaspes of Greeks and Bidaspes of Ptolemy), Śutudrī (Sutlej and Śatadru of the Post-Vedic period). Śvetyā, Silamāvati, Suṣomā (modern Suwan?), and Susartu, are among the rivers referred to in the above sūkta. The above streams must generally be treated as tributaries of the Indus, though it is difficult to identify many of them.

The other rivers which are mentioned but though not in the Nadi-stuti are also interesting to a student of Vedic geography. The following are not yet identified: Amitabhā,[4] Yavyāvati,[5] Vibāli,[6] Siphā,[7] and Sudāman.[8]

The river Rasā is believed to have been "originally the Araxes or Jaxartes, because the Vendidad mentions the Ranhā, the Avestan form of Rasā."[9] There is the stream Vipas[10] which is certainly the modern Beas (the Bipasis of the Greeks), This is known as Vipāsā in later Indian literature. It is one of the several Indian rivers which have changed their original course to a considerable extent.[11] Then we have rivers of much importance, the Sarayū, Sarasvati and Sindhu.[12] The Sarayū, the

---

1 JRAS 1904, p. 91.
2 Paṇinī, 2, 4, 10.
3 X. 75-6
4 R.V. 5, 53, 9.
5 R.V. VI. 27, 6.
6 RV. IV. 30, 12.
7 RV. I. 104, 3.
8 Pañca Br. XXII, 18, 1.
9 V.I. ii, p. 209.
10 RV. IV, 30, 11.
11 Imp, Gaz. of India, VII. 138.
12 R.V. X, 64. 9.

modern Sarju in Oudh played a glorious part in the days of Rāmāyaṇa as the sacred stream of the Ikṣvākus. One is amazed at finding that these three sacred streams are not mentioned in the Nadi-stuti. Sarasvati was a holy stream on whose banks several sacrifices were conducted.[1] One view is that with the Dṛṣadvati, this river formed the western boundary of the Brahmāvarta country.[2] Its divinity is hymned in more than one place in the Vedic texts,[3] and it is mentioned again as a river of the five tribes. For example, we call the Kāverī as the river of the Cholas. There has been a considerable and vague discussion on the identification and location of this stream. No final decision seems to have been evolved. From the Oxus down to the modern Sarsvati, the stream has been traced, without caring for the tradition which alone seems to be correct. It was neither the Indus nor a mythical river. It was a real stream in the Vedic times and gradually it mingled with the Jumna as an under-current. This means that the stream has now changed its original course and that it had at a certain period merged itself with the Yamunā, by the side of which it must have been originally flowing. Equally important was the Sindhu or the Indus to the Vedic citizen.

Yet another river of the Ṛg Veda is Suvāstu,[4] corresponding to the Swat, which is a tributary of the Kabul river (known as Kubha). This was of course the Soastos of Arrian. I must now mention two rivers which are not mentioned in the Samhitas but which are referred to in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa. One is the Reva,[5] apparently the Narmadā. It is regarded in later literature as a stream of great importance. The other is Sadānīrā.[6] The very expression implies that it was a perennial stream. Its geographical importance lay in the fact that it formed the boundary between the Kosala and the Videha countries. Its identification with the modern Gaṇḍakī may be accepted.

III. Mountains

If we turn our attention to the mountain system as given in the Vedic texts we are amazed to find that even important mountains like the Himalayas, Meru and Vindhyas are not mentioned in the Ṛg Veda or early Vedic literature. In the Atharva Veda however Himavant is referred to in more than one place.[7] According to the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa the Uttara Kurus and Uttara Madras are said to have had their home beyond the mountain.[8] When we come to the Puranic cosmogony we find the Mahāmeru or Meru, generally regarded as a mythical mountain, forming the centre of the universe. The Taittirīya Āraṇyaka refers to it in one place.[9] Though the term Parvata meaning a hill occurs in the Vedic literature, and though there is an

---

1 Aśva. Srauta Sutra, XII, 6. 2. 3.
2 V.I. II, p. 435.
3 RV. II, 41. 16.
4 VII. 19. 37.
5 XII. 8. 1. 17.
6 Ibid. 1. 4. 1. 14-15.
7 VI. 95. 3, etc.
8 VIII. 14. 3.
9 1. 7. 1. 3.

unmistakable reference to the plants and products of the mountain including the minerals,[1] still the mountains are not named as such. For example the Kauśītaki Upaniṣad alludes to the mountains of the north and the south,[2] but one wonders whether it is a reference to the Himalayas and the Vindhyas or to the mountain ranges in general.

Other mountains which are mentioned in the later Vedic literature are the Krauñca[3] which is associated in the Puranic literature with God Skanda, Trikakūṭa or the modern Trikota in the Himalayas,[4] Mūjāvant or Muñjāvant of the Mahābhārata[5] a mountain of the Himalayan ranges, and Maināka of the Himalayas.[6] Again the Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra puts the Pāriyārtā: (also Pāripātrā) hills as the southern boundary of the Aryavarta.[7] It appears the Pāriyātra hills form a part of the Vindhya ranges. This only shows that even in the time of Āśvalāyana, the author of Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra, who flourished about the 6th century B.C. the Deccan was still considered for geographical purposes different from Aryavarta or North India. But it is really strange that the Vindhyas are not at all mentioned in early Vedic literature. This shows not that they did not exist then but that the penetration of Aryan culture into the Deccan and South India had not then become a *fait accompli.*

IV. Seasons

Seasons of course form a part of geography. The Vedic Indian knew four seasons — summer (naidāgha),[8] rainy season (prāvrsa, also varṣa),[9] winter or cold weather (hima or hemanta)[10] and autumn (śārada).[11] He had a conception of the good and the bad seasons, the latter being designated pāpasama, and the former puṇyasama.[12]

V. Kingdoms and Tribes

The cardinal point about the Vedic countries and tribes hinges on an important text in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa[13] from which European scholars read a legend of the Aryan migration towards the east of India.[14] On the assumption of this migration to the East, the thesis is propounded that originally the Kuru-Pancala country was the great centre of Brahmanical culture, and that this spread to the

---

1 RV. X. 69. 6; AV. xix. 44. 6.
2 II. 13.
3 Taitt. Ar. 1. 31. 2.
4 AV. IV. 9, 8.
5 Nirukta. IX. 8.
6 Taitt. Ar. 1. 31. 2.
7 1. 2. 9.
8 AV. IX. 5. 31.
9 RV. VIII. 103. 3. 9.
10 RV. 1. 116. 8, etc; AV. xii. 1. 11.
11 RV. VII. 101. 6.
12 Taitt. S. III. 3. 8. 4.
13 1. 4. 1. 10 ff.
14 JRAs 1908, pp. 831, 837, 1138, 1143.

Kāsis, Kosalas and Videhas these being a corporate group, for social and political purposes.[1] We are here interested in the geographical position of these countries. No doubt if the sacred theory of culture flowing always from the West to the East, whether it be from one country to another, or from one part of the country to another, is correct, the thesis is sound. The Kosalas and the Videhas are geographically and traditionally older than the Kurus, if not the Pāñcālas. Tradition strongly supports the theory that the events of the Rāmāyaṇa occurred centuries prior to those narrated in the other interesting epic Mahābhārata. The Iksvaku line to which Rāma belonged had Ayodhyā as its capital, and this was the heart of the Kosala country. At that time the Videhas were equally flourishing and therefore matrimonial alliances were often entered into between the Kosalas and Videhas. Historically speaking, the Kurus and Pāñcālas became prominent at the time of the Mahābhārata War when the capital was shifted from Ayodhyā to Kuruksetra, near about modern Delhi. Naturally the Kuru-Pāñcāla kingdoms attained prominence in the Mahābhārata period. From this it is to be inferred that the Brahmanical culture, to use the term of the orientalists, flowed from Kosala-Videha to Kuru-Pāñcala. But it would be more reasonable to take the view that in the Vedic period, the Vedic culture was flourishing both in the West and in the East of India. The Punjab was probably the original home of this culture which first spread towards the East and later towards the South.

With this background let us turn to the people of Vedic India. Among the Ṛg Vedic people we find Ajas, Anus, Alinas, Kikatas, Vaikarnas, Gandharis, Cedis, Turvasus, Yadus, Tṛshtus, Druhyus, Pakthas, Viṣānins, Vricīvants, Vaikaraṇas, Śigrus, Sivas, Parśus, Pṛthus, Pārvatas, Pūrus, Bharatas, Bhalānas, Matsyas, Yaksus, and so on. It is rather difficult after this length of time to locate the geographical position occupied by these tribes but it is safe to say that these peoples belonged to North India. A study of these tribes in the Ṛg Veda Samhita shows that most of them united themselves in a confederation against an inimical confederacy. For example the Ajas, named perhaps after their totem sheep, are mentioned together with Yakṣus and Śigrus.[2] We hear of the Yakṣus again in another place.[3] Apart from the fact that they were not friendly to the Tṛshṭus, we cannot postulate anything about these tribes. To venture a conjecture, the Yakṣus were perhaps the primitive Yakṣa tribes so much heard of in the epic and Purana literature of the later days. Similarly we find a confederation of Anus, Yadus, Turvaśas, Druhyus and Pūrus.[4] Luckily for us there is a clue to indicate that the Anus had their home on the banks of the river Parusṇī.[5] Of these the Yadus were the predecessors of the Yadu or Yādava tribe that played a glorious part in the days of Kṛsṇa and the Pāṇdavas, and had its capital at the modern Mutthra. We are told that the Yadus

---

1 V. I. 1, pp. 154-5.

2 RV. VII, 18, 19.

3 VII, 8, 6, 19.

4 RV. I. 108, 8; VII 18, 14; VII. 10, 5.

5 VIII. 74, 15.

sent an expedition across the Sarayū river.[1] This means that they spread to different places in the country and became a powerful ruling tribe in the epoch of the epic Mahābhārata. In one place, the Yadus figure with Turvaśes,[2] and these Turvaśas were noted for their horses. We have to infer that the Turvasa kingdom was celebrated for its excellent breed of horses. We are on firmer ground about the Druhyas and the geographical position occupied by them. That they were one of the tribes on the North-western frontier, and that they lived very near the Gandhāra country are evident from some indications in the Samhita itself.[3] And the Pūrus are mentioned as being resident on the banks of the Sarasvatī.[4] It is reasonable to equate these tribes with the later Pauravas who established a powerful and glorious dynasty.

Here one may recall the tradition embedded in the Purāṇas that an ancient king Yayāti had five sons, Yadu, Turvasu, Druhyu, Anu and Pūru.[5] Each of these princes founded independent kingdoms and their descendants were the Yadus, Turvasus, Druhyus, Anus and Pūrus. The Vedic reference to these tribes undoubtedly has reference to their Puranic tradition, for we have a significant statement in the Vāyu Purāṇa that the Purāṇa was much older than the Vedic literature. The conclusion is irresistible that *Yaya* was much older than the Vedic literature. The conclusion is irresistible that Yayāti and Uśanas Śukra flourished long before the composition of the Ṛg Veda samhita, thus pushing back the antiquity of Vedic India.

We have another group of tribes in Ṛg Veda — the Alinas Pakthas, Bhalānas, Śivas and Viṣāṇis.[6] Some of the old Indologists who tried to fix the probable geographical position occupied by some of the Vedic tribes, assigned the Alinas to the north-east of Kafiristan.[7] The same authorities hold that the Pakthas had their home in the modern Pakhthura in East Afghanistan,[8] and that the Bhalānas were the peoples of the Bolan pass. This is conjectural. The Viṣāṇis must be another tribe of the North-west frontier. The Śivas were probably the inhabitants of the Śivapura, mentioned by the grammarian Pānini.[9] F.E. Pargiter identifies these Śivas with Śivis descended from Śivi Ausinara who was the son of Uśīnara. Śiva Auśīnara figures as one among the sixteen celebrated kings (ṣoḍaśa-rājika) of old.[10] He is said to have conquered the whole of the Punjab, then in possession of the Druhyus, with the aid of his four sons who in their turn became founders of four royal dynasties — Vṛṣadarbhas, Madras, Kekayas and Suvīras.[11] It is assumed that

---

1 RV. 1, 174, 9.
2 RV. VII. 19, 8.
3 RV. I. 108. 8.
4 RV. VII. 96. 2.
5 Vāyu Purāṇa, 93.. 15-17
6 RV. VII. 18. 7.
7 Alt. Leben. 431.
8 Ibid.
9 IV. 2. 109.
10 MHB. VII. 55; III, 197.
11 An. Ind. Hist. Tradition, p. 264.

the Druhyu king defeated by Śivi occupied the north-west corner which came to be known as Gandhāra, after him.[1] The Alinas were to venture a guess, the Ailas to which tribe the great Yayāti belonged. The Gandharis can be identified with the residents of the Gandhakar kingdom founded by the Druhyu king. According to Ṛg Veda Samhita this kingdom was noted for wool[2] and was on the southern bank of Kubha, the Kabul river.

Among other peoples the Cedis[3] and the Matsyas[4] may be now taken up for examination. In the Mahābhārata both figure together and are treated as friendly neighbours. The Matsyas were occupying at least in the epic times the modern states of Alwar, Jaipur and Bharatpur.[5] Both the Cedis and the Matsyas traced their descent to their illustrious ancestor Vasu, perhaps a very ancient Vedic king and not exactly to Sudhanvan, son of Kuru found in the Purānas.[6] We know how the fame of these dynasties was revived in the days of the Mahābhārata. For, the Kurus and Pāñcālas come into prominence in the Brāhmana literature which is later than the Ṛg Veda Samhita in chronology.[7] We are in the realm of speculation when we take the Vaikarnas[8] to have belonged to an original tribe from which the Kurus or Tṛstu Bharatas emerged. It may be noted in passing that the Vaikarnas are to be located on the banks of the Sindhu (Indus) and Asikni rivers. According to one authority the Madhyadeśa was the home of the Trshtu Bharatas. The exact location of the Bharatas is again difficult to ascertain though we see them lords of Kāśis and worshippers of Gaṅgā and Yamunā in the Śatapatha Brāhmana.[9] The Ṛg Veda Samhita mentions the Tṛstus together with the Sṛñjayas, and as allies of Sudāsa in his war against the Ten Kings. Their geographical position was contiguous to the Sarasvati. The Sṛñjayas who were occupying the North Pāñcāla kingdom, i.e., the territory north of the Ganges, were an old Vedic people contemporaneous with Sudāsa.

While this was the position with regard to the various tribes in the epoch of the Ṛg Veda, subsequently we hear of more tribes coming into prominence. This was so in the time of the Atharva Veda and the Brāhmana literature. For example, mention is made of the Aṅgas who are not referred to at all in the Ṛg Veda Samhita but occur in the Atharva Veda.[10] The Aṅgas were the people of the Aṅgadeśa which lay next to the Magadha, the modern Bihar. From the fact that they were a tribe belonging to East India and that they are not mentioned in the earlier Samhita literature, Pargiter comes to the conclusion that they must have been non-Aryan

---

1 Ibid.
2 I. 126. 7.
3 RV. VIII. 5, 37, 9.
4 VII. 18. 6.
5 V.A. Smith, ZDMG, 56, 675; *Dikshitar, Matsya Purana, A Study, p. 20.*
6 Va. 99. 217-28.
7 Ait. Br. VIII. 14.
8 RV. VII. 18. 11.
9 135. 4. 11-21.
10 V. 22. 14.

and must have crossed to India over the seas.[1] This is again begging the question of the race theory and race conflicts. I think scholars of the present day would not attach much value to this theory. There is nothing to indicate that they were alien to the Indian soil and that they came to India from over the seas. But according to Indian tradition embedded in the Purāṇas, they were the people of Aṅgadeśa founded by a son of Bali. Further we have Aṅga Aurava, the celebrated author of Ṛg Veda X. 138. Pargiter is not inclined to connect this Aṅga either with the country of that name or with its people. Still I feel this is an unmistakable reference to Aurava who hailed from Aṅgadeśa. If this interpretation be accepted — I do not see any reason why it should not be — then Aṅga at the time of the Ṛg Veda was a flourishing country full of reputed sages like Aurava. This would knock the bottom out of the theory of a non-Aryan tribe migrating from abroad to East India.

In the Brāhmanas we hear of Udīcyas, literally people of the north.[2] These are said to have been in close touch with the Kurupāñcālas who figure again prominently in the epoch of the Brāhmanas.[3] We are told that these Udīcyas who were generally treated as belonging to Gandhāra and Kashmir, spoke pure Samskrit language. Already mention has been made of the Kurus and the Pāñcālas who were the people of the Madhyadeśa which can be inferred from contact with the Udīcyas mentioned with some prominence. Apparently the Kurus and the Pāñcālas were friendly neighbours and formed a group of allies. Among the Kurus the Aitareya Brāhmana refers to a tribe of the Uttara-Kurus.[4] It may be mentioned in passing that the reputed author of the Śilappadikāram refers to the constant delights of the Uttara-Kuru country in the opening canto. Whether it is a reference to the happy vale of Kashmir or to a kingdom beyond the Himalayas we cannot say definitely on the strength of the available information. It was considered to be the home of the gods (devaksetra). In the same manner we have to treat the other tribe, the Uttara-Madras occurring in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa. Zimmer opines that they occupied a place not far from the country of the Kambhojas.[5] Another point to be noted in this connection is that the Kuru-Pāñcālas are mentioned together with the Vasas and Uśīnaras and the three are all geographically grouped as peoples of the Madhyadeśa.[6] The Uśīnaras were a later branch of the Ānava line. For the Purāṇas record a tradition that Uśīnara was a son of Mahāmanas who is considered by Pargiter among the successors of Anu,[7] as the seventh of that name. It is also said that Titikṣu, brother of Uśīnara founded a kingdom in the Aṅgadesa or East Bihar. Weber is of opinion that these Uśīnaras were the forefathers of the later Kāśis and Videhas.[8] There is no clue whatsoever to identify the tribe Vasas. Reference has

---

1 JRAS 1908, p. 852.
2 Sat. Br. XI, 4. 1. 1.
3 Ib. VI. 2. 3. 15.
4 VIII. 14 and 23.
5 Op, at. p. 102.
6 Ait. Br. VIII. 14.
7 Ind. Hist. Tradition. p. 87.
8 Baudh. Śrauta, Sūtra, 21. 13; Ind. Studieo, I, pp. 212-13.

been made above to the Kāmbhojas who, for the first time, are mentioned in Yāska's Nirukta.[1] They had not become prominent even in the age of the Brāhmaṇas.

Yet another tradition furnished by the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa is that Viśvāmitra the sage adopted Sunaḥśepa as his son to the chagrin of his natural sons. The fifty sons of the sage refused to recognise the adoption of Sunahśepa. On this the sage in wrath is said to have cursed his own sons to become outcastes. These sons left their home and made Dekhan their home, and were responsible for several groups of people who were deemed un-Aryan. There were the Andhras, Puṇḍras, Śabaras, Pulindas, Mūtibas.[2] This shows that the degraded Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas probably settled in countries below the Vindhyas and entered into matrimonial alliances with the women of the South. This is probably the origin of some of these tribes. Most of them, like their compatriots, the Niṣādas who occur in Taittiriya Samhitas[3] and who are supposed to have sprung from the first king Pṛthu, were aboriginals with whom the civilised man came into contact and established marriage relationships. Thus arose a number of mixed castes to which the Mānavadharmaśāstra devotes a special section (Ch. 10). Evidently these tribes were still in the lower stage of culture and attained a status in the Aryan fold only after contact with them extending over ages. The Puṇḍras however got their name from Puṇḍra, one of the sons of Bali, and a brother of Aṅga. If this tradition is correct, the Puṇḍra kingdom should have been one of the eastern kingdoms rather than one of the southern. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa mentions the Prācīyas, literally the people of the east, evidently a reference to the kingdoms corresponding to the modern Bengal and Bihar. The origin of Vaṅga (Bengal) is again to be traced to Vaṅga, son of Bali, as also of Magadha famous for its bards who were requisitioned by the kings of ancient India for singing their deeds of glory day after day. Ambaṣṭhas[4] and the Kāraskaras[5] are other tribes; the former is mentioned in the Brāhmaṇas and the latter in the Dharmasūtras of Āpastamba and Baudhāyana. The Ambaṣṭhas were probably of the Uśīnara line as is evident from the Brahmāṇḍa, Vāyu and other Purāṇas, and had their kingdom along the eastern boundary of the Panjab. About the Kāraskaras we have no other evidence as to their habitation.

The Atharva Veda refers to a number of new tribes like the Balhīkas, Mūjavants, Mahāvarṣas or Mahāvṛṣas, Mūcipas, Mūtibas, Mūvipas, most of whom were perhaps peoples of Iran and barbarians in the eyes of the followers of the Aryan culture.[6] Added to this are the Bāhikas of the Śatapatha Brāhmāṇa[7] and the Śabaras of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.[8] Some of these were mountain tribes and

---

1 II. 2.
2 Alt. Br., VII. 18.
3 IV. 5. 4. 2; Alt. Br. VIII. 11.
4 Ait, Br. VIII, 21.
5 Ap. Dh. sutra, 22. 6. 8.
6 V. 22. 4, 5, 7, 8, 9.
7 I. 7. 38.
8 VII. 18. 2.

foresters. It is difficult to locate them with any certainty. I shall close this section with a passing reference to the term Pañcajana occurring in the Vedic literature.[1] These five peoples are generally taken to be Anus, Druhyuś, Turvasus, Yadus and Pūrus, all located more or less near the river Sarasvatī. The interpretation offered by Sāyaṇa, the celebrated commentator, is that they represented the four castes and the Niṣādas.[2] This is not improbable because there were so many peoples in Vedic India and there is no point in picking out only these five tribes for mention. Perhaps as I have said elsewhere these five, represented the people of those days grouped according to the geographical division of the land, and resembled the people of the Pālai, Mullai, Kuriñji, Neydal and Marudam regions of the ancient Tamil land.

VI. Some place names

We have some interesting place names in the Vedic texts. The Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa mentions Plakṣa Prāsravana as a place at a distance of 44 days' journey from the locality where the Sarasvatī disappears.[3] The latter was known as Vinaśana, in the modern Patiala district. The Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa mentions a certain Dayyāmpāti of Plakṣa.[4] Originally the locality must be Plakṣa and later on Prāśravaṇa was added. We have a place Triplakṣa where the Dṛṣadvatī is said to have disappeared.[5]

A second place name is Maṣṇāra where a Kuru king is said to have fought and won a victory.[6] The Pañcavimsa Brāhmaṇa refers to a place Munimaraṇa[7] which was apparently the home of the Vaikhānasas, a group of ancient sages. It is said that these were slain by one Rahasyu Devamālimlue,

According to the Chāndogya Upaniṣad there was a town Raikva-Parṇa in the kingdom of the Mahāvṛṣas.[8] And the term Raikva often occurs in that Upaniṣad as the name of a man of some note. Apparently the locality was christened after him. Other place names occurring in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa are Śāciguṇa and Sarva-caru.[9] The former is to be located perhaps in the country of the Bharatas.

We have similar place names whose identification defies even astute scholars. Ūrjayantī is said to be a castle town, the capital of Nārinaya. Beyond this nothing is known about it.[10] The Yajur Veda Samhita mentions the city Kāmpila,[11] perhaps the later Kāmpilya of the Pāñcāla country. There is Kāra-pacava on the river

---

1 Ait. Br. III, 31; R. V. VIII. 9, 2, etc.
2 RV. 1. 7, 9.
3 XXV. 10, 16, 22.
4 III. 10, 9, 3, 5.
5 Pañca. Br. XXV. 13, 47.
6 VIII. 23, 3; Ait. Br. (cf. Bha. P.V.13, 26 ff.).
7 XIV. 4, 7.
8 IV. 2, 5.
9 VIII. 23, 4; VI. 1. 1.
10 RV. II. 13. 8.
11 Taitt. S. VII. 4. 19. 1.

Yamuna.[1] There is again Kārotī where Tura Kāvaṣeya performed a sacrifice.[2] The Brāhmanas mention the celebrated Kuruksetra sacred on account of a number of streams and lakes. From the boundaries mentioned in the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka, the authors of the *Vedic Index* are inclined to locate the Kurukṣetra proper in the modern Sirhind.[3] The Āraṇyaka places Tūrghna to the north of Kurukṣetra. Kauśāmbi, another famous city, is mentioned in a reference to Kauśāmbeya in the Śatapatha Brāhmana.[4] This work again mentions a certain Nāḍapit as the native place of Bharata.[5] From the paucity of names, we have to judge that these were some of the prominent towns, capitals of some kingdoms, while the bulk of India was primarily a land of villages designated as grāma, a position true even at the present day.

VII. Occupations and professions

We shall now pass on to examine the occupation of the people. India has been, through the ages, the land of occupational castes and groups. Among the occupations we find smith *(karmāra)*,[6] ploughmen *(kṛṣṭi)*, potter *(mṛtpaca)*, herdsman *(paśupa)*, carpenter *(takṣan)*, fisherman *(puñjiṣṭha)*, barber *(vaptṛ)*, boatman *(nāvaja)*, jeweller *(maṇikāras)*, basketmaker *(biḍālākara)*, washerman *(malaga)*, dyer *(rājayatri)*, ropemaker *(rajjusarja)* and weaver *(vayitri)*.[7] The large variety and number of occupations show at once the advanced nature of the culture and civilisation of Vedic peoples. It is wrong to call them peoples still in the stage of pastoral culture. That they were agricultural (krṣṭi), and used ploughshare *(lāṅgala)*, sickle *(dātra)*, threshing floor *(khala)*, and measuring vessel *(urdara)*, is evident from the numerous references in Vedic literature.

The grains cultivated included rice *(vrīhi)*, wheat *(godhūma)*, barley *(yava)*, and sesamum (tila).[8] In the matter of clothing they used embroidered (peśas), as well as plain garments (paridhāna, pāṇḍva).[9] Wool (avi),[10] silk[11] and skin (ajina)[12] were generally used as materials. In addition to these occupational groups, we meet with priests *(ṛviks)*, merchants (vaniks), and royal officials including soldiers. They had a sound knowledge of almost all metals, gold, silver *(rajata)*, copper *(loha)*, lead *(sīsa)*, and iron *(ayas)* and the ornaments and implements mentioned show that there were experts who could work on these different metals. They knew shipbuilding *(nau-plava)* among other industries and carried on trade both by land and by sea *(samudra)*.

---

1 Pañca Br. XXV. 10. 23.
2 Sat. Br. IX. 5. 2. 15.
3 I. p. 170.
4 XII. 2. 2. 13.
5 XIII. 5, 4, 13.
6 RV. X. 72, 2.
7 Pañ. Br. 1. 8. 9. The term suggests these were largely women.
8 For details see V. I., i. pp. 181-82.
9 RV. II. 3. 6.
10 RV. IX. 109. 16.
11 AV. 18. 4. 31.
12 AV. V. 21. 7.

The History of Early Buddhism in India[1]

At all times and in all ages orthodoxy has always been endowed by heterodoxy. So long as human instinct is what it is, we cannot mark out an epoch or period of history in any country when all the inhabitants in that period and in the country were members of absolutely the same religious sect. Broadly the religion followed by the whole country may be the same in general principles, but it is open to any sect of the vast community to embrace certain beliefs and customs which may be the outcome of environment and culture. We know for certain the influence of geographical conditions on history. What is true of one culture is also true of others. Coming to India, ever since the dawn of her history, we unmistakably find heterodoxy flourishing side by side with orthodoxy, almost always in the camp of orthodoxy itself. To make ourselves more clear, in the so-called Vedic times of our history there was certainly the orthodox party following the Vedic prescriptions and injunctions. Yet in the heyday of this Vedic supremacy we find different communities like the *Vrātyas*, the *Dānavas* and the *Dasyus*, who were to all intents and purposes members of the great community and religion,[2] but still had different views of life, had different manners and customs, some of them being heterodox to the devout follower of the Veda. We shall presently show that the Buddhist sect was one such unorthodox sect, the origin of which can be traced as early as the *Brāhmaṇa* and *Upaniṣad* literature of the Hindus.

That the Buddhist movement came into birth before the teachings of Gautama Buddha is evident. The form of belief known to us as Buddhism existed long before this event. The words Buddha and Śramana, as pointed out by Weber, are titles of

---

1 Submitted to *The Fifth All-India Oriental Conference*, Lahore, (Nov. 1928.) Vol. II, pp. 911-36.

2 There is an opinion in certain circles that these classes were un-Aryan and opposed to the Vedic cult. It all depends on what one means by the word Aryan. If by the term 'Aryan' we mean an orthodox member of the community, to that extent, the *Vrātyas*, and the *Dānavas* were un-Aryan. Surely they did not possess orthodox views of religion but took a different view of life and religion. The traditional interpretation easily solves the tangled problem of races, classes, and other sub-divisions of the peoples which belong of right to the domain of ethnology. Before social polity or the division of the whole society into four communities—the Brahman, the Ksatriya, the Vaiśya and the Sūdra—came to stay in this land, the whole community of peoples was classified into three broad divisions: the *Sattva*, the *Rājasa* and the *Tāmasa*, according to their qualities and aptitude in life. Those who were *Sātvikas* were, we can say, the so-called Āryans, meaning in its widest sense 'orthodox'. Those who were of the *Rājasic* temperament were known by the term Asuras. Literally असुषु रमन्तेऽति असुराः। Those who enjoy life and at the same time keep some show of their splendour and magnificence. The Rākśasas belonged to the *Tāmasic* class. Ignorance prevailed among these people. They revelled in worldly pleasures and charms of life. 'Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof', was their motto. With the establishment of the social *sthiti* or social order later on, communities of peoples became divided into four classes for the sake of the world's progress and country's welfare. This is known by the term *Varṇāśramadharma*. As before among each of the four *varṇas* there were Āryas, Asuras and Rāksasas. For example among the Brahmans there were Ārya Brahmans, Asura Brahmans and Rāksasa, Brāhmans; again among the Sūdras: the Arya Sūdras, the Asura Sūdras, the Rāksasa Śūdras. According to tradition Rāvana was a Rāksasa Brahman. In the light of this interpretation we venture to remark that the so-called unorthodox classes were members of the same religious fold though with a different bent of mind.

honour given to sages and seers of the Vedic and Vedantic schools, though in later times appropriated by the Buddhists as peculiarly their own[1]. Weber remarks: "The Buddhist doctrine was originally of purely philosophical tenour, identical with the system afterwards denominated the Sāṁkhya and that it only gradually drew up into a religion in consequence of one of its representatives having turned with it to the people"[2]. The same authority is disposed to connect the Śākyas, who are the family of which Buddha himself came, with the Śākāyanins of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and also with Śākāyanyas of the *Maitrāyaṇī Upaniṣad.* The doctrines promulgated by Yājnavalkya in the Bṛhad-Āraṇyaka are in fact completely Buddhistic, as also are those of the later Atharvopaniṣads[3].

These references though not directly to Buddhism, as we now understand by it, serve to indicate the tendencies and influences of theories other than the accepted orthodox ones. Differences of views as regards philosophical notions existed always and were also respected. A wordy warfare was certainly indulged in by the exponents of the different theories, and as certain as anything the orthodox party came out successful. Among such ardent exponents of Schools of thought the Buddha takes the first rank. For, example is better than precept. Though other teachers waxed eloquent over their precepts, it was the Buddha who put them in practice, so that the significance of his doctrines might appeal to the people. Thus we can say that a fresh impetus was given to the already growing movement by the preachings of Gautama, and even here it is not plausible to argue that he founded a new religion altogether different from the established religion of the land. The pieces of evidence are mainly literary and are to be gathered from canonical and other books reduced to writing centuries after the Nirvāṇa of the Buddha. The voluminous legends which have grown around this notable sage of ancient India may or may not be historical. Granting that the tradition is well-founded, we have reasons to show that tradition narrates that the Buddha did not found a new religion but a monastic sect. We shall presently demonstrate however that while founding this sect of monasticism all the rules and regulations of the prevalent orthodox sect of Sannyāsins formed a convenient model to copy and to follow.

Let us now proceed to examine the important practices and institutions of Brahmanic ascetic life and incidentally trace the rise of the Kṣatriya ascetic orders. According to the Hindu social polity, or the *Varṇāśramadharma* system, the whole community was divided into four classes and four orders or stages of life. The new society provided certain conventions and regulations to keep up orderliness in the community. It was prescribed that vocations of all these different classes be hereditary, and hence practically fixed. While the first class included the group of philosophers and teachers, the second included the group of warriors and rulers. It was further prescribed that the first class or the Brahman had four stages of life *(āśrama)*, — the Brahmacarya or the life of celibacy, Gṛhastha or the life of the householder, Vānaprasta or forest life and the Sannyāsa or a life of renunciation.

---

1 Weber, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 27
2 Ibid., p. 284
3 Ibid., p. 285

The second and third classes, the Kṣatriyas and the Vaiśyas, were debarred from the last *āśrama*—the Sannyāsa, though Vijnānēśvara quotes a view of one Sūtrakāra according to which they are also eligible for the Sannyāsa[1]. The reasons are obvious. From the duties expected of those classes namely protection and commerce it would not be practical politics to allow them take to a life of renunciation. If this were allowed it would defeat the great principle of the Nīti literature—the *lokayātrā* or the progress of the world. Penance and meditation would be only fruitful in a country where the hand of protection is assured from both internal and external enemies of the kingdom, and where again people live in peace and plenty because of increased trade and commercial transaction[2].

But as time rolled on there were certain changes in the regulations of social order. So long as the Kṣatriyas found their avocations in fighting and ruling, the realm of the old order continued. According to tradition as transmitted in our *Purāṇa* texts, the Kṣatriya rule of ancient India came to an end with the great Nandas. The extirpation of the Nanda dynasty and the usurpation, victory, and establishment of the Mauryas in Magadha saw the downfall of monarchs of true Kṣatriya blood. The social order was set at naught and he who was the most powerful, of whatever caste he may be, won the crown. It must not be understood that this social disruption came only after the Nandas or even immediately before the Nandas. The germs of discontent with existing order were smouldering for long, and fanned by the flames of Mahāvīra and Gautama, burst into glowing fire in the post-Buddhistic epoch.

Mahāvīra and Gautama then can be regarded as representatives of the Kṣatriya movement which aimed at ascetic life. Both of them were Kṣatriyas. After a period of worldly life both became disgusted with the vanity of the world and took to ascetic robes with the firm conviction that such a life alone will tend to *salvation, mokṣa, nirvāṇa, kaivalya, mukti,* all connoting the same meaning. When influential members of society became the founders of a new cult, no doubt they commanded a pretty number of adherents to that cult. Such deviations are brought to the notice of the sages and seers of the epoch of the Upanisads. For the *Brhadāranyaka Upaniṣad* gives them the title of a *parivrājaka* (Sannyāsin), who gives up the pleasures of family life[3], who discards wealth[4] and disregards everything worldly and material[5] and who lives by begging[6] knowing himself[7]. Commenting on the world 'प्रव्राजिन्त' the *Mitāksarā* remarks: "Those who relinguish absolutely all *karmas*"[8]

---

1 अन्ये तु त्रैवर्णिकानां प्रकृतत्वात् 'त्रयाणां वर्णानां वेदमधीत्य चत्वार आश्रमाः' इति सूत्रकारवचनाच्च द्विजातिमात्रस्याधिकारमाहुः

See *Yājñayavalkya smrti*, p. 335. (Nirnayasagar Press edition, 1926)

2 प्रचारसमृद्धि of Kautalya

3 पुत्रेषणायाः।

4 वित्तैषणायाः।

5 लोकैषणायाः।

6 भिक्षाचर्यांचरन्ति।

7 आत्मज्ञः। *Brhad*, ch. IV, 4, 22.

8 प्रकर्षेण सर्वाणि कर्माणि न्यस्यन्तीति। *Brhad*, Anandasrama Sanskrit Series, No. 31, p. 198.

The Sannyāsa is of two kinds. One is *vividiṣā sannyāsa.* Under this category comes he who hankers after the knowledge of Ātman and who therefore proceeds by the beaten track, namely, the study of the Vedas, the performance of Yajnās, the bestowing of gifts and the doing of penance without expecting any reward[1]. The other kind of Sannyāsa is the *vidvat sannyāsa.* This implies becoming an ascetic without undergoing all the discipline, but abandoning the world so soon as one gets *vairāgya.* This is the stage when a man subdues all passions and desires, and becomes completely indifferent to the worldly pleasures and sorrows. There is no *niyama* or injunction for this. At any stage of life a certain person can take himself to this form of asceticism[2]. From the term ब्राह्मणाः विविदिषन्ति of the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* we have to infer that the first kind of Sannyāsa is mainly intended for members of Brāhmaṇa community. Though the *vidvat-sannyāsa* is equally applicable to that community again, still it is reasonable to assume that members of the Kṣatriya community sought shelter under the second category and took to the fourth *āśrama,* though according to the orthodox opinion this kind of Sannyāsa was no *āśrama-sannyāsa.*

That the Kṣatriyas had the right of Sannyāsa and the institution was in practice in early times is evident from the tradition transmitted in the *Mahābhārata.* After the carnage at Kurukṣetra, Yudhiṣṭhira feels disgusted with life and all its pleasures and expresses his innermost desire to take to Sannyāsa. Bhīma accepts the Sannyāsa system as the *Śāstraic* and remarks that it is welcomed only in times of danger, old age or when a powerful enemy is at the gate[3].

Arjuna further dissuaded Yudhiṣṭhira and narrated to him the story of Janaka, king of the Videhas, who gave up palace life for the one of a wandering mendicant[4]. Thus Arjuna speaks with approval of Kṣatriya Sannyāsa in practice. In replying to his brothers, Yudhiṣṭhira is firm in his opinion and says: "I know the Śāstras and what they aim at; the Vedas declare only two things: Do your duty (*Karma*) and give up the world (त्यज)"[5]. The fruit of the latter is eternal bliss[6]. In other words, ritual and asceticism are two aspects of Indian religion[7]. In about ten chapters there is a learned discussion as to the utility and the right of a Kṣatriya to embrace asceticism. Criticism and discussion of a theological character were never resented. In the course of the lengthy argument we are led to infer that several Kṣatriyas, perhaps of a lower order, donned mendicant's robes thereby to find means of

---

1 तमेतं वेदानुवचनेन ब्राह्मणाः विविदिषन्ति यज्ञेन दानेन तपसा ऽ नाशकेनैतमेव विदित्वा मुनिभर्वति । *Brhad.* ch. V, 4, 22

2. Cf. *Chandogya Upaniṣad,* ch. III.

3 *Śānti,* ch. X-XVII.
आपत्काले हि सन्यासी कर्तव्य इति शिष्यते ।
जरया ऽ भयपरीतेन शत्रुभिर्व्यसितेन वा ।।

4 Ibid., ch. XVII.

5 Ibid., ch. XIX, I.
वेदाहं तात शास्त्राणि अपराणि पराणि च । उभयं वेदवचनं कुरु कर्म त्यजेति च

6 Ibid., XXX.

7 Cf. Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism,* 1, p. 73.

subsistence[1], though a few were really actuated by honest motives. In that way members of all castes took to ascetic life which grew to be the 'accepted mode of religious culture'. As an ascetic the unemployed layman or woman assured himself or herself of some sort of livelihood either from the public or from the state. Such things are mentioned in Kauṭalīya as of common occurrence[2]. Perhaps the system of feeding the ascetic without the latter endeavouring for it began with the Buddha; or rather the provision of food, clothing, housing, and medicaments was itself an endeavour on the part of the Śangha to inspire it[3].

The word *dvija* in Sanskrit literature is used in two senses. It simply means the twice-born. The investing of the sacred thread or the ceremony of Upanayana to the members of the first three classes makes them twice-born. Originally the term connoted a wider interpretation referring to the members of the three communities. But later on it seems to have been restricted to the members of the Brāhmaṇa community alone. The reason is not far to seek. With the ushering in of the Kaliyuga and the consequent intermixture of castes, the pure type of the Kṣatriya and Vaiśya classes began to disappear. The four castes practically reduced themselves to two, the Brāhmaṇs and the non-Brāhmaṇs. At this time the *dvija* meant a Brāhmaṇ only. This is how we have to reconcile the *Hārita* and other law texts which make the *dvija* take to ascetic life[4]. Vijñāneśvara also contends on the authority of Manu and the *Śruti* that asceticism is only for the Brāhmaṇ and not for other castes.[5]

We have to suppose that when the Buddha became enlightened to the knowledge of the Self, there were restraints which deterred the members of the Kṣatriya community from becoming ascetics. By constant *saṁskaras* in different previous births, Gautama had attained to the stage of *vairāgya.* Most of the names occurring in the Buddhist legends, as the names of the Buddha in his prior births, are found in the Vedic literature. When the supreme knowledge came to him unasked, he set out on a wandering life leaving the pleasures of palace life. But still he was in the Kṣatriya fold, and hence orthodox opinion was against him. Necessity then drove him to gather a few adherents from among his own community. Thus we find the Buddha in his first sermon at Benares speaking of his doctrine as that 'for the sake of which sons of noble families leave the house and enter the state of houselessness.[6] Thus it was a sect which dissented from the established orthodox

---

1 *Santi*, ch. XVIII, 34.
अनिष्कषाये काषायमीहार्थमिति विद्धि तम्।
धर्मध्वजानां मुण्डानां वृत्त्यर्थमिति मे मतिः ॥

2 The expressions: परिव्राजिका वृत्तिकामा *Artha Śāstra* (Bk 1, 10; and मुण्डे वा जटिलो वा वृत्तिकामः Ibid, Bk. XI, 1, point out to their existence long prior to Kauṭalya.

3 *Vinaya*, I, 58. See, for more details, Chalmers, *Further Dialogues of the Buddha*, I, Introd., p. XVII.

4 *Hārīta Samhitā*, VI, 4.

5 उपक्रमोपसंहाराभ्यां मनुना ब्राह्मणस्य वा अधिकारप्रतिपादनात्ब्राम्हणाः प्रव्रजंतीति श्रुतेश्चाग्रजन्मन एवाधिकारो न द्विजातिमात्रेस्येति। See *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*, p. 335. (Nirnaya Sagar Press ed., 1926)

6 Jacobi, *Jaina Sūtras*, I, Introd. p. XXXI (S.B.E., XXII); Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 15, etc.
'Yassatthaya kulaputta sammad eva agarsma anagariyan(?) pabbajanti!'

religion. It was primarily intended for the Kṣatriyas, as against the prevailing opinion that the fourth *āśrama* was of the Brāhmaṇs alone.

Gautama realised the weakness of his sect with a handful of followers. He wished to organise it so as to give permanent character to it. Towards this end he did not make any new innovation. The Brāhman order was a convenient model and he unhesitatingly copied it. He wanted however to give a new colour to keep it alive. So he argued that *Vijñāna* or knowledge is Ātma, while the Vedantin philosophised that the Ātmā is *Vijñāna or Vijñānamaya.* In other details the views, practices, and opinions of the orthodox school were followed[1]. Professor Jacobi says "Both Jainism and Buddhism owed to the Brāhmaṇs, especially the Sannyāsins, the ground-work of their philosophy, ethics and cosmogony"[2]. Here it is suggestive to notice that the Jainas were originally a branch of the Buddhist sect. This observation is not entirely new, for Weber[3] and Lassen[4], have expressed a similar opinion. Though there are more points of coincidence, as ably pointed out by Lassen between the two sects, there was this distinction which made them separate themselves into two branches of the common stock. While the lay adherent formed an integral part of the Jaina organisation, not even a formal recognition of him was made in the Buddhist order.[5] In other words the Buddhists were a purely monastic community and took no lay disciples and hence did not interfere with the caste system. The Jainas, on the other hand, admitted lay disciples and accepted the institution of caste. The Caturvidha Śaṁgha of Jainas included the Sādhu, the Sādhvī, the Śrāvaka and the Śrāvikā. The Upāsaka of the Buddhists was not a *de jacto* member of the Buddhist Śaṁgha. It may be pointed out here with advantage that the theories that Buddhism and Jainism were against the caste system and its exclusiveness have no historical foundation.

This is also provable on other grounds. It is a true observation of A. Weber that the Buddha recognised the existing caste system and explained its origin as the Brāhmaṇs themselves did, by the dogma of rewards and punishments, for prior actions.[6] Gautama acknowledged that in some ages the Brāhmaṇs were superior to the Kṣatriyas; had then a supreme Buddha appeared, he should have been born of the Brāhmanical caste.[7] In the Jātakas again Gautama says on the authority of one Vidura that there are ten kinds of Brāhmans.[8] In another Jātaka tale he recognises the superiority and inferiority of castes.[9] In one place the Master commands that the pious householder[10] ought to perform the five *balis:* to the

---

1 Cf. Max Müller, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 351.

2 Jacobi O. C., p. XXXII.

3 Weber, *Indische Studien*, XVI, p. 210.

4 Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, IV, p. 763.

5 Dr. Hoernle's Presidential address, 1898, before the Asiatic Society of Bengal, quoted by Rev. G.P. Taylor in his introduction to Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism.*

6 Weber, *History of Indian Literature*, p. 289.

7 Hardy, *A Manual of Buddhism*, p. 74.

8 *Daśa-Brāhmaṇa-Jātakā*, Cowell-Rouse, *Jātakās*, IV, p. 227-237.

9 *Saṁbhūta Jātakā*, Cowell, *Jātakās*, IV, p. 390-391

10 *Gahapati ariya savaka.*

family, the seers, the pitṛs, the king and the gods[1]. There is another interesting passage quoted by H. Kern from the *Aṅguttara Nikāya: "Attā it. Purisa, jānāii saccaṁ vā yadi vā musā"*. Kern is of opinion that it may probably be a quotation of some *Dharmaśāstra*[2]. This confirms our view more and more that the Buddha had great regard to the then existing creed and codes, and utilised them so far as they suited his doctrines which were not so much at variance as some scholars would make us believe[3]. "In the treatise of *Sigālovāda*, says Kern, the Buddha teaches a layman the duties generally acknowledged in the Indian Smṛtis"[4]. Again in the *Dhammapada*, for which the Buddhagosa wrote a commentary in Pāli in the first half of the 5th century A.D., there is an interesting chapter on the Brāhmaṇ. Here it is said: "Because a man is rid of evil, therefore he is called Brāhmaṇa; because he walks quietly, therefore he is called Samana; because he has sent away his own impurities, therefore he is called Pravrajita" Again: "In whom there is truth and righteousness, he is blessed, he is a Brāhmaṇa"[5]. In the *Buddhagoṣuṭpatti*, though a later work, there is the story of a mahātera reciting the three Vedas *(Trayī)*, and explaining the knotty points therein to Buddhagoṣa when the latter was young[6].

But what is more valuable and important is a portrayal of the attitude of the Buddhists towards the Brāhmaṇ householders to whom they owed their sustenance, as gathered from the *Iti Vuttaka*, one of the canonical books of Buddhism under the second division of the Piṭakas—the *Sutta Piṭaka*—and claimed to be the authentic logic of the Buddha[7].

"107. Exceedingly helpful to you, O monks, are Brāhmaṇ householders who present you with garments, offerings *(Piṇḍapāta)*, beds, seats, requisites for sickness, medicines and utensils. And ye verily, O monks, are exceedingly helpful to the Brāhmaṇ householders, for ye point out to them the Law of their first, middle, and last good actions, and ye do proclaim unto them the life of chastity, with its meaning and its characteristics absolutely complete and perfect. Thus by mutual reliance, O monks, a life of chastity is lived for the sake of crossing the Flood (of earthly longings) and for the sake of properly making an end of Misery".

From these it is provable that there is no warrant to the theory that the Buddha was against the caste system as such.

The equally interesting theory, that is again untenable as we shall presently see, is that the Buddha was against the Vedic sacrifices. This is an examination of the concept of *ahiṁsā* as realised by the founder of the creed. Among the four points of

---

1 *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, II, p. 68.

2 Ibid., I, p. 149

3 Kern, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 68.

4 Ibid., p. 70

5 S.B.E., X, Ch. 26. The Pali Buddhist canon is divided into three Pitakas, the Vinaya, Sutta and Abhidhamma. Of these the *Sutta Piṭka* consists of five Nikāyas: *Dighanikaya, Majjhima, Samyutta, Anguiiara*, and *Khuddakanikaya*. About fifteen works come under the category of the Khuddakanikaya and one of them is the Dhammapada.

6 Law, *Life of Buddhagoṣa*, p. 29.

7 Moore, *Iti Vuttaka*, p. 125. (New York. ed.)

coincidence between Jainism and Buddhism drawn attention to by Lassen[1], one is *ahiṁsā* or non-injury to living beings. Though the Jainas carried this principle too far, the Buddhist conception was the same as found in several books of the great Indian epic, the *Mahābhārata*. It would not be out of place to quote a few texts from this poem. It is said that it is a most excellent creed to be non-violent towards all creatures.[2] In chapters 173-175 of the *Anuśāsanika Parvan* there is a learned discussion as regards the doctrine of *ahiṁsā* and the question of flesh eating. It is Yudhisthira who says that the principle of *ahiṁsā* is recognised by the Veda as the *dharma*[3]. Śrī Kriṣṇa, who preached with all eloquence at his command to Arjuna that he must fight out and kill all his kith and kin in the battle, preaches with equal force the principle of *ahiṁsā* to him.[4] This means that one could be non-violent without prejudice to his *svadharma*, for *svadharma* is always superior to any other *dharma* or practice of virtuous qualities.

There seems to be an opinion that the Vedic Yajña was questioned at first only by the Buddha. But tradition as transmitted in the epic literature may be credited with having started a similar theory already. In more than one place the intrinsic value of the so-called bloody sacrifices has been questioned. In Chapter 92 of the *Aśvamedha Parvan* there is the following story:—Once there were no rains for a long time. Famine stalked the land in all nakedness. People preferred death to living. At that time Agastya began what was known as the *Dvādaśavārṣika yajña*. But still it was not fruitful. The state of rainlessness continued. The sage burst into anger and spoke of creating another Indraloka, etc. There he expresses that he would adopt *cintayajñā* and *sparayajña*, forms of sacrifice where there will be no question of *hiṁsā*. The Ṛtviks bestow praise on Agastya and approve of the removal of *hiṁsā* from the sacrifices.[5] In the *Anuśāsanika Parvan* there is a prohibition against flesh-eating. In the opinion of superior *śiṣṭas* the non-eating of flesh and meat will tend to endow one with health, fame, long life, prosperity and heaven[6].

It is further said by Bhīṣma that meat, in whatever form, attracts the sensation of taste and enslaves him who eats it. The meat of animals is compared to the flesh of one's own son. Flesh is considered as the vilest food for human beings. He concludes that non-violence is the basis of all religions. In chapter 173 Yudhiṣṭhira asks the grandsire that in one place he said that meat was sacred to gods, to pitṛs and others, and in another place he preached abstention of meat. He added he was unable to reconcile both the statements. Bhīsma says that several discourses took

---

1 Lassen, o.c., IV, p. 763.

2 अहिंसा सर्वभूतानां एतकृत्यतमं मतम्: *Aśvamedha Parvan*, ch. L, 2.

3 अहिंसालक्षणं धर्मवेदप्रामाण्यदर्शनात् ॥ *Annusasanika Parvan*, ch. CLXXVI, 2.

4 *Bhagavat Gīta*, X, 5; XVI, 2.

5 भवतः सावशिष्टातु बुद्धहिंसा विवर्जिता ॥ *Asvamedha*, ch. XCIV, 33,
एतामहिंसां यज्ञेषु ब्रूयास्त्वं सततं प्रभो ।
प्रीतास्ततनो भविष्यामो वयं तु द्विजसत्तम । Ibid., 34.

6 धन्यं यशस्यंआयुष्यं स्वग्यें स्वस्त्ययनं महत्
मांसस्याभक्षणं प्राहुः नियताः परमषर्यः ॥ *Anuśāsanika*
36, See also Santi, 345.

place between the ságes in the ages gone by and the result of such discussions was that *ahiṁsā* was the great dharma, virtue, gift, penance, sacrifice, bliss, friendship, happiness and unequal merits[1].

But a householder can use meat sanctified with mantras for Vedic rites as an *akāma*, (with no intention of eating it himself). If he does as a *sakāma* (with an intention to eat it) he commits sin[2]. In those days, they say, the sages, doubtful as to the propriety of eating meat, performed sacrifices with seeds[3]. Still the doubt lingered in their minds. They, therefore, approached Vasu, the king of the Cedis, to have their doubts cleared. The king replied that meat could be taken. But for committing this sin he lost heaven. When he was asked for a second time he repeated the former opinion and for this sin he was sent to the nether world. Upon this the sage Agastya prescribed once for all wild animals be dedicated to the celestials[4].

It is here reasonable to ask, is it not *hiṁsā*, whether the animals involved in the sacrifice are wild or domestic? Why did the sage recommend then wild animals? It is explained by the term प्रोक्षिता in verse 57 of the chapter. The commentator quotes the *śruti* पर्यग्निकृतान् आरण्यान् उत्सृजन्तीति ; and comments upon the same as follows: आरण्यैः यज्ञं कृत्वापि तेषां वधः न कृतः इत्यर्थः । : This refers simply to the dedication of animals in the sacrifice. When once they are dedicated, they are let loose, with the idea that mere dedication has pleased the gods. Thus there is no act of killing the animals. On the strength of this *śruti* Agastya must have set apart wild animals. As this statement occurs in the *Aśvamedhayajñaprakaraṇa*, our orthodox pandits will have it applicable only to the *aśvamedha-yajña*. Still it bears testimony to the tendency prevalent in later times that *hiṁsā* may be discarded in *yajñas*.

Thus we see that the question of sacrifice has been opened long before the age of the Buddha, and in spite of discussions the conclusion was that meat could be used for *vaidic* rites only, and ordinarily one must not indulge in meat.[5] While Brāhmanical ascetics are strictly forbidden to take dishes of meat, the Buddhist monks did not abstain from fish and meat. Under certain restrictions the Buddha

---

1 अहिंसा परमो धर्मस्तथा ऽ हिंसा परो दमः ।
अहिंसा परमं दानमहिंसा परमं तपः ॥
अहिंसा परमो यज्ञस्तथा ऽ हिंसा परं फलम् ।
अहिंसा परमं मित्रमहिंसा परमं सुखम् ॥
सर्वयज्ञे षु वा दानं सर्वतीर्थेषु वा प्लुतम् ।
सर्वदानफलं वा ऽ पि नैतत्तुल्यमहिंसया ॥
अहिंसस्य तपसो ऽ क्षय्यमहिंस्रो जयते सदा ।
अहिंसा सर्वभूतानां यथा माता यथा पिता ।
एतत्फलमहिंसायां भूयश्च कुरुपुङ्गव .
नहि शक्या गुणा वक्तुमपि वर्षशतैरपि ॥

2 Ibid., ch. CLXXIX.

3 श्रूयते हि पुराकल्पे नृणां व्रीहिमयः पशुः ।
येनायजन्त विद्वांसः पुण्यलोकपरायणाः ॥ Ibid., ch. CLXXVII, 54.

4 Ibid, ch. LV-LVIII.

5 विधिहीनं मांसम् न भक्ष्येत् ॥ Ibid., ch. CLXXVII, 53.

allowed the eating of fish and meat, though Devadatta raised the standard of revolt against such practice[1]. There are several Jātakas wherein there is infallible testimony that flesh eating was common among the Buddhists. From the express prohibition of taking the flesh of men, elephants, horses, dogs, asses, etc., Kern rightly remarks that the flesh of other animals was not forbidden food[2]. Further in chapter IV of the *Mahāparinibbāṇa Suttanta,* in response to an invitation by the smith Çunda at Pava *(Cundo Kammāraputto),* the Buddha visited the latter place and partook of the dishes containing pork *(Sūkara-maddavam)*[3]. This brought on him an illness which proved fatal ultimately[4]. From these we infer that the principle of *ahiṁsā* preached by the Buddhist teacher was no more than what Bhīṣma taught to king Yudhiṣṭhira. It may also be noted that among the five *mahāvratas* expected to be observed by every ascetic, the place of honour is given to the practice of *ahiṁsā*[5]. The legislator further speaks of a twofold purity, both outward and inward. The latter is realised only by *ahiṁsā*[6].

We have been trying so far to prove that the Buddha did not attack the caste system; that the principle of *ahiṁsā* was not peculiar to this sect, and that as far as possible the Buddhists did not break from the established tradition of the land. Accordingly Kern says: "He (the Buddha) repeatedly extols the morals and virtues of the ancient ṛṣis. The Dhamma is the ensign of the ṛṣis".[7] Exemplary ṛṣis were Asita, and Devala, not withstanding their heterdoxy *(bāhiraka mārga)*[8] from the point of view of the Buddhists.

It is then difficult to escape the conclusion that early Buddhism did not abound in surprises. If there were any new innovations, they were in minor details. The Upanisads afforded a precedent, and the Buddha followed it. Professor Keith writes:—"Nor in choosing the term Dhamma for the system was Buddhism without Upanisad precedent; the *Bṛhadāranyaka* (1-4-14) tells us that Brahman created the Dharma than which nothing is higher, and the Mahānārāyana (XXI-6) asserts that the whole universe is encircled by the Dharma than which there is nothing harder to describe"[9]

That the Buddhists did not hesitate to adopt the articles of morality and other regulations concerning monasticism of the Brāhmaṇas is obvious. One fundamental difference was in philosophy. There is an opinion, not without reason, that originally the sect had no moral code except the general prescriptions and

---

1 *Mahavagga,* VI, 31, 14; *Cullavagga,* VII, 3, 15; *Majjhima Nikāya,* I, 368

2 Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism,* p. 71.

3 *Digha Nikaya,* II, pp. 126-128. Cf. S.B.E., XI. pp. 70-72, 84.

4 Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism,* pp. 355-358

5 *Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra,* II, 10, 41.

6 अहिंसा च पूतात्मा मनस्सत्येन शुद्धयति । Ibid, III, 1, 22-23. Cf. Ibid., III, 10, 14. Here *ahimsa* is regarded as penance itself.

7 *Aṅguttara Nikāya,* II, p. 51.

8 Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism,* p. 68.

9 Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda,* II, p. 550.

injunctions which were in common with the general laws of society. "The more we try to remove the difficulties, the more we are driven to the suspicion that original Buddhism was not correctly that of the canonical books"[1]. The ten precepts of the Buddhist order are the following: Not to destroy life, not to steal, not to be impure, not to utter falsehood, not to serve intoxicants, not to take forbidden meals, not to go in for a soft couch, and not to have any lust after gold. The *dharma* peculiar to the Sannyāsins is given in similar terms in the *Mānavadharma Śāstra*[2]. The outfit of a Bhiksu then was that of a Brāhmaṇ ascetic[3]. So far the ethics of the Buddhist sect were concerned there is nothing strikingly original. The three sins of the body, and four sins of speech, the three sins of mind and five other evils are all found in the *Dharmaśūtras* and the *Dharmaśāstras*[4]. That the *traividya* or the three *Vedas* were not neglected or condemned, and the Vedic idea of the union with Brahman was not disregarded is evident from a pregnant statement: "Verily this, Vesettha, is the way to a state of union with Brahma"[5]. Further the Buddha has belief in the doctrine of *karma*, which Warren calls one of the hardest of doctrines.[6] The theory of rebirth according to *karma* is the unassailable Hindu theory which the Buddha could not easily ignore.

Also the Buddhist custom of holding a meeting once a fortnight, especially on the full moon and new moon days, points to the borrowing of this custom from the Vedic rites:—the *aupavasta* and the *darśapūrṇamāsa* performed on the *parva* days in every month[7]. These meetings are said to be penitential gatherings wherein the faults committed are confessed and atoned for by every member of the order. Furthermore the Buddha kept *Vassa* (rainy season) three months every year surrounded by groups of his disciples when kings and the wealthy contended for the honour of entertaining him and his disciples. This period being over, then began the season of itinerancy from town to town and village to village, sometimes with as many as five hundred disciples[8]. The *Vassa* generally commenced the day after the full moon in the month of Āsādha, or one month after the full moon in the month of Āśāḍha.

This is but a copy of the *cāturmāsya* of the Brāhmaṇ Sannyāsins. Śaṅkha, the law-giver, prescribes two months' stay in the rainy season in the same place, and Devala and Kaṇva prescribe four months commencing with the śrāvaṇa month. In other seasons Kaṇva rules only a day's stay in the village and five days' stay in a

---

1 Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 50.

2 Manu, VI, v.39 ff: Cp. *Yājñavalkya*, III, v. 56 ff.

3 *Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra*, II, p. 10, s. 17, 11.

4 Cf. Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 477.

5 *Tevigga Sutte*, III, 2, (S.B.E., XI); Cf. Moore *Iti Vuttaka*, 68 and 69, pp. 77-78

6 Warren, *Buddhism in Translations*, H.O.S., III, p. 209.

7 Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 142.

8 *Vinayapiṭakam*, I, *Mahāvagga* III, Bk, 1, pp. 137-156

town[1]. What was done by the Buddha and that existed before him is still in practice today in our country. Our Śaṅkarācāryas spend their retreat in the rainy season with their disciples in a place from where they have an invitation. But these disciples are almost all lay people and not monks as the Buddha had. The congregation of *sannyāsins* was not advocated. It is said by the law-giver Daksa: "If two monks joint together it is a gathering, if three joined together it is a grāma and any number above four is a town". The reasons given for prohibiting congregation are also given as follows: "Taking part in the present day politics, speaking about the food served to them, breeding jealousy and hatred among themselves". Unlike their Brāhmanical brethren these Kṣatriya ascetics founded a congregation which naturally engineered such unhealthy influences that went a long way to bring about its disruption.

Furthermore the custom of worshipping foot-prints was already an old institution before the time of the Buddha. Its probable origin can be traced to the Vedic legend of Visnu's stepping over the earth. From the Nirukta of Yāskā[2] Viṣṇupāda was at the Gaya Hill from which place it was believed Visnu actually went up. This passage is, therefore, important as it shows that Gaya has long been regarded a sacred place, and the Buddha perhaps chose it to do meditation because it was a sacred place of orthodox people who derived their cult from the Rig-Veda.[3]

Another feature of the Buddhist congregation was the admission of women into the order. This was the weak spot of the whole system. We cannot say that there were no women Sannyāsins in the Brāhmanical fold. Baudhāyana refers to the Sannyāsins from among the fair sex. But there is a definite prescription that the male sannyāsin should not mingle himself with the female sannyāsin[4] Now granting that the Hindu Smrtis recognised Sannyāsins of the other sex, the authors of the law-codes were careful to restrict their intercourse with the male sannyāsins, with the result that everything went on without much ado. But this was not so in the Buddhist order. It is true that the Buddha was at first not inclined to admit nuns to his order. He had his own misgivings. But he was prevailed upon by Mahāpajāpati the Gotamī, sister of the mother of the Blessed one[5]. Strict regulations were made and an order of nuns soon came to stay. But still

---

1 Cf. Mitāksarā Commentary on the *Yājñavalkya*, III, V. 56 – 57.
"ऊर्ध्वं वार्षिकायां मासायां नैकस्थानवासी' इति शङ्खस्मरणात्।
अशक्तौ पुनर्मासचतुर्त्यन्तमपि स्थातव्यं न चिरमेकत्र वसेदन्यत्र वर्षाकालात्। श्रावणादयश्चत्वारो मासा वर्षाकालः' इति देवलस्मरणात्। एकरात्रंवसेद्ग्रमे नगरे रात्रिपञ्चकम्। वर्षारम्भोन्यत्र वर्षासु मासांस्तु चतुरो वसेत्। इति काण्वस्मरणात्॥
एको भिक्षुर्यथोक्ताश्च द्वावेव मिथुनं स्मृतम्।
त्रयो ग्रामः समाख्यात ऊर्ध्वं तु नगरायते॥
नगरं हि नकर्तव्यं ग्रामो वा मिथुनं तथा।
एतत् त्रयं प्रकुर्व्वाणः स्वधर्माच्यवते यतिः॥
राजवार्तादि तेषां तु भिक्षावार्तां परस्परम्।
अपि पैशुन्यमात्सर्यं सन्निकर्षान्न संशयः॥ (Daksa, VII, 35-37)

2 Yāskā, *Nirukta*, Daivata Kanda, pp. 848 ff. (Venkateswara Press, Bombay, ed.)

3 Jayaswal, *Vaishnava Worship and Buddhism*, I.A., XLVII p. 84.

4 Cf. Mitāksarā Commentary on the *Yājñavalkya*, III, 58.

5 *Cullavagga*, X, 1.

the Buddha said: "If, Ānanda, women had not retired from household life to the houseless one under the Doctrine and Discipline announced by the Tathāgata, religion, Ānanda, would long endure: a thousand women have retired from household life to the houseless one under the Doctrine and Discipline announced by the Tathāgata, not long, Ānanda, will religion endure, but 500 years, Ānanda, will the good Doctrine abide"[1].

Accordingly H. Kern remarks: "His (Buddha's) misgiving proved true by the subsequent events; the ladies, even Gautamī, were now and then fretful, and sometime afterwards when the Lord sojourned at Śravasti some nuns moved the indignation of the public by their scandalous behaviour"[2].

Notwithstanding the few variations from the Brāhmaṇical codes, the Buddhist sect in its early form practically followed those codes, and we may close this section with the remark of the above distinguished Orientalist: "No one unless unacquainted with Brāhmaṇical literature will fail to perceive that this superior morality is nothing else but the rule of life of the *dvija* in the fourth *āśrama* when he is a *yati* or *mukta*. The only plausible explanation is that all those superfluous details were bodily or with some modifications taken from *Dharmasūtras* and *Dharmaśāstras*"[3].

In the light of the above observations it would be wrong to speak of a Buddhist India. Hinduism was so catholic that it absorbed within its fold all sects and sectaries though professing different views about life and God. Scholars of wide views and cautious judgment like Rhys Davids have called into question the intrinsic value of the well-founded tradition. We cannot definitely mark a time for the rise of Buddhism in India. It is a slow process of age-long evolution. The Buddha gave an impetus to the movement though scholars like Emile Senart opine that the Buddha, of whom Buddhist tradition waxes eloquent, has never lived as a man.[4]

In our opinion in the face of such strong tradition, to deny the existence of an historical figure is carrying research too far. Granting then the existence of the historical figure of the Buddha, is there any tangible evidence to indicate that Buddhism exercised any powerful sway in the Mauryan epoch or before? Rhys Davids remarks:—"We know, whether from native or foreign sources very little of what happened during the century and half that followed after the Buddha's death"[5]. This was the period of the Nandas and we have no details of their administration. In this period as in the time of the Buddha, the Buddhist monks found hospitable homes in Kośala and Magadha, indeed a small fraction of the vast

---

1 *Mahāparinibbāna, Suttanta*, ch. V, s. 23; Warren, *Buddhism in Translations*, H.O.S., II, p. 447. Cf. Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, I, p. 160.

2 *Cullavagga*, X, s. 9-27.

3 Kern *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 70.

4 Senart *Essai sur La Legende du Buddha* (Paris, 1875)

5 Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India, p. 259*

continent of India. We cannot judge of the whole of India from these two small kingdoms even where the influence does not seem to have been very great. From the *Mānavādharma Śāstra* and *Yājñavalkya*[1] we gather that these Kṣatriya monks lived side by side with the Brāhmaṇ ascetics, the latter being asked to retire from villages inhabited by these unorthodox monastic sects.

History cannot support the statement often heard that the Mauryas were followers of Buddhism. Jacobi's argument is convincing when he says that Kauṭalya recognised philosophy to be a science by itself, and hence he could bring in the *Lokāyata,* the character of whose contents must exclude it from the *Trayī.*[2] If Kautalya could recognise the *Lokāyata,* he could recognise as well as the Buddhist philosophy, if the latter had really deserved the name of philosophy in his time. There is no warrant to the view that the Buddhist philosophical systems were ignored by Kauṭalya. The probabilities are that these systems gained currency only after Kauṭalya's time in the centuries immediately before and after the beginning of our era. Chandragupta, the first king of the dynasty, owed his throne to the Brāhmaṇ politician Kauṭalya, who seems to have been an absolute follower of the old Vedic religion. Sacrificial halls *(agnihotraśālas)* are mentioned as also worship to Indra, Varuna, Aśvins, etc. There are references in Kauṭalīya[3] to some heretical sects, the members of which found employment in the Intelligence Department and other administrative offices. Other recluses deserving of regard were shown due honour and respect. The same is the case with the great Maurya emperor and the grandson of Chandragupta, Aśoka. Though there is a consensus of opinion that Aśoka professed Buddhism[4], and though others hold the view that he was a Jaina, we agree with the Reverend Father Heras, S.J., that he was neither a Buddhist nor a Jaina, but a follower of the established religion of the land, what we may now call the earlier form of Hinduism. He held catholic views about religion and life and thought it *dharma* to be of help to every religious sect prevailing in his empire.[5] As Father Heras has dealt with this rather elaborately, I refrain from adducing reasons in favour of the theory that Aśoka was not a Buddhist.

Still I shall make one observation. Every one knows that Aśoka abstained from war after the Kalinga carnage. Was it due to Jaina or Buddhist influence? Our answer is negative. The ideal which Aśoka set himself was not the ordinary Kṣatriya

---

1 *Manu,* ch. VI, 51; *Yājñavalkya,* III, 59.

2 Jacobi, *A Contribution towards the Early History of Indian Philosophy, I.A.,* XLVII, p.104.

3 Kauṭalya also shows that this was in practice from the expression **प्रव्रज्याप्रत्यवसितः** I Bk. Ch. 12. Temporary renouncing of the world by sick men to get healed by honorary physicians by warriors to escape active service, by fugitives from justice, debtors, runaway slaves and impecunious old gentlemen. Cf. Chalmers, *Further Dialogues of the Buddha,* Introd., p. 18.

4 Cf. *Professor Kern's Versions of Some of the Asoka Inscriptions, I.A.,* V, p. 257-276.

5 Heras, *Asoka's Dharma and Religion, Q.J.M.S.,* XVII, p. 257-276.

1. **तमार्तं पतितं भूमौश्वसन्तं च पुनः पुनः ।**
ददृशुः पार्थिवा राजन् धर्मपुत्रं युधिष्ठिरम् ।।
दृष्ट्वा दीनमनसं गतसत्त्वं नरेश्वरं ।
भूयः शोकसमाविष्टाः पाण्डवाः समुपाविशन् ।।

duty, but that of a Kṣatriya of a higher order. More than once Yudhiṣṭhira, who heard of the *ahiṁsā* doctrine from his grandsire Bhīṣma as the highest Vedic religion, wanted to avoid battle. But when once the war was declared, he, as a Kṣatriya, took part in it. But after the terrible destruction of many a life, near and dear to him, he fell down unconscious being overwhelmed with sorrow,[1] and resolved to don the ascetic robes and never more be a king. Least was not the difficulty to reconcile him and make him accept the throne. On the eve of the Kurukṣetra battle again Arjuna refused to fight his own kith and kin. Did not Śri Rāmacandra speak of Kṣtriya dharma as *adharma* in the guise of *dharma*. With a deep religious bent of mind then Aśoka followed the footsteps of his great predecessors Yudhiṣṭhira and Rāmacandra. Nothing more or nothing less was the ruling passion of the great Mauryan King. To interpret this in other ways is, in our opinion, to misinterpret the career of a glorious emperor.

With respect to the successors of Aśoka there is evidence of a rare order in inscriptions which prove that they were not Buddhists. For instance Daśaratha, the grandson of Aśoka, made three grants to Ājīvaka monks by bestowing the caves in the Nāgarjuni Hills. Again about 184 B.C. the Śunga dynasty was founded by Puṣyamitra. He was commander-in-chief to Bṛihadratha whom he overthrew by slaying him. The Buddhist annals make him out to be a persecutor of their faith and a strict follower of Brāhmaṇism. He could not have been as tolerant as the Mauryan monarchs were, and hence the Buddhists regarded him as a hater of their sect. Thus I am inclined to believe that there was no Buddhist ascendency either before or during the epoch of Mauryas, and therefore there was no reaction under Puṣyamitra or under his successors. We grant that the Buddhist monks continued to live side by side with their Brāhmaṇ brethren in a state of harmony and peace. But the fact that they took part in politics and administration of the land, lived together in congregations to which according to the *Vinaya*, were recruited unworthy people who renounced for belly's sake, and who would go back to the world if food supply was refused; and allowed a large number of nuns to embrace their faith, brought about their downfall.

Whatever may be the later developments of these movements here and in other countries, Buddhism and Jainism in their early forms did not exercise any appreciable influence in the history of the land. Jarl Charpentier rightly remarks:— "It is a strange characteristic of these sects so far as I know them that they adopted in their ascetic practices and in their whole mode of life the rules which had been already fixed by their Brāhmaṇ antagonists"[2]. There is no warrant to statements like this of Rhys Davids: "The name was retained but the idea was entirely changed"[3] We shall conclude with the same observation of Sir Charles Eliot:— "Though Hindu life may be cut up into castes and sects, Hindu creeds are not mutually exclusive and repellent. They attract and colour one another"[4]

---

1 *Rāmāyaṇa*, Ayodhya, Kanda ch. CIX, 20.
2 *Cambridge History of India*, I, pp. 150-151
3 S. B. E., XI, p. 162
4 Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, I, Introd., p. 14.

Origin and Early History of Caityas*

Sanctuaries of different kinds are frequently met with in the Buddhist literature. "The most general name for a sanctuary as Kern says is *Caitya* (Pāli, *Cetiya*), a term not only applying to buildings, but to sacred trees, memorial stones, holy spots, images, religious inscriptions. Hence all edifices having the character of a sacred monument are *caityas*, but *not all caityas are edifices.*"[1] As I have said elsewhere, the custom of worshipping foot-prints was in vogue before the time of the Buddha,[2] and so also it will be seen that the worship of *caityas* was in existence long before the epoch of the Buddha. Its probable origin can be traced to the Vedic ritual of *cayana.*[3] The term *caitya* does not occur in the Saṃhitās. The earliest work in which the term occurs is the *Āśvalāyaṇa Gṛhyasūtra*, assigned generally to the sixth century B.C., but probably belonging to a much earlier date. Before we proceed to examine the use of this term caitya in the *Āśvalāyana Gṛ. Sū.* or other works of equal authority, let us examine it etymologically. The expression admits of several etymological transformations and one is *cityasya idam = caityam.*

Now 'What is *citya*?' The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* explains citya[4] as that which could be used for *cayana*, or more appropriately, that which is fit for *cayana.*[5] Though the term *caitya* as such does not occur in the *Aitareya* or *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, still it is significant to note the use of the expression *citya* from which the original expression *caitya* has been undoubtedly derived. In the older Saṃhitās we find the use of the term *citya.* In the *Taittirīya* Saṃhitā, in the fifth kāṇḍa, we have the following lines:

Rūpāṇi sarvāṇi rūpāṇi agnau citye kriyante tas-māt etāḥ agneḥ cityasya[6]

Thus we hear of an Agni-citya to which offerings are made. The term *cityam* again occurs in the *Atharva Veda*[7] but it is doubtful whether here an Agni-citya is meant. Whatever this may be, there is clear evidence of an Agni-citya and its use in the Vedic sacrifices. And this may be regarded as the origin and commencement of Caitya cult which reached very large dimensions in the post Vedic period. But there are other derivations of the word *caitya.* First is *cityāyā idam.* Secondly, the commentator on the Amara derives it thus:

---

* Rep. from *Prof. M. Winternitz Memorial Number, IHQ* 14 (1938) 240-51.

1 *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, (1896) p. 91.

2 *Proceedings of All-India Fifth Oriental Conference*, (1930)—'The History of Early Buddhism in India' p. 930)

3 See in this connection the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XI, pp. 20-22

4 For an explanation of Agni-citya, see Martin Haug—Transl. of *Ait. Br.*, V. *Note* 28

5 सोऽस्यैव चित्य आसीत् । चेतव्यो ह्यस्यासीत्तस्माचित्यश्चित्य उ एवायं यजमानस्य भवति । चेतव्यो ह्यस्य भवति तस्मात् एव चित्यः ॥ VI, 1. 2. 16 (Bib. Indica)

6 5. 1.8.4

7 7 X 2.8.

cīyate pāṣāṇādinā caityam

This is supported by Mitākṣarā where, in commenting on the term *caitya* in *Yājñavalkya*, II, 151, it is rendered *pāṣāṇādibandhyaḥ*. This means that which is built of stone. Thirdly, *caitya* may be from *citi* or *cita*, where the terminations *ti* and *ta* are added to *ci*. These can be interpreted as funeral pile or Agñi. In this case *cita* + *ya* makes it *cit* + *ya* which leads to the form *citya*. Sometimes the use of the term *cita* is extended to *śmaśānaṃ*. In commenting on the text of the *Rāmāyaṇa—citya-mālyānulepa*,[1] the commentator Govindarāja observes thus:

citā śmaśānaṃ tatra bhavaṃ cityaṃ tādṛśaṃ mālyaṃ

The expression *caityasthāna* in the *Arthaśāstra* (Bk. V. 2) refers to the burial ground. In all these derivations it must be remembered that every expression is ultimately derived from the root *ciñ cayane* meaning to collect, to pile up or to build. This furnishes the certain clue that the original term was *citya* as we saw it used in the Saṃhitās and Brāhmaṇas and by the time of the *Āśvalāyana Gr. Sū.*, the ancients have developed what is known as *caitya-yajña*. Thus we see both the terms *citya* and *caitya* are correlated and connoted one and the same thing in the second half of the Vedic period. Thus the *Śabdakalpadruma* quotes an ancient text of Bharata to indicate that *caitya* is Yajñasthāna or Yajñāyatana. This is a sacred place set apart for the performance of Yajñas. It may possess *citya* or it may not possess one. Still it went by the name of *caitya*.[2]

In the Vedic literature we find two uses of *cayana*. One form is that it was a sacrifice in itself. There are several kinds of *cayana* sacrifice and one of them too familiar to students of *Yajur-Veda* is the *Garuḍacayana-yāga*. In this yāga, special *Iṣṭakas* or bricks are made with given dimensions, and these are spread in the form of a Garuḍa as if lying down on the earth. On it different *homas* or oblations are performed.[3] The other was that it formed part of a great sacrifice like the *Aśvamedha*. Here it was not an independent yajña. The cayana ritual consisted in collecting the sacred ashes and the sacrificial utensils towards the very end of the sacrifice and piling them up in a certain place apparently fenced with walls of stone, brick or even mud. The idea underlying was that things used in a Vedic yajña ought not get defiled by the villager or stranger or by any animal or beast. It is pointed out in the text quoted above that such yajñāyatana was devoid of mukha (*mukha-rahitam*). In other words there was no opening that led into it. It was a kind of enclosure all round. It resembled in shape and size a *devakula* by which Hindu temples were meant in ancient India.

---

1 I. 58.12 (Kumbhakonam edition).

2 यज्ञस्थानं केचित्तु मुखरहितं देवकुलसदृशं यज्ञायतनं सचित्यमचित्यमपीत्याहुः ।

3 Readers of this paper will learn with interest that this yajña was performed on Vedic lines within last thirty years by two eminent pandits of Tanjore District. The late Pandit Bālakrishna Sastriar of Tiruvādi did it at Tiruvādi, and after the yajña he got the whole place fenced with brick wall, so that the place may not get contaminated with any impurity. The other was my eldest brother Rāmaswami Dikshitar of Vishnampet who performed it on the banks of the Viraśola river at Tiruvaḍamarudūr, a village very near Kumbakonam.

In this connection we must not fail to take note of the fact that not only in later Vedic literature but in the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa*, we find a combination so to say of *caitya* and *yūpa*. *Yūpa*, it is too well known, is the sacrificial post-to which the animal to be sacrificed was generally tied. And no one can dispute that wherever yūpa is mentioned, there emerges the fact of Vedic yajña being performed. It is the unquestionable emblem of denoting that some yāga had been performed there. We shall examine this further.

Taking up the *Mahābhārata* we find the interesting statement *caitya-yūpaśatāṅkita*[1] in the Ādiparva, meaning the region made sacred by the caitya and yūpa. It needs no stretch of imagination to infer that *caitya* and *yūpa* under reference were found in one and the same place. Conclusion is, therefore, irresistible that *caitya* was intimately associated with the place where Vedic yajña had been performed. In another place the epic refers in glowing terms that the country is full of *caityas* and *yūpas*[2] implying again that caityas were places of sacred yajñas. If we turn next to the *Rāmāyana* we meet with the same description. When Rāma went through Kosala *en route* to the Daṇḍaka forests, he found the whole country decked with *caityas* and *yūpas*.[3] Vālmīkī mentions in another place[4] that the whole region was spotted with hundreds of *caityas*. In these places the reference is undoubtedly to *yajñasthāna*, and the particular combination of *caitya* with *yūpa* deserves to be particularly noted. Add to this the evidence of the *Mṛcchakaṭika*.[5] In the tenth Act Cārudatta recalls to his mind how he and his ancestors have performed hundreds of yajñas when the Vedic chanting of Brāhmaṇas in the *caityas* of the *yajñamaṇḍapa* rent the air. The association of *caitya* with *brahmaghoṣa* is noteworthy.

Proceeding to examine the evidence of the *Āśvalāyana Gṛ. Sū.*, we find for the first time the mention of a *caitya* sacrifice. Whether the reference to the *caitya* by Āśvalāyana is a reference to the Vedic *caitya*, or *yajñasthāna*, or to something else, is the question. H. Oldenberg who has translated this and other Gṛhyasūtras,[6] agrees with Professor Stenzler who renders it "Denkmal" or any religious shrine. The

---

1 भीष्मेण धर्मतो राजन्सर्वतः परिरक्षिते ।
बभूव रमणीयश्च चैत्ययूपशताङ्कितः ॥ I. 118. 13.

2 आहृताः क्रमतो मुख्याः शतं भरतसत्तम ।
यत्र यूपा मणिमयाश्चैत्यश्चापि हिरण्मयाः ॥ II. 23.13

3 ततो धान्यधनोपेतान् दानशीलजनाश्रितान् ।
अकुतश्चिद्भयानरम्याश्चैत्ययूपसमावृतान् ॥ II. 50. 8

4 कश्चिच्चित्याशर्तर्जुष्टः मुनिविष्टजनाकुलः ।
देवस्थानैः प्रपाभिश्च तटाकैश्चोपशोभितः ॥ *Ib.* 100. 44.

5 मखशतपरिपूतं गोत्रमुद्भासितं मे
सदसि निबिडचैत्यब्रह्मघोषै पुरस्तात् ।
मम मरणदशायां वर्तमानस्य पापै -
स्तदसदृशमनुष्यैर्घुष्यते घोषणायाम् ॥ Act X. 12.

6 *S.B.E.*, vols. 29 and 30.

caitya sacrifice is thus described.[1] Before the Sviṣṭakṛt offering, one should offer a *bali* to the *caitya*. If the *caitya* is situated at a distant place, he should send the *bali* through a leaf messenger. This messenger takes it on a carrying pole. If the *caitya* were situated at a place which could be reached by fording a river or crossing a dangerous path, suitable means were arranged to get at the *caitya*. There are two views on this sacrifice. One is the view of the commentator Nārāyaṇa according to whom *caitya* is derived as *citte bhava*.[2] He explains that a man makes a vow to a certain deity that if his wish be granted he would offer a sacrifice, and this sacrifice, according to Nārāyaṇa, is the *caitya* sacrifice. The other view is that of Oldenberg who thinks whether or not the whole rite was not purely symbolical. One thing is certain that this sacrifice was not done at residential quarters. It was done in the place where the *caitya* was situated. The text is very clear about this. Another thing we note here is that the *caitya* was no more yajña-sthāna. For do we not hear of *caitya-yajña* in the text of the Āśvalāyana? This yajña is an orthodox sacrifice performed by the followers of Vedic cult. From the time of Āśvalāyana onwards we find the use of the application of the term caitya extended. There is a transition from Agni-cityas to Anagni-cityas, or in other words from a fire cult to a fireless cult. We read in the epics and especially in the *Rāmāyaṇa* of caitya-gṛhas,[3] caitya prāsādas,[4] and caitya-vṛkṣas.[5] It is difficult to arrive at a correct explanation of these terms. Caitya-gṛha is explained by some *caityasya samīpe gṛhaṃ*, and by others *catuṣpatha-maṇḍapa*.[6] We have the use of *catuścitya* also. It seems to be a primitive practice to have some apology for a shrine at the termini of four streets or four roads and offer worship at that shrine. Such temples are mentioned in the Sangam literature of the ancient Tamils also. Perhaps in this sense Vālmīki uses it when Daśaratha is said to have distributed food to the poor from *caityas*[7] on the eve of Rāma's coronation as Yuvarāja. Vālmīki describes caitya-prāsāda as situated in Laṅkā, supported by a thousand columns and majestic in appearance. It is quite reasonable to assume that a temple is under

---

1 चैत्यायज्ञे प्राक् स्विष्टकृतश्चैत्याय बलिं हरेत्। Bk. I. 12. 1. यद्यु वे विदेशस्थं पलाशदूतेन यत्र वेत्थ वनस्पत इत्येतयर्चा द्वौ पिण्डौ कृत्वा वीवधे अश्यधाय दूताय प्रयच्छेदिम तस्मै बलिं हरेति चैनं ब्रूयादयं तुभ्यमिति यो दूताय। 2. प्रतिभयं चेदन्तरा शस्त्रमपि किंचित्। 3. नाव्या चेन्नद्यन्तरा प्लवरूपमपि किंचिदनेन तरितव्यमिति। (Anandāśrama ed.)

This text forms the tenth Khanda of the Trivandrum edition with the commentary of Haradattācārya. edited by Dr. T. Ganapati Sastri. There it is divided into 8 parts, unlike four in the Ānandāśrama edition.

2 Cp. *Bhāg.* Purāṇ, III. 26. 70.

3 भूमीगृहांश्चैत्यगृहान्गृहातिगृहकानपि। V. 12. 14
चैत्यप्रासादमाप्लुत्य मेरुशृङ्गमिवोन्नतम्। V. 43. 3.

4 It is worth while to read the whole chapter. It is said that Hanumān set fire among others to caitya-prāsāda, when the guards of caitya attacked him in vain.

5 वृक्षाः पतन्ति चैत्याश्च ग्रामेषु नगरेषु च। Mbb. VI. 3. 40
नीललोहितपीतश्च भवत्यग्निर्हुतो द्विजैः॥ See also Rāma. II. 6. 11
See again in this connection Siddhanta. *The Heroic Age of India*. pp. 205-9.

6 See for instance *Sabdārthacintāmaṇi*. We have Vedic authority to show that sacrifice was performed at Catuṣpatha.

7 देवायतनचैत्येषु सान्नभक्ष्याः सदक्षिणाः।
उपस्थापयितव्याः स्युर्माल्ययोग्याः पृथक् पृथक्॥ II. 3. 18. For a combination of devāyatana-caitya see later ch. 71. 41.

reference. It was perhaps the biggest temple in the whole of Laṅka and richly furnished by Rāvaṇa. It must be noted that the term *prāsāda* means ordinarily a shrine. Next caityavṛkṣas are alluded to in the epic. For example when Vālmīkī describes that Rāvaṇa was as fearful looking as *śmaśāna-caitya*, it only means the *caitya* or tree growing in the burial ground.[1] Some lexicons appropriately give among other meanings to the *caitya, devataru, uddeśavṛkṣa.* In the *Śabdakalpadruma* we read under caitya-vṛkṣa: *Caityastadākhyayā prasiddho vṛkṣaḥ.* It further enlightens by saying that it was Aśvattha tree. The worship of trees was an age-long practice in India, and latterly some trees became demarcated caityas, and worship was offered to them. In certain cases, as we see in the law-books of Manu and Yājñavalkya, they were trees generally in the burial ground which marked the boundary limits of the village. According to Manu, underneath their shade Caṇḍāla and similar castes were to find their residence.[2] Yājñavalkya definitely places the *caityas* as serving the boundary limits of a *grāma* or *janapada.*[3] In some cases they were boundaries of gardens and fields.[4] In these cases it may be a tree or even a building. But the trees of the *caitya* or *caitya* trees are certainly alluded to in another place where the same law-giver forbids cutting of the branches of those trees under heavy penalty.[5]

Perhaps in this sense the great poet Kālidāsa uses the expression in his immortal Meghasandeśa.[6] The fact then the Daśaratha's queen and Rāma's mother, Kausalyā, sent forth her prayer on the eve of Rāma's departure to Daṇḍaka forests, to the *caityas*[7] and invoked their choice blessings to protect him from all dangers natural to a forest zone, shows that they were also regarded as fit places for worship. In more than one place Kauṭalya refers to caityas as houses of gods.[8] Kauṭalya refers to *caitya-pūjā* in peculiar circumstances. In those days when people were much more superstitious, they believed in demons and the harm done to them by them. In order to avert the evil attacks of demons, the people offered *pūjā* to the *caityas.*[9] The method and time of offering are prescribed. On full and new moon days

---

1 The *Arthaśāstra* refers to such trees—Bk. V. 2 and Bk. XIII. 2.

2 चैत्यद्रुमश्मशानेषु शैलेषूपवनेषु च ।
वसेयुरेते विज्ञानावर्तयन्तः स्वकर्मभिः ॥ X. 50

3 नयेयुरेते सीमानं स्थलाङ्गारतुषद्रुमैः ।
सेतुवल्मीकनिम्नास्थिचैत्याद्यैरुपलक्षिताम् ॥ II. 151

4 See *Kaut. Artha.*, II. 4 and 35.

5 चैत्यश्मशानसीमासु पुण्यस्थाने सुरालये ।
जातद्रुमाणां द्विगुणो दमो वृक्षे च विश्रुते ॥ *Yājña.*, II. 228

The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* associates trees with caityas, (III. 12. 13). It prescribes in the preceeding chapter that a householder should avoid caityas (*Ib.*, 11. 122]. This prescription demonstrates that caityas are no more Vedic places of worship,—yet another stage in the history of caityas.

6 पाण्डुच्छायोपवनवृतयः केतकैः सूचिभिन्नो
नीडारम्भैर्गृहबलिभुजामाकुलग्रामचैत्याः ।
त्वय्यासन्ने परिणतफलश्यामजम्बूवनान्ताः
संपत्स्यन्ते कतिपयदिनस्थायिहंसा दशार्णाः ॥ 23.

7 येभ्यः प्रणमसे पुत्र चैत्येष्वायतनेषु च ।
ते च त्वामभिरक्षन्तु वने सह महर्षिभिः ॥ II. 25. 4

8 *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. I. 20; Bk. XII. 5.

9 Bk. IV. ch. 3.

the *caitya* was propitiated by offering at the altar an umbrella, a small flag and goat's flesh. Kauṭalya speaks of *caitya-devata*[1] and *daivata-caityam*[2]. Thus we see the prominence given to *caitya* worship in the *Arthaśāstra*. Hence these were known also as *devakula* or *devāyatana*, and *devavāsa*.[3] From that of the shrine the application of *caitya* was extended to a *bimba* or deity in the shrine. We hear of this more in the Buddhist and Jain[4] books.

The foregoing survey establishes beyond doubt that *caityas* are a pre-Buddhist institution. The Buddhists and Jains found that the masses of the land looked upon these as sacred altars and venerated them highly. They therefore thought, to venture a conjecture, better to give the old name to their sanctuaries instead of inventing a new one. Hence the *caitya* was adopted as the name of their sacred shrines, whether they contained the images of the Buddha or Jina or their relics. This is the last phase in the history of the word *caitya*. It is said that in Buddhist books the term is also applied to a tree as well as to a *stūpa*. The term in Pāli is, as already seen, *cetiya* and in Tamil also it is *cetiyaṃ*. The worship of the Buddhists became so much identified with the *caitya* that we have an interesting precept.

Caityaṃ vandeta, meaning that one is expected to offer his worship to the *caitya* or in the *caitya*. In the course of a learned disquisition on *svargakāmo yajeta*, the *Bhāmatī* of Vācaspati on Śaṅkara's *Brahmasūtra-bhāṣya* refers to this precept, as a side issue, as construing the relation of the imperative suffix to the unseen potentiality, while in fact the Buddhist precept does not have the least implication of desire for heaven.[5] In a note to the above statement the editors remark as follows: "It would appear from the *Ṛjuprakāśikā* that the statement is *'Caityaṃ vandeta,'* not 'Caitye vandeta,' so that the obeisance is to the *caitya*, not in the *caitya*. Conformably to this *caitya* would mean not a shrine, but the consecrated fig-tree which Buddhists offer worship."[6] But one has to point out that the statement *'caityaṃ vandeta'* would itself admit of both interpretations, namely, obeisance to the *caitya* or in the *caitya*. It may also be pointed out that the *caitya* need not necessarily be the consecrated fig-tree but any shrine sheltering a relic of the Buddha or even his image. Before we proceed further, attention may be drawn to the fact that the consecrated fig tree which the Buddhists worship is the sacred *Aśvattha* of Sanskrit literature. How the *Aśvattha* has been an object of veneration and adoration by the Hindus can be seen from a single soul-stirring stanza of the *Bhagavad Gītā*.[7] It means 'They say the inexhaustible Aśvattha has its roots above,

---

1 Bk. I. ch. 20.

2 Bk. V. ch. 2.

3 See, for instance, the Vācaspatyam.

4 Pampa, *Ādi Purāṇam*, X. st. 241 vacana (Mysore Oriental Library)

5 See p. 153 of the *Bhāmatīī* ed. by S.S. Suryanarayana Sastri and Dr. C. Kunhan Raja (T.P.H., Adyar) 1993. See in this connection *Sammohavinodani*, pp. 292, 348.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 303

7 ऊर्ध्वमूलमधःशाखमश्वत्थं प्राहुरव्ययम् ।
छन्दांसि यस्य पर्णानि यस्तं वेद स वेदवित् ॥ XV. I.

its branches below: the *chandas* are its leaves. He who knows it knows the Vedas. Upwards and downwards extend its branches which are enlarged by the qualities and the sprouts which are sensuous objects.' Thus it is seen that even in the choice of their sacred tree, the Buddhists took to the tree traditionally venerated by their Hindu ancestors.

Remark has already been made that the caityas had either the images of the Buddha or Jina installed in them or contained the relics, *dhātu*—in the Buddhist parlance. The *dhātus* or relics are of three kinds. First there were corporeal relics or *śarīra-dhātus*. It is said that the neckbone of the Buddha was enshrined in a *caitya* in Ceylon.[1] Secondly, there were *paribhogika-dhātu*, or relics which were actually used by the person *(paribhoga)*. These may be clothes, ornaments, alms-bowl, etc. used by the Buddha.[2] Thirdly, there were the *uddeśika-dhātu*, which has been rendered indicative relics.[3] Under this category may come images etc. of the person worshipped. Thus the *caityas* of the Buddhists were mostly relic-shrines, though ordinary shrines also went by that name. The Buddhist legends attribute to king Aśoka the building of as many as 84000 *caityas*.[4] Though this may not be literally true, still it is reasonable to suppose that he, a tolerant monarch, would have encouraged building of some *caityas* in his time, whether Buddhist or Hindu. The story of the Buddha's great decease, the cremation of the corpse, the distribution of his corporeal relics and their enshrinement in caityas and stūpas are all elaborately narrated in the *Mahāparinibbāṇa-sutta*, an ancient Pāli work of perhaps the fourth century B.C.[5] Thus there is ample evidence which elucidates that Buddhist stūpas and caityas were shrines which sheltered the three kinds of relics referred to above. This does not mean that there were no *caityas* or *stūpas* before the Buddha. We have seen a number of references in the Vedic and epic literature of the existence of such institutions in ancient India, which evoked religious awe from the masses. It is not, therefore, surprising to read in the *Mahāparinibbāṇasutta* that the Buddha spoke of the efficiency of erecting dhātu-caityas, and himself visited *caityas*[6] like Udena, Gotama, Sattambaka, etc., while the *Dīgha Nikāya* bears testimony to the

---

Even to-day circumambulating this tree daily or on certain fixed days is considered to be a meritorious deed by the Hindus. Not only it cannot be used for fuel but it is the only tree from which the fire for a Vedic Yajña can be got by churning, and its twigs used as oblations to the sacred fire.

1 *IRAS.*, 1907, pp. 343-44.

2 Cp. the reliefs on the rails of the Bārhut Stūpa. See the preamble to *the Kaliṅga-bodhi Jātaka.*

3 *IRAS.*, 1916, p. 883.

4 See ch. 26 of the *Divyāvadāna*, a Sanskrit Buddhist work.

5 See for details Dr. Fleet's article in the *IRAS.*, 1906 p. 657

6 Chap. III, secs. 36-47 and especially 47.
'Idān' eva kho tāhaṃ Ānanda ajja Cāpāle cetiye āmantesiṃ :
"Ramaṇyā Ānanda Ve āli, ramaṇiyaṃ Udenaṃ cetiyaṃ, ramaṇiyaṃ Gotamakaṃ cetiyaṃ, ramaṇiyaṃ Sattambaṃ cetiyaṃ, ramaṇiyṃ Bahuputtaṃ cetiyaṃ, ramaṇiyam Sārandadam cetiyṃ, ramaṇiyam Cāpālam cetiyaṃ.
See also Dr. B.C. Law, *History of Pāli Literature*, p. 100

fact that the Buddha lived at the Ānanda-cetiya in Bhojanagara.[1] As these and other references to the *Caitya* in the Buddhist literature have been elaborately examined by Dr. B.C. Law,[2] I do not propose to traverse the same ground. Suffice it to say that this is an additional proof to demonstrate that the *caityas* were pre-Buddhistic institutions and the Buddhists as well as Jains[3] gave the same name to their sanctuaries.

Gaudhi

1 II. p. 123.

2 See his *Geography of Early Buddhism*, appendix.

3 See Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism*, p. 280.

Buddhism in South India
300 B.C. — 300 A.D.

I. Ceylon

There are conflicting theories about the introduction of the Buddhist faith into the island of Ceylon. One school of scholars believe that it was a graft from northern India that it had nothing to do with southern India. A second set of scholars are of opinion that Buddhism was introduced from Ceylon into the Tamil land. This form of Buddhism has the nomenclature of Pali or Theravadi Buddhism. Whatever this may be, the literary evidence is strong that the first inception into the island was during the reign of Devānāmpiya Tissa of Ceylon C247-207 B.C. It seems to be certain that he sent a diplomatic mission to Aśoka with choice presents[1] which was reciprocated. It may be remembered that the Aśokan inscriptions mention Ceylon as Tambapanni.

According to the *Samantapāsādika*[2] as a result of the decision of the third Buddhist Council which took place at Pataliputra in the year 236 B.C. during the reign of Aśoka, the Thera Mahinda was sent to Ceylon to convert the island to the Buddhist faith. Soon he was followed by the Theri Sangamitta. At the request of Devānāmpiya Tissa a branch of the Bo-tree was sent by Aśoka guarded by a number of Brāhmaṇs, Kṣatriyas and others and was planted in Anurādhapura.[3] At the outset it may be pointed out that this version is purely literary and has no support from inscriptions.

There may be some veracity in the account of a king of a small island getting recognition as an ally of an imperial power like that of the Mauryas. The *Rājāvali* goes to the length of saying that both Tissa and Aśoka belonged to the same Mauryan clan, and Tissa probably wanted to renew the old family connections. It was believed that both Tissa and Aśoka were brothers in a previous birth and by profession they were traders in honey. At that time they met the second Buddha who predicted that Aśoka would become the emperor of India and Tissa, the king of Ceylon.[4] A critical and sober student of history would not accept such fantastic theories. Both the *Dīpavaṃśa* and the *Mahāvaṃśa* as also the *Samantapāsādika* (I. 89) narrate that Gautama Buddha visited the island three times. But no reference is made in the Pali canon to this version. Surely this must be relegated to the realm of imagination.

The landing of Vijaya and the consequent immigration of northern Indians gradually into the island carrying with them their religion, may have appealed to the

---

1 *Samantapāsādika*, I. 74, 75.

2 Ibid, I. 69, 73.

3 Samanta, I. 92 ff. 99-100

4 Upham, II, pp. 182-83

people of Ceylon. Thus the spade work was done much longer before Aśoka's accession to the throne. The reign of Devānāmpiya Tissa was favourable and the Thera Mahendra and his sister received a worthy welcome at the hands of the reigning king and his subjects.[1] Mahinda may be accepted as the father of Pali Buddhism in Ceylon. It is explained that he spent some time in the Theravada school at Ujjain. Its literature was probably Paiśāci of which the literary form was Pali. Gradually Pali supplanted Paiśāci. The version that Mahinda came straight to Ceylon from Ujjain without touching any port or place in S. India militates against the other account that Mahinda started from Tanjore to Ceylon.

According to an ancient Chinese writer it was a general custom that the eldest son of the reigning king became crown prince and later ascended the throne. The other sons took to an ecclesiastical life and became teachers and monks.[2] In accordance with this practice, Prince Mahendra donned the robes of a sannyāsin and established his church somewhere in the Tanjore District which formed a part of the ancient Chola dominion. Imbued by a missionary spirit, Mahendra left Tanjore and set out for Ceylon to propagate his faith. Perhaps this mission was undertaken at the instance of Aśoka himself if we are to believe the authenticity of the Buddhist legends. It is said that Mahendra together with his four fellow monks reached Ceylon and was given welcome by Devānāmpiya Tissa worthy of a prince-monk. King Tissa was moved by the teachings of Mahendra and resolved to embrace the new religion. Soon this faith spread from the royal family to the common people. This happened in the third century B.C. Finding that his propaganda had gained the support and approval of the intelligentia among the Ceylonese public, Mahendra decided to settle there and spend the rest of his life in that island. While he was there Mahendra took effective steps for the spread of Buddhism. He caused a church to be built and put the new establishment on secure foundations. The gift of the park Meghavana marked the beginning of the foundation of the Mahāvihāra which played an important part for several centuries.[3] Mahendra evoked veneration from the public as a great saint. Mahendra's death took place in the 8th year of King Uttiya, brother and successor of Tissa. His ashes are said to rest under a stūpa called Ambustāla, at Mihintalē, which was looked upon as a sacred monument by his followers.[4]

If we consider for a moment the social and religious condition of South India in the reign of Aśoka as could be gleaned from the *Tolkāppiyam* and other earlier works of the Śangam age, there seems to be no room to think that there was any Buddhist settlement in the Tamil land before the commencement of the Christian era. So Mahendra settling in the Chola dominion and leaving for Ceylon has no air of plausibility. The Tamil works like the *Maṇimekalai* of the 2nd century A.D. contain references to Buddhism in Kanchi and other parts of S. India. Even here

---

1 See B. C. Law : *Buddhistic Studies.*

2 Ma-Touan-lin quoted in *Ind. Ant.* IX, 22.

3 *Samantapāsādika*, I. 80

4 See V.A. Smith : *Early History of India*, pp. 194-195

one fails to see even a veiled reference to Aśoka's activities on behalf of the Buddhist faith. It then stands to reason that S. Indian Buddhism was introduced much later than Aśoka's time.

There is another account of the origin and spread of Buddhism in Ceylon. It was a part of the propaganda of the Mauryan emperor Aśoka to send a mission to Ceylon. Mahendra who came out to that island as a missionary was not a brother but a son of Aśoka. When he came he was accompanied by his sister Sangamitra. While her brother was engaged in converting men and establishing an order of monks, she was actively moving with women and was preparing an order of nuns. V.A. Smith who at first rejected the story of Sangamitra, revised his views and began to accept the veracity of the legend. It is not clearly established where she was a daughter or sister of Aśoka. If she were a sister of Aśoka, then Mahendra was his brother. The tradition in the fifth century A.D. which FaHien heard at Pātaliputra was in favour of Mahendra as a saintly brother of Aśoka. Later in the seventh century when Hiuen Tsang visited India, he had also the information to that effect.[1] Whatever this may be, both the sister and brother came to the island, made it their permanent home and propagated the new faith gaining thereby a large number of adherents, monks and nuns while she was living in peace in the Hatthālhaka convent.[2] The death of this saintly lady is said to have happened in the ninth year of King Uttiya's reign. As the king did honour to the saint Mahendra on his death, he ordered supreme honours of burial to this lady, the celebration lasting for a full week. After the week was over, the king commanded the body to be taken out and burned in a spot exactly facing the great Bodhi tree.[3] According to the Mahāvaṃśa, her ashes were enshrined in one of the new ruined stūpas of the Thūpārāma.

However the final establishment of Buddhism in that island was during the reign of Duttha Gāmani (circa 101-77 B.C.). Before him the Tamil conquest of Ceylon and especially the rule of Elāra were unfavourable to the spread of Buddhism in the island. The queen of Tissa was a devout follower of the new faith and endowed lavish gifts to the brotherhood of the Bhikkus. She is said to have fed 12,000 bhikkus with honey and taken the remainder herself. She was keen to get rid of Elāra and his warriors. When the king consulted the soothsayers in this connection they said 'The queen's son, when he had vanquished the Damilas and built up a united kingdom, will make the doctrine to shine forth brightly'. In time the queen bore a noble son. This was Prince Gamani. While he was young a thera imparted to him 'the confession of faith and the precepts of morality'. Soon another son was born and was named Tissa. Once it happened that the boy Gāmani lay on his bed without his limbs stretched out. Asked why he was so lying, he exclaimed 'Over there beyond the Ganga (now Mahawaeliganga) are the Damilas, here on this side is the Gotha-ocean (the sea near Ceylon), how can I lie with outstretched

---

1 Beal, *Records*, II, 246 ; Watters, II, 230.

2 *Mahā.* 20, 48-49

3 *Dīpavaṃśa* XIII-VIV, *Mahā.* Ch. 20 ; see also V.A. Smith, op. cit. p. 196

limbs'?[1] After he had completely conquered them, his joy knew no bounds and it gave him no sleep for a whole month.[2]

Services of Duttha Gamani

Duttha Gāmani was of a full believing heart in the Buddhist religion. He had waged several wars with the Tamils who were apparently not supporters of his faith. After removing these foes of his religion he embarked on several religious foundations ever intent on meritorious works. First was the building of the Maricavaṭṭivihara. It took three years to complete it. A festival was held to consecrate this monastery. He then proceeded to build the Lohapāsada (Brazen Palace) which was modelled on a celestial palace. This was four-sided, measuring on each side a hundred cubits. One thousand chambers, well planned and well ventilated, constituted this palace. Costly beds and chairs, carpets and coverlets of value were spread about. When it was completed, the king assembled the brotherhood and bestowed the building on them after pouring forth the ceremonial water of presentation.

The king then commanded a splendid ceremony of gifts for the great Bodhi-tree. He next resolved to build the Mahā Thūpa. People were sent to different directions to collect the necessary building material for the construction of the great Thupa. On an auspicious day (i.e., the full moon day of the month of Vaiśākha) the foundation stone of the great caitya was laid and the building work was commenced. The whole brotherhood was present. Many Bhikkus from all India attended the function by invitation. Among the places mentioned is one Pallavabogga identified by Guga with Persia, Pallava being taken as the name of the Persians. It is better to treat this as a reference to the Pallava territory of S. India. Apparently the author of the *Mahāvaṁśa* has imported the Pallava dominion known in his days to the reign of Dutthagāmani. If Pallavabogga is Persia then it is clear that no representative as has been suggested came from all S. India to this function. This strengthens further the argument that there was no Buddhist colony of any importance in the Tamil country or even in the Andhra region. This of course cannot be a possibility. The festivities connected with the foundation of the great Thūpa were celebrated with much gusto and rejoicing. It is said that 18,000 Bhikkus and 14,000 Bhikkunis attained to arhatship at that time.[3]

In the middle portion of the relic chamber, the king caused to be placed a Bodhi tree made of jewels. Several images of gods and Yakṣas made of wrought gold were installed in the relic chamber. When the latter was completed, the king summoned an assembly of the brotherhood and expressed his desire to enshrine the relics. One ascetic named Sonuttara was charged with bringing the relics which were in the possession of the Nāga King.[4] The Nāgas were not in favour of parting with them

---

1 *Mahā.* Ch. 22.

2 *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, II. 640.

3 Ibid., Ch. XXVII and XXIX.

4 Supra

and evaded Sonuttara. The mighty Bhikku managed by stratagem to take the relics which were duly enshrined on the fifteenth uposatha-day in the bright half of the month Āṣādha. The king conferred on the brotherhood the entire overlordship of Lankā for seven days. Throughout this week the people adored them. Offering of alms continued to be given uninteruptedly to the brotherhood all the week, at the end of which the relic chamber was closed with a stone.[1]

Saddhā Tissa and his sons

The work on the Chaitya was not yet finished when Duttha Gāmani fell ill. He sent for his younger brother and told him that he was expecting his end in this life and asked him to complete the work of the Thūpa. Soon he reached the Tuṣita-heaven[2] leaving Sālirājakumāra his son. His mind was completely merged in works of virtue and he cared nothing for the material pleasures of the palace and the throne. So his uncle Tissa (Saddhā Tissa) ruled for eighteen years (77-59 B.C.). Himself a man of faith, he completed the great Thūpa. In the meantime the Lohapāsada caught fire and was damaged. Tissa rebuilt it on a much more lavish scale. He also built many viharas, one for every *yojana*, and flooded all Lankā with religious edifices. He found the bhikkus at Anurādhāpura wanting in discipline and therefore bestowed his gifts to the bhikkus at Cetiyapabbata. Princes Lanjatissa and Thūla Thana, sons of Tissa, participated in the erection of more and more viharas. On the death of Tissa, Thūla Thana was consecrated king. But Lanjatissa put forth his claim to the throne and in the civil war that ensued Thūla Thana who had ruled only for a month and ten days was killed. Lanjatissa who succeeded neglected the brotherhood during the three years of his rule. He was however reconciled with the Bhikkus and continued to build more viharas during the remaining years of his rule.[3]

The first schism

If we study the chronology of the period between the commencement of Dutthagāmani and the reestablishment of the Tamil rule, a period of 56 years was covered. The total period of the rule by the five Tamils was from 44 to 29 B.C. At this time a severe famine broke out and several Bhikkus left for India. One of the Tamil chiefs took the Buddha's alms bowl and returned to this country. At the end of the Tamil rule Vaṭṭagāmani reigned from 29 to 17 B.C. The outstanding achievements of this ruler were a cave temple at Dambool noted for ornamentation and beauty, and the erection of a monastery called the Brazen palace, as its roof was covered by plates of that metal. It was pulled down by a pupil of Sangamitta by name Mahāsena. Among others he built the Abhayagirivihāra and presented it to the thera Mahātissa. But the Mahāvihāra brotherhood expelled this thera. Thus the Abhayagiri became hostile to the Mahāvihāra. Several Bhikkus came back from India and began preaching the *Vinaya Pithaka.* As many as 500 monks wrote down

---

1 Ibid., Chh. XXX and XXXI.

2 Ch. XXXII.

3 Ibid., Chh. XXXII and XXXIII.

the Buddhist texts as permanent records.[1] He was succeeded by Mahāculi Mahatissa who reigned for fourteen years from B.C. 17. His rule was characterised by piety and justice. He had to his credit a splendid vihāra besides many gifts to the brotherhood. But his reign was marred by the irreligious activities of Coranāga, a son of Vaṭṭagāmani who proved to be a rebel. He had destroyed as many as eighteen vihāras. After the death of Mahāculi Mahātissa Coranaga ascended the throne and ruled for twelve years. But he was not friendly to the faith of his ancestors. The story goes that he died of food poison administered by his own consort by name Anulā. This took place in 9 A.D.[2]

For the next one hundred and fifty years and more we find many ups and downs in the history of Buddhism in the island of Ceylon. Anulā was a woman of lust and passion. She fell madly in love with persons, one after another. Some of them were Tamils like Vatuka, the city carpenter, and Niliya the palace priest. This shows that the Tamils had become permanent settlers in the island and were taken into service in the capital and the palace by the reigning kings of Ceylon. During the life time of Anulā it was a period of unrest, though the Pali commentaries mention a number of theras doing their silent work of teaching and preaching.[3] After her death, Kutakkannatissa, the second son of Mahāculika and his two successors ruled for 62 years and continued to patronise the Buddhist church by adding to the existing edifices repairing them and giving alms to the Bhikkus. But there was no outstanding monument to their credit. The fact remains that they clung to the Buddhist faith.

It was seen that during Vaṭṭagāmani's reign the brotherhood of Abhayagiri alienated itself from that of the Thervadas. Abhayagiri accepted the teachings of Dhammaruci Nikaya which was the doctrine of the Vajjiputtaka sect in India. During the reign of Bhātiya (38-66 A.D.) both the schools of Abhayagiri and Mahāvihāra quarrelled over a rule in the Vinaya. The king ordered a Brahman arbitrator. This indicates the leanings of the Abhayagiri towards the Sanskrit versions of the Canon. Notwithstanding these differences, Vasabha (127-171 A.D.) revived the old religion and promoted it. The Perumaiyankulam Rock Inscription records a grant to a thera by this king.[4] Again the Nāulpata cave inscription mentions the construction of a vihāra by the son of Vasabha.[5] But the Abhayagiri schools inaugurated the *Vaitulya Potaka* as the genuine teaching of the Buddha. It is intimately related to Mahāyanism.[6] This came into vogue in the reign of Vohāraka Tissa (269-291 A.D.). This king deputed his minister Kapila to investigate the truth. Kapila decided against the Vaitulya doctrine. On this Voharaka Tissa persecuted those monks and threw their books into a fire.[7] Goṭhābhaya further

---

1 See also Adikaram, *op. cit.* pp. 78-79.

2 *Mahā.*, Ch. XXXIV ; *Dipa.* 18. 27-35

3 Adikaram, op. cit. Ch. V.

4 *Ep. Zey.* I. 66 ff.

5 Ibid., I. 146 ff.

6 See S. Paranavitana's *Mahayanism in Ceylon*, p. 36 : Colombo 1928

7 *Niayasaṅgraha*, p. 11.

carried his vendetta against the Abhayagiri sect and this necessitated some monks to leave for Kāvira (apparently Kāviripaṭṭinam). They were joined here by one Sanghamitta who left for Ceylon, won the favour of Gothabhaya and became the tutor to his two sons Jetthatissa and Mahāsena. During the reign of the latter, and through Sanghamitta's influence, the Abhayagiri vihāra was firmly established at the cost of the monasteries and colleges attached to the Mahāvihara school.[1] It continued to flourish till 598 A.D.

II. Buddhism in Tamilakam

The *Mahāvamśa* refers to the thera Sangamitta coming from the Chola country. This raises the question when Buddhism was introduced in the Tamil country. We saw that during the consecration of the great Vihāra by Dhuttagāmani, fourteen countries sent their representatives among which Pallavabhoga was one. If the Pallavas of Kānchi are meant, it must be an anachronism as there was no Pallava country in the second century B.C. Among the southern countries only Vanavasa figures and this may be identified with Banavasi in North Canara District. This is enough to show that there was no Buddhist settlement in the important Tamil kingdoms such as the Paṇḍya, Chola or Kerala at that time, i.e., in the second century B.C. But we have a large number of Brahmi inscriptions unearthed in the Panchapāṇḍavar malai in the Madura District. The inscriptions are in a form a Prakrit akin to Paiśācī. This may be the script that was introduced in Ceylon by Mahinda. These inscriptions are found in caves, and their interpretation shows that these caves were cut for the residence of some Bhikkus, apparently Buddhist Bhikkus.[2] The caves seem to resemble the Ceylonese ones. We are led to infer that the Pandyan country being in proximity to the island of Ceylon was in constant contact with it. Some of the Bikkus who preferred a retired life crossed over to the region of Madura and found shelter in these caves. This is in conformity with the statement in the *Mahāvaṃśa* that two saints of Mahinda went abroad to propagate their faith.

We have already seen that as a result of the persecution, the followers of the Vaitulya schools reached Kāviripaṭṭinam and settled there. This was in the first century B.C. The Tamils being tolerant of other faiths gave them food and shelter. They were allowed to have their own places of worship where they preached their doctrines. By slow degrees Buddhism seems to have spread in the Chola and Pāṇḍyan kingdoms.

In the Kerala country, on the other hand, Buddhism did not penetrate much if we are to believe the ancient Tamil classics. Among the inscriptions in the Brahmi script,[3] there is the Tiruparankunram inscription which reads as follows: 'Erukotur Ila Kutumbikan ceytea Ayyan nadu." Ila is Ilam which is Ceylon. The last two terms may be a reference to Śāttan and Aiyan or even Aiyappan. Aiyappan or Śāstā is

---

1 *Mahā.*, Ch. XXXVII.

2 The latest writer on the subject is Dr. C. Narayana Rao in the Proceedings of the 9th All-India Oriental Conference, pp. 863-873.

3 M. E. R. 1908-9 p. 67.

according to the Puranic accounts, the son of Mohini Viṣṇu. The cult of Śāstā or Aiyappan is an old cult of Malabar. There has been a tendency among scholars to connect this cult with the Buddha's faith as one of the names of the Buddha is Śāstā.[1] Though there is no element of truth in this, still this supposed identification may furnish the clue to the way in which Buddhism might have flowed into the Malabar country.

Thus it will be noticed that the Buddhist faith was introduced into the Tamil land from Ceylon and it took more than one hundred years for it to have definite settlements in the country. Such settlements are more prominently seen in the Chola country than in other parts of the Tamil land. If we base our authority on the twin epics which we place in the second century A.D., even in the Chola dominion the influence of the Buddhist settlement was seen in Puhār or Kāviripaṭṭinam and Kāncht, the modern Conjeevaram. Maṇimekalai, the heroine of the epic, learnt all that could be learned of the heretical schools. From the Buddhist point of view, any faith other than Buddhism was a religion of heresy at Vañji, the Chera capital. So she went to meet Aravaṇa Aḍigal at Kāncht to get the orthodox teachings of the Buddha. In Chapter XXIX of the Maṇimekalai, there is an elaborate study of the Buddhist system of thought as was understood in the Tamil country. The next chapter XXX deals with the essential teachings of Buddhism as was known to Śāttan, the celebrated author of the epic. In his exposition of the Buddhist religion there is no reference at all to the Mahāyāñstic ideas. Perhaps Mahāyānism was not accepted as the orthodox religion in the Tamil country as in Ceylon. It was only at this time that Nāgārjuna was expounding the Śūnyavāda doctrine of the Mahāyāna in the Andhra country. The Buddhism of the *Maṇimekalai* is based on the Path of the *Piṭakas* as could be seen from an earlier reference.[2] Among the main centres of Pali Buddhism Kāncht puram occupied a place of importance in the first three centuries of the Christian era. Buddhaghoṣa refers to Kāncht as centre of Pali study. Even in his time not only Kāncht but also Kāviripaṭṭinam and Madura were centres of Pali study.[3]

III. Buddhism in the Andhradeśa

Turning to the Andhra country a mahācaitya was founded in the reign of King Vasiṣṭha Putra Śri Pulamāvi at Amarāvati, the centre of Chaityika sect which was an offshoot of the Mahāsanghikas. In the epoch of the Ikshvākūs (2 to 3rd century A.D.) Mahāchaityas were established a Jaggayapeta and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa on the banks of the river Kṛṣṇa. The latter was the sect of Aparasailīyas, and the former Purvasailiyas.[4] Though this was a fact, yet the Theravāda or Pali Buddhism was not neglected. An examination of the inscriptions at Nāgarjunikoṇḍa indicates that

---

1 F.W. Thomas in his address at the All-India Oriental Conference, Trivandrum, 1937, p. 38 of the Proceedings.

2 Ch. XXVI. 1. 66. See also Dr. S.K. Aiyangar's Intro. to this *Manimekalai in its Historical Setting.*

3 See B.C. Law, *Buddhaghosa,* pp. 25-26, Bombay, 1946.

4 Dikshitar : Buddhism in Andhradesa in B.C. Law Volume, I, pp. 346-53. *Mahāvaṃśa,* V. 12 : *Dīpavaṃśa,* V. 54. Beal, *Buddhist Records of Western World,* II, pp. 221-23.

there was a Mahāvihāra side by side with the Mahācaitya. This was built for the purpose of housing monks from various countries which include Vanavāsi, Ceylon and the Tamil land. These monks are mentioned as Theriyas with the implication that Pali Buddhism was tolerated notwithstanding the differences of opinion among the various sects. What is more significant is that a teacher of the Āryasaṅgha or Theravāda, by name Bhadanta Ānanda was entrusted with the work of new building operations connected with the Mahacaitya at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa.[1] Āryadeva, a native of Ceylon became a disciple of Nāgārjuna. His relics were discovered in the district of Guntur.[2] All these evidences point to the liberal views of the rulers in the early Andhra country.

From the foregoing survey one thing emerges and it is that ancient S. India in its broad sense was more a centre of Pali Buddhism. From this fact we can arrive at the conclusion that Ceylon which developed principally Pali Buddhism was responsible for ushering in that faith in different parts of South India. This was mainly due to the frequent cultural contact of the people of South India and Ceylon.[3]

1 Dr. B.C. Law in *Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar Comm. Volume*, pp. 239-245.

2 K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *JOR*, IX, 95 ff.

3 See also *Ind. Ant.*, XL, pp. 209 ff.

The Thirteenth Rock Edict of Aśoka[1]

We cannot think of a better tribute to the revered memory of the late lamented Dr. Woolner than this our humble contribution to Aśokan history, the chosen field of his research and the most important of his publications. We have particularly chosen the Thirteenth Rock Edict for re-examination, as centuries of Aśokan scholarship have looked upon this Edict as a key to Aśokan history,—a convenient peg to hang the theory of Aśokan epigraphy in connection with my publication of the Mauryan Polity,[2] I found reasons for re-examining the Edict and reinterpreting it in the flood of light shed by a comparative and critical study of the Kauṭalīya Arthaśāstra. I shall, therefore, briefly consider seriatim the conclusions reached by such a critical study of the texts of the inscription.

1. Kalinga's annexation was not a fresh conquest, but a reconquest after the suppression of a rebellion. What Prof. E.J. Rapson threw out as a suggestion,[3] has proved to be a fact in the light of an independent examination. We have epigraphical authority to show that Kalinga should have formed a province of the great Nanda empire which preceded the glorious Mauryan empire. The conquest of Kalinga and its annexation to the empire of the Nandas was originally effected by Nanda I or Nandivardhana whose interest in that province did not end merely with the conquest; for he undertook public works to enrich the material welfare of that newly acquired territory. We have no evidence at all, epigraphical or literary, to show that Kalinga ever became independent either during the epoch of the Nandas or during the reigns of the first two Mauryan monarchs. The Mauryan invasion to Tamil India in the period, probably of Bindusāra, and Aśoka's mention of Tamil kingdoms as the frontier states of his empire, bear testimony to the fact that Kalinga continued to be a part and parcel of the empire from Nanda I to Aśoka. To venture a conjecture, taking advantage of Aśoka's policy of peace and good will, the sturdy Kalingas rose in revolt, and this provoked Aśoka so much that he indulged in *adharmic* warfare to put down the revolt successfully and with an iron hand. The sternness and fierceness with which he suppressed the rebellion became a standing example to other provinces which showed no signs of discontent and continued as members of the empire.

2. Aśoka repented his action in Kalinga as too rash and as too extreme a punishment, and resolved to propagate *dharma* more and more. The view taken generally by scholars is that Aśoka became a convert to Buddhist faith. Dr. R.K. Mookerjee, however, thinks that the conquest of Kalinga was followed by the

---

1 From: Woolner Cent. Vol., Lahore, 1940, pp. 68 – 76.

2 Published by the University of Madras, 1932, Rep. Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, 1993.

3 Ch. I., Vol. I, p. 315.

increase of Aśoka's faith in Buddhism, as he had already been a lay Buddhist.[1] But there seems to be no warrant either of these views from the inscription. The inscription simply records the fact that the emperor felt keenly for the horrors of war and, being dharmaically disposed already, he also felt that he should thereafter observe and practice *dharma* to its very letter and spirit. There is no indication in the epigraph about Buddhist *dharma* or Aśoka's relation to that particular *dharma.* On the other hand, there is a hint that his *dharma* was the *Sanātana-dharma* of orthodox Hinduism. That it was Brahmanical *dharma* is furnished by the statement made in the inscription as follows : "this is considered even more grievous by His Sacred Majesty in as much as there dwell Brāhmaṇa and Śramaṇa or followers of other sects, etc." If Aśoka had been already a lay Buddhist, or if he had become a convert to it after Kalinga carnage, how are we to explain the fact that he makes no reference to the adherents of his creed, but refers prominently to the Brāhmaṇas and sects other than the Buddhists? Is it reasonable to suppose that the so-called Buddhist king gave place of honour to Brāhmaṇas, the followers of the Vedic religion as opposed to the Buddhist faith? Can we reasonably assume that the faith which, he is supposed to have embraced and followed, should have been relegated to the background as one among other sects, if we can find a place for it among them? If, on the other hand, by 'other sects' Aśoka means all non-Buddhist sects, why should he then make a particular mention of the Brāhmaṇas, who must be, to all intents and purposes, reckoned among the non-Buddhist sects? We have, therefore, to conclude that there is no support to the theory of Aśoka's faith or increased faith in a religion other than the Brahmanical.

3. The Śramaṇas of the inscriptions of Aśoka refer invariably to the orthodox ascetic of the Brahmanical fold and not to Buddhists as is generally understood. As this has been discussed rather elaborately in my Mauryan Polity,[2] I shall confine myself to a few outstanding reasons which have led me to this conclusion. In the Mauryan Period as testified to us by the classical writers, like Megasthenes, the whole Brāhmaṇa community was divided into two classes—the Brāhmaṇas who were the followers of the *Trayī* or the three Vedas, and the Śramaṇas, or the followers of the *Atharvaveda,* serving the State as physicians, diviners and sorcerers. Lassen, who has given some thought to this question on the basis of *Indika,* has expressed the opinion—and it is very difficult to dispute it—that the Sarmanes or Sarmai of Megasthenes, Germanes of Strabo, and Samanaeans of Porphyrius agree better with the Brāhmaṇa Sannyāsins.[3] This interpretation is further shared by two eminent scholars like Von Schroeder and H.T. Colebrooke. Whatever be the change in meaning of the term Śramaṇa in the centuries following the Christian era, the fact remains that in the centuries preceding that era the term meant a *parivrājaka, yati* or *sannyāsin* of the Brahmanical faith. If this were not so, there is no meaning in taking them on with the Brāhmaṇas in all the inscriptions of *Aśoka.* If we take

---

1 Aśoka, p. 168, n. 1.

2 See pp. 269-275

3 Ind. Alt. II. pp. 705f.

for the sake of argument that the Śramaṇas represent the Buddhists is it too much to ask why Aśoka, if he were himself a Buddhist, has not mentioned them first in the order, but has given undue importance to the Brāhmaṇas? It would have been proper if the texts would have read Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas; even here we cannot quite see the point of Aśoka's intense faith in Buddhism or of the propaganda spirit that is supposed to have moved him as a result of the war. For, we find in the Pāli books, a mention of the Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas in that order, and wherever the Śramaṇa-Brāhmaṇa combination occurs, the Śramaṇa undoubtedly stands for the non-Buddhist order. Even the Buddhist scholars would, I hope, admit this. Though there are a number of places where the Śramaṇa-Brāhmaṇa combination is a matter of frequent occurrence, still I shall refer to one or two of them. The Jacchandhavaggo (4, 5, 6) refers to Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas, followers of different *darśanas* wandering through the city of Śrāvasti for alms.[1] In the *Dialogues* we often meet with these expressions. In one place it is said, that the *gṛhasthas* or householders believed it to be their duty to entertain Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas (1, 69). In another even the emperor, enjoying cool moonlight, is said to have been anxious to receive a Śramaṇa or Brāhmaṇa (Ib. 66). Elsewhere expression is given to the fact that these Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas were along religious leaders of that age.[2] Even here the Śramaṇa does not mean a Buddhist monk. What does all this show? Even in the so-called Buddhist age, it was the Brāhmaṇas and their ascetic orders that evoked universal respect. And this fact Aśoka records in his writings, and in recording so, he does not adhere even to the order in which the Pāli texts mention them. In mentioning the Brāhmaṇas first and Śramaṇas next, Aśoka attaches great importance to gṛhastha-Brāhmaṇas as distinguished from parivrājaka-Brāhmaṇas, and seems to appreciate the great service and self-sacrifice, which they as householders did to the society at large, to promote the common weal. This is quite in keeping with the injunctions of the Dharmaśāstra which assigns undue place to the *gṛhasthas* among the four *āśramas.* What really moved Aśoka to remorse was, the fellow-feeling and humanity and not necessarily the new born Buddhist faith. It may be noted in passing that the Jaina and Buddhist ascetics preferred to call themselves Śramaṇas because, as has been already said, it was the Śramaṇa who, among the hosts of ascetic orders which were flourishing at that time, was universally respected and acknowledged as belonging to legitimate order of sannyāsins. It is to be supposed that denominating themselves as Śramaṇas, the unorthodox ascetics appealed to the sympathy and support of the masses. Is it not said in the *Dialogues* that even a slave who called himself a Śramaṇa was entitled to respect?[3]

4. The *dharma* preached in the inscription is a replica of Hindu law of *Sanātana Dharma,* and there is no special reason to believe it to be Buddhist *dharma.* The *dharmas* mentioned are: (a) obedience to elders, (b) obedience to parents,

---

1 Udānam P.T.S., p. 66-7.

2 Dialogues. II, 165

3 I, 77.

(c) obedience to preceptors, (d) proper conduct towards friends and companions, supporters and relatives, (e) healthy relations with servants and dependents, (f) sympathy and love to all, depressed in any manner whatsoever and (g) generous provision for the afflicted families of soldiers who had met with death or injury in war. What is preached here is the *gṛhasthadharma* of the orthodox Hindu. The whole thing savours of Vedic injunctions. The last prescriptions are those relating to the laws of war. Appropriate to the view taken in this paper, Bühler interpreted correctly the term *agrabhuti* as Brāhmaṇa. The other meaning can only be elder brother, who, according to Hindu dharma, occupies a social status equal to that of the father. The reading *agrabhuti* should be definitely discarded, as there is no meaning in showing obedience to higher officials. Besides in the order of the mention, if it is an official under reference he would be enumerated only after preceptor. So *agrabhuti* should stand for Brāhmaṇa, perhaps a *śiṣṭa* who evoked respect from all communities for his righteous conduct and service to the country by elevating its moral and religious level. So we have to interpret that *agrabhuti* stands for a *śreṣṭha* or *śiṣṭa*, and judged by the standards of Aśoka's time, the *śreṣṭha* or *śiṣṭa* was always a Vedic Brāhmaṇa. The other virtues enumerated need not deter us and they are very commonplace. The last rules are of the laws of righteous warfare in which saintly kings of ancient India always indulged. A generous treatment was accorded to the members of the vanquished party and adequate provision was made to the sustenance of the family which had lost its earning member by death or maiming of limbs.

5. Like all monarchs of ancient India, the king felt the responsibility of his duties towards his subjects, and endeared himself to them by acting as a father to his sons. So he took a full share of the sufferings and ills of his subjects and sympathised with them. This paternal conception, which is bestowing love and affection upon the people, should not be confounded with the principle of paternalism which is said to smack of autocracy. He made no distinction among the different peoples who professed various faiths in his empire. He made no distinction between one individual and another, between one community and another, between one faith and another. Just as a father would treat all his sons equally and well Aśoka behaved towards his subjects of differing creeds and extended his love and esteem to all of them. In other words, the emperor was catholic in his outlook and had a tolerant disposition. Toleration was indeed the keynote of this religious policy. He was always prepared to forget and forgive provided the offence committed was of the nature that admitted of forgiving. Aśoka did not believe in extreme penalties for smaller crimes. In fine, he wanted to mete out justice by awarding just punishment.

6. It is a myth to believe that Aśoka substituted the conquest of arms by the conquest of morality. Taking the case of foresters to which this edict refers, it can be plainly seen, that with regard to wild tribes the emperor prefers to allow them to follow their own traditional laws. It is not clear from the texts whether the wild tribes were brought under the empire by the fresh conquest of Aśoka or they had

been subdued by his predecessors. The inscription admits of interpretation in both ways. Whatever this may be, the more important fact with which we are concerned at present is that the laws were promulgated by the emperor so as to enforce discipline among them. This does not mean that Aśoka was anxious to convert them to the Buddhist faith and Buddhist ways of thinking and acting. What is aimed at here is, the administrative act of the enforcement of discipline which is political in character. It has nothing to do with religious discipline. The early Aśokan scholars, who read these inscriptions and interpreted them, when the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭalya was not known, honestly believed these inscriptions to be generally religious in character. But to a student of the *Kauṭaliya*, every Edict of Aśoka is one of enormous political and administrative significance. It must also be remembered that in ancient India religion and politics went together. Everything connected with the king amounted to being a ritual and the divorce of religion from politics is hardly traceable.

Examining the inscription in this light, Aśoka wants to bring home to these wild tribes, as distinguished from his civil population, that though the emperor has repented what he felt as *adhārmaic* action in the field of Kalinga, it is not applicable to all his subjects and under all circumstances. Whoever it be, if they lacked discipline in administration, he the emperor, would throw off his repenting attitude and take up his arms and punish them severely. The terms *prabhava* (might) and *hamñeyaṣu* (killing) are indeed the keywords which go to prove beyond the shadow of a doubt that the emperor still continued to bear his arms, without which it is well nigh impossible to be at the head of a huge empire composing of different peoples. The emperor makes known to the public the following effect: 'Let not people in my dominion take undue advantage of my *anutāpa* though I am full of it for a right cause. Let not anybody think that I have disbanded my army and become a pure monk. I am still the old Aśoka, the emperor. Any misbehaviour on the part of my subjects including the foresters will be severely dealt with by the use of deadly weapons. Transgressors of law would be put to the sword.' It seems to me that the text in question could be paraphrased in this manner. Otherwise there is no meaning to the words *prabhava* and *hamñeyaṣu*.

7. Aśoka is anxious that his subjects should cultivate ordinary virtues of life. Some scholars have read this line along with those specifically meant for wild tribes and interpret that Aśoka expects these rude-folk of the forests to cultivate such elementary virtues, and finds in it yet another division of the *Dharma*.[1] We would rather have this injunction of His Majesty applied to all his subjects from the phrase *'sarva-bhutana'* and not narrow them to his forest-subjects. In that case *aṭavi* should have been repeated or *sarva bhutana* should have been omitted. From the definite use of the expression *sarva bhutana* we have to take it that it is a separate proposition promulgated by the emperor to make known to all his subjects what the emperor ordinarily desires of each and every one of them. This is indeed a general prescription of all the Dharmaśāstras and *nīti* texts.

---

1 See for example R.K. Mookerjee's *Aśoka*, p. 165 n. 5.

8. *Dharmavijaya* in the inscription is not to be taken in the literal sense of moral conquest or conquest by morality. But it stands for an important political concept in ancient Hindu warfare. It means according to Kauṭalya, righteous war as distinguished from āsura or *lobha-vijaya* which are *adharmic* forms of conquest. In fact, Kauṭalya who flourished in the days of Aśoka's grandfather and perhaps also of his father mention three kinds of conquest in war—*dharmavijaya, āsuravijaya* and *lobhavijaya.*[1] While greed of territory, treasure and women, dominates the last two forms of conquest, and while unrighteous means were employed towards those ends, the first *dharmavijaya* was governed by the laws of war in which the conqueror was satisfied with the mere acceptance of his paramountcy by the territories within the empire, on its frontier or beyond it. Even if the war was actually fought, unscrupulous methods were totally avoided. This is why Aśoka calls this *mukha-mute* or principal conquest. What is implied is that his conquest of Kalinga amounted to an *āsura* or *lobhavijaya,* and thereafter he would only resort to *dharmavijaya.* It is stretching too far to say that Aśoka imported a new meaning to this political term of much significance.

9. We are afraid the statement 'This has been often won by His Majesty in his dominion and among his frontier peoples', has not been properly understood. For one thing 'moral conquest' cannot be repeatedly won. When once the people become converted to one faith, where arises the necessity of changing that faith, if it is rooted in *dharma* as the Buddha understood it and preached? The repeated winning leaves the assumption that people were not satisfied and hence changed it. Once again, preachers were sent and they were convinced; but soon they changed. This state of uncertainty in religious matters cannot be a permanent factor of Aśoka's period. Again it is said that this moral conquest extended to peoples in the frontier embracing alien creeds. It is impossible to imagine that these Yona kings were converted to Aśoka's way of thinking in matters religious, as soon as his so-called religious mission reached them. One is afraid that we import modern ideas into these inscriptions. Therefore the following interpretation is suggested. As we have no evidence of Aśoka's conquest other than that of Kalinga either in literature or epigraphy, the term *devānāṁpriyasa* in this line stands euphemistically for an illustrious ancestor of Aśoka, and we suggest the name of Candragupta his grandfather who under the inspiring guidance of his distinguished chancellor Kauṭalya effected *dharmavijaya* not only in the Mauryan empire but also among the different Greek states on its frontier. It is interesting to note in this connection that *Devānāṁpriya* is one of the titles of Candragupta also. It has been an ancient tradition to import the achievements of a past king to a descendant of the line. This is quite common in early literature and especially the Śangam literature of the Tamils. Before the different parts of the empire and the frontier territories *(ante viṣayas* of *Arthaśāstra)* which were in a state of revolt and inimical to the empire newly born, Candragupta had to effect their conquest by more than one battle. But

---

1 For an elaborate examination of this term see my article in *Dr. Pathak* Comm. Vol., pp. 280-86 and also *Mauryan Polity*, pp. 254-7.

in these wars Aśoka wants to convey to us that Candragupta followed the principle of *dharmavijaya* and thus endeared himself to his subjects and the people on the frontier. The elements of the empire became fairly stabilised and Candragupta's successors did not feel any necessity to enter into fresh warfare. The names of the frontier kings are significant to the extent that they were the names of his contemporaries who were ruling in the different states to which Candragupta carried his sword. The mention of the Cōḷas and the Pāṇḍyas confirms the view of the Mauryan invasion of South India as is also evident from the Sangam literature.[1]

10. Next we are introduced to a number of sovereign states within the empire. It is said that everywhere in these states, though not directly subordinate to him, people speak highly of his righteous rule (*dharmānuśāsti*). This is quite in keeping with the tradition that Aśoka was from his childhood swayed by ideals of sympathy and love. From the next line it is evident that the *dūtas*, which should ordinarily mean here spies or *gūḍha-puruṣas* of the *Arthaśāstra*, were roaming about in these *rājaviṣayas* often and carried information to His Majesty. There have been other territories where his spies were let loose, and even there, people had heard of the righteous rule and ordinances endeavoured to imitate him by taking to righteous policy. The following of that methods leads to success in everything. Such universal success again led to cordial relations. It was not contaminated by injustice nor bred rancour. If it did, it would lead to further wars and conquests. Though cordiality which depended on *Dharmavijaya* is not much, still the thought of attaining heaven by pursuing that method filled him, says Aśoka, with satisfaction. For, is it not a law of the Hindu wars that a king who meets the enemy by righteous methods and conquers him with an eye to the ethical aspect of warfare, attains heaven? The ruling passion of the ancient Hindu monarchs was the attainment of heaven by righteous conquest. Do we not find in the Allahabad pillar of Samudragupta *Pṛthvīm avajitya divam jayati?* What therefore Aśoka wants to make out his ideal is the attainment of heaven and this can be earned by a king taking to righteous war and conquest of the *dharmavijaya* kind. This is the *dharma* of Kṣatriyas and hence he calls this edict *dharmalipi.* Do we not call for instances the *Mahābhārata* a *dharma-grantha,* the hero Dharmaputra the field of battle *dharma-kṣetra* and the battle itself *dharmayuddha.* The watchword of our ancients was *yato dharmas tato jayaḥ.*

Conclusion : The object of this Edict is set forth in the closing lines. It has been indicated for the guidance of his sons and grandsons. They should not regard this method of conquest anything novel. If they had to encounter a conquest, i.e., *vijaya* which means also war, they should be sparing in the use of their arms, which is indeed characteristic of *dharmavijaya. In other words* Aśoka wants to bring home to his successors that indiscriminate slaughter should not be indulged in wars. But they could resort to *Dharmayuddha.* And by resorting to this a king attains fame both in this world and the next. Here again it is refreshing to point out that, if the

---

1 See my *Mauryan Polity.*, pp. 58-65

vijaya stands for 'moral conquest' where is the need for mentioning *laghudaṇḍa?* Moral conquest implies a mission of peace where no kind of *daṇḍa* is involved.

We may then conclude that the fact of the mention of *daṇḍa* in connection with the *vijaya* and the fact that he still retained the power of killing people for misbehaviour bear unimpeachable testimony to Aśoka still possessing arms, and his reference to Brāhmana and Śramaṇa above all shows him to be a follower of the Brahmanical rather than of the Buddhist faith.

APPENDIX

Text of the Edict

Note: The text followed is that of 'Śāhbāzgarhī which is almost the best among the preserved. The other texs are much imperfect, and contain variations. (See A.C. Woolner : *Aśoka Text and Glossary.* Pt. I. pp. 24, 26, 28 and 30).

A(stava) ṣa abhisita (sa de) vana priasa Priadraśi (sa) rano Ka (liga vijita) (diaḍha) matre (praṇaśatasa)hasre ye tato apa– vuḍhe śatasahasra(ma)tre tatra hate bahu(tavatake) va mute ǀ (1)

Tato (pa) cha adhuna ladhesu (Kaliṃgeṣu) tivre dharma(palanaṃ) dharma (ka) mata dharmanuśasti ca devana pri (ya) sa ǀ So asti anusocan(aṃ) devana priyasa vijinit(u) (Ka) liṃga (ni) ǀ (2)

Avijitaṃ his (viji) naman (o yo) tatra vadh(o) va (ma)raṇaṃ va apava(ho) va janasa ǀ Taṃ baḍhaṃ vedaniyamataṃ gurumataṃ ca devanaṃ priyasa ǀ Imaṃ pi cu tato gurumata(ta)raṃ priyasa ǀ Imaṃ priyasa ǀ Ya tatra (3)

vasaṃti bramaṇa va śramaṇa va aṃñe va praṣaṃḍa gra(ha)tha va yesu vihita eṣa agrabhu(ṭi)suśruṣa matapituṣu suśruṣa gurunaṃ suśruṣa (mitra)–saṃstutasahaya– (4)

–ñatikeṣu (da)sabha(ṭa)–kanaṃ samapratipati driḍha (bhatita) ǀ Teṣaṃ tatra bhoti apagratho va vadho va abhiratana va nikra–maṇaṃ ǀ Yaṣ (aṃ) va pi saṃvihitanaṃ (si) (ne) ho avaprahino e(te)ṣa (mi)trasaṃtutasahayañatika vasana (5)

prapuṇati ǀ Tatra taṃ pi teṣa vo apagratho bhoti ǀ Pratibhagaṃ ca etaṃ sarva-manuśanaṃ gurumataṃ ca devanaṃ priyasa ǀ Nas i ca ekataraspi pi praṣaṃḍaspi na nama prasado ǀ So yamatro (jano) tada Kalige hato ca muṭ (o) ca apaviḍh (o) ca (ta) to (6) śatabhage va sahasra–bhagam va aja gurumataṃ vo devanaṃ priyasa ǀ Yo pi ca apakareya ti chamitaviyamate vo devanaṃ priyasa yaṃ śako chamanaye ǀ Ya pi ca aṭavi devanaṃ priyasa (vi)jite bhoti ta pi anuneti anunij (h) apeti anutape pi ca p(r)abhave devanaṃ priyasa ǀ (7)

Vucati teṣa kiti avatrapeyu na ca haṃñeyasu ǀ Ichati hi devanaṃ priyo sarvabhuatana achati saṃyamaṃ samacariyaṃ rabhasiye ǀ Eṣe ca mu(kha) mute

vijaye devanaṃ priyasa yo dhramavijayo so ca puna ladho devanaṃ priyasa iha ca sa(rve)ṣu ca aṃteṣu (8)

a ṣaṣu pi yojanaśa(te)ṣu yatra Aṃtiyoko nama Yonaraja paraṃ ca tena Aṃtoyokena cature 4 rajani Tauramaye anme Aṃ-tikini nama Maka nama Alikasudaro nama nica Coḍa Paṃḍa ava Taṃbapaṃṇi-ya evameva hida rajaviṣavaspi Yona-Kamboyeṣu Nabhake Na (bhi) tina (9)

Bhoja-Pitinikeṣu Aṃdhra-Puli (de) ṣu sarvatra devanaṃ priyasa dhramanuśsti anivaṭaṃti | Yatra pi devanaṃ priyasa duta na vracaṃti te pi śru (tu) devanaṃ priyasa dharamavuṭam vidhanaṃ dharmanuśasti dharmaṃ anuvidhiyaṃti anuvidhiyiśaṃti ca Yo (ca) ladhe etakena bhoti sarvatra vijayo sa(rvatra puṇa) (10)

vijayo pritiraso so | Ladha (bhoti) priti dhramavijayaspi | Lahuka tu kho sa priti | Paratrikam eva mahaphala meñati devanaṃ priyo | Etaye aṭhaye ayi dhramadipi (ni) pista jiti putra papotra me asu navaṃ vijayaṃ ma vijetavi (ya) ṃ mañiṣu spa (kaspi) yo vijaye (chaṃ) ti ca lahudaṃ (ḍa) taṃ ca rocetu taṃ ca yo vija (yaṃ) maña (tu) (11)

yo dhram-avijayo | So hidalokiko paralokiko | Sarva ca nirati bhotu ya (dh) ramarati | Sa hi hidalokika paralokika | (12).

Dharma Vijaya : A New Interpretation[1]

Numerous are the inconsistent legends which have grown round the mighty figure of the great Mauryan emperor Aśoka. These however are not entitled to full credence at the hands of a serious historian. A portion of the legends has been utilised by scholars as historical material to support the theory that Aśoka was not only a patron of Buddhism but was himself a Buddhist. These legends, which are by the Buddhist writers of the early centuries of the Christian era try to make out that in his early years Aśoka was a cruel tyrant who ascended the throne by shedding the blood of his kith and kin and that he engaged himself in bloody warfare of which the Kalinga war was the last. The legends continue that, moved by the horrors of the Kalinga carnage, the emperor found his solace in the Buddhist religion and by adopting it as his faith he completely turned a new leaf. He became intensely religious and consequently a full-timed propagandist of the new faith which he embraced. A century and more of Aśokan scholarship have only endeavoured to strengthen this mass of fiction rather than of fact contained in the Buddhist stories. In other words it seems as though it has been practically established that Aśoka was a Buddhist emperor and a monk to boot.[2]

Side by side with such professed and pronounced views and theories, there has been a misgiving with some scholars whether there was full justification for building a theory like Aśoka's faith in Buddhism. Nay a doubt has been entertained in some quarters whether in early times when Aśoka was emperor, Buddhism attained to the status of a religion at all.[3] The examination of Aśoka religion then largely depends on the evidential conclusion of the latter question.

Elsewhere I have discussed the Early History of Buddhism in India.[4] It has been concluded that Buddhism began as a monastic sect, its original doctrine being purely of a philosophical tenour, that it took no lay disciples and hence did not interfere with the caste system, that the Upāsaka of the Buddhists was not a *de facto* member of the Buddhist Saṅgha, those of the Brahman saṁnyāsins formed the model of its philosophy and ethics, that the Buddha believed in the inexorable doctrine of *Karma*, and that the dharma inculcated by him is that of the ancient *ṛṣis* of whom Asita and Devala were examples.[5] These statements demonstrate that "early Buddhism was not correctly that of the canonical books."[6] If this position is

---

1 From *K.B. Pathak Com. Vol.*, B.O.R. Inst., Poona, 1934, pp. 280–85.

2 See *C.H.I.* the whole of Ch. XX, esp: p. 496. Hultzsch, *Corpus* I.I. Intro. Ch. IV and V, *History of India* by V.A. Smith – the chapter on Aśoka; D.R. Bhandarkar – *Aśoka* ; R.K. Mookerjee – *Aśoka*, Ch. IV on 'Religion' etc.

3 See Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism.*

4 *J. of Bom. His. Society*, Vol. II, pp. 51-74.

5 Ibid.

6 Kern, Manual of Ind. Bud. p. 50.

conceded, then there is justification for the assumption that even in the days of Aśoka, Buddhism was yet a monastic sect, a child of Hinduism with a difference in philosophical notions, and where the lay disciple found no place. In other words Buddhism had not then become a religion in the technical sense of the term. If this is granted Aśoka's conversion to that faith becomes a fiction.

A noteworthy point in this connection is the light thrown by the extant *Kauṭaliya Arthaśāstra*. Before the discovery of this invaluable treatise, the Buddhist legends of Aśoka were pressed into service in the interpretation of the Aśokan inscriptions. The terms *dharma, dharmavijaya, saṅgha, upeta, dharmayātra, dharmamahāmātra, dharmadāna, dharmaśravaṇa, dharmalipi* afforded convenient material to stipulate the theory that Aśoka was a Buddhist. It is not possible to examine in a short article like this, all these different terms.[1] Of these we take up only the term *dharmavijaya*. The expression 'dharma' is the much used expression but the least understood, as it admits of wide interpretation. If the established religion of the land was the groundwork of the early Buddhist organisation, then it is reasonable to assume that the *dharma* or articles of morality and ethics formulated by the Buddha were not antagonistic to those of the earlier form of Hinduism. This assumption is corroborated by a significant statement of an accredited canonical work, the *Aṅguttaranikāya* II. p. 51 (P.T.S.ed.). According to this the dharma to the Buddha was the dharma formulated by the ancient seers and sages. It is the correct estimate of Prof. Keith who remarks "Nor in choosing the term *dharma* for the system was Buddhism without *Upaniṣad* precedent ; the Bṛhadāraṇya (I, 4. 14) tells that Brahman created the Dharma, than which nothing is higher, and the *Mahānārāyaṇa* (XXXI.) asserts that the whole universe is encircled by the Dharma, than which there is nothing harder to describe.[2] After all the original Buddhism was a code of ethics, and an ethical code is the same to whatever religion it is applicable. Thus the *dhamma* of the Buddhists did not differ very much from that of earlier Hinduism.

In the light of this observation on the *dharma* we shall attempt to interpret the term *dharmavijaya* in the inscriptions of Aśoka. The phrase occurs in the thirteenth Rock Edict, immediately after describing the consequences of the Kaliṅga war in which Aśoka engaged himself and won an unqualified victory. According to Aśoka himself[3] one hundred and fifty thousand were the men deported, one hundred thousand slain, and many died or were injured. Among the injured were innocents and non-combatants pursuing a righteous path. These were Brāhmaṇas, Śramaṇas or ascetics and pāṣaṇḍas or members of the heretical sects. It is generally believed that such heavy slaughter including that of the innocents resulted in a change of heart in the emperor. This transformation had a wholesome influence in his

---

1 For a detailed study of these terms see the author's *Mauryan Polity*, published by the University of Madras (1932).

2 *Religion* and *Philosophy of the Veda*, II. p. 550.

3 *Corpus* pp. 43-44

administrative policy. For he resolved to pursue what is known as *dharmavijaya,* commonly translated 'the conquest by morality.'[1] Advocates of Buddhism as the faith of Aśoka believe that the emperor substituted conquest by morality for the conquest by arms.[2] In other words Aśoka gave up his arms and became a monk abstaining from all violence towards all beings. It is further added that such principle found acceptance with his vassals and neighbours like the Yona king Antiyoga, Tulamaya, Antekina, Makā Alikyashudala, the Coḷa and Pāṇḍyan kings. The tribes who belonged to the king's territory and who accepted this creed are said to be the Yonas, Kāmbojas, Nabhakas, Nabhapankhas, Bhojas, Piṭinikyas, Andhras, and Pāladas.

What is this *dharmavijaya* which won such universal approbation? What is generally believed is that it was the preaching and practice of simple virtues like *ahiṁsā,* toleration etc., which constituted the *dharmavijaya.* It is difficult to accept this for the following reasons;

(1) The Mauriyan Empire under Aśoka consisted of different peoples and tribes professing different faiths and creeds. If Aśoka was the imperial patron of Buddhism, and if Buddhism was antagonistic to the established religion as it is alleged to have been, this cult of *dharmavijaya* would not have appealed to all his subjects.

(2) In the same Edicts[3] it is mentioned that envoys were sent to the different kingdoms, which shows that wide international relations existed between the Empire on the one hand and the frontiers and the neighbours on the other. It is not possible to believe that Ptolemy, Antiochus, Antigonus, Magas of Cyrene and Alexander of Epirus approved of a principle, quite alien to their spirit and faith.

(3) But what is more unconvincing is that this *dharmavijaya* found concordance even with peoples and states who had no political connection with the empire. This is evident from the statement "Even those to whom the envoys of Devānāṁpriya do not go, having heard of the duties of morality, — are conforming to morality and will conform to it,[4] it is rather strange that states which were outside the jurisdiction of the empire should have conformed to the so-called religious ordinances of an Emperor with whom they had nothing to do.

(4) In another portion of the Edict Aśoka says that he has succeeded everywhere by extending the *dharmavijaya.* At the same time he expresses that though he feels quite satisfied at this achievement, that satisfaction is of little consequence. If *dharmavijaya* is the conquest by morality, then it is certainly the road to heaven. From his remarks that *dharmavijaya* is of little consequence, it is reasonable to assume that Aśoka did not mean 'the conquest of morality' by this term. If *dharmavijaya* then does not connote the significance attached to it by scholars as 'the conquest by morality', 'true conquest' and so on, the next question arises what it is. Aśoka, as is seen from the Edicts, generally followed the political system of the

---

1 Ibid., p. 44.

2 See Corpus, Intro. p. (ii).

3 XII R.E.

4 Corpus, p. 48.

Arthaśāstra. In this celebrated treatise the expression *dharmavijaya* is a political term of much significance. It is too much then to assume that Aśoka used it in the sense in which the Kauṭalīya uses it. Kauṭalya expresses as follows:[1] 'There are three kinds of conquering monarchs — the just conqueror, the greedy conqueror and the demon-like conqueror. Of these the just conqueror is pleased with mere obeisance or acknowledging his overlordship. Weak kings acknowledge overlordship from the fear of their enemies. The greedy conqueror is pleased with taking away of land and wealth. Hence a weakling should win his favour by wealth. The demon-like conqueror is pleased with the seizure of land, wealth, son, wives and other lives. Him the weak king should approach with territory and treasure so that he might go on without any trouble.[2] According to the *Śrimūlam* commentary the weak king acknowledges the suzerainty of the emperor not because he has cause to fear from the emperor but because he is afraid of his neighbours and his own enemies, against whom he cannot stand singlehanded. Hence he counts the assistance of imperial power lest he should be hurt by his enemies.[3] According to the *Arthaśāstra dharmavijaya* means acknowledgement of the overlordship of a superior authority by an inferior power. What perhaps Aśoka wishes to make out is that he indulged in the *asuravijaya*, as for instance, the Kaliṅga war, and having been convinced of the horrors of war, he now takes to the *dharmavijaya* by which he would be satisfied with mere obeisance, not only from his territory but also from his borderers and neighbours.[4] Aśoka was the powerful monarch of his time and hence the vassal states and other kingdoms holding similar relationship with the Empire found it not very difficult to acknowledge his authority and live in security and peace. Even those chieftains with whom Aśoka had no diplomatic relations were prepared to conform to this arrangement, not because they expected any trouble from Pāṭaliputra but to avert any dangers arising from their own enemies. This is quite in line with Kauṭalīyan statement *Pareṣām api bhayāt.* This interpretation of the term *dharmavijaya* is corroborated by other facts which Aśoka mentions in the same Edict. One is that "even (the inhabitants of) the forests which are included in the dominions of Devānāṁpriya, even those he pacifies and instructs. And they are told of the power (to punish them) which Devānāṁpriya (possesses) in spite of (his) repentance, in order that they may be ashamed (of their

---

1 त्रयोऽभियोक्तारो धर्मासुरलोभाविजयिन इति।
तेषामभ्यवपत्त्य धर्मविजयी तुष्यति, तमभ्यवपद्येत।
परेषामपि भयात्।भूमिद्रव्यहरणेन लोभविजयी तुष्यति, तमर्थेनाभ्यवपद्येत।
भूमिद्रव्यापुत्रदारप्राणहरणेन असुरविजयी
तं भूमिद्रव्याभ्यामुपगृह्यापग्राह्यः प्रतिकुर्वीत
Bk. XII. Ch. I.

2 Text 4 lines *Trivandrum ed.* Vol. III p. 155.

3 See also *Nayacandrikā commentary*, p. 213 *Punjab Sans.* Series No. IV.

4 We know from the *Mahābhārata* that Yudhiṣṭhira after the Kuruksetra carnage, fell down unconscious being overwhelmed with sorrow and resolved to don the ascetic robes and never more be a king. Least was not the difficulty to reconcile him and make him accept the throne. Yudhiṣṭhira wanted to avoid battle ; but when once it was offered, as would befit a Ksatriya, he came to the forefront. This is the true Ksatriya ideal and we know from the *Divyāvadāna* that Aśoka was a Ksatriya.

crimes) and may not be killed."[1] Apparently the foresters were independent or semi-independent. Possessed of martial spirit they might or might not have acknowledged the overlordship of the emperor. It is evident that *dutas* were sent to them with clear instructions that if they should prove refractory, they would be attacked and killed. This demonstrates above anything else that Aśoka had not completely relinquished the conquest by arms. For does he not say that he possesses power to attack them? But as a noble Kṣatriya he warns them and tells them that he would be pleased with mere obeisance. If they would not heed to it in time he was prepared to fight with them. This is then the ideal underlying the Kauṭalīyan policy of *dharmavijaya*.

1 *Corpus* p. 69 and XI R.E. Shahbazgarhi.

Arthaśāstra Re-examined
or
The Culture and Date of the Arthaśāstra[1]

"Kauṭalya's *Arthaśāstra* advocates ideals and culture which are non-Indian. This may be due to the fact that the Malwa empire for a long time remained under the influence of the Greeks, Śakas and Hunas". In this strain a recent writer on the subject writes in the *Indian Antiquary*[2] and seems to propound three theories. First the *Arthaśāstra* was written somewhere between 480 and 510 A.D. Secondly, it was a product of the Malwa Empire under the foreign domination of the Greeks, Śakas and Hunas. Thirdly ideals and culture advocated in the *Arthaśāstra* are non-Indian.

This is then a re-examination of the whole *Arthaśāstra* problem. Though there has been a view that the date of the compilation of the Kauṭalīya *Arthaśāstra* may be brought down to the beginnings of the Christian era[3] still opinion was not divided as to the culture advocated by that treatise on ancient Indian Polity. The late V.A. Smith took the correct and sound view that the *Arthaśāstra* was an actual picture of the Mauryan Empire under its first emperor[4]. This finds corroboration from a more reliable quarter viz. : Aśokan inscriptions. Notwithstanding volumes of interpretation on these mute records on the rocks and pillars still the last word has not been said. A comparative study of the inscriptions and the *Arthaśāstra* texts has revealed to us the wonderful concordance between the two. The inference is irresistible that Aśoka was an ardent student of the *Arthaśāstra.*[5] Suffice it to say here that this coincidence is remarkable since it demonstrates beyond doubt the powerful hold which the *Arthaśāstra* had on the great Mauryan empire.

An interesting circumstance in this connection is that the ideals and culture advocated by the *Arthaśāstra* were known to the distinguished author of the sacred *Kuṛal* whose compilation is assigned to the second century B.C. on various grounds.[6] If the *Arthaśāstra* be known in the Tamil land in the second century B.C. surely at least a century must have elapsed since the compilation to get authoritative recognition from the learned public. Further there is no trace of the ideas and ideals peculiar to the Greeks, Śakas and Hunas adumbrated. The

---

1 From: the Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona 13 (1931) 326 – 30.

2 See Pran Nath's article *On the date of the compilation of Kautalya's Arthaśastra 484-510 A.D.*, June, 1931, pp. 109-113, July, 1931, pp, 121-3.

3 See A.B. Keith in the *Sir Asutosh Memorial Volume*, Patna, pp. 8-22.

4 See *Early History of India*, p. 144.

5 I have discussed this question in my *Mauryan Polity*, (Madras University), 1932; Rep. Delhi, MLBD, 1993.

6 See Author's *Studies in Tamil Literature & History*, the chapter of Tiruvalluvar, 3rd edn., Madras, 1983.

institutions and the political theories inculcated are quite in consonance with the accepted standards of ancient Hindu culture. Mere statement of a theory would not help us much unless substantiated by quotations from *Arthaśāstra*. No case has been made out to prove that the author of the *Arthaśāstra* has imported alien ideas and culture into his memorable treatise.

Equally weak, unconvincing and inconclusive is the attempt to show that it was a product of the Malwa Empire. The following are some of the points raised in this connection. They may be categorically stated with summary answers.

1. Kauṭalya has selected a small territory called *Janapada* and that situated near a sea-coast approaching in a area nearly to a modern *tasil*. This is quite contradictory with the other remark made in the very next page that the Kautilīya king possessed landed property in Aparānta, Aśmaka, Avanti, Jāṅgala, and Anupa Deśas. Certainly each of these countries must have been bigger than a modern *tasil* and these countries put together must be big enough for an empire even granting that the Kauṭilīyan King possessed landed property only in the above mentioned Deśas. Thus at the outset it seems that the case made out rests on no substantial basis.

2. Much is made of the defence by the local wild tribes. Reference here is only to the outlying portions of the empire, specially those forest-belts which always separated the Capital from the country parts. In such places a statesman like Kauṭalya would have felt that it would be the right policy to get such forsaken places guarded by wild tribes who were real masters of the situation. The mention of Vāhurika and Pulinda may refer to Gujarat, Avanti and Central India. But Śabaras, Caṇḍālas and Āṭavikas were not the monopoly of the Malwa Empire alone. These and similar tribes were scattered throughout the length and breadth of the India continent. The same condition is depicted in the ancient Tamil works. The Maravar or the Eyinar who were foresters were pressed into service by the Tamil kings for defence purposes. In the opening chapters of Janapadasamuddeśa Kauṭalya simply lays down means and methods for a conquering monarch with regard to colonisation of new lands, their distribution and protection. In the beginning of the Mauryan epoch there was a tendency on the part of the first two kings to enlarge their kingdoms as far as possible. This being the ruling passion of the monarch Kauṭalya lays down a prescription how to encroach on a new territory with a view to eventually occupy the same.

3. The theory that the Kauṭilīya *Janapada* was situated near a sea coast is inconclusive. For the empire under Candragupta Maurya, and his successors Bindusara and Aśoka, was bounded by the sea at least on two sides, and there is therefore every justification for Kauṭalya to refer to seaports and sailing vessels, either commercial or piratic. There need be no elaborate department of Nāvādhyakṣa or Superintendent of boats and navy for a *Janapada* of a modern *tasil*. An interesting circumstance in this connection is that among articles of import find mention oyster shells, conch shells, pearls etc., which are found in sea-shore[1]. If the

---

1 *Arthaśāstra*, Book II, xi.

kingdom is really situated on a sea-coast, then, would it not be legitimate to expect that kingdom to export such articles and import inland articles which can not be obtained near a sea-coast? But the fact that the sea-growing articles were imported is proof positive that the capital was situated away from the sea and this necessitated importing of such articles of merchandise. Again if the kingdom is situated on a sea-coast then there would be no room for Kauṭalya to enunciate in such an elaborate manner the interstate or international policy by means of a *maṇḍala* theory known as 'the circle of states'. In fact if one takes it as Pran Nath does, there would be no place for a 'circle of states'.

In this connection a passage from the section entitled *Sītādhyakṣa* is quoted and the passage is as follows: ṣoḍaśadroṇam jāṅgalānām varṣapramāṇam, adhyardham ānūpānām deśavāpānām, ardhatrayodaśāśmakānām, trayoviṁśatir avantīnām, amitam aparāntānām haimanyānām ca kulyāvāpānām ca kālataḥ ।

— Arthaśāstra, Bk. II, Ch. 24, 6.

Shama Śāstri translates it thus : "The quantity of rain that falls in the country of Jāṅgala is 16 droṇas half as much more in the moist countries *(ānūpānām)* ; as to the countries which are fit for agriculture *(deśavāpānām)*, $13\frac{1}{2}$ droṇas in the country of Aśmakas ; 23 droṇas in Avanti and an immense quantity in western countries *(aparāntānām)* the borders of the Himalayas and the countries where water channels are made use of in agriculture *(kulyāvāpānām)*.[1] Pran Nath interprets thus : "The annual measure (of produce to be taken as the King's due) is 16 droṇas in the country of Jāṅgala ; 34 droṇas in moist (marshy or low) countries fit for agriculture ; $13\frac{1}{2}$ droṇas in *Janapadas* of Aśmaka ; 23 droṇas in Avanti; the quantity in Aparānta is not measured ; the crop grown in winter and irrigated (by well, pond, tank, lake, etc.) should be ascertained according to the time"[2] Both these translations are faulty in the sense that while one term is interpreted as the name of a kingdom, another is interpreted in its literal sense. For example, Shama Śāstri translates *anūpa* moist country and Pran Nath *haimanya*, winter. In the interpretation of any passage the prescription is :

arthāt prakaraṇāt aucityāt – arthaniścayaḥ ।

This means that the interpretation suggested must follow the *prakaraṇa*. Either all the terms occurring in the passage are names of territories or connote different classification of soil. The latter cannot be. For Aśmaka and Avanti cannot come under any classification of soil. So the other possible alternative is that every term refers to a different kingdom. Further it is ingenious to interpret *varṣapramaṇam* as annual measure of produce. Its ordinary meaning, 'the quantity of rainfall,' will quite fit in with the context.

If Kauṭalya had meant "actual measure of produce" he should have stated the quantity of the Aparānta and Haimanya. The expression *amitam* proves that the author means only the quantity of rainfall.

---

1 Trans. p. 139, II Ed.

2 Ind. Ant. 1931, p. 111

The suggested translation is as follows:—

"Amongst the countries fit for agriculture the quantity of rainfall in the kingdom of Jāṅgala (possibly Kurujāṅgala) is 16 droṇas, in that of Anūpa[1] 24 droṇas, in that of Aśmaka (Āraṭṭa) $13\frac{1}{2}$ droṇas and in that of Avanti (Malwa) 23 dronas; the quantity of rainfall in the Aparānta and the Himalayan regions cannot be measured; and these are cultivated by irrigation channels in certain seasons."

The idea of the last two sentences is that such regions being mountaineous tracts and rainfall dependent on monsoons, sometimes there will be very heavy showers and sometimes, monsoon failing, there will be no shower, with the consequence that they had to resort to irrigation. A geographical study of the territories mentioned shows that the empire contemplated by the *Arthaśāstra* is not Malwa empire of the 5th century A.D. but is much bigger than that. Western India, Himālayas, Kurujāṅgala, Bengal, Malwa and the Dekhan constitute the empire and hence practically the whole of Hindustan with a portion of the Dekhan. In other words these were the territorial limits covered by the Mauryan empire under its first ruler Candragupta. Can it still be maintained that the *Arthaśāstra* was not the work of the Minister of Candragupta Maurya? We hope not.

1 The country inhabited by the Anūpa tribe and may be looked for in the Vindhya Hills.

The Religious Data in Kauṭalya's Arthaśāstra[1]

The Arthaśāstra is undoubtedly a product of the period when the age of the so-called Vedic religion was still in vogue. The author of the treatise attaches great importance to Vedic sacrifices and is a believer in the efficacy of such sacrifices. The Gods who are invoked and propitiated are the Vedic deities like Indra, Varuṇa, Agni, etc. Among the sacred books recommended for study are the four Vedas and their adjuncts besides the Itihāsas. The scheme of social polity is the Vedic system of castes and orders, Varṇāśramadharma. The work belongs to the period of earlier Hinduism. There is again no direct reference to Buddhism or Jainism, and this shows that neither of them had attained prominence. The data furnished may well go to support an early date for the composition of the work probably not later than 300 B.C.

The question of the authorship and still more the date of composition of the Arthaśāstra have formed the subject of prolonged debate ever since the discovery and the publication of that great treatise. In a learned contribution to *Sir Asutosh Memorial Volume* (Patna) on "the authenticity of the Arthaśāstra" Dr. Keith comes to the conclusion that the Arthaśāstra belongs to a comparatively late date, probably not before 200 A.D. at the earliest.[2] But, there is strong testimony to prove that the work claims to date from the period 321–296 B.C.[3] I do not intend here to enter into an examination of the numerous evidences that have been adduced in favour of this theory. In this short paper, I propose to examine briefly the religious data afforded by the work and determine the probable date of the composition on the strength of those data.

That the work is a product of the period when the age of the so-called Vedic religion was still in vogue is evident. Kauṭalya attaches great importance to the performance of *yajñas* and formulates rules for those who violate the rites of sacrifices. The terms Agniṣṭoma, Madhyamopasad, Pravargyodvāsana, Sutya, Mādhyandina, Bṛhaspatisavana, Ahargaṇa[4] are among the many which point out how the institutions of Vedic sacrifices and Vedic rites continued to maintain their old position and prestige. Kauṭalya is such a firm believer in the efficacy of Vedic *yajña* that he will abandon a priest who is addicted to drinking spirituous liquor, who has intercourse with śūdra lady, who is a murderer of a Brahman, who is a defiler of the preceptor's bed, who receives gifts from the undesirables, who is a thief, and whose reputation is not commendable. The Vedic Karma will lose in value, says Kauṭalya, if such men of bad repute are associated with the ritual, *karmasaṅkara-niścayāt.*

---

1 A paper presented to the International Congress of Orientalists, Oxford 1928.

2 See also: Keith, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 452ff. A.A. Macdonell, *India's Past*, p. 170.

3 J.F. Fleet in his Introduction to *Kautalya's Arthaśāstra* translated by Dr. Shāma Śastri. 2nd Edn. 1923; J.J. Meyer, *Das Altindische Buch* VI, Einleitung p. LIV.

4 Book III, Sec. 14.

Again kings continued to perform the Rājasūya and other sacrifices and those who represented a king or kings were duly honoured with a special fee thrice as much as was paid to others equal to them in learning.[1] From section (ii) of Book XIII there is evidence to show that kings used to frequent performances of such sacrifices. Again in the Civil List drawn by the author of the Arthaśāstra, among the heavily paid officials of the Government, figure prominently the *ṛtvik* or the sacrificial priest, the *ācārya* or the preceptor, and the *purohita* or the Court chaplain. Each of these receives 48000 *paṇas* per annum. Kauṭalya's prescription of a specially heavy fee for the sacrificial priests is proof positive of the fact that the Vedic sacrifices were deemed an important feature of the administration of his times.

This fact is further fortified by equally convincing and important statements. Among the Gods mentioned for worship are the Vedic deities such as Indra, Varuṇa, Agni, Yama, the Aśvins, Vaiśrāvana and Jayanta. Himself a believer in Vedic religion he recommends prayers, offerings and oblations as effective remedies to avert national calamities (*upanipātāḥ*).[2] He states that when drought visits the land, then shall be the worship of Indra, of the Ganges, Mountains and the Ocean. As precautionary measures against the outbreak of fire special offerings shall be made to Agni on Full Moon and New Moon days. There is again an allusion to the worship of Agni and Varuṇa in a later Chapter.[3] In the course of an elaborate description of buildings within the fort, the abode of the Aśvins, Vaiśrāvaṇa and Jayanta, besides others are mentioned.[4] Jayanta is Subrahmaṇya and Vaijayanta is Indra.[5] This evidences the prevalence of their worship at the time of the composition of this treatise. Even the principal gates were named after the Vedic fashion *Brahma, Aindra, Yāmya* and *Saināpatya.* Some of the other deities mentioned are Śiva, Aparājita or Durgā and Apratihata or Viṣṇu. But still there is no direct reference to Śaivism or Vaiṣṇavism which are religious movements of a later epoch. Again we have the worship of Nāgas or Snakes, rats, guardian deities and nymphs so that we are almost tempted to characterise this as superstitiousness if not superstition. Kauṭalya's prescription of auspicious and purificatory ceremonials, of magic and mystical rites as contained in the Atharva Veda, his fear of the unknown, his belief in the efficacy of spells, incantations and witchcrafts, bear eloquent testimony to his faith in the Atharva Veda,

Kauṭalya is a firm believer in the Brāhmanic theory of the Universe.[6] The Arthaśāstra mentions the four Vedas — Sāma, Rig, Yajus and Atharva and the six Aṅgas — Śikṣā (Phonetics), Kalpa (Ceremonials), Vyākaraṇa (Grammar), Nirukta (Glossary), Chandas (Prosody) and Jyotisa (Astronomy).[7] It is significant to note

---

1 Book V, Sec. 3.
2 Book IV, Sec. 3.
3 Book XIII, Sec. 1 and 2.
4 Book II, Sec. 4.
5 Śrimūlam Commentary, Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, Vol. 1, p. 129.
6 K.V. Rangaswami Iyengar, *Some aspects of Ancient Indian Polity*, p. 20.
7 Book I, Sec. 11.

that the Itihāsas are included in the category of the Vedas. Undoubtedly the author of the work is aware of the two epics, the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata. Illustrations are fully drawn from these works in support of his theory. From this we may safely conclude that the Itihāsas must have come into existence centuries prior to the *Kauṭalīya* for if they had been works of recent years they could not have so soon attained such prominence as to be ranked with the Vedic literature. In other words the Rāmāyana and at least the major portion of the Mahābhārata must have been in vogue long before 300 B.C.

After furnishing a catalogue of sacred books extant in his time Kauṭalya proceeds to explain the significance of the Vedic Dharma *(Trayī dharma).*[1] It helps the members of four castes and four orders to follow their *Svadharma* without prejudice to the others. The duties of castes and stages of life furnished in the work afford a close parallel to the Dharmaśāstras and the Dharmasūtras. Fire worship is one among the deities assigned to the first three orders, Brahmacarya, Gṛhastha and Vānaprastha.[2] The fourth stage of life is Sannyāsa. He who had made provision for his family could don the robes of the ascetic and take to a wandering life.[3]

He expects every prince, not to speak of the members of the other castes, to discipline his body and mind by a proper study of the three Vedas and its adjuncts. There is another general statement that the king must have his own Agnihotraśālā — apartment for worship of Fire, and having seated himself there with a number of persons learned in the three Vedas, he shall give audience to śrotriyas, tapasvins, and other penance-performers. In the daily life of the Monarch the performance of the religious rites is insisted on. Early in the morning he accepts the blessings of the *ṛtvik, ācārya* and others religiously inclined. Before leaving for the Audience Hall he circumambulates a cow with its calf and a bull.[4] He shall give preference to cases touching temples, heretics, *śrotriyas,* cows, ascetics and penance-performers.[5] Thus there are numerous references to show that the cult of fire worship was prominently prevalent in the days of Kauṭalya and that methods of worship and belief and faith were all quite antiquated.

The same impression is given when we turn to examine the position accorded to the śrotriya in Kauṭalya's scheme of polity. That Brahman who has disciplined himself by learning and practice of rigid morality is a *śrotriya.*[6] The *śrotriya* generally attended to the religious and spiritual welfare of the state. He is a teacher, preacher, and a sacrificial priest. He conducts propitiatory ceremonies to avert calamities whenever the state would fall into distress of any sort. He invokes the deities of the woods and forests and the sky and offers oblations and incantations. He opens schools in his own cottage and educates the young of the neighbourhood. He holds the high position as Councillor and adviser of the King. He is invariably the Judge

---

1 Ibid.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid. also Book II, Sec. 1.
4 Book I, Sec. xix.
5 Ibid.
6 See also Hopkins, *Ethics of India,* pp. 239–40.

and the Magistrate who decides cases according to the established laws of the land He is a *Purohita* who even goes to the battlefield and stimulates the soldiers with spirit and enthusiasm by quoting Vedic authority describing the joys of heaven for the brave and the tortures of hell for the coward. In return for his service the *śrotriyas* become the recipients of honours at the hands of the King. This was invariably the gift of lands, the *Brahmadeya*. Kautalya only repeats the wellknown statement of the *Brāhmaṇas* that guided by the *Śrotriya*, the Kṣatriya-ruled kingdom prospers.[1] Thus with Professor Winternitz we can say that "the whole Arthaśāstra shows that its author was a strict adherent to Brahmanism, and that he presupposes a social system entirely founded on Brahmanic religion and custom..... Absolutely Brahmanical is the teaching of the *Svadharma* that is of a different law for each of the four castes and the four āśramas (stages of life).'[2]

The above observations throw a flood of light in another direction. There are some scholars who find references to Buddhism and Jainism in this work. That both Mahāvīra and the Buddha were contemporary with kings Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru and that both died in the reign of Ajātaśatru is evident from the available records. Granting 300 B.C. to the Arthaśāstra it is clear that nearly two centuries have elapsed since Buddhism and Jainism were founded. In spite of these movements for almost 200 years they had not become yet rivals to the existing Hinduism and do not seem to have attained any prominence whatsoever. The Vedic ceremonies and rites were still extant and were especially patronised by the then monarchs. Neither Buddhism nor Jainism for the matter of that had made itself felt either among the masses or in the Government. Vedic gods were invoked and propitiated. Even in stimulating the soldiers on the field of battle the *Purohita* draws as an example the performance of Yajña and its fruits. This indicates that even the members of the warrior caste were extremely religious and attached sanctity to the Vedic sacrifices. However there occur certain terms in the work which may indirectly refer to the influence of the Buddhist and Jain sects — *muṇḍa* or shavelings, *jaṭila* or matted hair, *pāṣaṇḍa* or heretics and *bhikṣukī* or female mendicants. Professor Rangaswami Iyengar who has given some thought to this question remarks: "These may refer only to the unorthodox Brahmanical sections and not necessarily to Buddhists or Jains." Again "The terms *caitya* and *stūpa* do indeed occur, but only in the original sense of burial mounds or crematoria haunted by evil spirits and bad characters and not in the sense of places of Buddhist worship.[3] Dr. Gaṇapati Śāstri renders *caityam* as *citāṅgam*. Of decisive importance in this context is the mention of the terms *nagarābhyāśe* and *śmaśānapramukhe* just immediately before the terms *caitya* and *stūpa*.[4] There is further mention of a phrase *Agnicaityam* in Book XIII, Sec. 1. If the *muṇḍas* and *jaṭilas* can be interpreted to mean Buddhist or Jain mendicants then there is evidence that these mendicants took to asceticism not out of any inherent faith in

---

1 Book I, Sec. 9.

2 *Some problems of Indian Literature*, Calcutta, pp. 104–05.

3 *Some aspects of ancient Indian Polity*, p. 21.

4 Book XIII, Sec. 2.

the religions propounded but for earning a livelihood. They did not observe the proper functions expected of a *caturāśramin*. On the other hand they changed their professions whenever such things suited them. This is evident from the terms *Pravrajyāpratyavasitaḥ* and *mundo jaṭilo vā vṛttikāmaḥ*.[1] Such of those who have fallen from the duties of the fourth āśrama enlisted themselves in the King's service as informants in the disguise of a recluse. That some of these ascetics misused their privilege and as a consequence were punished is also evident. The king watched their movements and those found guilty were compelled to undergo punishment. But if the offence was not of a grave nature Kauṭalya would recommend to them to conduct penance, to offer oblation to Gods and to observe fasts in the name of the King.[2]

The prescription of a heavy fine for nuns *(pravrajitā)* who have committed adultery and the rule prohibiting people to embrace asceticism until they had made suitable provision for their families further demonstrates how the male and female mendicants of Kauṭalya's time were not true to their stage of life. As a statesman Kauṭalya felt bound to discourage such pseudo-asceticism. From the phrase *sarveṣām ahiṃsā*.[3] Professor Jolly thinks that the rule of Ahimsa was generalised, common to all the four *āśramas*, while Professor Jacobi confines the general practice of *Ahiṃsā* enjoined for the Parivrājaka only.[4] In both ways the passage admits interpretation. But there is nothing peculiar to deduce the conclusion of Buddhist influence. The doctrine of *Ahiṃsa* is an old one familiar to the Hindus long before the Buddhist and Jain movements came into existence. He would be a shortsighted statesman who preaches ahimsā for all on the one side and provides at the same time for slaughter houses and permits the sale of fresh meat.[5] The prohibition of suicide and the prohibition of the castration of animals may be viewed less as due to Buddhist influence than as common humane feeling and practical wisdom.[6] Further what observations the Buddha made on suicide is still a matter of opinion among scholars.[7]

From a survey of the whole treatise, with special reference to the religious data we can safely arrive at the conclusion that the work belongs to an earlier epoch of Hinduism when the Vedic religion held firm sway in the minds of the people, and when the influence of either Buddhism or Jainism was little or nothing. Of more decisive importance is the act that the composition of the work in question must be placed some centuries before the Christian era and in the face of sound tradition[8] it is reasonable to assign the work to the 4th century B.C.

---

1 Book I, Sec. 11.
2 Book III, Sec. 16.
3 Book I, Sec. 3.
4 *Arthaśāstra* of *Kautalya* (Punjab Sanskrit Series), Introd. p. 25.
5 Book II, Sec. 26.
6 *Some aspects of Ancient Hindu Polity*, p. 21.
7 See, for example, C.A.F. Rhys Davids, *Gotama, the Man*, p. 168.
8 The learned European scholar Dr. J.J. Meyer in his lengthy introduction to his German translation of the Arthaśāstra attached as great value to tradition as the late scholar Mr. V.A. Smith to conclusively prove the Arthaśāstra to be the accredited work of the Maurya King Candragupta's Chancellor.

Daśabandham[1]

I. Ancient India

There are many technical terms in ancient Indian literature and inscriptions which do not admit of correct interpretation, having gone out of use in modern times. There are again other terms, the true meaning and significance of which have considerably changed with the march of time. To the latter class belong the two words *Daśbandha* and *Pañcabandha* which have been in use at least from the epoch of the legal literature of India down to our own times. The terms *Daśabandha* and *Pañcabandha* occur in the ancient Arthaśāstra literature as also in the legal literature. In elaborately discussing civil and criminal causes, and in dealing with agreements and debts which come under the jurisdiction of the civil justice, Kauṭalya makes mention of as many as ten court offences committed by either of the parties concerned. It is not necessary for our purpose to give an account of these different offences. Suffice it to say that such offences which are technically termed *parokta* were punishable with fines, which were one-fifth or one-tenth of the sum involved or sued for, according to the nature of the offence.

Dr. Shāma Śāstri translates the terms *pañcabandha* and *daśabandha,* as "five times the amount and ten times the amount". This is not correct. If we suppose, for example, the sum sued for is Rs. 100, the court cannot punish either of the parties for an offence with Rs. 500 and Rs. 1,000. It is not only unreasonable but unconvincing. But if the court would impose a fine of Rs. 10 or Rs. 20 it certainly stands to reason. Though Dr. Śāstri is aware of the interpretation of the T.M. commentary as 1/5 and 1/10, he would not accept it.[2] In a later chapter dealing with the relations of masters and hired servants, it is clearly ruled thus: 'Failure to pay wages shall be punished with a fine of 1/10 the amount of wages or 6 *paṇas:* misappropriation of wages shall be punished with 1/5 of the amount of the wages or 12 *paṇas.*[3] Here again the translator makes it ten times the amount of wages, or 6 paṇas and five times the amount or 12 panas.[4]

But he meets with a difficulty. For, as if to explain himself, Kauṭalya has said *daśabandha,* or 6 *paṇas,* and *pañcabandha,* or 12 *paṇas,* and this means that the Arthaśāstra distinctly means by its terms 1/10 and 1/5. As this would not suit his interpretation Dr. Shāma Śāstri remarks curiously enough that the words *daśabandha* and *pañcabandha* seem to have been erroneously interchanged. That the text is not erroneous can again be proved from another expression

---

1 From: *The Journal of Indian History,* Madras 13 ii (1933–34) ii. 94–98.

2 See p. 169 of the Translation, 1929.

3 Book III, Ch. XIII.

4 Translation, p. 208.

bandhacaturguṇāh at the commencement of Chapter XI of the same book in dealing with debts, meaning thereby four times the amount. In the same way Kauṭalya would have used *bandhadaśaguṇa* and *bandhapañcaguṇa* if he wanted the fine to be ten times and five times the amount. This shows that the text is correct and that the author of the Arthaśāstra is not vague in his expressions. The Śrīmūlam commentary gives the terms the same meaning as we do and the Mitāksara corroborates it as we shall see in the sequel.

In the chapter entitled *Ṛṇodānam.*[1] Kautalya says:

परस्पराभियोगे चैषामुत्तमाः परोक्ता दशबन्ध दद्युरवराः पञ्चबन्धम् ।

Dr. Shāma Śāstri translates thus: 'Creditors guilty of *parokta* shall pay a fine of ten times the amount: but if incapable to pay so much they shall at least pay five times the amount sued for.' On this the translator observes in a footnote "Since the pañcabandha must be less than *daśabandha* the interpretation of *pañcabandha*, as *pañcamāṃśa*, one-fifth by Vijñāneśvara cannot be accepted." Here again the translator goes against the traditional and accepted interpretation.

Let us examine here the passages both in the *Mānavadharmaśāstra* and *Yājñavalkya-smṛti.* In the code of Manu the verse as translated runs: "A man who without being ill, does not give evidence in (cases of) loans and the like within three fortnights (after the summons), shall become responsible for the whole debt and (pay) a tenth part of the whole (as a fine to the king)."[2] This verse is significant in more than one respect. First as in the *Kauṭalīya* it deals with *Ṛṇam*, or debts. Secondly, the expression *daśabandham* occurs and is correctly interpreted by Kullūkabhaṭṭa as *daśamam bhāgam*, or one-tenth part. Thirdly, there is coincidence between the Arthaśāstra portion dealing with witnesses and Manu's. For example we may compare the verses 64 and 69 of Chapter VIII of Manu here.

Thus we have the unimpeachable authority of Manu for our interpretation. Added to this is the Mitākṣara authority. Commenting on the verse (II. 171) of *Yājñavalkya-smṛti, on the term Pañcabandha*, Vijñāneśvara says: *pañcabandha naṣṭadravyasya pañcamāmśah.*[3]

The term *Pañcamāṃśa* as interpreted by Vijñāneśvara bears unmistakable testimony to the fact that what was meant by the expression *pañcabandha* is one-fifth part. Not only is it the traditional interpretation, but it is the only construction of the Kauṭaliyan term. What applies to *pañcabandha* equally applies also to the other term *daśabandha*, as it occurs in the *Mānavadharmaśāstra.*

Let us now turn our attention to what the Śrīmūlam commentary has to say on this:[4]

---

1 Bk. III. Ch. II.

2 Bühler's Trans. (Sacred Books of the East Series).

त्रिपक्षादब्रुवन् साक्ष्यमृणादिषु नरोऽगदः ।
तट्टणं प्राप्नुयात् सर्वं दशबन्धं च सर्वतः ॥ VIII. 107.

3 p. 243 of the Nirnayasāgar press ed. of the Yājñavalkya smṛti.

4 Vol. II p. 68 (Trivandrum Sanskrit Series).

एषा स्वामिभृत्यादीना परस्पराभियोगे, उत्तमाः परोक्ताः स्वामिऋत्विगादयः पराजितश्चेत्, दशबन्ध पराजितधनदशभाग दद्युः अवरेभ्यः। अवराः भृत्यादयः, परोक्ता, पञ्चबन्धं पराजितधनपञ्चभागं दद्युः उत्तमेभ्यः। इति

Thus two classes of creditors are distinguished, those higher in social rank and those lower. Those lower in social rank, e.g., a *bhṛtya* or servant, are to pay a greater fine than those in higher rank as *svāmin* or master. This is a prescription quite in keeping with the prevailing views in those ancient days, when it was assumed that ordinarily people of higher rank would not commit offences, and, if they did, they were to be given light punishment. By heavy punishments, persons of lower status were compelled as it were to conform to the rules as far as possible. Then it was not a question of ability or capability to pay as the translator would have it. In fact there is no term in the text for interpreting, "if incapable to pay so much." In the light of the above authorities we cannot accept Dr. Shāma Śāstri's translation of the text. The following translation is then offered: "Creditors of higher social status (*svāmin, Ṛtvik, acarya* and parents) guilty of *parokta* shall pay a fine, equal to one-tenth of the amount sued for; creditors of lower status (servants, pupils and sons) one-fifth of the amount."[1]

II. In the Mediæval Period

The South Indian inscriptions often call to notice the term *daśabandha* or *daśavantam.* Though we do not meet with the term pañcabandha, it is interesting to note that this term has changed in its original interpretation. It is no more a legal term connected with judicial procedure. In the inscriptions the term occurs in the sense of a tax or an allowance of land or revenue as compensation for the construction of a tank, well or channel.[2] According to the second Nellore record, a sale deed is given for the *daśabandham* tank dated s. 1348.[3] The term *dasabandha* again occurs in a Tamil inscription on the east wall of Ujjīvanāthasvāmi temple, Trichinopoly Taluq, dated in the third year of the Coḷa king Rāja-Keśarivarman[4] as one of the items of grant for a festival in the same temple. Again a Kanarese record. 1450 of the Vijayanagara king Kṛṣṇarāya registers the permanent grant *daśavanda* of the tank at Dondavate to a certain Malesāni, by the people of that village.[5] In this connection a record dated A.D. 1496 of the Mulbagal Taluq[6] being a copy of the *Kaṭṭu-goḍage* agreement may be of value:

"Be it well (on the date specified), to Alapa's son Nārasimhadeva,—the temple priest of the god Narasiṃha, Koṇḍapa-Timmanna's son Aśvapa granted a kaṭṭu-goḍage agreement as follows:— Whereas the Guṇḍalanahaḷḷi village, which is Narasiṃhapura, in Hode-nad, belonging to the offerings of our god Kadiri Lakshmī Nārasiṃha, by the order of the god Nārasimha, I have given in possession to the

---

1 See also author's *Hindu Administrative Institutions*, pp. 258–9.

2 See V. Rangacharya, *Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency* Vol. II. NI. 368 and 797.

3 Ibid. p. 109

4 A.R.E. 462 of 1908.

5 See A.R.E. 194 of 1913. See also A.R.E. 527 of 1914. ep. A.R.E. 434 of 1911 being a Telugu record of the Cuddapah District and 65 of 1915 being a Telugu record of the Kurnool District.

6 No. 172 Op. Cit. Vol. X.

Nambi Apachi-Anantapa,—and it provides for the offerings and ceremonies (specified) of the god and the livelihood of the attendants,—on your expending money and causing a virgin tank to be constructed in the Māvinahaḷḷa to the west of the old tank of Guṇḍalanahaḷḷi, forming an embankment with plenty of earth, building it up with stone, fixing a stone sluice and making it secure with bricks and good mortar, and thoroughly completing the tank,—of the rice-lands formed under that tank, four parts of the rice raised in them you may enjoy free of rent. After those four parts have been filled up,[1] we grant you in the rice-lands that will be formed under the tank a *daśavanda* of three in ten as kaṭṭu-goḍage, marking out with stones the best, middling and inferior soils and of the dry fields granted as kaṭṭu-goḍage-mānya for this tank which are now cultivated and sown with ragi, we give you as kaṭṭu-goḍage-mānya, 1 khaṇḍuga (as specified).

"If any damage should come to the tank you build, you will make it good from your four parts of mānya. When that is filled up[2] if any the least failure occurs, we will levy money and grain from the rice-lands and on the tank, including those of your *daśavanda*, and have it repaired.

"For the rice-lands and dry fields of your kaṭṭu-goḍage there are no payments under the various heads (as specified) on account of our temple.

"The same provisions are laid down for any future extension of rice-lands under the tank. Also permission to cultivate on half share or on contract, free of all payments on account of the temple, as before specified: If the flow of water from the tank allows, you may plant areca, coconut or other permanent gardens in your kaṭṭu-goḍage, and have the full enjoyment of the same. If the tank should not fill sufficiently for your three-tenths *daśavanda* rice fields, you will take your turn for the water. For building houses for the ryots who cultivate your *daśavanda* rice-fields we will point out sites. From such ryots we will not exact house-tax or other taxes (specified)."

III. In Modern India

We now proceed to examine how this term *daśabandha* got further changed in its interpretation in the days of the East India Company and after.[3] According to H.H. Wilson the Telugu term daśabandham is 'a deduction of 1/10 of the revenue on account of compensation for some public work, as the construction of a tank, etc.[4] Daśabandham was a subject of enquiry by the Inām Commission appointed in 1858-59. It is one of the nine kinds of *ināms* which were examined by the Inam Commission as to the validating titles etc. The other kinds of *ināms* were: (1) For religious institutions and services, (2) For purposes of public utility, (3) Bhaṭṭavṛtti

---

1 tumbida-baḷika.

2 tumbida-baḷika

3 Professor C.S. Srinivasachari, M.A., Annamalai University, has kindly drawn my attention to some of these references.

4 P. 127. A Glossary of the Judicial and Revenue terms and of the useful words occurring in official documents relating to the Administration of the Government of British India—Compiled and published under the authority of the Court of Directors—London, W.H. Allen & Co., MDCCLV.

and khairat, (4) Maintenance for the families of poligars and ancient land-officers, (5) Lands alienated for the support of members of the family, like bisai, doratanam, mukhasa, amaram, likai, etc., (6) Grants connected with general police duties (like kāṭṭu badies), (7) grāmamāniyams and (8) Grants to village artizans. Both (7) and (8) are the 'Watan' of Central India.[1] Baden Powell who has examine this, defines Daśabandham to be one among the *inām* 'for the construction, maintenance and repair of irrigation works in the Ceded Districts, in Kistna, Nellore, North Arcot and Salem.'[2] These daśabandham *inām* 'were granted as a recompense to private individuals, who constructed tanks, wells and river channels, by means of which the revenue of the State was augmented. The extent and value of the *inām* were in proportion to the capital expended on the work and the out-turn in revenue.'[3] Two classes of these *inām* are distinguished (1) Khaṇḍa Daśbandhams, or *inām* granted to specific localities, (2) Shaumilaut Daśabandhams or *inām* being of the nature of an allowance of some proportion of the annual cultivation with reference to particular work. This class of *inām* had nothing to do with the locality and consequently did not find a place on the *inām* registers. Ordinarily those who enjoy daśabandham rights are to undertake due repair of irrigational works. But there have been cases of what are now treated as personal grants, where the obligation of repair of works of irrigation was neither a condition attached or has fallen into disuse by continued neglect on the part of the *daśabandhamdār*. "In the Ceded Districts, certain Wodder or tank diggers held *inām* for the service of executing the ordinary repairs of large government tanks. Under the present organization of the Public Works Department the Wodder occupied an anomalous position, and the services attached to their tenures were very inefficiently rendered. Their *inām* have consequently been enfranchised."[4]

Thus we have passed in review the story of a technical expression Daśabandha. It has undergone considerable transformation in its interpretation through the ages. Being in use as a legal term of significance in all India, it has now been confined to certain parts of the Andhra districts as a term connected with administration of land.

---

1 See Baden Powell *'Land Systems of British-India'* Vol. III, pp. 81–2; also *Madras Manual of Administration*, (1885) Vol. I, pp. 168–9.

2 Op. cit. p. 81.

3 Madras Manual. op. cit. p. 168.

4 Op. cit. p. 168.

Rājadharma in the Śaunakīya[1]

The *Śaunakīya* published recently in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series is interesting in more than one point. It is treatise on Dharmaśāstra consisting of two parts, the first part dealing with rituals and the second with the rites of kings, especially the coronation rite. One feels from a study of these two parts that the book as published at present is incomplete and there must be several sections dealing with different topics of the Hindu dharma. What is remarkable about this treatise is that it is a very ancient one. In the second part of the book with which we are concerned at present Śaunaka is seen addressing a certain Āśvalāyana.[2] This reference to Āśvalāyana is indeed very significant. We know of the well-known Āśvalāyana as the author of the extant Gṛhyasūtra who is said to have flourished roughly in the sixth century B.C. From the fact that Āśvalāyana concludes his Gṛhyasūtra by saying 'Namaḥ Śaunakāya, namaḥ Śaunakāya', the editor of this treatise seems to conclude that the author of the *Śaunakīyam* was the preceptor of the great Āśvalāyana, and enumerates a list of as many as twenty-two works attributed to his authorship.[3] It is not possible to agree that one and the same Śaunaka was the author of this and all the other twenty-two works. The style and language of several of these works compel us to the conclusion that all these did not emanate from the same pen. With regard to the *Śaunakīyam* itself, excepting the accidental coincidence of the mention of Āśvalāyana, and Āśvalāyana's reference to Śaunaka, it cannot be quite readily admitted to belong to such an early century as the sixth century B.C., though there is nothing impossible in this.

Other references in this treatise are equally remarkable. The Itihāsa-Purāṇa is mentioned[4] indicating the existence of Itihāsas and Purāṇas before the composition of this work. The next reference of importance is to the *Aitareya-vidhāna*,[5] evidently the prescription of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* on the *abhiṣeka* of the king. Again this Dharmaśāstra makes mention of the Vaiṣṇavas and their *ālayas* or temples as distinguished from those of Śiva.[6] In more than one place the worship of Durgā is

---

1 From: New Indian Antiquary (Bombay) 1 (1938–39) 337 – 39

2 प्रतिमालक्षणं चैव प्रतिष्ठां चार्चनं तथा ।
शृणु बुद्ध्या समायुक्त ! आश्वलायन ! सुव्रत ॥ 21. 2.

3 Preface, p. ii.

4 इतिहासपुराणादीन् शृणुयात् तदनन्तरम् । 10. 11.

5 महाभिषेकं वक्ष्यामि राजन्यस्य विधानतः ।
ऐतरेयविधानोक्तं ज्ञात्वा सर्वं यथाक्रमम् ॥ 4. 1.
शुभे मुहूर्ते राजानं पीठमारोहयेद् गुरुः ।
ऐतरेयोक्तमन्त्रेण ब्रह्मघोषविघोषिते ॥ 4. 21.

6 वैष्णवैस्तैरनुज्ञातो नित्यार्चनमथाहरेत् ।
एतद् विष्ण्वर्चनं सम्यक् प्रतिष्ठाविधिसंयुतम् ॥ 21. 23.

prominently mentioned.[1] In this treatise, as has been already said, prominence is given to the coronation rite of the king. The rite was followed as was prescribed by the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, thus showing that its basis is rooted in the Vedic literature. In this rite of *abhiṣecanam*, the Purohita finds an honoured place. In fact, in the Śaunakīyan polity, the Purohita still enjoys the exalted place assigned to him by Kauṭalya and other writers on polity. A Brāhmaṇa of good character, belonging to a noble family and versed in Vedas and Vedāṅgas was to be appointed Purohita for the purpose and fulfillment of Dharma.[2] The term *dharmāyaiva* means all this. The *Śaunakīya* proceeds that a king should discharge all his obligations with the aid of his Purohita. By so doing he ensures progress of his kingdom, stable wealth, and fame here and hereafter.[3] One of the main duties of the Purohita was to perform the consecration ceremony in an auspicious place at an auspicious time.[4] After the ceremony was gone through, the king is said to address the Purohita to bless him and to help him in the peaceful conduct of his administration believing as he did that a Rājanya under the guiding hand of a Brāhmaṇa was ever blest.[5] When once the *abhiṣecanam* was over, the king was hedged with divinity. He was regarded as Indra, the king of Gods.[6] Details of *Varṣotthānam*, of *nīrājanam*, of elephants and of horses, all pertaining to a king are furnished in three different sections 6 to 8. This is followed by a section where a reference is made to *nakṣatradevatā-pījā* on his birthday (Section 9). What is particularly interesting is that that day was considered as a special day of festivity. That day the king fed all people irrespective of caste. He brought relief to the distressed and freed the imprisoned.[7] Some of these details agree with what is said in the Tamil classic *Śilappadikāram* of the second century A.D. in its reference to the celebration of a king's birthday[8] when there was a remission of taxes and general release of prisoners.

Thus we see many interesting details relating to certain aspects of ancient Hindu polity in this Dharmaśāstra of Śaunaka. If scholars would assign to this composition the sixth century B.C., as has been suggested in the Preface to this edition, then the controversy centering round the introduction of week-day in India at a later period of the 4th century A.D. could be set at rest on account of its unambiguous reference to *vāra* in more than one place.

---

1 7.15 ; 13.14 ; 14.22.

2 वृत्तवन्तं कुलीनं च वेदवेदाङ्गवित्तमम् ।
ब्राह्मणं वृणुयाद्राजा धर्मायैव पुरोहितम् ॥ 1. 7.

3 पुरोहितेन विप्रेण सर्वकर्माणि कारयेत् ।
सुगतिं राष्ट्रवृद्धिं च श्रियं चाप्यचलां व्रजेत् ॥ 1. 8.

4 मण्डपे नृपतिं तस्मिन्नभिषिञ्चेत् पुरोहितः ।
प्रशस्ततिथिवारेषु तिष्ये वा श्रवणेऽथवा ॥ 1. 13. See also 18. 2 & 7.

5 वृहस्पतिर्यथेन्द्रस्य तथा मे द्विजसत्तम ।
सर्वाः प्रजाः पालयितुं प्रसीद भगवन् ! मम ॥ 2. 6-7$\frac{1}{2}$

6 इन्द्रबुद्ध्या तमप्यर्च्य गन्धमाल्यादिभिः क्रमात्
विप्रश्चतुर्भिरानीतं वेदवेदाङ्गवेदिभिः ॥ 4. 26.

7 मोचयेद् दुःखितान् सर्वान्निरुद्धान् नृपसत्तमः
सार्ववर्णिकमन्नाद्यं तस्मिन्नहनि कारयेत् ॥ 9. 6.

8 Canto XXVII, 1. 234.

Kātyāyana—The Jurist[1]

We have a number of Kātyāyanas referred to in ancient Indian literature, and this has naturally led to a confusion in identifying them with regard to their respective writings and the time at which they lived. A *Śrautasūtra* and a *Śrāddhakalpa* of the White Yajur Veda are attributed to a certain Kātyāyana; the *Vyavahāramātṛkā* quotes a Bṛhat Kātyāyana, and Dāyabhāga quotes a Vṛddha Kātyāyana: Hemādri refers to one Upa-Kātyāyana. We have again references to a Kātyāyana as the author of a Dharmaśāstra in the Yājñavalkyasmṛti;[2] to another Kātyāyana as the author of an Arthaśāstra in Kauṭalya's *Arthaśāstra* and to a grammarian Kātyāyana in the Kathāsaritsāgara, the last being identified with Vararuci. There is also a reference in the Buddhist books to a certain Kaccāyana as the celebrated author of the first Pāli Grammar.[3]

We are concerned at present primarily with Kātyāyana the law-giver and incidentally with the grammarian bearing that reputed name. That Kātyāyana belongs to the group of ancient law-givers is sufficiently manifest from the reference in the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* to Kātyāyana as the author of a Dharmaśāstra. In my *Mauryan Polity* (pp. 19–22) it has been shown that Yājñavalkya lived earlier than the fourth century B.C., he being earlier in point of time than Kauṭalya. The fact that Kātyāyana is referred to by Yājñavalkya is an evidence that Kātyāyana lived earlier than Yājñavalkya or was an honoured elder contemporary.

Baudhāyana[4] cites Kātyāyana as a judicial authority. Himself a jurist, Baudhāyana quotes the opinion of the fellow jurist. The *Dharmasūtra* of Baudhāyana is an ancient work and has been taken as pre-Buddhistic in date by J.J. Meyer, whose researches in the Arthaśāstras and Dharmaśāstras are too well known.[5] This proves that the jurist Kātyāyana lived in the fifth century B.C. or earlier.

Thirdly, there is the proof furnished by Kauṭalya's *Arthaśāstra.* Kauṭalya quotes several of his predecessors by name, and wherever he disagrees with the views of any one of them, he quotes his view and furnishes his own reasons to differ from them. He quotes the view of Kātyāyana that a king well served by a courtier shows his favours broadcast and thus mentions him as an authority on the Arthaśāstra. We need not conclude from this reference[6] that Kātyāyana or any other author quoted by Kauṭalya were all authors of Arthaśāstra treatises. In fact, in the epoch of

---

1 From: *Indian Historical Quarterly,* Calcutta, 11 (1935) 313–16.

2 I, 4.

3 See P.V. Kane, History of *Dharmaśāstras,* I, p. 213 ff. (1930, Poona); also N.C. Bandyopādhyāya, *Kātyāyanamatasaṅgraha,* (Calcutta University 1927), Introduction, pp. 9–11.

4 *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra,* i. 2. 47.

5 *Altend. Rechtsschieftan,* p. vii quoted in Keith, *History of Sanskrit Literature,* preface, p. xix.

6 *Arthaśāstra,* Bk. V., sec. 5.

Kauṭalya, there was no clear distinction between the Arthaśāstra and the Dharmaśāstra. Each Dharmaśāstra had a section or sections devoted to Daṇḍanīti or aspects of ancient Indian polity. Barring the semi-mythical authors of an accredited Arthaśāstra like Śukra (Uśanas) and Bṛhaspāti, there was none who wrote solely on polity. And it was given to Kauṭalya to compile a first class work on the Arthaśāstra. Hence the Kauṭalīyan reference to Kātyāyana may be taken as a tolerable proof to the existence of the jurist Kātyāyana, whose work, if any has been unfortunately lost to us.

Fourthly, Kātyāyana figures in the list of judicial authorities enumerated in the great epic, the *Mahābhārata.* Though the nature of the epic composition precludes assigning a date with any fixity, still proof is not lacking to show that the Rājadharma section of the *Mahābhārata* is admittedly pre-Kauṭalīyan. Kauṭalya has largely drawn from the epic, as he has done from Yājñavalkya. There is no reference to Kauṭalya-Cāṇakya in the epic, and this, though a negative evidence, shows that the Rājadharma portion of the *Mahābhārata* is a pre-Kauṭalīyan composition. In addition to the two traditional names Śukra and Bṛhaspati, the epic mentions Nārada and Kaṇika (apparently Kaṇika Bharadvāja of the Kauṭalīya) as masters on Polity and Diplomacy. The mention of Kātyāyana and the non-mention of Kauṭalya are proofs positive of the fact that Kātyāyana was anterior to Kauṭalya.

Fifthly, the legal texts of Kātyāyana constructed from the different law digests and well-known commentaries on recognised law books point to the indebtedness of Kātyāyana the jurist to the works of Bhṛgu, Bṛhaspati, and Manu. Most of the references to Manu are not to be traced in the extant *Manusmṛti.* They are evidently quotations from an ancient work, now lost to us. Does not Kauṭalya quote a Mānava school? Next to Śukra and Bṛhaspati, there was the work of an ancient author Manu, who is quoted as an authority on both the epics, the Purāṇas and the Dharmaśāstras. Whatever that may be, the fact remains the Kātyāyana is an older author than the compiler of the extant *Manusmṛti,* whose date of composition is fixed differently by scholars from the 2nd century B.C. to 2nd century A.D.

Sixthly, we are told the Nārada and Bṛhaspati are models of Kātyāyana,[1] and that while Kātyāyana's treatment of Strīdhana is classical, Nārada's brief and concise. If Kātyāyana's views are in advance of Nārada and his treatment of topics like Strīdhana is classical, may it not be reasonable to say that Nārada was later than Kātyāyana. Even granting that it was the other way about, viz., Nārada was the predecessor and Kātyāyana was the follower, we are on safe grounds. For according to J.J. Meyer, Nārada is to be classified to a period anterior to Manu and Yājñavalkya.[2]

---

1 P.V. Kane, *op. cit.*

2 Meyer *op. cit.*, pp. 82–114 quoted in Keith's *History of Sanskrit Literature,* Preface, p. xix.
P.V. Kane, op.cit.

Lastly, if there is any truth in the tradition that a certain Kātyāyana was the minister of the Nanda kings, then that Kātyāyana must be the jurist Kātyāyana, or the jurist and grammarian Kātyāyana. The Office of the Minister required a thorough knowledge of the Dharmaśāstras and Arthaśāstras. A grammarian may possess them or may not: but the jurist must possess them. If we grant this, the *Kathāsaritsāgara* confuses the jurist with the grammarian, *i.e.*, one and the same person was both jurist and grammarian.

Thus the effort of Mr. P.V. Kane to assign a late date 400–600 A.D. to the jurist Kātyāyana is not convincing. He was undoubtedly an ancient author, anterior in time to Kauṭalya who flourished at the close of the Nanda dynasty and the commencement of the Maurya rule. The lower limit of the jurist's date can be roughly fixed at 350 B.C.

South Indian Customs in the Smṛtis[1]

Hindu lawbooks are generally known as Dharmasūtras and Dharmaśāstras, and are traditionally believed to have their basis in the Śruti or the Vedas. In ancient India the king's position was not to make laws but to administer laws already made by sages and seers. Though the king, or the legislature for the matter of that, could not make laws, still in the march of time the sources of law increased in number. The sources were primarily the Śruti, Smṛti, and Śiṣṭācāra. Some of the subsidiary sources were adjudication, judicial decision, nyāya, mīmāṃsā, royal edicts and local usages.[2] Thus we see from the growing multiplication of sources of law that the ancient seers felt the necessity to introduce fresh legislation according to the emergencies of the time and these came to be accepted as law proper by the community. This fresh legislation must have had the approval of the śiṣṭās of the realm. This came to be known as śiṣṭācāra or sadācāra. Added to this and much more important to our present enquiry is the recognition of local usages by the Smṛtikartas.[3] In other words, the peculiar customs of the community came to be recognized as legal and therefore binding on the community. The observance of a custom peculiar to a community was enforced and any violation was ordinarily visited with punishment. The ancient law-givers realized that in a vast country like that of India there could be a number of communities, each with its peculiar customs and usages. Therefore it was ruled by Hindu legislators that what applied to one community need not necessarily apply to another.[4] In fact the authors of the Smṛti make it abundantly clear that the customs of Dākṣiṇātyas should be followed by the peoples of Dekhan and South India, and should not be followed by the peoples of Northern India. In the same way it is illegal for the peoples of Northern India not to observe their usages and practices. In this connection Devala,[5] a Smṛtikarta, quoted by Mādhava observes that the Smṛti does not accept all sorts of usages but it countenances such of those customs as are healthy (nyāyadṛṣṭa) and of good intentions. The *vyavastha* or establishment of law depended on the *viṣayas* or healthy usages which are the consequences of territorial and geographical circumstances. Thus it is seen that the law-givers who framed laws at different times usually respected the customs and usages of the locality provided such customs and usages had their basis in *dharma.* Says Bhṛgu that in whatever

---

1 From : *Indian Culture,* Calcutta, 5 (1938–39) 1–7.

2 See my Hindu Administrative Institutions, pp. 216–7.

3 Gautama XI. 19; 26: Manu VIII. 41 and 46 : Yājñ. I. 3 and 7.

4 इतरदितरस्मिन् कुर्वन् दुष्यति इतर इतरस्मिन् । तत्र तत्र देशप्रामाण्यमेव स्यात् । Baudh. Dh. Sūtra I. 21. On this Mādhavācārya comments: इतरो दाक्षिणात्या इतरस्मिन् उत्तरदेशे मातुलसम्बन्धं कुर्वन् दुष्यति । । न स्वदेशे । तथेतर उदीच्य इतरस्मिन् दक्षिणदेशे सौधुपानादिकं कुर्वन् दुष्यति । न स्वदेशे । कुतः? देशप्रामाण्यात् ।

5 यस्मिन् देशे यदाचारो न्यायठट्टष्टः सुकल्पितः ।
स तसिन्नेव कर्तव्यो न तु देशन्तरे स्मृतः ॥
यस्मिन् देशे पुरे ग्रामे चैत्येऽपि नगरेऽपि वा । यो यव विहितो धर्मस्तं धर्म न विचालयेत् ॥ quoted by Mādhava.

country, town, village or city, whatever *dharma* is followed, that must be maintained intact.

One of the earliest legislators and a member of the Taittirīya śākhā, Baudhāyana who flourished much anterior to Āpastamba who is said to have lived in the 5th century B.C. was one of those law-makers who respected the authority of local customs and legislated accordingly. Baudhāyana then distinguishes sharply the southern customs from the northern[1] and is willing to let the respective communities follow their age-long practices of a healthy character. Among others Baudhāyana refers in his Dharmaśūtra to five customs or practices prevalent in South India and lends the weight of his authority by accepting them as legal. The following is a list of these customs.[2]:—

1. Taking food with one uninitiated *(anupanītena saha bhojanam).*
2. Taking food with one's wife *(bhāryayā saha bhojanam).*
3. Eating rice cooked overnight and perhaps soaked in water *(Paryuṣita-bhojanam).*
4. Marriage between a person and the daughter of his maternal uncle *(mātula-duhitṛ-gamanam).*
5. Marriage between a person and the daughter of his father's sister *(Pitṛsvasṛduhitṛ-gamanam).*

Let us take up each of these above and examine them. The prohibition in eating with the uninitiated seems to be with those who have not been initiated at the proper time. For Viṣṇu[3] has prescribed in the case of Brahmans, for example, the initiation should take place in the eighth year after birth and it should not be delayed on any account beyond the sixteenth year. He who has not performed the ceremony of initiation either at his eighth year or before he was sixteen years old is considered to be a *vrātya.* And who is a *vrātya*? He is a *vrātya* who loses his caste by his failure to observe saṃskāras enjoined on him by the Dharmaśāstra. व्रतात् समूग्रात्त च्यवति यत् । And initiation or investiture with sacred thread is a very important *saṃskāra* for a twice-born. Much significance was then attached to the *Upanayana saṃskāra* as it is even to-day. So the law prescribes that one must regard the uninitiated as an outcaste[4] and must not, therefore, eat in his company. It appears that the custom has prevailed in the days of Baudhāyana in South India,—which, according to the commentator Govindasvāmi,[5] is the region between the Narmadā and Cape Comorin—to entertain even the uninitiated as one not having lost his caste but one within the caste. In other words, the southerners of the days of Baudhāyana did not strictly adhere to the rules of *Varṇadharma* and *āśramadharma.* This was roughly about the seventh century B.C. or even before.[6]

---

1 The given northern customs are: Dealing in wool, drinking liquor, selling animals which have teeth in the upper and lower jaws, sale of arms and travelling by sea. 1.1.20—*Baudhāyana Dh. sūtra.*

2 1.1.19, Mysore Oriental Series.

3 S.B.E., Vol. VII, Ch. XXVII, 15, 26 and 27.

4 Viṣnu Smṛti, Ch. 56, 2-5.

5 Op. cit., p. 7 (Mysore Oriental Series).

6 See P.T.S. Ayyangar, History of the Tamils, p. 116-18.

The second custom which Baudhāyana marks as a purely southern one is the eating of the husband in the company of his wife. According to the prescriptions of the law-books a wife looks upon her husband as her lord and as a deity. She who does not do this falls from the ideal of a true wife.[1] When it is prescribed that a wife should eat after the husband has taken his meals,[2] the law is explicit that as god she must first feed him and look to his needs and comforts. In other words, after the husband takes his meals,—it is normally expected that the wife alone should serve the meals to her husband,—the wife then partakes of the food in the same leaf or dish in which food was served to him. This custom is no doubt largely prevalent in South India today though the *smṛtis* do not refer to the convention of eating in the same leaf or dish used by the husband. But Baudhāyana found in his time the wife sitting side by side with the husband and eating. As a good legislator he did not interfere in the custom of the country and approved it as peculiar to South India. It is to be inferred from this that women of South India in about the seventh century B.C. enjoyed much more freedom than their sisters in North India. They were a factor to be reckoned with in South Indian social life.

The third custom is eating of stale food as the translator would have it. The term *paryuṣita* means much more than that. Light comes from the celebrated commentators to the *Śrīmad Bhagavad Gītā.* In commenting on the term *paryuṣitam,*[3] Śri Śaṅkara says पक्कं सद् रात्र्यन्तरितं च यत् . This is further quoted by Nīlakaṇṭha and Madhusūdana who have also commented on the Gītā. Yet another commentator Śrīdhara renders the expression, दिनान्तरितं पक्वम्. This means that it was food cooked and kept overnight and eaten next day. What is generally done is that cooked food is put into a pot or vessel and cold water poured in it so that the food gets soaked throughout the night. Next morning that rice is eaten and even the water in which rice is soaked is drunk. In a hot place like South India this practice has been found quite agreeable and healthy to those who use such food at least as the first meal of the day. It is only regretted that this wholesome practice is slowly but surely dying out. Even Baudhāyana must have appreciated its usefulness certainly from the point of view of health. If not he would have it included under the category of forbidden practices. This practice of taking paryuṣita food is referred to in the Vaikhānasa Dharma Praśna.[4]

The fourth custom of the Dākṣiṇātyas accepted as valid by Baudhāyana is the marriage of one with a daughter of a maternal uncle while a fifth is the marriage of one with a daughter of a paternal aunt. These marriage alliances are still in vogue in South India. Here the term *mātula-duhitṛ-gamanam* has been rightly interpreted

---

1 Manu says: 'Let him not eat in the company of his wife, nor look at her while she eats, sneezes, yawns or sits at her ease.

नाश्नीयाद्भार्यया सार्धं नैनामीक्षेत चाश्नतीम् ।
क्षुवतीं जृम्भमाणां वा न चासीनां यथासुखम् ॥ IV, 43 cp. Yājña I. 131.

2 For instance, Visnu Smrti, Ch. 57, 38 and Chap. 48, 46.

3 यातयामं गतरसं पूति पर्युषितं च यत् ।
उच्छिष्टमपि नामेध्यं भोजनं तामसप्रियम् ॥ 17. 10.

4 P. 30 (Trivandrum Sanskrit Series).

by Dr. G. Bühler as marriage of cousins, and this has been questioned by the late P.T. Srinivasa Ayyangar[1] who renders it as 'indulgence in love-passages by a man and the daughter of his maternal uncle or of his father's sisters.' It is clearly a wrong interpretation and no sane law-giver would countenance such practices. In support of Dr. Bühler we can quote a number of authorities. Govindasvāmi interprets *gamanam* as *sambandha. Sambandha* is a term of much significance. Even today the marriage goes by the name of *sambandha.* In this matrimonial alliance Kālidāsa has used the expression.[2] The great Bhāsa has again expressed it in the same sense.[3] Towards the end of the VI Act of the Uttararāmacarita the dramatist Bhavabhūti uses *sambandha* in the sense of matrimony.[4] The other authority who interprets is Mādhavācārya who has elaborately commented on Parāśaradharmasaṃhitā. He substitutes the word *pariṇayanam* for *gamanam.*[5] Mādhavācārya goes into a lengthy disquisition about the validity or otherwise of such matrimonial alliances, and examines the relevant texts of Manu, Yājñavalkya, Paiṭhīnasi and others, where it is explicitly stated that matrimonial alliances could be contracted after the fifth degree on the mother's side and seventh degree on the father's side.[6] Marriages with *sapiṇḍas* are forbidden (Manu, III. 5). If a certain person marries the daughter of his maternal uncle, he should perform the expiatory ceremony of *cāndrāyaṇam.*[7] This seems to have been a Vedic custom and has gradually gone out of use in the pre-dharmaśāstra period. It is said in the Ṛgveda saṃhitā in addressing Indra to accept sacrificial offerings, accept this offering with pleasure, as one would accept the daughter of his maternal uncle and the daughter of his paternal aunt in marriage. This text[8] undoubtedly points to the prevalence of such customs in the Vedic period. That such practices were the norm and were not transgressions of law even in the epoch of the epics is evidenced by the Mahābhārata and the Bhāgavata Purāṇa. We know that Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna married their maternal cousins, these being Rukmiṇī and Subhadrā.[9] As examples of

---

1 History of the Tamils, pp. 118–9.

2 Kumārasambhava, VI, 29 and 30.

3 Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa, p. 65 (Trivandrum Sanskrit Series). Professor S. Kuppuswami Sastriar thinks that the word *sambandha* is used in the peculiar *malayali* sense. There is no warrant for this. On the other hand one can say that the Malayalis use the expression in its correct sense. (See his intro., p. 26 to Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi (Madras, 1926).

4 संबन्धस्पृहणीयताप्रमुदितैर्ज्येष्ठैर्वसिष्ठादिभिः
दृष्ट्वापत्यविवाहमङ्गलमहे तत् तातयोः संगतम् ।
पश्यन्नीदृशमीदृशे पितृसखं वृत्ते महावैशसे
दीर्घं किं न सहस्रधाहमथवा रामेण किं दुष्करम् ॥ See also Mahāvīracaritam, Act I, verse 59.

5 P. 67, Bombay Sanskrit Series, Vol. I, Pt. II.

6 *Op. cit.*, p. 60 sq.

7 Śātātapa quoted by Mādhavācārya, op. cit., p. 63.

8 आ याहीन्द्र पथिभिरीळितेभिर्
यज्ञमिमं नो भागधेयं जुषस्व ।
तृप्तां जुहुर्मातुळस्येव योषा
भागस्ते पैतृष्वसेयीं वपामिव ॥ VII. 55. 8 (Khila). See also Nirukta, Pariśiṣṭa 14. 31. ed. by L. Sarup, p. 241.

9 By the time of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa this has become a transgression of law. See pp. 192–4 of the translation of *Tantravārttika.*

marriages with paternal cousins again the Bhāgavata Purāṇa may be quoted. It is said that Kṛṣṇa married Mitravindā of Avanti, and Bhadrā of Kekayas, and both were his paternal cousins.[1] Though such alliances were debarred by law later on in the post-vedic period, still they persisted in Tamil land and were so popular that law-givers like Baudhāyana could not easily trifle with them. Do we not read again in Kumārila Bhaṭṭa's[2] *Tantravārttika* that a southerner is generally pleased by taking the daughter of his maternal uncle in wedlock? In the previous page, besides referring to marriage of cousins among the southerners, Kumārila Bhaṭṭa notes another custom of theirs, viz., eating food while sitting on chairs. In continuation of this statement Kumārila Bhaṭṭa gives certain other customs common to both North and South which, however, have no authority in the Smṛtis. These are:—

1. The partaking of the food left by one's friends or relations.
2. Taking of betels touched by people of all castes.
3. The non-washing of the mouth after meals.
4. The wearing of clothes brought directly from the back of the washerman's ass.
5. The keeping in society of people committing the great crimes, with the sole exception of killing a Brahman.[3]

Though there is a consensus of opinion that Hindu law is rigid and unchangeable, yet the fact seems to be otherwise. Different kinds of legislation were introduced by the authors of Dharmaśāstras as would be suitable and acceptable to the various communities. These great legislators made it a point not to interfere with family and local customs, for they seem to have realized that religion depends largely on the dictates of a certain individual's conscience. Whatever usage was auspicious, that was followed, and the author of the Mānavadharmaśāstra encourages it.[4] Nārada, another Smṛtikāra, goes still further and gives it as his opinion[5] that, custom can even overrule the law that is established and that is deemed sacred. Thus it is manifest that the charge which is sometimes levelled that the laws of the Hindus are not sufficiently elastic is positively far from the truth, and the ancient legislators showed a willingness and readiness to adjust and frame laws according to the traditions maintained by a family or in a certain territorial unit.

---

1 (See X. Ch. 58, 81 and 56 (Kumbhakonam edition)

2 I. iii, sūtra 7, p. 129 of Benares Sanskrit Series, 1903. This work has been translated by the learned Dr. Ganganatha Jha and published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 128 and translation, p. 183.

4 मङ्गलाचारयुक्तः स्यात्प्रयतात्मा जितेन्द्रियः ।

.. ..

मङ्गलाचारयुक्तानां नित्यं च प्रयतात्मनाम्

जपतां जुह्वतां चैव विनिपातो न विद्यते।। IV. 145–6.

5 I. 40.

South India in the Rāmāyaṇa

The history of South India in the light of the data furnished by the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki is really a description or rather a historical account of a number of tribes which had been well established in this part of the country, and of a series of attempts on the part of the northern Indian kings to conquer them and introduce their own civilisation among them. In a paper like this, as it is not possible to examine by a comparative study the different versions of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, which seem to have been more or less indebted to the original Vālmīki version, though in a different historical setting; we have confined ourselves to the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki whose antiquity cannot be easily disputed. Even here we have to use the material furnished by the epic poet with caution. A versatile poet as he is, he has introduced into the story legends and myths which mar the historical narrative, and which make it difficult for the critic to separate facts from fiction and history from legend. For example, Vālmīki speaks of Rāvaṇa with ten heads, and dubs the Vānaras with all the attributes of monkeys so much so that one gets bewildered to know whether after all Vālmīki is dealing with human beings or with creatures of his own fancy. Luckily for us, the poet indulges equally in realistic pictures as he does in idealistic, and the following pages are devoted to a study from the realistic side, ignoring for the moment, the idealistic tendencies which are deeply imprinted in the pages of the epic. Even here the study has been restricted to an examination of the tribes who made South India their home in that period and the state of their civilisation and culture. We have refrained from giving the account of Rāma's invasion, his wars with these tribes and his conquests. On this topic much has been written, and it is no good to repeat it once again. But it is to be admitted that no serious approach has been made in the direction of critically examining the evidences, so far as they enable us to know something about the tribes that inhabited South India in respect of their origin and culture.

The *Rāmāyaṇa* envisages then a period when North India went by the name of Āryāvarta and South India by the name of Draviḍa. Hence the people of Āryāvarta were Āryans and of Draviḍa, Dravidians. Whether these were invaders from alien countries or were autochthons are still unsolved problems among scholars, but we are not concerned with that question at present. It is worthy of note, however, that the term Draviḍa does not occur specifically in the *Rāmāyaṇa* as signifying either a race or even a territory. Dakṣiṇadeśa and Dākṣiṇātya are the terms in frequent use. We have to presume, therefore, that the tribes mentioned as occupying the southern regions are almost aboriginal, and hence primitive Dravidians. It is remarkable that these semi-civilised peoples carved out kingdoms of their own and had their own culture and polity. Among these tribes figure prominently the Rākṣasās, and Vānaras. The less powerful are the Śabaras, Madhūkas, Yakṣas and the Nāgas. No doubt the names of kingdoms like those of the Andhras, Puṇḍras,

Colas and Pāṇḍyas and the Keralas are found but no details are furnished about them except about the Pāṇḍyan Capital. From this the late Mr. Srinivasa Ayyangar opined, that these passages were later additions in the text and that these Tamil kingdoms were founded only in the post-Rāmāyaṇa epoch (see *History of the Tamils*, p. 52). A sober view, however, is to take that these kingdoms existed but the poet who is dealing with a particular route that led to Laṅkā had no occasion to refer to these kingdoms in detail. To cite an instance, though Vidarbha and the Haihayas of Māhiṣmatī are not alluded to in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, contemporary evidence points to their existence, and, we cannot say on the authority of Vālmīki that no such kingdoms existed. If one would believe the testimony of the *Raghuvaṁsa* of Kālidāsa, a certain Pāṇḍyan king gave away as presents pearls to Raghu, the famous ancestor of Rāma (IV. 6.50) and that Rāvaṇa was a contemporary of that Pāṇḍyan who secured Brahmaśiras–astra from Śiva. (VI. 68). Then there is every reason to believe that the Pāṇḍyan kingdom of the pre-historic days was more ancient than the age of Raghu in whose illustrious line Rāma was born. Hence one may conclude that the Tamil kingdoms had a far greater antiquity than we are apt to imagine, and were in frequent intercourse with the distant Ayodhya as the nearby Ceylon. (See *The Tamilan Antiquary*, M. Raghava Aiyangar's article, *Vālmīki and Tennāḍu*). It is but appropriate that these kingdoms were a development on the indigenous tribes and the formation of such kingdoms marked the evolution from the tribal stage to the settled life. The physical features of the land did not permit these settlers to consolidate themselves forming large states. Hence the states were small and self-dependent groups. Having been founded on ancient river-beds with ever-flowing waters and protected by the sea on the one hand, and mountains and thick forest on the other, these tribes continued to flourish. As civilisation promotes culture, the ancient Tamil states developed a distinct culture and one may not be far wrong in one's conclusions that early Sanskrit writings betray their indebtedness in some respects to this civilisation and culture, especially in the sphere of religion and philosophy, in the same way as the ancient Tamils owed their finer elements of social life to their northern brethren.

Coming to an examination of the Rākṣasa tribe it is not possible to say at the present state of our knowledge that they were the earliest inhabitants of Southern India and Ceylon. The blending of the cultures of South India and North India has been so close and so complete that it defies all earnest students to find out the real truth before their admixture. The researches of the late Kanakasabhai have led him to conclude the earliest tribes of South India were the Villavar (bowmen) and Mīnavar (fishermen), [*Tamils 1800 years ago*, p. 39]. This can be accepted for the reason that the semi-barbarous peoples of the ancient world lived either close to the sea or on the hills thick with forests. In order to eke out his livelihood, the man of the hill and the jungle must have been a professional bowman to vanquish wild life and hunt beasts and birds of prey. In the same way men inhabiting the sea-shore lived by fishing; while the latter developed a civilised life, by contact with other peoples, the hill-men and the foresters, cut off by nature barriers continued to be the same old uncivilised men unaffected by the rolling of ages. If this theory were

accepted, the Rākṣasas are to be taken as a tribe who emerged from the barbarous state to a semi-civilised condition.

Many a legend has grown as to the origin of the Rākṣasas, and the one furnished by the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Āraṇ. ch. 48) and repeated with approval by the *Purāṇas* and allied literature in Sanskrit is that Rāvaṇa was the son of Pulastya and brother of Vaiśravaṇa, the direct descendant of Brahmā, the Creator. This is certainly what we may say to be an Aryan origin for the Rākṣasa tribe. From the South Indian standpoint the Rākṣasas were to be taken as the descendants of the aboriginal bowmen and fishermen, and they carved out a kingdom when they began to increase in numerical strength and settled down in peaceful avocations. They were perhaps the ancestors of the modern Andamaners and Australian aborigines. In no way they are to be confounded with the Asuras, the cousins of the Devas, both of whom are superhuman beings and hedged with divinity. Though the Rākṣasas are credited with superhuman powers they are not superhuman beings like the Asuras but ordinary human beings still in the infancy of civilisation. In this stage of culture this tribe seems to have flourished for thousands of years when the contact with Āryāvarta became more frequent. This led to the slow but sure penetration of the northern ideas into the southern regions. One of the results of such contact was the adoption of Brahmanism by the Rākṣasa, and this is how we have to explain the existence of Brahmarākṣasas or Rākṣasas who are Brahmins. The Sanskrit books make us understand that the Brahmins fallen from their *svadharma* and consequently banished from the Aryāvarta sought refuge and shelter in the southern regions and became commingled with the Rākṣasa inhabitants of the south. Whatever may be the case, the truth is that a sort of caste system came to stay in the Rākṣasa dominion. It can be also said without fear of contradiction that after the advent of the Brahmarākṣasas, Sanskrit came to be learnt to perform the Vedic rituals and ceremonials. Atharvan rites were chiefly practised by them who indulged in magic and witchcraft, even in arts of war. It is said that Rāvaṇa was well versed in the Vedic literature and respected international law, that an ambassador should not be killed as was pointed out by Vibhīṣaṇa in the case of Hanumān. Notwithstanding the fusion of tribes and their cultures still we get a glimpse of the peculiar life led by these Rākṣasas. They began as enemies of the people of Āryāvarta. While there had been for some time a tendency on the part of the Āryāvartin to penetrate into the dense jungles and bring them under his sway, the Rākṣasas, whose original home was Ceylon wanted to carry their arms and extend their sphere of influence and political domination as far as possible on the Indian continent. Rāvaṇa, the most powerful of the line, that ruled over them, swayed by imperial ideas, challenged Indra, Kubera, Śiva, and all Vedic deities and established a Rākṣasa colony at Janasthāna. But his progress was arrested by the march of Rāma, Crown-prince-designate of Ayodhyā. Vāli the king of Vānaras was more than a match for Rāvaṇa who did not therefore disturb his kingdom or that of Tamils further south. Single-handed Rāma vanquished the Rākṣasa host at Janasthāna, thereby showing the inferiority of the military prowess of the Rākṣasas as against the superior abilities of the tribe to which Rāma belonged. They indulged

in Kūṭayuddha, unrighteous warefare involving the use of fire, poison and magic. They were at best excellent archers, but they could not stand against the disciplined fourfold forces of the imperial power at Ayodhyā. They lived in strongholds and had well built houses with their *caityas* (temples) protected by the tutelary goddess Laṅkā. They had a capital rolling in riches and with excellent parks. The king was assisted by a council in his domestic and foreign policies. There was a trained army. The Queen took part in the deliberations of the State Council. We see, for instance, Maṇḍodarī advising Rāvaṇa on the eve of the battle, not to risk his life. In their social life we are led to think that marriage by capture was the usual form and gave rise to the later Rākṣasa form of marriage, one of the six accepted modes in the law-codes. A relic of this system is seen in the theme of *Makaṭ pār kāñji* explained in the earliest known treatise, the *Tolkāppiyam.* (See Srinivasa Ayyangar, *Tamil Studies,* p.55). Their disposal of the dead was usually burial and not cremation. That it is their custom is seen from the *Rāmāyaṇa* (III. 4.20), though we are told that Kabandha, the Rākṣasa, was cremated. Rāma destroyed many of them and enthroned Vibhīṣaṇa as king of Laṅkā. It is also argued that the law of primogeniture was not applicable in the matter of succession as Rāvaṇa became king through his mother's lines. (See *Tamilian Antiquary* No. 1. pp. 61 – 64). But in the course of time they seem to have deteriorated, and if we are to believe the evidence of the Ceylonese Buddhist books like the *Mahāvaṃśa,* another tribe Yakṣas succeeded to the Rākṣasa kingdom, a part of which came into the possession of another tribe, the Nāgas. This had happened roughly by the time of the great war of the *Mahābhārata.*

The Yakṣas were a contemporary tribe of the Rākṣasas but were insignificant from the point of view of the number and influence. There is a tradition that before the advent of the Rākṣasas, the Yakṣas were in possession of Ceylon and it was Sumāli, the General of Bali, who dispossessed them and founded the Rākṣasa kingdom. Later Sanskrit books claim semi-divinity to these tribes now extinct. This tribe is apparently an off-shoot of the Rākṣasa tribe living side by side with them in the same region and helping them in their political endeavours. With the decline and fall of the Rākṣasa kingdom, the Yakṣas built up a kingdom of their own which, according to the *Mahāvaṁśa,* existed as late as the fifth century B.C. when Vijaya is said to have landed in Ceylon and conquered it.

The Nāgas, another tribe, semi-divine in character, with their totem as serpent, spread throughout India, from Takṣaśīlā in the north-west to Assam in the north-east and to Ceylon and South India in the south. At one time they must have been powerful. Contemporaneous with the Yakṣas or perhaps subsequent to their fall as a political entity the Nāgas rose to prominence in South India. Not only parts of Ceylon but ancient Malabar were the territories occupied by the ancient Nāgas. It is said that the fact of Hanumān crossing the sea was witnessed by the Nāgas and Yakṣas (*Sundar,* 1.90). Bhogavatī was their capital city (Kiṣ. 41.37) According to the *Mahābhārata* this tribe had settled down in this part of the country as it is said that Arjuna in his *tīrthayātrā* fell in love with a Nāga-kanyā and married her. In the

Tamil classics of the early centuries after Christ, we hear frequent reference to Nāganāḍu though the Yakṣas had disappeared as a tribe. Remnants of Nāga worship are still lingering in Malabar, and the temple in Nagercoil in South Travancore is dedicated to Nāga worship even today. All that can be said about them is that they were a seafaring tribe. Their womenfolk were renowned for their beauty. Apparently the Nāgas have become merged with the Ceras who rose to power and prominence at the commencement of the Christian era.

The next tribe that claims our attention is the tribal community of the Vānaras. As has been already remarked Vālmīki furnishes them with all the attributes of real monkeys, so much so one is led to think that it is better to dismiss them as mere animals than consider them human beings. But this could not be in the face of a host of data given side by side to prove that they are as good a tribe as any tribe can claim to be. Their kingdom was in the region adjoining the forest country of Daṇḍaka, with its capital Kiṣkindhā. If we are to believe the tradition in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Raghu the prehistoric king of Ayodhyā was fired by imperial lust and went on his *digvijaya* and brought the whole of India under his umbrella. His son Daṇḍaka, who was either a political adventurer or impelled by the economic value of forests to an Imperial State like that of his, directed his arms to the Dakhan, and brought the whole forest region under his control so much so that after killing Vāli, Rāma bursts out in a śloka that all the land in the south including the forests and mountains belonged of right (see above) to the imperial power at the capital, implying thereby that the forest tribes like that of the Vānaras were tributaries of the Ayodhyā king, though enjoying complete independence in internal organisation. If we judge things by the results, these tribal communities of the early Draviḍa had neither the political cohesion nor the social solidarity which make for a continuous existence of states, small or large. Both in Ceylon and Kiṣkindhā, the discontented brothers of the reigning sovereigns with their choice followers voluntarily joined the invader and helped him in carrying out his plan, and in the accomplishment of his object because it indirectly paid them. The lack of political insight was responsible for the decay of the two kingdoms, but it must be said to the credit of Rāma that he was actuated by the best of motives when he installed his allies, members of the ruling family, on the respective thrones of Ceylon and Kiṣkindhā. As Daṇḍaka was the first to claim the forest region by conquest, it became famous as Daṇḍakāraṇyam. This made it possible for the sages of Āryāvarta to find convenient retreats to pursue their religious and philosophical speculations. This is why Rāma found a number of hermitages of sages engaged in austerities until he reached Kiṣkindhā. The *Rāmāyaṇa* is clear in that the Vānaras are a forest tribe (vanecarāḥ). But they have been Aryanised much sooner than the other tribes. It is said that Hanumān was an expert Sanskrit grammarian and spoke to Sītā (Kiṣ. 3.30) in Sanskrit in the Aśokavana in Laṅkā. When he first met Rāma, it was in the garb of an ascetic (Ibid. 2) Vāli is said to be performing *Sandhyā* or evening-prayer prescribed for the dvijas or twice-born castes. From this it is to be inferred that after Daṇḍaka's conquest this tribal community of the Vānaras came under the direct influence of the conquering tribe and adopted their practices and beliefs which

perhaps appealed to them very much. According to the Jain version of the *Rāmāyaṇa* the Aryan influence of Kiṣkindhā can be traced back to the days of King Sagara (see L. Rice, *Mysore* I. p. 277). Examined from the view-point of Śabarī, a female member of the Śabara tribe of foresters who were still in the stage of barbarity and compared with modern jungle tribes of Central India and the Dakhan plateau who continue to live their primitive life unaffected by the reccurring waves of civilisation, she became convert to the Aryan ways of living and thinking, and spent her years in penance and prayer. When Rāma met her during his stay in the forest he was mightily pleased with her and blessed her with life in heaven. These indicate that the rude foresters were more easily converted to the new faith than the crude Rākṣasas. The Vānaras were a ferocious community more akin to the Negritos. They were monkey-like in appearance and were not actual monkeys. One infalliable testimony that they were human beings is that they spoke a tongue and knew Sanskrit. They were vegetarians living chiefly on roots and fruits, and were addicted to liquor as is seen from the Madhuvanam episode of getting intoxicated in the joy of having discovered Sītā. Being foresters their chief weapons were clubs and stones. Vāli was killed because he expelled his brother and led the impure life of enjoying his wife. The kingdom of the Vānaras was a small state made up of many tiny villages and towns (Kiṣ. 26–9). Most of these Vānaras lived in caves. The government was conducted by such institutions as the Council, Army, Mahāmātras or Ministers and others. (Ibid. 1). The succession was generally hereditary. Sugrīva's coronation was an exception to the rule. As if to compensate this, Aṅgada was anointed Crown Prince. (Ibid.) The ceremonies followed closely those prescribed in Sanskrit treatises. Special mention may be made of the fire-rites in the coronation ceremony (Ibid. 29). Hanumān was a great statesman and a fitting ambassador; his advice was sought not only by his own king but by Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa. He was deeply read in the *nīti* treatises. His shrewdness and calmness in deameanour are remarkable. Attached to the state of the Vānaras was a pleasure-garden called Madhuvanam. An official watchman was in charge of this. In fact, the Vānaras were fairly well civilised, through they were not advanced in culture. Still they could boast of a Nīla who had the necessary engineering skill to build a causeway between the Indian continent and Ceylon on the sea. It was the Vānaras who built this huge edifice, which enabled their hosts to cross the sea and carry war into the enemy's territory. The discovery of as many as thirty settlements of the primitive peoples in Bellary district show that all their settlements were placed on the granite hills. Twenty different classes of tools, all of stone, have been discovered here. From the *Rāmāyaṇa* we have to infer that the Vānaras were still living in the stone age, and the use of iron was unknown to them. Perhaps some of these primitive settlements comprised parts of the ancient Kiṣkindhā kingdom. It is said that the wandering Lambadis numerous in Bellary district claim Vāli and Sugrīva as their primitive ancestors. (See *Bellary Dt. Gaz.* II, Appendix, page 66).

To sum up, the India south of the Vindhyas according to the picture presented in the *Rāmāyaṇa* was a geographical entity with hills and forests and little of plains, where abounded several tribal communities, mostly foresters and hillmen. These

had their own states and polities. Prominence is given to the states flourishing in Janasthāna, Kiṣkindhā, Pāṇḍya and Laṅkā. Each tribe had its own ideas of social, political and religious life. If the story of Tāṭakā has any significance it shows that there were free marriages between these various tribes. Tāṭakā is a Yakṣiṇī and her husband is an Asura. Her son is a Rākṣasa (*Bāla.* Chap. 25). Sūrpaṇakhā, whose husband was dead, wanted to marry an alien like Rāma or Lakṣmaṇa pointing perhaps to the custom of remarriage of widows among them. They were responsible for the numerous pathways and roads through the thick of the jungles, which enabled the conqueror to follow the right track and hit upon the weak spots of the enemy. It is indeed remarkable that Vālmīki now and then furnishes data as to the customs of the southerners. One is that these were in the habit of decking themselves with flowers whenever they went out on an expedition, wearing different flowers for the different kinds of expeditions (Ayodh. 96., See author's 'Studies in Tamil Literature and History', for details.). Another custom of the southerners was to give up one's life by fasting if one was not able to achieve one's aim. This is called *prāyopaveśa* in Sanskrit and *Vaḍakkiruttal* in Tamil. When Aṅgada was not able to get at Sītā after ceaseless search he actually lay down with his other camp followers to fast themselves to death. (*Kiṣ.* Ch. 56; See also M. Raghava Ayyangar's article on *Śen Tamil,* Vol. VIII pp. 1–6). In the light of the tell-tale evidence left in early Sanskrit writings, like the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki, there can be no doubt that the early Dravidian peoples 'had attained a fairly high degree of civilisation and culture".

Geographical data of the Dekhan and South India as gathered from the Rāmāyaṇa

"Opinion is divided among scholars as to the date of the composition of the Rāmāyaṇa. Dates ranging from the fifth century B.C. to the second century A.D. have been assigned to it. But whatever may be the date when the epic was reduced to writing in its present form, the fact of the matter is that the material it treats of belongs to a much earlier period and can be well utilized as authentic evidence of the culture and civilization of the pre-historic epoch.

According to this epic, all India, south of Prayāga (Allahabad), was one penetrating forest stretching as far down as Cape Comorin. But the region between Prayāga and Śṛṅgaverapura, the capital of Guha, the king of the Niṣādas, was yet a clearing in the forest. Beyond was all jungle where aboriginal tribes lived with their peculiar culture and civilization. A critical examination of the topographical and geographical particulars demonstrates that in the main features Central and Southern India and Ceylon existed then as at present."[1]

Side by side with the aboriginal tribes, who were not, however, alien to the Aryan culture, if we are to believe the evidence of the epic, were seen hermitages of saints and sages who used the forests as places of retreat and wholly devoted their life to austere penance and prayer. There were a number of hermitages at some distances from one another. Rāma is said to have visited some of the important ones among them, where lived sages of great renown, engaged in penance. To mention a few, he visited the āśramas of Vālmīki on the top of the Citrakūṭa hill, of Atri lying south of it, and of Śarabhaṅga still further south. Others were those of Sutīkṣṇa in the Blue Forest, of Agastya and of his brother at Pañcavaṭi, and of Mataṅga near the lake Pampā.

Kingdoms—Janasthāna and Kiṣkindhā were two forest kingdoms, the first belonging to the Rākṣasa king of Ceylon, and the second to the Vānara tribes whose kings were Vāli and Sugrīva. It is not possible to identify the country of Janasthāna with any accuracy. Its description in the epic shows that it was somewhere on the banks of the Godāvarī, perhaps on both banks and probably, as Pargiter surmises, the country around the junction of the Godāvarī with the Pranhirta or Wainganga. This was perhaps the first inhabited country south of Śṛṅgaverapura of the Niṣādas. Though it was in the possession of the Rākṣasas at the time of the composition of the epic, the original-inhabitants were kinnaras and gandharvas who continued to live in the caves, perhaps as subordinates to the Rākṣasa authority.

---

1 See Pargiter, *Geography of Rāma's Exile*, J.R.A.S., 1894, pp. 231f.

The other forest kingdom was Kiṣkindhā, the capital of Vāli. A direct route lay from the hill Ṛṣyamukha to Kiṣkindhā, by which Sugrīva led Rāma to the city.[1] The identification of this kingdom is equally difficult. It is said that the Prasravaṇa hill[2] otherwise named Malyavati, is said to be the gate opening the door to Kiṣkindha.[3] This is to be located close to Hampi of Vijayanagara fame in the modern Bellary District. It may be noted that in these tracts have been discovered a number of neolithic and paleolithic remains. This State of Kiṣkindha was apparently a small one made up of many tiny villages and towns.[4]

The other kingdoms mentioned by name are those of the Andhras, Puṇḍras, Coḷas, Keralas, and Pāṇḍyas.[5] Unless we take this stanza to be an interpolation, the antiquity of the Dravidian kingdoms is established. It is not possible to treat this stanza as an interpolation for the simple reason that Vālmīki speaks of the great wealth of the Pāṇḍyan capital and also refers to the quondam capital of the Pāṇḍyas, Kavāṭapura, i.e., Korkai of Tamil literature. Taking into consideration the references and comparing them with the Janapadas mentioned in the Mahābhārata, there can be no doubt that these were ancient kingdoms, though we cannot say how ancient they were.

Hills and Mountains—First come the great Vindhyas which mark off the south from the north of India. This mountain marks the southern limit of Āryavarta according to Manu. Crossing the Yamunā, Rāma is said to have reached the Citrakūṭa hill encircled by a belt of jungle, connecting it on the one side with the Nīla forest and on the other side the well-known Daṇḍaka woods.[6] This hill can be well identified with Citrakūṭa in the Central Provinces.[7] It is said to be rich in honey, fruits, and roots and to be inhabited by kinnaras and nāgas.[8]

The next hill of importance mentioned is the Ṛṣyamukha hill on the Nizam's side of the narrowest of the gorges in the ancient river Pampā.[9] It is said that in one of its caves Sugrīva hid himself afraid of his brother Vāli. As has been already said there was a route from this hill to Kiṣkindhā, the capital city.

Prasravaṇa was the next important hill. It went also by the name of Malyavata. It lay next to the capital of Vāli.[10] In one of its caves Rāma retired for rest after killing Vāli.[11] This hill is to be located somewhere in the modern Bellary District and close to Hampi.

---

1 *Kis.*, 13. 1 and 29.
2 *Ibid.*, 27. I.
3 *Yud.*, 8, 24 and 25.
4 *Kis.*, 26. 9.
5 *Kis.*, 41. 12.
6 Ayod., LVI, 4, 11 and 15.
7 See Cunningham, *Ar. Sur. Reports*, Vol. XIII, 42–54.
8 *Rāmā*, II, 54. 38–40.
9 See *Bellary Gazetteer*, Vol. I, p. 261.
10 *Yud.*, 8, 24-25.
11 *Kish.*, 27.

If the evidence of the Rāmāyaṇa is to be pressed into service the Sahya hill lay by the side of the Prasravaṇa mountain,[1] and the Malaya was either this Sahya hill itself, or a continuation of its chain. The text speaks of Ayomukha mountain,[2] which Govindarāja interprets as Sahya. This finds support in the Rāmopākhyāna of the Mahābhārata. Instead of this the Rāmāyaṇa text speaks of the Vindhyas lying on the extremity of the southern ocean.[3] This is evidently a mistake of the redactor and stands for Sahyādri hill, though Pargiter thinks that the same name might have been given to this mountain.[4] A few scholars take the reference to be to the very Vindhya hills. This is clearly wrong. The party that left for the south in search of Sīta from Kiṣkindhā could not have gone to the Vindhyas in the north.

If the Malaya hills[5] can be identified with the Travancore hills as is generally accepted, the Mahendra hill should be a little to the south of it penetrating well up to the sea, containing or connected with Velavana, the littoral forest tract difficult to be identified. This is a sacred hill with a number of peaks served by Indra himself.[6] As Hanumān is said to have crossed the sea to Laṅkā from the Mahendra hill and returned back to it,[7] it requires no stretch of imagination to say that the hill touched the fringe of the southern sea. Here it was, it may be noted, that Vibhīṣaṇa, a brother of Rāvaṇa, sought alliance with Rāma.

One more mountain remains unnoticed, and it is Dardura or Durdara. From the Yuddhakāṇḍa,[8] it was a hill between Velavana and the Malaya range. Dardura is possibly the Nilgiris with the highest peak Dodabetta, perhaps a variant of Dardura.[9] The mention of Velavana and its identification with a hill in Tinnevelly is significant, for this region must have been a part of the ancient pre-historic Pāṇḍyan kingdom to which there is more than a passing reference in the Rāmāyaṇa.

The Rivers—The Narmadā is prominently mentioned.[10] The river Mālyavatī is said to flow in the vicinity of the Citrakūṭa hill. The next stream of importance was Mahājavā which Rāma is said to have crossed and reached the Nīla or Blue Forest.[11] It is not possible to identify this river.

The Godāvarī is then mentioned in the order. It is said to be rich in metallic ores.[12] On its banks was Janasthāna. Here Rāma defeated the 14,000 rākṣasas

---

1 *Kish.*, 41. 16 and 21.
2 *Kish.*, 41. 13.
3 *Ibid.*, 60. 7.
4 *Op. cit.*, p. 259.
5 *Kis.*, 5. 1.
6 *Kis.*, 41. 21, 23.
7 *Ibid.*, Ch. 67.
8 *Yuddha*, CVIII, 23.
9 Pargiter, *Op. cit.*, p. 263.
10 *Kis.*, 41. 8.
11 *Āran.*, Ch. 7 and 8.
12 *Āran.*, 16.

stationed with their chief leaders, Khara, Dūṣana, and Triśiras.[1] The Godāvarī is elsewhere said to be the best among streams.[2] It was from this place that Sītā was carried away by Rāvaṇa. The next stream was the Mandākinī, probably Mañjira, a southern tributary of the Godāvarī.[3] The rivers that lay to the south of the Godāvarī were the Kṛṣṇaveṇī, Mahānadī, and Varadā.[4]

Still further south the Prācīnavāhinī is mentioned as taking its source in the Prasravaṇa hill,[5] both banks studded with a number of different trees full of birds, and served by groups of sages and seers. The sandalwood trees are specially mentioned. Very near the charming region lay the forest kingdom of Kiṣkiṇdhā.

Next we have the river Kāverī as taking its source from the Malaya hills sacred again to Agastya. It is said to be a divine stream full of good and healthy waters.[6] Beyond was the Tāmraparṇī famous for its crocodiles and sandalwood trees, on which was located the Kavāṭapura which led to the southern ocean.[7] The Tāmraparṇī is said to be a mahānadī.

Lakes—There are a number of lakes and ponds mentioned as existing in the Daṇḍaka forest and beyond. Prominence is given to two lakes — the Pañcāpsaras and the Pampā lake. The Pañcāpsaras lay on the edge of the commencement of the forest Daṇḍaka at the northern side. Rāma and his party heard music of a high order there but they did not see any sign of human beings. The sage Dharmabhṛta who resided on the spot entertained them explaining why the lake came to be so called. It was made in ancient times by a sage Mandakarṇi. Five apsarās who came to disturb his penance became his wives. Since then they were residing underneath the waters of the lake and continue to sing.[8] The lake Pampā lay adjacent to the mount Ṛṣyamūka.[9] It was a famous lake at a distance of two days' walk from the hill. One can look for its identification in the name of a tank on the Hyderabad side of the Tuṅgabhadrā near Anegundi. The Puṣkaraṇī is said to be full of water-fowls like swans and others and full of varieties of excellent fishes, and encircled by fruits and flower gardens. It is remembered as the sacred place where the Śramani Śabari got salvation at the hands of Rāma.[10] Its cool and sweet waters, it is said, were drunk by the wild elephants of the forest.

Forests—The Dakṣiṇadeśa at the time of the Rāmāyaṇa was largely a forest tract with few inhabited regions here and there. The more reputed of all the forests was the Daṇḍaka forest which stretched out from the Citrakūṭa hill and comprised

---

1 *Āran.*, Ch. 36.
2 *Ibid.*, Ch. 63. 13; Ch. 64.
3 *Āran.*, Ch. 73.
4 *Kis.*, 41. 9.
5 *Kis.*, 27. 16.
6 *Ibid.*, 41. 15.
7 *Ibid.*, 17.
8 *Rāmā.*, III. II. 5ff.
9 *Āraṇ.*, Ch. 73.10 ff.
10 *Ibid.*, Ch. 74.

roughly the region between the modern Bundelkhand and the river Kṛṣṇā. Perhaps it stretched well up to the territory of the Tamil kingdoms. Agastya narrated to Rāma details of this forest which was once conquered by Daṇḍaka, an ancestor of Rāma and brought under the authority of the imperial power reigning from Ayodhyā. According to the sage the forest extended to 500 *yojanas* towards the south beginning from the Vindhyas.[1] It was given to him, Agastya, the resident of the Himālayan range to go over there and take up the clearing of the jungle by cutting river courses, lakes, ponds and planting of Himālayan trees. When it was thus made inhabitable, a number of sages took up their residence here. Being neglected by the successors of Daṇḍaka, the Rākṣasas began to frequent those regions and disturb the peaceful seers there. On the sage's advice Rāma agreed to take up the forest under imperial protection.[2]

Though the whole region went by the common name of Daṇḍakāraṇya, different parts of it were known by different names. Between the river Mahājavā and the Pañcāpsaras lake lay the Nīla forest, literally the Blue Forest.[3] It is said that there was a divine Nygrodha tree beyond the river Kālindī and at a distance of a krośa from it lay the Nīla forest. It was noted for *palāśa, badari,* and bamboo trees. From this emerged a well-known route to Citrakūṭa.[4] The next forest was that of the Madhūkas. A part of this huge forest was Pañcavaṭi.[5] It was such a beautiful place that Rāma and his party resolved to spend a portion of the period of their exile in that region. Though it was a forest track it seems to have been fit for habitation. This Pañcavaṭi has been now identified with the modern Nasik.

Krauñcālaya was the other forest of importance. The Velavana has been already mentioned. Perhaps the comparatively insignificant hill which to-day goes by the name of Valavanad at a distance of thirteen miles to the east of Tinnevelly may be said to be the remnant of ancient Velavana.

Towns and Cities—In those days we do not hear of many towns. But it is certain that every janapada had a capital city. Between the Vindhyas and Janasthāna, and again bordering on the Vindhyas themselves are the janapadas of Mekhala, Utkala, Daśārṇa and Avanti. Others mentioned are Vidarbha, Ṛṣika, and Māhiṣaka.[6] The capital of these kingdoms went by the name of the Janapada itself. Passing on to the forest kingdoms we find two cities Janasthāna and Kiṣkindha. Vālmīki gives us a fine description of the latter city, its well-built houses all richly furnished, together with the high style of living indulged in especially by the Vānara women.

There was again the city of Vaijayanta in the forest tract of Daṇḍaka, now difficult to be identified. It was the capital of Timidhvaja otherwise known as

---

1 *Rāma.*, III, 12, 57.
2 *Kiṣ.*, 41. 12.
3 *Rāmā.*, III, Ch. 7 and 8.
4 *Ibid.*, II, 55. 5–9.
5 *Ibid.*, III, Ch. 14ff.
6 *Kis.*, 41. 1 off.

Śambara, the asura who attacked Indra and the celestials. According to the account in the Rāmāyaṇa, Daśaratha went to the city to aid Indra accompanied by Kaikeyī and subjugated the region of Śambara.[1]

The next city mentioned is Kavāṭapuram and this seems to be the same referred to in the Kauṭalya Arthaśāstra. Both the authors agree that this place was famous for pearls of the finest quality. If we compare this with the description of Koṛkai, one of the ancient capitals of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom as given in the Sangam classics, there will be no hesitation to identify the Kavāṭapuram with the ancient Koṛkai swallowed afterwards by the erosion of the sea.

The next town is Laṅkā, capital of Ceylon, which is said to be located in the Trikūṭa hill. It was an impregnable citadel, to be reached by crossing the sea. The sea was the southern ocean. Futile attempts have been made to identify this Laṅkā in other parts of India.[2] It is definitely stated that the party that left the Prasravaṇa hill towards the south reached the northern part of the southern ocean and an adventurer among them saw Laṅkā on the other side of the shore and crossed it.[3] If this were not granted, the portion of the Yuddha Kāṇḍa dealing with the march of Sugrīva's army to Laṅkā, the tradition of Darbhaśayanam of Rāma near the modern Rāmeśvaram and the equally well-known tradition of building a bridge through the engineering skill of Nīla, now called the Adam's Bridge, all would be meaningless. To place Laṅkā in Ceylon will be to stand on unassailable ground.

Islands—Besides Ceylon, Vālmīki mentions islands and kingdoms of the Gandharvas beyond Ceylon and refers to āśramas of Agastya then and there. If these are not interpolated passages one has to believe that once the adventurer Agastya carried the torchlight of civilization to all the southern regions including greater India which led to the establishment of the Agastya cult as evidenced by the finds in the Archipelago.[4] The accurate geographical details show a close intimacy of the southern regions of India by the author of the Rāmāyaṇa. It appears certain that the old Dakṣiṇapada route, mentioned as early as in the Ṛg Veda Saṃhitā, lay through the West Coast and it was not only a commercial route but a military route for invasion, of and from Peninsular India.[5] The papers concerning Mysore in the Mackenzie Collections point out that Rāma's route from Pañcavaṭī to Laṅkā lay across the tableland of Mysore.[6]

---

1 *Rāmā.*, II, 9, 12–15.

2 See *Proceedings of First Oriental Conference*, CXXVI, and also *Fourth Oriental Conf.*, p. 171.

3 *Kis.*, 64. 4.

4 See my *Some Aspects of the Vāyu Purāṇa.*

5 See my *Mauryan Polity*, p. 65.

6 Taylor *Catalogue of Manuscripts*, III, 693.

Public Opinion in Ancient India : A Bird's-eye View

There is no evidence of the existence of a Press in ancient India and consequently no trace of Journalists and Journalism. Still public opinion was a force in politics and ancient Indian Governments had to reckon with it.

In Vedic India the very election of the king was in the hands of the people. Every village and town had a public hall which served as a meeting place for social intercourse and general conversation, as also for debates and verbal contests.[1] The king often took note of the discussions and tried to follow the trend of public opinion.

In the epoch of the epics the weight of public opinion became still more pronounced. The epic king enjoyed the privilege of nominating his successor, only subject to the approval of the commonalty of the realm. Daśaratha invited the chief people of all cities and villages in his Empire and placed before them his suggestion of consecrating Rāma as Crown Prince. These people formed themselves into an assembly and after discussing the qualities and capacities of Rāma gave their consent. The aged King, it is said, was gratified at this and accepted the decision 'with folded hands'.[2]

To quote another instance from the *Matsya Purāṇa*, Ch. 34. When Yayāti wanted to install his youngest son Pūru the people *(prakrtis)* objected to the suppression of the eldest prince. Yayāti had to explain his position. On this the people approved the candidature of Pūru.

Again the following texts of *Mahābhārata* throw welcome light on this question. In the Śānti Parva,[3] it is said that the king should send secret and loyal spies throughout his kingdom to ascertain whether the conduct of his government on the previous day has or has not met with public approbation, and also to ascertain whether his conduct has or has not met with general approval, and whether people in rural parts agreed and those in the capital acquiesced.

That the State policy and conduct were regulated according to public opinion is forcefully, though rudely, set forth in the Rāmāyaṇa in the alleged reasons as to why Rāma parted with his queen Sītā after his coronation. Though he was personally convinced of her innocence, he divorced her in response to public will.

From the epoch of the Epics, we proceed to the Buddhist literature. There was a common Mote Hall (Sanghagara) at Kapilavastu where young and old were alike

---

1 Rg Veda, VI, 28, 6 : VIII.4.9. Atharva Veda, VII. 12. 2–3.

2 Rāma. Ayodh. Ch. III to VI.

3 Ch. 89, verses 15–16, (Kumbakonam edition).

present to discuss the business of the State. It appears each clan had its own hall. For instance it is said that when king Pasenadi proposed to marry a Sakiyan princess, the Sakiyans were in session at their Mote hall to discuss the proposition of King Pasenadi. Again it is to the Mote Hall of the Mallas, another tribe, that Ānanda went to announce the death of the Buddha.[1] In the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta, a Buddhist canonical work, the Buddha tells Ananda that "so long as the Vajjians hold these full and frequent public assemblies, so long they may be expected not to decline but to prosper." (I.4.). The reference here is to yet another clan, Vajjians. What is true of one clan, is equally true of other clans mentioned. It appears that in the opinion of the Buddha such assemblies of the people should be *full* and should meet *frequently* so that they could discuss day to day problems then and there.

Coming to the Mauryan period of Indian History, at the commencement of which flourished Kauṭalya, the celebrated statesman of all ancient India. Kauṭalya equally recognises the force of public opinion in politics. He prescribes that the king must be made to realise that his prosperity rested on the good will of the people,[2] and he mentions elsewhere that the wrath of the people had led to the killing of some monarchs. He insists that royal writs *(śāsanas)* should be issued under the seal of the king. These were of different kinds—writs of information, of command, of gifts, or remission of taxes, of commerce, of general proclamations, etc.[3] There was an officer-in-charge of these writs. The person (lekha) employed for this purpose must possess a legible and intelligible hand, must be smart in composition and reading, and must be in touch with contemporary events not only of his own kingdom but also of other States, especially of those with whom his state had frequent intercourse.[4] It is significant to note the term *patrasampreṣana* or sending of letters or other communications.[5]

To study public opinion as it were Kauṭalya advises the King to employ spies masquerading in disguise of all kinds who were controlled by an Espionage Bureau. Cipher writing *(gūḍalekhya)* was used. The services of carrier pigeons were enlisted. News writers at the head-quarters of Provincial Administrations supplied secret reports to the Imperial Headquarters through this Espionage Bureau. If the versions of three different spies, unknown to one another agree, then action was taken.[6] It is said that these spies gathered generally information from the meetings of common people at the temples, rest houses, public parks and assembly halls.[7]

---

1 See Rhys Davids, Buddhist India, p. 9.

2 Ar. Śās. Bk. I, sec. 19.

3 Bk. II. Sec. 10.

4 *Ibid.*

5 Bk. I. Sec. 15.

6 Bk. I. Sec. 12.

7 Bk. II. Sec. 36; Also Bk. I. Sects. 12 and 13.

In the Bṛhaspati Sūtra (I.95)[1] it is definitely ruled that the state should give up even a small undertaking if there was public clamour against it. Another prescription of Bṛhaspati goes further (I, 4.) When it is said that even the right thing should be discarded by the State if people raised their voice against it. Thus from the Vedic times to the commencement of the Christian Era we see that the administration took into consideration the opinion of the general public, and invariably acted so as to satisfy the common will. This explains the democratic spirit in ancient Hindu administration.

Corresponding to the *sabhās* of Sanskrit literature and Mote Hall of the Buddhist books, we have Manṛams mentioned in Tamil Sangam works. This was the common public hall of the village or town where the folk of the village or town met and discussed social and political questions affecting them. We have to infer that the results of such discussions were communicated to the Government. We have the testimony of epigraphy to show that one method of convening such public meetings was to the beat of drum or by the blowing of a trumpet. These served the place of written notices summoning people to the meetings.[2]

Later on we find the Vijayanagara kings equally respected public opinion. Finding that public opinion was not in favour of the continuation of the marriage-tax payable by the bride and bridegroom at the time of the marriage, Kṛṣṇa Rāya remitted it.[3] Sāluva Narasiṃha who usurped royal power was anxious to get the approval by the popular will. He sent special agents to all parts of the empire with *ninepa* or writs of information that he would renew old grants and redress other grievances of the people. Such has been the weight of public opinion which has influenced the imperial government and its policy in Hindu India.

---

1 Edited by F.W. Thomas.

2 See No. 553 of 1921 and 103 of 1897. See also S.I.I. VI. pp. 32–33.

3 Madras Epigraphy Report, 387 of 1904.

Municipalism in Ancient India[1]

We are often told that we Indians lack civic conscience. This seems to suggest that urban life is something modern, something alien to the genius of India. The fact, however, is that city life is not altogether new to us. It is true that India has been a land of villages through the ages, but this never prevented her from developing, sometimes, to a remarkable degree, cities and city life. In all epochs of her history of which documents are available, we had towns and cities in a highly flourishing condition. In my search for materials for this paper I came to realize the enormous scope for writing a history of Hindu Municipal Administration. I cannot pretend in a paper like this to cover the whole of municipal life and organization in India from the earliest times to the beginning of the Christian era, still less the municipal administration from this age to the advent of the British, which is an entirely different chapter. I propose to give only a bare outline of what seemed to be the prime concern of civic authorities in ancient India from roughly 3000 B.C. to the commencement of the Christian era.

The Indus Cities

Thanks to the untiring zeal of the archaeologist we are today able to assert that ancient India, as evidenced by the finds of Mohenjo Daro and Harappa, enjoyed city life to a very remarkable degree. Mohenjo Daro and Harappa were large cities, built on a definite plan and properly administered by corporations. From the point of view of drainage, road-making, conservancy, and house-building, the civic authorities of these two ancient cities took a very earnest interest in the promotion of their civic needs. Every street and road in these cities had drains.[2] That these drains did not extend beyond the city limits seems fairly certain. The city, however, had a number of thoroughfares, all open. In these, what are known as soak-pits were dug with the idea that the fluids would soak into the soil while the residue was removed by the scavengers of the city.

This system of carrying drains to soak-pits seems to have continued for many centuries until in historical times soak-wells were substituted, for instance by the municipality of Taxila in the early centuries of the Christian era. Whether this was a change for the better we cannot say. From the standpoint of sanitation, soak-pits are much better than soak-wells, for they yield facilities for periodical evacuation and cleaning.

The streets of the Indus cities seem to have been laid out on a well-though-out plan which has made modern engineers wonder. Ernest Mackay observes : 'Either the city must have been built on a definite scheme from the commencement of its

---

1 From: *News Review.*

2 See Marshall : *Mohenjo Daro and the Indus Civilisation,* I, p. 17.

history which followed perhaps on a compulsory move from another site; or the arrangement of the city was the result of deliberate reconstruction on town-planning lines by order of the city fathers or a higher authority.'[1]

There were main streets and side-lanes and long narrow lanes. These streets and lanes were remarkably aligned : 'All the main streets are oriented to the points of the compass. Houses and public buildings correspond in their orientation with the streets.' The same regularity and care are seen in the lanes which vary from 3ft. 8 in. to 7ft. in breadth, as also in the squaring of the side streets which led to the main street. A main street is said to be 35 feet in width. In another area there is a street 29 feet wide. Most of these streets and lanes were, we are told, amply provided with drains and soak-pits, almost all in a state of excellent preservation.[2]

In some places we find what are known as barred streets or streets barred by thin cross walls. It has been conjectured that the city was thus divided by cross walls into wards for the sake of public security.[3] But it is very doubtful whether such a flimsy construction was intended to maintain public security. I may venture to suggest that this is an indication that the city was divided into wards for purposes of municipal administration and these thin walls marked the limits of various 'wards'. The corners of some streets seem to have been slightly rounded. Whether the rounding of these corners was intentional or the result of time—or of animals rubbing against them—is an open question. It may be remarked in passing that there is no evidence that these streets were paved. What we find are earth roads, though paving was not unknown, for the floors of bathrooms were invariably paved. Still there is unmistakable evidence of the use of chariots and carts drawn by asses and oxen. We have therefore to assume that though the roads were not paved, they were kept in excellent condition.

We have already said that the problem of conservancy was squarely tackled by the municipal authorities of Mohenjo Daro. At convenient spots on the side of the street, public dust-bins were provided. Just as there were public drains and private drains there were both public dust-bins and private dust-bins. Rubbish chutes or flues were constructed in the thickness of the walls and connected from the upper storey of the house to a bin outside. This was a private bin which scavengers cleared from the street. Care was also taken to clear the public dust-bins. The scavenging system must have been regular and satisfactory.[4] In one area (HR) in a house, there is a interesting structure of two rooms side by side. One of them contains a well ; and the other, two well-built privies with square paved floors in front. There are outlets connecting these rooms with a drain in the lane behind. Except this almost single instance, it has not been possible to trace latrines in

---

1 Ibid., p. 283.

2 Ibid., p. 242.

3 Ibid., p. 284.

4 Ibid., pp. 16–17

other buildings. But most houses possessed small doorless chambers, and it is just possible that these were used as cess-pits.[1]

We next find that great care was bestowed on house building. Good material was used. Burnt bricks of different dimensions and shapes were used in parts exposed to sun and rain and sun-dried bricks for parts not so exposed. The houses were solidly built, more or less in a uniform style. Most of them were provided with an upper floor where the members of the family lived and slept. The upper floor was also provided with a latrine connected with drains. The servants lived on the ground floor. The houses, small and big, were well ventilated. Each of them had its own well and drains, bathroom and courtyard. The drain pipes in the houses were pottery pipes. The house drain discharged the rain water, though it was sometimes used for sewage (generally cess-pits were used for this purpose).

One feature of these Indus cities is the existence of a public bath, a public drinking-place, and public wells. In a room (No. XLIII) of H R area there is a fine well, and the floor is neatly paved with brick. It contains shallow round pits meant to hold pottery jars. These were filled with drinking water, and there was an attendant who supplied it to the thirsty. Broken pottery goblets with pointed bases were discovered here.[2] One also finds public wells. A public well was often constructed in a *cul-de-sac* between two houses. Around it was a fine pavement of burnt bricks with potholes here and there. These were evidently places for keeping large water jars. In more than one place around the well were built benches of brick. Possibly these were seats for people who came to draw water and had to wait on account of a crowd.[3]

Lastly we may mention the great bath which, according to Sir John Marshall, was part of what appears to have been a vast hydropathic establishment at Mohenjo Daro. In its centre was an open quadrangle with verandas in all four sides. At the back of three of these verandas were galleries and rooms. In the middle of the quadrangle is a swimming-bath which measures 39 ft. by 23 ft. It is 8 ft. below the pavement of the court. At both ends there is a flight of steps. Water from several wells nearby filled the bath. The waste water was taken to a covered drain in the south-west corner. After 5000 years this tank is still astonishingly well preserved. A line of small bathrooms to the north of this Great bath is also considered to be a part of the hydropathic establishment. In the south-west corner of the Great Bath stands a building with a number of rectangular platforms. In their sides are sunk a series of vertical chases connected with hypocaust flues to distribute heat. Between these platforms are narrow passages where cinders and charcoal were found. All these are said to point to the hydrocaustic system of heating. In other words, this was a hot-air bath.[4]

---

1 Ibid., p. 281.

2 Ibid., p. 205.

3 Ibid., p. 270.

4 Ibid., pp. 24–26.

These facts are enough to show how the city fathers of Mohenjo Daro attended to the health and well-being of its citizens. They also testify to the high political life developed in north India in the third millennium B.C.

The Vedic Age

If we view against this background the evidence of the Vedic *Saṃhitás* and Vedic literature in general, there seems to be no reason to doubt that there was a developed city life in the Vedic age.[1] In the *Rig Veda* we frequently meet with the term *pur*, ordinarily translated as fort or stronghold, though the term *durga* in this sense occurs in the same *Saṃhitā* in more than one place.[2] But from the description given of it we must infer that *pur* meant a town or a fortified town. It is said to be broad *(pṛthvî)* and wide *(urvî)*.[3] Different kinds of *pur* are distinguished. One was *aśmamayî*, or made of stone[4]; another, frequently mentioned in the *Rig Veda*, was of iron *(âyasî)*.[5] The third was *śâraḍî*, literally an autumnal fort. But this rendering and the explanation to justify it are not convincing. What it stands for requires further investigation. Lastly, there was the *gomatî pur* mentioned in the *Atharva Veda*.[6] It cannot be a mere fort to hold cattle, as has been suggested.

The towns were provided with palisades and a ditch *(dehî)*.[7] Apparently these were defences against invading hosts. It is also interesting to note that not only stone but also brick was used as material, from the term *âmâ* in the *Rig Veda*.[8] Each city was provided with a gate,[9] though the *Rig Veda* refers in two places[10] to a fortified place with a hundred walls *(śatabhuji)*. This reference must, of course, be treated as metaphorical. The *Taittirîya Saṃhitá*[11] as well as other *Yajur Veda Saṃhitás (Kâṭhaka* and *Maitrâyaṇî)* refer to *Mahāpura*, meaning a great town, or more appropriately a city.

Though it is established beyond doubt that life in the city was developed, there is no direct evidence of the municipal activities of its citizens. There is, of course, the mention of wells,[12] how they were preserved and how they were full of water and also the mention of *śreṣṭhin* in the Brâhmaṇas, meaning that he was a man of some importance, and the fore-runner of the *nagaraśreṣṭhin* of later days.[13] We are told about houses palaces, their doors, bedrooms, fire-place, and women's quarters.

---

1 Cf. Vedic Index, Vol. I, pp. 538-40

2 V. 34.

3 I. 189.2.

4 IV. 30. 20.

5 I. 58.8. etc.

6 VIII. 6.23.

7 Rv. VI. 47.2.

8 II. 35. 6.

9 Sat. Brah. XI. 1.1.2.3.

10 I. 166. 8 ; VII. 15. 14.

11 VI. 2. 3. 1.

12 Rv. I. 55. 8. etc.

13 Ait. Br. III. 30. 3.

Reference is also made to wheeled traffic, horse-riding, and racing, as well as to different occupations, and streets through which chariots were driven. Much more interesting is the term *mahápatha,*[1] which means a high road.

All these and more are to been seen in the Vedic literature.'But unfortunately we can do no more than infer that the *śreṣṭhin* through his officials and corporate organizations like guilds, managed the affairs of the city.

Post-Vedic and Epic India

We are on firmer ground when we come to the epoch of the *Dharmasûtras* and Epics. The city *(pura, nagara, nigama)* has been growing in character and extent. According to Āpastamba[2], the king should live in a town. His palace should be provided with a guest-house, where guests are to be lodged and entertained. Besides, an assembly-house *(sabhâ)* is mentioned as a necessary adjunct of the city. It served the purpose of a public gaming hall. The king's servants and other professionals lived in separate houses. The town was invariably under watch and ward. On every side of the town, guards were stationed for a distance of a *yojana* to defend it from robbers and other undesirables, and to make good property stolen within their territorial jurisdiction. This prescription shows the vigilance expected of these guards. Another duty of theirs was to collect taxes.

Nothwithstanding these eleborate descriptions of the town and its government, however, Āpastamba has nothing but condemnation for town life. Another *sûtrakâra*, Baudhâyana, who lived much earlier than Āpastamba and who is generally assigned to the sixth century B.C., seems to speak from first-hand knowledge when he refers to the dust of the city and declares that there shall be no salvation for one who lives in a dust-covered city.

These prescriptions of the two ancient authors of *Dharmasûtras* clearly show that a number of cities were coming into existence in Vedic and post-Vedic days and that there was a regular exodus to them. Perhaps this reacted rather badly on village life, so that these authors of *Dharmasûtras* gave a timely warning. The cry of 'religion in danger' raised by Baudhâyana at a time when people had absolute faith in salvation by doing *Svadharma,* was bound to go a long way in arresting the migration of people into towns and cities. But this does not mean a wholesale condemnation of cities. In fact Āpastamba is careful when he asks a king to build a town and live there. He has no doubt that the place of a king, nobles and other professional men is a city.

This largely explains the numerous references to cities and city governments both in the older and the later smṛtis. The same description is found in the epics and the *Purāṇas.* The description of Mathura, the Yādava capital, and of Ayodhyā, the capital of the Ikṣvākus, can be cited as examples. Vālmīki waxes eloquent over the houses and streets of Ayodhyā, especially on the eve of Rāma's coronation as Crown

---

1 Ait. Br. IV. 17, 8.

2 II. 10. 25.

Prince. How the houses had storeys, in some cases more than one, and how the streets were symmetrical, watered in the evening and kept clean, how ornamental flags and lamps were hung in front of the houses, how ladies from upper floors witnessed what went on in the street: these details point to a high degree of development. Though there was no occasion for Vālmīki to give us an insight into the actual administration of the city, still from the frequent occurrence of the word *paura* in the *Rāmāyaṇa* one can safely infer, with the late Dr. Jayaswal, that the term usually stands for a corporate body of citizens. This is corroborated by its reference in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭalya and the *Purāṇas*, not to speak of Buddhist works like the *Divyāvadāna*. Thus the existence of a corporation and its activity is clearly indicated.

But it is in the laws of Bṛhaspati that we first find some definite regulations pertaining to municipal bodies. A municipal body went by the name of *samūha* : it is called *gaṇa* in Yājñavalkya, and *pūga* in Buddhist literature. The members entered into a written agreement as to the nature of their civic functions and the means at their disposal for executing these functions:

1. Building and repairing the municipal chamber. 2. Erecting and maintaining rest-houses for travellers and especially for the supply of drinking water *(prapā)*. 3. Constructing the temple and looking after its affairs. 4. Digging tanks and pools and preserving them properly. 5. Putting up parks and managing them. 6. Affording relief to the helpless *(anātha)* and poor *(daridra)*. 7. Cremating dead paupers. 8. Helping the performance of sacrifices *(yajña)*. 9. Relief during times of famine and other disasters *(kulyānām nirodha)*. 10. Excavating sources of water supply and attending to proper working of water courses.[1] 11. Giving substantial help to the aged, the infirm, the blind, women, etc.[2] 12. Undertaking works of public utility.

It is legitimate to observe here that a Hindu municipality was not merely a sanitation and water-supply department but attended largely to social welfare work. In other words, it was also a social service organization. In those days when people were more religiously minded, it was a custom for individuals to make gifts to temples, dig tanks and wells, and cut canals for irrigation. Once started, these works were handed over to the City Fathers, who undertook the responsibility of maintaining and repairing them.

Other writers of law furnish interesting details on the working of the corporation.[3] The meetings were always held in the municipal chamber.[4] It was more or less incumbent on every member to attend them.[5] According to the commentator Mitramiśra, the sound of a drum announced the time of a meeting.[6]

---

1 Viramitrodaya, p. 425.

2 Brh. XVII. 23.

3 See R.C. Majumdar : *Corporate Life*, p. 55.

4 Brh. 17. 11.

5 Nārada. 10.5.

6 Vira. p. 430.

At the meeting each member could express his opinion fully and independently.[1] But he who opposed for the sake of opposition was not tolerated.[2] It appears that the corporation was represented by officers of the State. These officers appear to have been present at the meetings of the corporation. And whenever any of them misbehaved so as to cause injury to the *samūha* by creating dissension among the members or destroying property, the corporation had the power to remove him and bring this fact to the notice of the State represented by the king. Whenever a difference of opinion arose between the corporation as a whole and the officer of the State, it was referred to the Government who pronounced a decision.[3]

With what care and interest sanitation was looked after can be seen from a very significant line in the *Mānavadharmaśāstra* which forbids the dirtying of drinking water.

Another law-giver rules that one should not defile water with saliva, blood, or other kinds of impurities.[4]

Driving at high speed along the public road was not countenanced by the Smṛti.[5] From the rules it is not difficult to conclude that traffic and transport regulations were strictly enforced.

No obstruction of any sort was allowed in the roads and streets of a city : For instance, ordure, a terrace, a pit, an aqueduct, the edge of a roof. These obstacles, the corporation realized, should not find a place in cross-roads, roads, and streets—the law-giver adds, in the abode of worship. The idea was that temples were as much public property as the roads and streets. The corporation kept watch that no encroachment was made by protruding a roof or a terrace, that streets and roads were even, and without pits which make wheeled traffic difficult. Aqueducts, too, would be a hindrance. Those who created such hindrances were often punished with fines. Thus we see that punctilious care was taken in the maintenance of roads and streets.[6]

The regulations of the public health department of the municipal administration testify to efforts made relating to health and hygiene. Āpastamba's recommendations show much advance in this direction.[7] The sale of adulterated milk and contaminated meat was forbidden. He who dealt in such merchandise was fined.[8]

---

1 Kātyāyana, quoted by Caṇḍeśvara in his Vivādaratnākara—Bibl. Ind. p. 179.

2 Refractory members were either fined or banished from the city. (Bṛhaspati XVII. 13–16; Manu VIII. 219–20; Viṣnu V. 168, etc.)

3 Yāj. II. 187; Vira. p. 428 ; Bṛh. 18–20; Nārada. X. 3, etc.

4 Yāj. I. 138 and 192 ; Śukra. 11. 37–47.

5 See comment on Nārada. X. 2–3. p. 164.

6 Nārada. XI. 15–16.

7 1. 11. 30 ; 15, 20 ; 1. 2. 31.

8 Gautama. Ch. XVII.

Allied to this regulation was the prohibition of nuisance in public roads and in sacred spots such as rivers, temples, and shady places. Cases of this sort were severely dealt with.[1]

In catering to the needs of different interests in the city, the corporation must have incurred enormous expenditure. The question therefore arises: What were the sources of municipal revenue?[2] Bṛhaspati and Yājñavalkya mention the following sources from which the municipality derived its revenues :

1. That which is acquired legitimately *(prāptam)* : this may include professional and other customary taxes. 2. The sum already to the credit of the corporation *(rakṣitam)* : this may refer to the capital in hand. 3. That earmarked for specific purposes *(prakalpitam)* : these may be gifts and endowments by individuals and groups (Bṛh. XVII. 24). 4. Contributions by the State. 5. Profits accruing from public works. 6. Fines collected for misappropriating such profits. 7. Fees for administering justice and for arbitration (Yāj. II. 190). 8. Octroi duties on the sale of goods within the municipal area *(śulka-grahaṇam).* 9. Cesses due for enjoying the right of exportation and importation of goods. 10. Tax levied on goods taken on peoples' shoulders.

The corporation had three kinds of expenditure : charges incurred in respect of social welfare work; establishment charges; expenses incurred on public works. It appears that these charges were met once a month, and in some cases once in six months.[3]

The Mauryan Epoch

We are surely on indisputable ground when we come to the age of the Mauryas, who ruled from the fourth to the second century B.C. Municipal life was now highly developed, and the functions of the corporation were greatly enlarged. The towns also grew. The Greek historians of Alexander's campaigns speak of two thousand regular towns in the Punjab alone.[4]

The sources of information for this period are mainly three: Kauṭalya's *Arthaśāstra,* Megasthenes' *Indika,* and epigraphy. From these one gathers that not only the capital but also other towns of the empire had their own corporations. Megasthenes describes the city of Pāṭaliputra (now Patna) as having the shape of a parallelogram. The inhabited part of the city was about nine miles in length and $1\frac{3}{4}$ in breadth. The total circumference of the city is said to have been $21\frac{1}{2}$ miles, nearly double that of Rome under Aurelian. All round the city ran a ditch 600 feet wide and 30 cubits indepth. This ditch served a double purpose: it was a defence against invaders and a receptacle for the sewage for the city. The city wall was crowned with 570 towers and had 64 gates.[5]

---

1 Yāj. I. 134–36.

2 See R.K. Mookerjee : *Local Government in Ancient India.* pp. 251–3.

3 See Bṛhaspati.

4 *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society,* Bangalore, VIII

5 Mc.Crindle : *Ancient India.* pp. 66–68

We have it on the same authority that the government of the city was conducted by means of a municipal board consisting of 30 members. These formed themselves into six committees of five members each. One committee looked after industry and arts. The second was in charge of foreigners, including medical help to them when they fell ill. The third was the census department which registered births and deaths. The fourth attended to trade and commerce, supervised weights and measures, and issued licenses for purposes of trade. The rule was that one merchant could deal in only one commodity. If he offered to deal in two commodities, he had to pay a double tax. The sale of manufactured articles was controlled by a fifth committee. This sale was always done in the open market : new articles were distinguished from old and sold separately. If a manufacturer mixed both, he was punished. The sixth committee collected the tenths of prices of goods sold. The municipal board, on which all the members of all the committees sat, looked after general interests such as public buildings, harbours, temples, etc.[1]

Turning to the *Arthaśāstra*, we find a special chapter devoted to the superintendent of the city, the *nāgaraka*. This was probably the same as Manu's *sarvārthacintaka*. According to this lawgiver, the king should appoint a learned and good nobleman to superintend city affairs.[2] We venture to suggest that this officer represented the State in the municipality exactly like the Commissioner of the Madras Corporation at the present day.

Referring to a city, Kauṭalya mentions six principal roads : for chariots, for small vehicles, for cattle and other animals, for purposes of trade, roads leading to pastures and open thoroughfares, and, lastly, roads leading to rural parts. Several lanes and by-lanes are also mentioned in the *Arthaśāstra*. The roads and streets were well paved and kept clean. Fruit trees and medicinal herbs were planted on both sides. Punishment was meted out to those who caused damage to any of these streets and roads and to those who blocked them. Such damaged places were immediately repaired, so that there was no dislocation of traffic. On these public roads, at some distance from one another, were constructed resthouses and market-places surrounded by parks. Strangers travelling along these roads were given food and water in these resthouses. At the crossing of the roads were lamp-posts, and the lamps were lighted every evening to help the wayfarer.[3]

The City Fathers of Mauryan towns took prompt measures to control epidemics and prevent contagion.[4] Persons who committed nuisance on public roads, bathing places, and sacred spots, were punished with a fine of one *paṇa*. If dust and rubbish was thrown into the streets, the fine was 1/8 *paṇa* ; 3 to 6 *paṇas* were the fine for carrying corpses along public roads, for dead bodies had to be carried only through certain paths. House-owners had to keep their gutters from filling with silt,

---

1 Meg. Frag. p. 34 ; Banerjee : *Public Administration in Ancient India*, pp. 296–7.

2 III. 121.

3 Ar. Sās. VII. 12 ; III. 10 ; Sukra I. 257–9; Kāma, XIV. 28–44 ; Inst. of Asoka. See my *Hindu Administrative Institutions*, pp. 375–6.

4 Ar. Sās. IV. 1.

and to see that gutter water emptied itself freely into the drains.[1] Yet another municipal law referred to protection against fire.[2] Though stone and brick were used as building materials, wood was freely used in several parts of the houses, which were therefore liable to fire. Therefore the municipal authorities ordered that:

1. Cooking was to be done outside the house proper, so that even if there was a fire, the main building might be safe. 2. In front of every house, the house-owner should deposit five earthern pitchers full of water. 3. In case of fire, every able-bodied citizen had to help to put it out, under threat of punishment. 4. Combustible materials like haystacks should not be kept in or near houses.

There was, besides, the enforcement of customs and market laws. The official in charge of tolls sat in the toll-house, erected near the large gate of the city, with a flag flying on its north or south side. The merchandise had a seal on it. The customs office was near the harbour where ships arrived *(khatra)*. Any merchant who evaded the customs was heavily fined. The laws of a Hindu municipality, however, exempted from duty articles intended for marriages, gifts, religious sacrifices, temples, and charitable purposes.[3]

By making healthy market laws, the corporation ensured the material welfare of its citizens. There were regulations relating to prices and to weights and measures. These were to be uniform; otherwise, dealers were severely taken to task. One regulation demanded that bony meat should not be offered for sale. The use of a false balance was punished with a fine eight times the value of the meat sold. The municipality also regulated the sale of commodities in such a way as to discourage large profits. Besides, it brought out what we might call a city Directory which furnished at a glance the data of all local statistics, such as the number of persons, male and female, in a house, the number of cattle in each, the income and expense of the family.[4] This Directory must have been the register where births and deaths were entered.

It seems to me that in the Kauṭalyan State as well as in all Hindu municipalities before and after, the same person was Commissioner and Mayor, and generally presided over municipal functions. Though there were special committees in charge of various departments, the following duties devolved on the *nāgaraka:*

1. Water reservoirs, roads, secret passages, fortresses and other public buildings were to be daily inspected by him. 2. Things stolen or lost were kept in his custody and returned to the owner who claimed them from him. 3. He could on his initiative set free a child, or an old or diseased person.

The city police was also under the control of the City Fathers. From the time of Āpastamba to that of Kauṭalya the police had to see that there was no thieving or dacoity. It was also their duty to note down the arrival and departure of aliens.

---

1 IA. 1905. pp. 51–2 and 59.

2 Ibid.

3 Ar. Sas. II. 21–22 & 25.

4 IA. pp. 51–2 & 55–6; Ar. Sās. Bk. II. 35.

Suspected persons and criminals were also entered, to use the modern term, in the municipal 'black list'.[1] Among these were hermits and ascetics. For spies were often sent into a neighbouring State in the disguise of hermits and ascetics to find out and report the movements of the enemy.

In these and other ways the government of the city was carried on in Mauryan India, not only in the capital but also in large towns like Taxila, Ujjayani, Tosali and Suvarnagiri. The committee system of municipal administration seems to have spread, as the Bhattiprolu Casket Inscription of the third century B.C.[2] refers to the management of Bhattiprolu town by a committee of its citizens. We shall not be wrong if we conclude that this system of municipal administration continued to prevail till the end of Hindu rule in India.

1 I.A. Ibid. p. 51.; See also B.K. Sarkar: *Political Institutions*, pp. 65-7.

2 EI. ii. p. 328. A 31-10-81 F14-10-81.

Religion of Kālidāsa[1]

It is being generally admitted now that Kālidāsa, the great poet of India, could not have been a contemporary of the Gupta monarchs but should have flourished in the first century B.C. Evidences in this behalf are accumulating by the critical studies of scholars. In examining the religion of Kālidāsa it is necessary to take into account the religious conditions of the times when he lived. The Mauryas had definitely been relegated to the past, and imperialism, power and predominance had gone for ever. The Śuṅgas had come to power. They are said to be brāhmanical in religion and outlook. They are again said to have revived brāhmanical religion as if it had been thrown into the shade by the Mauryan emperors. Whatever it may be, the fact remains that some of the Śuṅgas indulged in Vedic sacrifices like the *Aśvamedha,* and attached more importance to Vedic religious rites and ceremonies. By the time of the Śuṅgas the Dharmaśāstras and Dharmasūtras had become authoritative sacred texts. The rules and regulations laid down in these treatises were to be followed to the very letter. All of them stood for the ideals of varṇas and āśramas, the well-thoughtout scheme of social life which was successfully worked out in India through the ages.

Again it was the epoch of the Purāṇic Hinduism. The Purāṇas were written at different times, and some of them rewritten also. The older Purāṇas like the Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa and even Viṣṇu were known to the literate public. They taught what the Arthaśāstra and Dharmaśāstras seek to teach. In addition they elaborately treated of the various gods and goddesses of the Hindu pantheon, their heroic exploits for the cause of dharma and the like. Among these numerous gods the Purāṇas selected three important gods, Śiva, Viṣṇu and Brahmā, usually known as the Hindu Trinity. These three gods are said to have a division of functions. The department of creation was in the hands of Brahmā, of protection with Viṣṇu and of destruction with Śiva. Though there was a separate major function to each of these major gods, yet the fundamental concept was that each of these gods represented, in one form or other, the One God called Brahman and, to realise this Brahman which is the height of ambition to every Hindu, he must pray to one of these gods and reach the final goal of liberation through the worship of that god. This God is generally called the Iṣṭadevatā of the individual, family or a group of families.

This did not mean that the individual or family was sectarian in outlook and narrow in religious matters. It was happily realised that there is only one God but there are numerous paths which help you in attaining this God. For every path there is a deity or a presiding deity by invoking whose blessings you are enabled to reach the Infinite much more quickly and with ease. In fact the worship of

---

1 From: Dr. C. Kunhan Raja Presentation Volume, Madras, 1946, pp. 302–10.

Iṣṭadevatā is a training for the realisation of the higher thing which is to free oneself from the cycle of birth and death. So with such a healthy background and with a wide toleration, the Purāṇas, as a class, put forth a number of cults for every one to reach his end by him choice *devatā*. In its own way such a *devatā* was exalted and the Supreme Being for the true philosophical concept was that each *devatā* was a symbol of the *Paramātman* or the one Īśvara. So the man or woman regarded his devatā as the Great God and worshipped it with fervent ardour. This did not lead to intolerance or sectarianism at the time of Kālidāsa. A person of the first century B.C. offered his worship at any shrine but he had predilection for his *Iṣṭadevatā*. For, after all, concentration is necessary to achieve anything and much more so in the spiritual sphere.

This background will enable us to understand the personal religion of Kālidāsa. His very name shows that he was a devotee of Kālī, the Mother Goddess and the Goddess of Learning and Wealth. Kālidāsa speaks highly of the gods of the Hindu pantheon. He gives an honoured place to Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Kārtikeya in his classics. He is a good Hindu who does not believe in sectarian forms of worship. He is indeed a fine product of the times. As every Hindu believes he was a follower of the Dharmaśāstra school. He accepted the āśrama system with approval:

शैशवेऽभ्यस्तविद्यानां यौवने विषयैषिणाम् ।
वार्धके मुनिवृत्तीनां योगेनान्ते तनुत्यजाम् ।। *Raghuvaṃśa*, I.8.

He shows how the young should spend their time in education, the adolescent as familymen, the retired men as hermits and aged given to the practice of yoga. This is, in other words, the *brahmacarya, gārhasthya, vānaprastha* and *sannyāsa*. By the significant expression *prajāyai gṛhamedhinām*, he echoes the law code that a certain person marries a woman not for mere sexual enjoyment but for *santāna* or progeny by whom only the Pitṛs find an honoured place in the *Pitṛloka (Ibid. 7)*. Kālidāsa was a close observer of varṇa-dharma. He was against the marriage of a kṣatriya with a lady of the brahman caste. This can be seen clearly from the *Śākuntala*. When King Duṣyanta was out to hunt in the forests, he came upon Kaṇva's hermitage and had occasion to see young Śakuntalā in the āśrama. Struck by her bewitching beauty, he resolved to marry her by the gāndharva form of marriage allowed in the case of a kṣatriya. Before he made up his mind, a doubt arose within himself whether she was a member of the brahman family:

राजा — अपि नाम कुलपतेरियमसवर्णक्षत्रसंभवा स्यात् । *Śākuntala*, Act I.

Suddenly the king corrects himself and says that she is quiet proper to be married by a kṣatriya. The reason assigned was that the mind of a noble king *(ārya)* like himself would not lead him astray. It will take him only in the righteous path:

असंशयं क्षत्रपरिग्रहक्षमा यदार्यमस्यामभिलाषि मे मन : ।
सतां हि संदेहपदेषु वस्तुषु प्रमाणमन्तःकरणप्रवृत्तयः ।। *Ibid.*

In elaborately speaking on the nature of marriage, Kālidāsa shows himself out and out orthodox and a close follower of the established law and usages of the land. At the end of the *Śākuntala* there is a prayer:

सरस्वती श्रुतिमहती महीयताम्

This simply means that the words of the Vedic brahmans should be listened to with respect. This is indirectly saying that the Vedas are so sacred that he who learns them must be a great personage worthy of all respect. By phrases like *yathāvidhihutāgnīnām* and by terms like *havis* and *hotṛ* occurring in the texts it can be inferred that Kālidāsa had a firm faith in the vedic ritual of *yajña* or fire-rite and held people following such rituals in high veneration. This can be seen from the way with which Duṣyanta treats the anchorities in the several hermitages, especially from how he desisted from killing the deer at the request of a certain sage. Kālidāsa does not mince matters. He takes up his cudgels against the *tāmasī vṛtti* of the people and stands up for the *sāttvikī vṛtti* which alone tends to the welfare of the world at large. Says he at the beginning of the *Mālavikāgnimitra:*

सन्मार्गालोकनाय व्यपनयतु स वस्तामसीं वृत्तिमीशः ।

Some scholars find a veiled reference here to Buddhism which the poet seems to characterise as *tāmasī vṛtti.* It appears that Kālidāsa generally detests the spirit of what we call defeatism culminating in a material outlook of things as different from the spiritual. His wish is that by following the righteous path people become ennobled and lead truly the life of a gentleman. In one word we should shake off lethargy and cultivate an active life or real usefulness and benefit to society. That Kālidāsa had an abundant faith in Vedic religion is seen from the beautiful śloka put into the mouth of a fisherman:

शहजे किल जे विणिन्दिदे णहु शे कम्म विवज्जणी अए ।
पशुमालणकम्मदालुणे अणुकम्पामिदुकेवि शांत्तिए ।।

Śākuntala, between Acts V and VI.

When questioned by the Superintendent of police why he had the hardihood to take the lives of poor fish, the fisherman gave the straight answer that by following his profession he does not become heartless. Incidentally Kālidāsa makes the fisherman refer to the Vedic sacrifices where the brāhmaṇa is asked to offer the sacrifice of a goat *(paśumedha)* and to tell the Police Superintendent that on account of that one could not put down the brāhmaṇa as a heartless and cruel man. People do what is ordained in their sacred books. Here Kālidāsa not only glorifies the yajñas but also puts a special emphasis on the need for religious faith. Otherwise we would be taking the doctrine of *Ahiṁsā* or non-violence to absurd lengths.

As a pious Hindu, Kālidāsa worships at the shrine of Hindu gods like Hari and Brahmā, Kārtikeya and Mahākāla. His devotion to Hari can be seen from the praise of Him by the sages in 17 ślokas in the *Raghuvaṃśa.* I shall summarise the contents. The Lord Viṣṇu is addressed as follow: "You are the Creator and Protector and Destroyer. You are only of one form *(ekarūpa).* You are incomprehensible,

invincible, and ever victorious. You are the All-wise, the Unborn Lord. You are one and still of different forms. You are belauded by the seven sāmans. You abide in the seven seas. You are the Four-faced God. You are the effulgence of the yajñas. You are unborn and still incarnate yourself in times of need. You take everybody to the goal of eternal freedom. You are the embodiment of the Vedas. You give succour to those who merely remember you." (X, 15-33).

From this it can be easily inferred that Kālidāsa regards Viṣṇu as the Great God and also as One God. This only indicates the *abheda* nature of the poet, though his *Iṣṭadevatā*, as we shall see soon, was the God Śiva and Viṣṇu. Both are supreme gods. Kālidāsa had apparently in his mind the significant śloka of the *Bhagavadgītā* where the Lord says in whatever form one worships Him he is pleased with that worship and shows grace to him. To attain *siddhi*, Kālidāsa says that there are different paths which are acceptable to the śāstras, with the implication that each person can tread the path which appeals to him (X. 26) The *abhedabuddhi* of the poet is also seen from the *Kumārasambhava* where he exalts Brahmā as the one God:

नमस्त्रिमूर्तये तुभ्यं प्राक् सृष्टेः केवलात्मने ,
गुणत्रयविभागाय पश्चाद्भेदमुपेयुषे।
त्वमेव हव्यं होता च भोक्ता च शश्वतः ,
वेद्यं च वेदिता चासि ध्याता ध्येयं च यत्परम्॥ II, 4, 15.

But what is really important is his statement again in the *Kumārasambhava* (VII. 44).

एकैव मूर्तिर्बिभिदे त्रिधा।

Therefore Kālidāsa, who is a votary of the one god, is equally a votary of all the gods who seem to be differentiated but, really speaking, are all one.

In the *Meghadūta* a reference is made to the temples of Caṇḍiśvara and Mahākāla. In the former there were a number of gaṇas who were all serving the Lord. And Caṇḍīśvara is here spoken of as *Tribhuvanaguru*, meaning Śiva himself (śl. I.35). In the Mahākāla temple, reference is made to the evening prayer accompanied by the beating of the musical instrument, *Paṭaha*. The poet mentions in this connection that evening service was generally accompanied by dance of Śiva, Bhavānī appreciating it to her heart's content. (śl. I.36–38).

Later on Skanda's abode at Devagiri is mentioned with the same worshipful attributes. There the poet asks the cloud to offer choice flowers soaked in Ganges waters to the presiding deity. Skanda, it is said, is no other than the great energy of Śiva, having the crescent in his forehead. For Skanda was sprung from the seed of Śiva cast into fire. Besides he is the darling of Bhavānī who decks herself with the cast-off plumes of the peacock, the riding vehicle of the God Skanda (Ibid. 45–46).

Thus we notice Kālidāsa's fervent devotion to the Hindu gods without any sense of distinction.

In all his classics, all these gods are exalted, venerated and worshipped. Excepting his indirect reference to Bhavānī in the Meghadūta we do not come across any special prayer to the Goddess, nor any separate shrine for Her. Popular version fathers the current Śyāmalādaṇḍaka in praise of Lalitā to our poet. It may be or may not be his composition. He has not referred to the worship of the Devī anywhere in his celebrated classics. Again we are surprised to find no mention of the god Gaṇeśa or Vināyaka, as he is popularly known. One is compelled to conclude that the cult of Gaṇeśa had not yet spread in his time. Otherwise he ought to have mentioned this God, the most popular of all gods of the Hindus, even at the present day. This perhaps gives some clue that Kālidāsa must have flourished long before the cult of Vināyaka became popular.

Though it is clear from his writing that the poet was no sectarian in his religion, still his predilection, as has been already said, for Śiva was undoubted. All his great classics begin without any exception with an invocation to Śiva. The Raghuvaṁśa commences with the benedictory verse:

वागर्थाविव संपृक्तौ वागर्थप्रतिपत्तये।
जगतः पितरौ वन्दे पार्वतीपरमेश्वरौ॥

The poet salutes Pārvatī and Parameśvara and speaks of them as the mother and father of the world. These two are united together as the inseparable union of *vāk* (word) and *artha* (meaning). They are invoked by Kālidāsa for the success of his undertaking which consisted mainly of *vāk* and *artha*. The poet prays to the mother and father of the universe to endow him with sufficient literary skill in accomplishing the great literary work which he has undertaken. In the *Vikramorvaśīya* it is *Sthāṇu* who is invoked. *Sthāṇu* simply means a Pillar. God Śiva is worshipped in the form of a Pillar. It is significant to note that this appellation is found among the thousand names of Viṣṇu *(Viṣṇusahasranāma)*. What does this show? Only the *abhedabuddhi* of our ancients. Kālidāsa bestows all the high attributes to this Sthāṇu. He is the one Puruṣa hailed in the Vedānta, pervading all heaven and earth. He is alone Īśvara. Him alone search those desirous of salvation by yogic sādhanas. He is the eternal god realisable by steadfast devotion and meditation. He requests for undying name in the literary world:

वेदान्तेषु यमाहुरेकपुरुषं व्याप्य स्थितं रोदसी
यस्मिन्नीश्वर इत्यनन्यविषयः शब्दो यथार्थाक्षरः।
अन्तर्यश्च मुमुक्षुभिर्नियमितप्राणादिभिर्मृग्यते
स स्थाणुः स्थिरभक्तियोगसुलभो निःश्रेयसायास्तु वः॥

It has been pointed out (Introduction to *Śākuntala* by Sarada Ranjan Ray, (p. 52) that Kālidāsa indirectly expresses his innate desire for *mukti*. If this is read with what occurs at the end of the *Śākuntala:*

ममापि च क्षपयतु नीललोहितः पुनर्भवं परिगतशक्तिरात्मभूः।

proof is positive that Kālidāsa's ambition in life is not worldly prosperity, but final release from the bondage of saṁsāra.

In the *Śākuntala*, the greatest drama India has ever produced, the poet addresses Īśa, another name for Śiva, for protection. Īśa is said to be the first of all creations. He is the *havis* (offering) and the *hotṛ* (sacrificer). He is the regulator of time, pervading the worlds as such. He is the *bīja* (the seed) of all creatures. It is He who constitutes eight forms. Here, as in the *Vikramorvaśīya*, the poet refers to the immanence of the Lord as seen through the spectacles of Vedānta. The idea underlying is that nothing is greater than Īśa, who may be Śiva, Viṣṇu, or Brahmā.

More or less the same invocation is seen in the Mālavikāgnimitra:

एकैश्वर्ये स्थितोऽपि प्रणतबहुफले यः स्वयं कृत्तिवासाः ।
कान्तासंमिश्रदेहोऽप्यविषयमनसां यः पुरस्ताद्यतीनाम् ॥
अष्टाभिर्यस्य कृत्स्नं जगदपि तनुर्भिबिभ्रतो नाभिमानः ।
सन्मार्गालोकनाय व्यपनयतु स वस्तामसीं वृत्तिमीशः ॥

Here Īśa is also named Kṛttivāsā, meaning He who has for his garment the skin of the elephant. Here a reference to the *Ardhanāri* form of the Lord is indicated *(kāntāsammiśradeha)*. He is a *paramayogin* and of eight forms which are earth, water, tejas, wind, ether, sun, moon and the sacrificer. Here the poet requests the Lord to make people shed their ignorance and evil conduct of life, and take to the conduct of the learned and the wise.

Not only at the commencement of his important classics but also towards the conclusion the same Īśa is invoked. For example in the Bharatavākya of the *Śākuntala* it is said "May the Self-born Nīlalohita (Śiva) whose power is manifest all round, cancel my rebirth." The last two lines quoted above are a prayer to the unborn Nīlalohita to secure freedom from rebirth. Thus, even in the final benediction, the poet turns his mind to the Lord of his choice who is no other than Śiva. This shows Kālidāsa's anxiety to get rid of the cycle of birth and death and to reach the final beatitude.

Whatever may be the predilection of the poet for a particular deity, the fact remains that he was a Vedāntin to the core. As a Vedāntin he makes no difference between this god and the other. Whenever occasion occurs, he speaks of other gods like Viṣṇu or Brahmā or Skanda as the Great God, the Supreme Being and as the manifestation of the One God. Nor has he denounced the gods of their faiths like Jainism or Buddhism. He was quite tolerant in his outlook and looked upon humanity as a whole as the children of God.

The Lunar Cult in India[1]

In an informing note on 'The Traces of Lunar cult in India' in the *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, vol. XII (1930), Professor Giuseppe Tucci makes the following observation: "While sun worship was widely spread in India, it does not appear that the moon was ever raised to the rank of an independent divinity, or that it ever had its own temples and its own devotees." (Translated from the original Italian by Mr. C.E.A.W. Oldham in the *Ind. Ant.*, Jan. 1932, p. 17.) An endeavour is made here to show that the lunar cult was as old as the solar cult and that the moon enjoyed an independent status like any other deity of the Vedic pantheon. The worship of the moon, like that of the sun, must be traced back to the Vedic period of India's ancient history. It is generally known that orthodox tradition classifies the *Yajurveda-saṃhitā* into four *kāṇḍams*. These are the *Prajāpatikāṇḍam*, *Saumyakāṇḍam*, *Āgneyakāṇḍam* and *Vaiśvadevakāṇḍam*. Of these, the *Saumyakāṇḍam* is in honour of the moon, who is raised to the rank of divinities like Prajāpati-, Agni and Viśvadevas. The texts of the *Saṃhitā* which are devoted to the elaboration of sacrificial ritual refer to the moon as an *adhipati* of the sacrifice, and hence a *devatā*. If the evidence of the *Yajurveda-saṃhitā* teaches us anything, it is that the moon is raised to the rank of a *yajña* or sacrificial deity and is undoubtedly a Vedic god. There is again the invaluable testimony of the *Brāhmaṇa* literature where the moon is looked upon as an independent divinity. In the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* we have what is known as the *Somasūktam*, and this *sūktam* is celebrated in honour of the moon (II, viii, 3). These hymns in praise of the moon can be favourably compared to the *Rudrasūktam*, *Puruṣasūktam* and other Vedic *sūktams* of much importance. Added to this is the statement that the presiding deity of the *ṣaḍhotā* in the sacrificial literature is no one else than Candra or the moon-god. (Ibid., II, ii, 11–12). Besides their use in the *yajñas* or sacrifices, they are used in connection with a number of ceremonials attending the innumerable *vratas* or special vows and the installation of images in temples, much adumbrated in the Purāṇa literature and the Āgama treatises as well. (See the *Matsyapurāṇa*, ch. 265, 24).

The Purāṇas, which are regarded as the fifth Veda according to the tradition transmitted in the Indian religious and secular works make elaborate references to the different aspects of the lunar cult. The moon is one of the ten *dik-pālas* or the guardian deities of the directions. (See the *Matsya Purāṇa*, ch. 266-26). He is the lord of the twenty-seven *nakṣatras* (*Ibid.*, ch. 23. 1ff) and is one of the nine planets which go by the name of *navagrahas*. (*Ibid.*, ch. 93-10). He is above all the *oṣadhipati*, or the lord of plants. (*Ibid.*, ch. 266, 25.)

---

1 From: *Indian Antiquary*, Bombay, 62 (1933) 175–76.

Let us now turn our attention to the vast treasures of Tamil literature of South India, and try to find out whether the Tamil literary tradition has anything to corroborate the above statements and to throw fresh light on the topic under discussion. The *Tolkāppiyam*, which cannot be later than fourth century B.C., has a significant expression, *aṟumuṟaivāḻttu*, or in praise of six deities or persons. Perhaps Iḷaṅko-Aḍigal follows this custom if one examines carefully the opening lines of that epic, the *Śilappadikāram*. The author of the *Śilappadikāram* mentions these six in the following order: moon, sun, rains, world, sages and the king of the land (Canto I, II. 1 ff.). It is of particular interest to note that the Tamil classic of the second century A.D. begins with an invocation to the moon god. (See M. Raghava Aiyangar's *Tolkāppiya Poruladhikāra Ārāicci*, 2nd ed., p. 129, note). According to the celebrated commentator Naccinārkkiniyar, the *Vaḷḷivāḻttu* is the hymn in praise of Vaḷḷi or the moon. (See the gloss on *Tolk. Puratt. sūtra*, 33). It will thus appear that from the time of the grammarian Tolkāppiyanār, if not earlier, the moon came to be recognised by the Tamils as one among their different deities, and a place of high honour is given by the prince-poet Iḷaṅko-Aḍigal to the moon *(tiṅgal)*. But what is more important and most interesting is the unmistakable reference to a temple of moon. The Tamil expression for that temple is *Nilākkottam* (Canto IX, 1.13), which existed in ancient Puhār or Kāvēripaṭṭaṇam. Here is an explicit statement of the existence of a temple dedicated to the moon which cannot be disputed. According to Ktesias (400 B.C.) there were temples dedicated to the sun and moon, at a distance of 15 days' journey from Mount Abu. After quoting this authority Mr. C. V. Vaidya further remarks : "There was a temple of the moon at Prabhāsa." (*History of Mediaeval India*, vol. I, p. 225). These evidences bear ample testimony to the existence of moon temples in India and moon worship both in the north and the far south.

Though the temples of the moon have disappeared, the worship of the moon still continues. A relic of the old custom which is frequently referred to in the *Saṅgam* works and later Tamil literature goes by the name of *Piṟaitoḻutal*, literally, the worship of the moon. (See *Kuṟuntogai*, stanza 307. *Iṟayanār Ahapporul*, *sūtra* 7, p. 67 and the stray but rare stanza quoted in the same page : *Nāladiyār*, stanza 176 : See also the *Perumtogai* collection of M. Raghava Aiyangar, P. 32.) Here is a stanza praising the moon, technically entitled *devapaṇi*. That this class of poems existed is seen from the comment of Arumpadavurai *āciriyar* on the line 37, Canto VI of the *Śilappadikāram*.)

In this connection the *Tirukkovai*, which deals with *Ahapporul*, is worthy of note. The *Tirukkovai*, of Māṇikkavāśakar of the ninth century A. D. belongs to the high class works on Hindu mysticism which ordinarily seem to be texts on love poetry. (See author's *Studies in Tamil Literature and History*, pp. 99-101). The stanza (67) gives a glimpse of social life in ancient Tamil land. It was a custom with the ancient Tamils, and this is current even now, to watch the moon rising on the second day after the new moon day. This seeing of the moon is religious in character and tantamount to the worship of the moon. The maid waiting on the

lady love, innocent of the fact that her mistress had already enjoyed, though secretly, her husband's company, urges her to come out and pay her respects to the moon. But the mistress refuses to worship the deity, thus giving a sure hint that she had her own husband, who is to her all god. Incidentally we are introduced to a great truth and its practice in the Tamil land that chaste women do not worship any god except their own husbands, whom they worship as their god. It may be well to bear in mind that this was the great maxim taught by *Tiruvaḷḷuvar* in his thought-provoking treatise the *Tirukkuṛal* (see the Kuṛaḷveṇbā, 55.)

To return to the subject proper, the lunar cult was known in early Tamil India as well as in Vedic India. There were temples dedicated to that deity, though such instances have become extinct. The worship of the moon as a planet, as *dikpāla* and as the lord of the vegetable kingdom is still largely prevalent.s

The Cow in Hindu Life[1]

From time immemorial the cow had occupied an honoured place in the Indian household and none cherished her so much as the Vedic Indian. The term *go* in the sense of the cow repeatedly occurs in the Ṛg Veda and later Vedic literature. Sometimes, the 'products' of the cow are also understood by the expression *go*[2]. In a number of places in the Ṛg Veda Saṁhitā[3], the term *go* stands, for instance, for 'milk', and in several passages it connotes leather used in making bow-string or slings or reins.[4] They were not the only uses to which the hide of the cow was put. Other uses mentioned are covering war-chariots and making thongs or lashes for whips.[5] The cow was thus prized by the Vedic Indian alive or dead.

It was then the custom to milk the cow thrice daily, morning, mid-day and evening[6]. She was sent out to the pasture immediately after milking.[7] While out grazing, the animals were under the charge of herdsmen (*Gopa or Gopāla*).[8] The cowherds had to see that the cows were driven back to their sheds in the evening. A separate shed[9] for them during the day from the sun is mentioned. The ears of cows were generally marked in indication of ownership.[10]

To the Vedic Indian the cow was wealth and the means to further wealth. A very rich man was *Gopati*, 'lord of cows.'[11] The cow was so highly venerated that killing it was considered a heinous offence. Among the victims to be selected for the *Puruṣamedha*, the Yajur Veda makes mention of 'he who abandons the cow' (*govyaccha*), 'he who kills cows' (*goghāta*) by administering poisonous drugs, and the cow-slaughterer (*govikarta*)[12]. In view of their sanctity we have to enquire whether cows were used as draught animals and whether the flesh of cows was eaten. The authors of the *Vedic Index*[13] are inclined to affirm the existence of both practices. From an indirect reference by the commentator Harisvāmin on the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[14] it is inferred that the unit of exchange was the cow. Thus,

---

1 From *Jl. of the Banaras Hindu University*, Varanasi, 2 (1938) 471–81.

2 See the *Vedic Index* by Macdonell and Keith.

3 I. 33.10.; IV. 27.5.

4 VI. 75.11: 1.121.9; VI. 46.14.

5 VI. 47.26, and 53.9.

6 *Taitt. Sam.* VII. 5. 3. 1.

तदाहुर्यां वै त्रिरेकस्याद् उपसीदन्ति दहं वै।
साऽपराभ्यां दोहाभ्यां दुहेऽय कुतः सा धोक्ष्यतेः ॥

7 *Taitt. Br.* 1.4.9.2.

8 R.V. II. 23.6: III. 10.2, etc.

9 Ait. Br. III. 18.

10 *R.V.* vI. 28.3

11 *R.V.* I. 101.4; A.V.III.14.6 etc.

12 *Taitt. Br.* III. 4.16.

13 I p. 233,

14 XIII. 4.2.1.

'ten cows are regarded as a possible price for an (image) of Indra to be used as a fetish[1]. Elsewhere even a thousand or more were not considered an adequate price (*śulka*) for the purchase of Indra[2].

The cow was equally important in the realms of gods. Certain legends are of interest in this context. The divine cow *Kāmadhenu*[3] could grant any wish. Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra quarrelled over the possession of this animal by Vasiṣṭha.[4] Viśvāmitra desired to get her but Vasiṣṭha would not part with her. The *Mahābhārata* has a story to account for the cow. After Dakṣa created living beings he found them clamouring for food. He therefore drank a cup of nectar (*amṛta*) and out of his mouth came the divine cow *Surabhī*. She gave birth to a number of tawny daughters (*Kapilā*) who became in turn mothers. The cows multiplied and fed the human beings created by Dakṣa. A portion of the froth from a cow in milk fell on the head of the three-eyed Śiva who grew red with anger. The reflection of his colour produced different colours among cows. Some escaped to the region of the moon (*soma*). They retained their tawny colour. Dakṣa mollified Śiva by arguing that milk being nectar was pure and by the present of a bull to Śiva for riding. Śiva accepted the gift and became *Paśupati*, the lord of cattle. The first cows had no horns. Desirous of possessing them they adored Brahmā who gave them horns. Possessed of excellent qualities the first semi-divine cows performed austerities (*tapas*). They became the refuge of the world in a Paradise of their own thenceforth known as *Goloka*. When the cows had attained pre-eminence, the goddess of wealth (Lakṣmī) agreed to reside in them and so those who tended cows were considered blessed in every way. Hymns in honour of the cow (*Gomatimantra*) were recited with appropriate ritual, after lustral bath and fasting[5].

The cow enters largely in Vedic mythology.[6] Aditi is sometimes called *Gojātāh*. Frequent references occur to cows released 'from the rock' by Indra. In the Ṛg Veda cows are even treated as deities and prayers offered to them for material welfare. One such hymn may be cited:[7]

---

1 *R.V.* IV. 24.10.
2 ibid., VIII. 1.5.
3 An unusual image of her head is still seen in Mount Abu.
4 *Rāmā.* I. Ch. 51-63.
5 *Mbh. Anuśā.* ch. 116 42. 44; ch. 124. 35–40.
6 See Macdonnel : *Vedic Mythology*. pp. 150–55.
7 Wilson : Rg Veda Saṁhitā, Vol III. p. 437–7.

आ गावो अग्मन्नुत भद्रमक्रन्त्सीदतु गोष्ठे रणयत्वस्मे।
प्रजावतीः पुरुरूपेा इह स्युरिंद्राय पूर्वीरुषसो दुहानाः ॥
इंद्रो यज्वने पृणते च शिक्षत्युपेद्दाति न स्वं मुषायति ।
भूयोभूयो रयिमिदस्य वर्धयन्नभिन्ने खिल्ये नि दधाति देवयुम्॥
न ता नशंति न दभाति तस्करो नासामामित्रो व्यथिरा दधर्षति ।
देवांश्च याभिर्यजते ददाति च ज्योगित्ताभिः सचते गोपतिः सह ॥ R.V. VI. 28. 1–3.
न ता अर्वा रेणुककाटो चकार रणाः वा ये
निऽप्रदि कि ते अस्य पुरा विविदे किं ऊं नूतनासः
सत् अस्य मदे सत् ऊं अस्यपीतौ इंद्रः सत् अस्र मुख्ये चकार रणाः वा ये निऽसदि सत् ते अस्य पुरा विवाहे सत् ऊं नूतनासः २
नहि नुते तहिमनः समस्य न मघऽवत् मप्पवत्ऽत्वस्य विह्म न राधमूःऽराधाः नूतनश्स्र इंद्र न कि ददृशे इंद्रियं ते । ३
यस्य गावो अरुषा सुऽयवस्यू अंतः ऊं सुचरतः रोरेहाणा सः सृंजयाय तुर्वश परां अदात् वृचोवतः देवऽवाताय शिक्षत् । ७

"May the cows come and bring good fortune; let them lie down in (our) stalls and be pleased with us; may the many coloured kine here be prolific, and yield milk for Indra on many dawns.

"Indra grants the desires of the man who offers sacrifice and praise. He ever bestows wealth, and deprives him not of that which is his own; again and again He, increasing riches, places the devout man in an impregnable fortress.

"Let not cows be lost; let no thief carry them away; let no hostile weapon fall upon them; may the master of the cattle be long possessed of those with which he sacrifices and which he presents to the gods.

Let not the dust-spurning (war) horse reach them; nor let them fall in the way of sacrificial consecration; let the cattle of the man who offers sacrifice wander about at large and with no fear.

"May cows bring me affluence; may Indra grant me cattle; may cows yield the food of the first libation; these cows, oh men, are Indra, the Indra whom I desire with heart and mind.

"Do you, Cows, have many calves grazing upon good pasture, and drinking pure water at accessible reservoirs. May no thief be your master; no beast of prey (assail you), and may the (fatal) weapon of Rudra miss you."

"Let the nourishment of the cows be solicited, let the vigour of the bull (be sought) Indra, for thy invigoration."

In the Atharva Veda[1] we find the term 'the wish granting cow.' The milch-cow being Earth, one milks from the latter all his desires. A milch-cow is considered an appropriate sacrificial fee. The bricks of the fire-altar (which enable a sacrifice to be performed) one termed the sacrificer's milch-cow.

In the period of the Dharmasūtras, the tending of cows is equal to a first class penance, and rescuing them to full expiration[2]. In the later *Anugītā*[3] it is said that as Gāyatrī is first among metres the cow is first among quadrupeds. The horn of the cow was a potent charm. *Vāsiṣṭha-Dharmasūtra* even refers to a certain *Go-Sūkta.*[4]

The cow which is the friend and benefactor of man while living is a redeemer after death. In Kātyāyana's *Śrautasūtra*[5] it is noted that a *sterile* cow is to be sacrificed either before the cremation of a dead body or along with it. The belief gained ground in ancient times—a belief which has survived—that if a cow be given away when a man is *in extremis* or after his death, his soul will cross in safety the river Vaitaraṇī

---

1 *S. B. E.* 42. p. 183

2 *Āpa.*, I. 9. 20–21.

3 ibid., ch. 29.

4 Ch. 28. 14.

5 XXV. 7. 34–7.

(the Hindu Styx) and enter the realm of Yama.[1] A Puranic story illustrates this old belief. Śri Kṛṣṇa once saw a number of lost souls groping in the dark unable to reach the kingdom of Death. He was moved to pity and so changed them to cowherds of a herd. By catching hold of the tails of the cows the transformed spirits crossed the Vaitaraṇī in safety and entered Yama's realm. There is said to be even now a custom in Nepal of letting cows loose in celebration of this event.[2]

In the Iron Age, in pursuance of the principle of adjusting duty to capacity, and making things easy for the growing spiritual weakness of men, gifts were substituted for penance and sacrifice, as the most effective 'means of grace.' Among the great gifts, counted usually as sixteen, that of cows leads, and there is a prescribed ritual which governs *godānam*, for mere gift of cows without appropriate ritual is of no use. The cow to be given away must be carefully chosen. The black cow *(kapilā)* is considered the best gift and equal to it is one which is about to calve. The cow must be strong-limbed, good-tempered, healthy and a milker. It should have been acquired righteously for there is no virtue in giving away a cow which is stolen or taken by force. The fitness of the recipient is no less material and is carefully canvassed. He should be a Brahmin, well-versed in the Veda, self-controlled, a sacrificer, a saint and a poor man. The same rules governed the gift of bulls. Cows should not be given away indiscriminately. Attention must be paid to time, place and occasion. *Kāmyāṣṭamī* (8th day of the moon) is a proper day, and so are the *parvas* in which eclipses occur. Epigraphs confirm the belief that gifts made during eclipses in holy places *(tīrthas)* and at the confluence of rivers *(samgama)* were specially esteemed. The Hindu believes that by a gift of cows the giver is not only purged of sin but becomes fit to enjoy the pleasures of the *Goloka* and to rescue his ancestors and descendants to the seventh generation from the tortures of Hell.

There are other ordinances to regulate gifts of kine. The cow was to be addressed by the giver as 'mother, father and refuge,' and the gift to be accompanied by that of the calf and occasionally of a bull also. The dawn of day was the best time for the gift. The donor must have spent the previous night in cow-pen. After the gift he had to fast and pray. A person too poor to purchase a cow to be given away as gift could use substitutes such as a cow made of *ghi*, of sesame seeds *(tila)* or similar substances. A gift so made with a pure heart and a devout mind acquires the same merit as that of a cow.[3]

In this connection, a word may be said of a *godānam* mentioned in the *Gṛhyasūtras*,[4] in the sense of a sacrament, which was generally done with the *Caula* (tonsure). The ceremony derived its name as it ended with the gift of a cow. There are *agnigodānas* and *saṃvatsara godānavratas*. The *agnigodāna* is in honour

---

1 यमद्वारे महाघोरे तप्ता वैतरणी नदी ।
ताञ्च तर्तुं ददाम्येनां कृपणां वैतरणीञ्च गाम् ॥ (Vācaspatyam)

2 The *Gai-jātrā* festival in the month of August.

3 Jolly: *Institutes of Viṣṇu*, Ch. 88. 1. 4; Ch. 108, 17–18.

4 Āpa. 16. 11. 14. Āśva. I. 18. 1–9.

of Agni and is done by a Brahmacāri during the course of Vedic studies. The *Saṃvatsara godāna* is a *vrata* done annually by a Brahmacarī, after the completion of his study. In these *godāna-karmas* a cow was actually given as a gift. But, in course of time this practice died out. According to Āśvalāyana the *varadravya* consisted of two cows *(gomithunam).* It served as fee *(dakṣiṇā)* for the *ācārya* (preceptor). We may recall the *godāna* made by *Daśaratha* on the eve of Śri Rāma's marriage. Govindarāja, the commentator, interprets *godānam* as *samavaraṇam.* Rāma, another commentator, quotes the *Āśvalāyanakārikā* to show that what was then done was *samāvartanapūrvānga.*[1] In this *karma* king Daśaratha gave away thousands of milch-cows together with calves, brass vessels and cash, for the welfare of his sons, who were about to marry.

Godānam also formed an integral part of the welcome of an ancient Hindu guest. It went by the name of *Madhuparka* or an offering of 'honied meal,' contemptuously described by a European. *Madhuparka* was of different kinds. One mixed curds with honey, another both the clarified butter, and a third all three with rice and barley flour. Manu[2] ordains an offering of *Madhuparka* when a Brahmacāri returns home. *Madhuparka* also consisted in placing a cow before an honoured guest. If the guest desired its *samjñāpanam* it was done. If, on the other hand, he desired its *utsarjanam,* then the owner let her free. Sudarśanācārya, the commentator on the Gṛhyasūtra of Āpastamba makes, a significant statement which seems to include *Madhuparka* among the inhibited rites of the Kaliyuga.[3] *Madhuparka* is even now offered in marriages and *śrāddha,* but without the old ceremonial.

If we turn to the evidence of the *Avesta*[4] we find that the Zoroastrian had equally the welfare of the cow in his heart as his Vedic *confrère.* "The soul of the cow as representing the herds of the holy Iranian people, their only means of honourable livelihood, raises its voice on behalf of an afflicted people:" The reference is to rapine and raids which had become frequent. [5]"What saving champion is found to save both flocks and herds....."

In reply to the wail of the kine Zarathustra was sent to alleviate the miseries, as the following hymn[6] indicates:

> "(And if thy guardian is verily to save our wealth) how shall he (obtain, and by what means shall he) seek after the joy-creating kine (who is the living symbol of our place)? (How shall that man obtain his wish) who shall desire to see her provided with pastures for (the welfare) of this land? (That only way is righteousness). Do thou then grant me lands (so would I ask of thee) which live in justice in the many splendours of the sun, and lands which openly

---

1 Rāmā. I. 72. 21–24.

2 III. 3. 119–20.

3 अयं च संज्ञपनपक्षः कलियुगानाचारेषु पठितत्वादिदानीं त्याज्यऽवः ।

4 Yasna, I. 1–3.

5 *S.B.E.* 31. pp. 3 ff.

6 Yasna 2, pp. 171–2.

thus live and which are to be sought and gained by me (as conquests for the cause). Give thou this gift"!

In another Yasna,[1] It is said that the cow is Ahuramazda's. Robbery of cows and violence against sacred kine are solemnly cursed.[2] Ahuramazda created cows and appointed guardians to them, namely, a husbandman and a cowherd, but the cow chose the husbandman as her guardian.

There is an allusion to a wretched being named Yima Vivanghusha who ate beef and fell from grace. This would show that the early Zoroastrian abhorred the practice of eating beef. The Dravidians of South India valued and honoured the cow no less than the Vedic Indian and the follower of Zarathustra. In more than one place in *Saṅgam* literature, the spiritual merit of protecting cows is stressed. *Tolkāppiyam* refers to the five duties of the Kṣatriya *(aivakai marapin araśar pakkamum)* of which one is *kāval* or protection, which included that of cows. The connection between discharge of regal duty and fruitfulness of Earth is beautifully explained in a *Kural-veṇbā* by Tiruvaḷḷuvar,[3] which Dr. Pope translates:

'Where guardian guardeth not, udder of kine grows dry,
And Brahman's sacred lore will all forgotten lie.'

Cows and sacred knowledge are placed on a par among things whose loss will cripple society. This is why, in discussing those who should not be hurt during war, *Puṛanānūṛu* (9) rules that cows and Brahmins, should be sent out even before the commencement of hostilities.

Among the ancient Tamils cattle-lifting was common and was tantamount to a declaration of war. Cattle recaptured from the enemy were to be kept under proper guard. No harm or injury was to be done to such cattle.

The Tamil Sangam works illustrate the penetration of Aryan ideas and legends about the cow. *Puṛam* (6) speaks of *ānilai ulakam* (*Golokam* of Sanskrit) to which the poet assigns a place higher than 'the three worlds.' From the account furnished by the *Maṇimekalai* regarding the mythical Āputra, we may infer that the sacrifice of the cow for religious purposes was an ancient practice, which subsequently died out. The story is worth retailing. In Kāśī there lived a Brāhmaṇa versed in Vedas, named Abhajñika with a wife named Śāli. Her conduct had not been that of a Dharmapatnī. To get rid of the sin, she set out to Kumari (Cape Comorin) for a purificatory bath. On the way, not far from Korkai, she gave birth to a son[4] whom she abandoned. Hearing the infant's cry, a cow which was grazing nearby approached the child and gave him her udder to drink from. Just then another Brāhmaṇa who was passing by found the child and adopted it. When the child grew up he found the cow which had nursed him tied to a *yūpastambha* and about to be

1 XII. 1.
2 *S.B.E.*, P. 248.
3 *Kural-veṇbā*, 560.
4 *Maṇi*. Cantos. XIII-XV.

sacrificed. He promptly set the cow free, but he was caught. The enraged cow attached the officiating priest and escaped to the forests. Āputra pleaded that it was not *dharma* to kill even a poor animal even for sacrifice. The priests called him a heretic and censured him as Āputra. The foster-father disowned him and he was banished. He became a Bhikku and spent his life begging.

It is evident from many references in Tamil literature and South Indian inscriptions that the ancient Dravidians had a horror of cow-killing and were for *gorakṣā.*[1] To them the cow was one of the six objects of worship *(arumurai vāḷttu).* This mode of praising has been continued by tradition to the epoch of the *Tevāram.*[2]

"Let Brahmans, devas and kine be blessed:

Let cool clouds and monarch be blessed:

Let evils all perish, and Śiva's name be every where:

Let the world's suffering end."

"Melted butter (ghee) belongs to the gods and creamy butter to man"

A question to be considered is this, did the cow come to have so much importance in the daily life of the people in India from prehistoric days. The explanation is obvious. The cow was the personification of plenty and afforded the easiest means of sustenance. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa[3] lauded the milk-products: 'Melted butter (ghee) belongs to the gods and creamy butter to man'.

'The cows are the root of immortality which sácrifice yields. They are the root of all energy. They are the steps by which earthly prosperity is gained. They are the eternal course of the universe. They multiply one's race'.[4] For purposes of *havya* and *kavya* in sacrifices the cow is indispensable. She is therefore designated *yajña* and *ājya* by the Yajurveda Saṁhitā:[5] eṣa vāva yajño yadājyam. To destroy her was to destroy the people. So the cow attained a sanctity. It has been suggested that the cow acquired sanctity first in monsoon countries, where it has been identified with

---

1 *MER.*, 254A of 1901.

2 *Vālka antaṇar vanavar āvinam*
Vālka tanpual vendanum ōṅkuka
ālka tiyatellām aran nāmame sulka
vaiyakamum tuyar tīrkave
We are reminded here of the *sloka* which every Hindu remembers in his daily prayer:
स्वस्तिः प्रजाभ्यः परिपालयन्तां
न्याय्येन मार्गेण महीं महीशाः ।
गोब्राह्मणेभ्यः शुभमस्तु नित्यं
लोकास्समस्ताः सुखिनो भवन्तु ॥

3 *S.B.E.*, XXII. p. 14; III. 1. 38.

4 *Indian Culture*, Vol. II. p. 10.

5 *Anuśā.*, 111. 10.

the genius of the monsoon.[1] From economic appreciation to veneration and from veneration to worship are insensible steps.

The *Mahābhārata* affirms that the mantras, *svāhā* and *vasāh* are eternally rooted in kine.[2]

The Ṛg Veda Saṃhitā designates the cow as *anghnya* (not to be slain) as many as sixteen times, and the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[3] forbids eating of her flesh.

'The Dīkṣita shall not eat the flesh of a cow or an ox for they support everything on earth. The gods have bestowed on them whatever vigour belonged to other species of animals.'

Mention is made of *gomedha or gosava ekaṣṭaga.*[4] The prohibition is not invalidated by the references to *go-medha* etc. (sacrifice of *go*), since like *paśu, go* is a comprehensive term embracing every kind of quadruped).

---

1 *Taitt. Sam.*, II. 6. 3.

2 *Mhb., Anuśā.*, 113. 8.

3 III. 1. 2. 21.

4 See *J A S B. XLI. Pt. I.R.L.* Mitra's article on *Beef in Ancient India.*

The Purāṇas : Their Historical Value[1]

Writing on the Purāṇas in the *Cambridge History of India*, Professor E.J. Rapson makes the following observation :

'The historical character of these works is disguised by their setting. They have been made to conform with Indian ideas as to the origin and nature of the universe and its relation to a First Cause. The effect of this has been to remove the monarch who is represented as reigning when the recital takes place and all his predecessors from the realm of history into the realm of legend and it has been found necessary to preserve the illusion throughout the subsequent narrative.' (Vol. I. p. 303).

Students of Ancient India who have been specialising in this branch of literature are coming more and more to the conclusion that the Purāṇas represent an authentic historical chronicle. Purāṇa means old and a Purāṇa means an old story. In ancient Indian literature we often meet with the expressions Purāṇam ākhyānam and Itihāsa-Purāṇam. These may mean legendary or historical lore. The *Rāmāyaṇa*[2] gives the hint that the term Purāṇa meant a prophecy made in ancient times. This means that though the Purāṇas were reduced to writing about the fifth century B.C. much of the material they treat of goes back to the remote antiquity. In fact the Vedic legends are reproduced in a different form in these Purāṇas. There is a significant verse in the *Vāyu Purāṇa* and repeated by the *Matsya Purāṇa* which says that the Purāṇa was first remembered by Brahmā and then came out the Vedas from the mouth of the Creator :

प्रथमं सर्वशास्त्राणां पुराणं ब्रह्मणा स्मृतम् ।
अनन्तरं च वक्त्रेभ्यो वेदास्तस्य विनिस्सृताः ॥

Tradition is unanimous that the Vedas are the oldest literature and according to the orthodox point of view they are the revealed texts. Either the Purāṇa puts forth an undue claim or the statement has some truth in it. The Pandit will explain these apparent paradoxes as *kalpāntaraviṣaya*. This means every *kalpa* there is new creation or recreation, and when it occurs, some of the oldest traditions get preserved in the next kalpa, and hence the Vedas in some places seem to speak of past events. And whatever tradition was narrated it was deemed Purāṇa.

The theory that holds the field is that originally there was a single Purāṇa and as traditions grew more and more, these came to be recorded in more than one book, so much so that the literature grew unwieldy. It was Vyāsa–literally compiler–who

---

1 From: Poona Orientlist, (Poona) 2, (1937–38) 77 – 83.

2 पुराणे सुमहत्कार्यं भविष्यति मया श्रुतम् ।
दृष्टं मे तपसा चैव श्रुत्वा च विदितं मम ॥ IV, 62.3

analysed this mass of literature and composed the eighteen Purāṇas. To distinguish them from the Upapurāṇas of the later time these came to be called Mahāpurāṇas or the 'Major Purāṇa'. Rooted then in Vedic literature the Purāṇa has attained the status of being ranked the fifth Veda.

The attitude of western scholarship towards these documents deserves to be examined. Western scholars speak of Kṣatriya literature as different from the Brahmanical literature. While the Vedic literature is said to be entirely Brahmanical, the Epics and Purāṇas are said to be Kṣatriya literature. This is based, among others, on two grounds. One is that the heroes and heroines of the legends and stories are all Kṣatriyas and therefore largely dealing with the Kṣatriya as such, these are to be reckoned as Kṣatriya literature. Or the Purāṇas were narrated by the Sūta who is looked upon, on inconclusive evidence, to be of Kṣatriya origin.

Let us examine these points. As regards the first point, excepting the Vaṁśānucarita portions which form one-fifth of the book and that only of seven Purāṇas, the rest are descriptions of Manus, Prajāpatis and sages. If the Purāṇas refer to the Kṣatriyas, the Vedas equally make a reference to them. On this account can we call the Vedas Kṣatriya literature? Very important and more relevant to the point at discussion is the fact that Yayāti, Purūravas, Māndhātā, Śibi, who are all Kṣatriyas of the first rank are said to be authors of hymns of the Ṛgveda. The Purāṇas themselves are called the fifth Veda and are didactic in character.

With regard to the second point the position of the Sūta has been much misunderstood. The term Sūta means a great sage and *ayonija*, a charioteer, a citizen of the Sūta or Anūpa country. There was the Sūta of the mixed caste. But the Sūta who is narrating the Purāṇas belonged, we have to assume, to the line of the mythical hero who sprang out of the sacrificial fire of the first king of the earth, Pṛthu. He was a venerable sage and an *ayonija*. He was the first chronicler, and his chronicle was that of Pṛthu. It became the duty of the Sūtas to narrate chronicles of kings and sages in the sacrificial halls of Brahmans and sages. In those days when the system of Varṇāśrama-Dharma was looked upon as a sacred institution, can we possibly conceive that a member of the Sūta caste gained admission first into the sacrificial hall, the *sanctum sanctorum* and then was elevated to the rank of addressing sages and seers? He is universally addressed as Médhāvī and Mahābhāga. In fact among earlier writers it is Kauṭalya who makes a clear distinction between Sūta-paurāṇika and the Sūta of the mixed caste. Thus we have to conclude that there is no force in the statement of a Kṣatriya literature as separate from Brahmanical.[1]

This digression apart, the extant Purāṇas can be roughly divided into three divisions: Mahāpurāṇas or major Purāṇas, the Upapurāṇas which are minor Purāṇas and Sthalapurāṇas or local Purāṇas. We are all quite familiar with the

---

1 See for details Dikshitar : 'The Purāṇas—a Study' IHQ. Vol. VIII, pp. 757-60.

term Purāṇam Pañcalakṣaṇam.[1] These are the five characteristics of Purāṇa: *sarga* or creation, *pratisarga* or periodical destruction of the world and its renewal, *vaṁśa* or genealogy of gods and sages, *manvantara* or genealogies of Manus, *vaṁśānucarita* or the history of the kings belonging to the solar dynasty and lunar dynasty. It must be remembered that all the Purāṇas do not conform to this rule. In fact there is conflicting tradition as to the characteristics of a Purāṇa. In the *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa* we are told that the Pañcalakṣaṇas are applicable only to the Upapurāṇas, and not to the major Purāṇas. To the latter the *Brahmavaivarta* assigns ten characteristics or *daśa-lakṣaṇa*. It is interesting that the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*[2] makes mention of the *daśa-lakṣaṇa* in two places. One must aver that these rules are not strictly followed in these Purāṇas. The explanation is simple. The Purāṇas which now exist are not the old versions of Purāṇas. Much of the older version has been lost and to the preserved portions additions have been made from time to time. Hence the discrepancy. The major Purāṇas generally deal with cosmological and cosmogonical lore, besides genealogies of Manus, sages and kings. Viewed in this light the Pañcalakṣaṇas are more applicable to Mahā-Purāṇas. The Upapurāṇas have been tacked on to the Mahāpurāṇas. The very prefix *Upa* shows beyond doubt that it was a later addition. With regard to Sthalapurāṇas these are valuable in the study of place-names. They record local tradition tracing a township or city from its original foundation. It may be covered with some mythological veil here and there. And once it is lifted we find valuable information with regard to the origin and growth of some cities and towns.

In what way does the Purāṇa help us to reconstruct the history of ancient India? The Purāṇas are altogether an encyclopedia of information and therefore very useful in writing a history of Indian culture and civilisation. By culture and civilisation we mean a history of Indian polity, of Indian society, a history of religion and philosophy, legal history, a history of arts and crafts, architecture and iconography.

With regard of Indian political and administrative institutions there are valuable chapters in several Purāṇas,[3] and special reference may be made to the many chapters furnished in the *Matsya Purāṇa*. The elective and hereditary character of monarchy, king's rights and duties, the qualification of councillors and ministers, systems of taxation and administration of justice, are all described with a wealth of detail. Some Purāṇas like the *Agni Purāṇa* furnish details as to fortifications, rules of warfare, methods and weapons of war, diplomacy, etc., Thus a student of political institutions in ancient India will find ample material in these books.

In the same way a student of sociology will come across interesting details with regard to movements of peoples, their manners, and customs and their culture. The Purāṇas in general furnish very useful material as to the castes and tribes of

---

1 सर्गश्च प्रतिसर्गश्च वंशो मन्वंतराणि च।
वंशानुचरितं चेति लक्षणानां तु पञ्चकम्॥

2 II. 10. 1 ; XII. 7. 8 fi.

3 See Dikshitar: *The Polity of the Purāṇas, Ind. Review, Madras.* Vol. XXXVI (1935) No. 6.

ancient India, indigenous and foreign, and give us glimpses into their history. The origin and growth of the tribes, their locale and their relations to chief powers in the country are narrated. For example, the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* speaks of the Kirātas on eastern boundary of the Jambūdvīpa and the Yavanas on the western boundary. In this connection very valuable work has been done by Dr. B.C. Law of Calcutta. We have details with regard to castes, their origins and their duties. One can gather enough materials as to the conventions of the society, how they were observed to the very letter and spirit and how their non-observance led to the degradation of persons. In a word, here we see how the society treated a man who followed the Śāstraic precepts and a man who deviated from what we may call the path of rectitude. We again meet with an account of the life actually led by the people, and how people were divided into a number of communities, how this division was ultimately made to rest on occupation and profession, and how this hereditary character enabled the ancient Indian to promote family spirit in all walks of life.

From the point of view of history of Indian religion and philosophy, the Purāṇas are infallible sources of information. In them we find the Sāṅkhya predominating. The Purāṇic concept of the Sāṅkhya will itself form the subject of a monograph if properly investigated. The sum and substance of these documents is to give up attachment, to cultivate detachment and aim at the identification with the Supreme Spirit to get riddance of all of the trammels of *saṁsāra*. How this could be effected by the observance of Karma, Yoga and Bhakti is very elaborately treated. To cite one or two instances: The Pāśupata Yoga in the *Vāyu Purāṇa* is a form of prāṇāyāma no less and no more. The *Vāyu-Purāṇa* again attaches importance to Yoga and Yogins. It recommends feeding of yogis and ascetics for śrāddha purposes, a practice that has fallen into disuse down the ages.[1]

Again a student of Hindu law and legal institutions will find ample scope to write a legal history on the evidence of the Purāṇas. In fact many chapters in Purāṇas seem to be a reproduction of the old Dharma Sūtras and Dharma Śāstras. The regulations with regard to varṇas, āśramas, administration of justice, do not conflict with the law laid down by the law-givers. We have also details with regard to *Saṁskāras*, rituals including sacrifices, marriage and death. The Purāṇa may well be styled a Dharmaśāstra.

There is again valuable information with regard to arts and crafts. There are chapters devoted to music, for example, in the *Vāyu Purāṇa* and *Brahmāṇḍa* which defy even discerning students of Hindu music. Reference to painting and dancing and other arts are not uncommon. There is material for study of the crafts extant in ancient India. References to guilds and corporations are frequently met with.

In this connection we may refer to chapters where architecture and iconography figure largely. The origin of house-building is furnished by the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*

---

1 See Dikshitar: *'Some Aspects of the Vāyu Purāṇa'*, (Madras University, 1933.) pp. 20–28 .

and is supplemented by the *Matsya.*[1] Temples and halls of stone and brick loom large in these Purāṇas so much so that the theory of Fergusson that India had only wooden building before Aśoka goes to the wall. Temples mean images, and image worship. The making of these images, housing them, installing them at auspicious seasons cover portions of the Matsya Purāṇa, and will be valued by a student of iconography. A critical study shows what deities were worshipped in Ancient India, which of them have been given up, and which continue to be worshipped to the present day. These and other things are all found scattered in the pages of the Purāṇas and it is given to a student of Ancient India to critically study them and utilise them for a history of Ancient India.

A word may be said about the chronological system furnished by the Purāṇa. The section on the Manvantara furnishes a system of chronology which at first sight would seem to be arbitrary. The conception is that Time is a phase of the Supreme Spirit. With Brahmā waking or sleeping the Universe wakes or sleeps.[2] Fourteen Manus are mentioned and the first is Svāyambhuva Manu. We are now in the epoch of Manu Vaivasvata, the son of the Sun. He was the originator of the Solar dynasty of kings while his daughter Ilā was the originator of the lunar line of kings. The names of these kings in succession together with duration of their reign are furnished in the Vaṁśānucarita portion of the Purāṇas. The reigning line is brought in some cases to the Andhras and in some to the Guptas.

In the Purāṇas the concept of Yuga is fundamental,[3] yuga meaning a cycle. There is first a Yuga of five years, next a *kalpa* of 1000 yugas.[4] There is then a Manukāla of seventy-one caturyugas. Caturyuga is divided into four unequal portions: Kṛta, Tretā, Dvāpara and Kali in the proportion of 4 : 3 : 2 : 1. There is also mention of a historical Yuga, thirty of which go to complete *a kalpa.* The duration of the historical yuga is 2000 months. Another era used in the Purāṇas is the Nakṣatra yuga or stellar era. A particular star is reckoned a century. The starting point is taken from the star Jyeṣṭhā, literally the eldest. One hundred kings passed away in one complete stellar era of twenty-seven stars. This means twenty-seven centuries. This gives on an average twenty-seven years for a generation. Referring to the coronation of Nanda two intervals are given. The interval between the death of Parīkṣit (year of Mahābhārata war) and coronation of Nanda is 1015 according to one version and 1050 according to another. The interval between the coronation of Nanda and end of Andhra dynasty is 836 years. The Kali-abda is the oldest current era. The year 5038 corresponds to A.D. 1937. Subtracting the stellar cycle of twenty-seven centuries for hundred kings 2338 is got. Subtracting again 1937 from 2338 we get 401 B.C., which is the date of accession of Nanda. According to

---

1 See the chapter on Architecture in Dikshitar; *Matsya Purāṇa; A Study.* (Madras University).

2 *Cambridge History of India,* Vol. I. p. 303.

3 This subject is dealt at length by Dr. G. Bose in his Purāṇapraveśa in Bengali reviewed in the *Ind. Jourl. of Statistics.* According to Dr. Bose one Kalpa is 5000 years and a manukāla is 355 years.

4 राजंश्चतुर्दशैतानि त्रिकालानुगतानि ते।
प्रोक्तान्येभिर्मितः कल्पो युगसाहस्रपर्ययः ॥ Bhā. P. VIII. 13. 36.

V.A. Smith, Nanda was a powerful king in 415 B.C. If we proceed on this calculation the date of the Mahābhārata battle is to be fixed by adding 1015 to 401, i.e., B.C. 1415. According to the other version it is B.C. 1451. The explanation offered by Dr. Bose[1] may or may not be accepted by scholars. But it is certain that he offers a working principle to the system of chronology propounded by the Purāṇas.

1 Op. Cit. *Ind. Journl. of Statistics.*

Paternal 'Despotism' in Ancient India[1]

The ancient Indian Monarch was the people's king, ever since the institution of kingship came into being. We see in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* how he entered into a contract with his people during the coronation ceremony by taking a solemn oath ever to look to the welfare of his peoples, under penalty of losing his kingdom. This idea is illustrated in the epics, the Purāṇas, Nīti treatises and law books, as also in the inscriptions of Aśoka. Though I cannot cite all the references, still I shall draw attention to one or more places in these books to show the continuity of tradition in ancient India. In speaking of Rāma's character, the *Rāmāyaṇa* at the outset entitles Rāma with a number of attributes among which figure *sarvalokapriya*, and *sādhu*.[2] *Sarvalokapriya* shows that the whole world of which he was the prince was looked upon with love. The *loka* was the *putra* which showed *vātsalya* to the father who was the king. This is corroborated by the term *sādhu*, the very opposite of a tyrant. *Sādhu* conveys that even the ungrateful people he was prone to help, and thus make them feel their responsibilities to the state. Then it is said that Daśaratha desired to anoint Rāma as crown-prince seeing that he was devoted to his *prakṛtis* or people, and that such a thing was wished for by the people also.[3] This demonstrates beyond doubt that the king took cognizance of the common will and acted in consonance with it.

In the course of a learned disquisition of *Rājadharma*, the *Mahābhārata* has the following interesting prescription : One should endeavour to do *dharma* with a view to the moral and material welfare of his people.

तस्मात्प्रवर्धयेद्धर्मं प्रजानुग्रहकारणात् ।

This is interesting in the sense that the term *anugraha* is used, and the full implication of the term is that the king was ever devoted to the welfare of his people by thought, word, and deed. *Anugraha* is just the opposite of *nigraha* which connotes the right of punishment. Nowhere is it said that a king was there for *nigraha*, though it figures as one of his duties towards breakers of law. But everywhere prominence is given to his *anugraha*, and *anugraha* is such a subtle expression denoting a spontaneous act born of sympathy, love and affection. There is no artificiality about it. It is something natural, the outcome of good nature. Much more interesting is the fact that Kauṭalya uses the very expression of *anugraha* when he says:

"Tān pitṛniva anugṛṇhīyāt (Ar. Sās. BK. II. 1). As a father would ever ponder over the future welfare of his children, the king should do towards his peoples. That Kauṭalya means this and this only, can be seen from a statement made in the first book of the *Arthasāstra*. In fact it strikes an impartial reader as a paraphrase of the

---

1 From *Jl. of the Bihar and Orissa Res. Society*, Patna, 24 (1938) 1-6.

2 I. 1.15.

3 Ibid. 20.

term *anugraha* of a father. It runs as follows: 'In the happiness of his people lies his happiness: in their welfare lies his welfare: he has no interests of his own: his interests are all his people's interests."[1] Thus the *Arthaśāstra* envisages a popular form of government where the king identified his own interests with those of his people. He gave no occasion to offend them, and Kautalya who is a staunch exponent of people's cause says elsewhere that if the king would do anything to rouse the wrath of his citizens, it would only end in his own ruin. And yet we hear today of ancient Indian states despotically ruled and that by very firm hands.

Let us then proceed to examine what Aśoka has indicated in his inscriptions.[2] Aśoka says that all his peoples were his children, and as he would endeavour to promote the joy and welfare of his children he would do the same to his peoples. In another place Aśoka makes it sufficiently clear that he is ever at the service of his peoples. Solicitude for their welfare is exceedingly manifest when he says that irrespective of time and place, even when he bathes and dines, he is available to them.[3] What does this show? Surely we do not see any instance of irresponsibility of abuse of a privilege. On the other hand there is the certain indication of the king's anxiety to exercise his duty properly and to the full satisfaction of his peoples. That no distinction was made between man and man is seen from the interesting statement *sarvatra ca janasa athe karomi*, meaning, – all his peoples, an all 'embracing humanity,' to use the expression of L. Rice. It would be rather strange to put down such a monarch who feels that he is at the most a superior servant of the State as an absolute ruler. It may be noted also that the same terms *hitam* and *sukham* which Kauṭalya uses in connection with the *yogakṣema* of a king's subjects, are used by Aśoka in his First Separate Rock Edict (Dhauli) which has been already quoted — this being one more evidence of Aśoka being a follower of the Kauṭalīyan school.

In the Purāṇas we have these views often repeated. That a father was only interested in the welfare of his child is put into the mouth of Pṛthu in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*,[4] We have to note particularly *bālahitam. Later* in the eleventh book of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* Kṛṣṇa narrates what constitutes *sanātanadharma* to Uddhava, and there it is said, that a king should, in times of distress to his

---

1 प्रजासुखे सुखं राज्ञः प्रजानां च हिते हितम्।
नान्यत्प्रियं हितं राज्ञः प्रजानां तु प्रियं हितम्। BK. I. 19.

2 Separate Kalinga Edicts :

"Save munise pajā mamā I ath(ā)pajāye ichhāmi h(a)ka(ṁ) kiṁti sa(ve)na hi ta, sukhena hidalo(kika) pālalokike(na) y(ūjv)ū ti [tatha.....muni] sesu pi icchāmi ha(ka)(ṁ)" *Corpus*, p.93.

3 VI. R. E.

"S(a)ve kāle bhuṁja mānasa me orodhanamhi gabhāgāramhi vachamhi va vinitamhi cha uyāneṣu chasavatra paṭivedakāṣṭtitā athe me (ja)nasa paṭivedetha iti I sarvatra cha janasa athe karomi ॥. *Corpus*, p. 11.

Cf. my *Mauryan* Polity, p. 100.

4 IV. 20.31,
यथा चरेद्बालहितं पिता स्वयं
तथा त्वमेवार्हसि नः समीहितुम्॥

people, take courage with both hands and relieve them as also himself from sufferings just as a king-elephant rescues other elephants and himself.[1]

In the same way the *Matsya Purāṇa* enjoins on the king to protect the kingdom with much care and attention from within and without the empire. In this respect the king should behave like a mother and like a father.[2] Ruling thus the king evokes the love and admiration of his people *(lokānurāga)*. This is said to lead to peace and plenty of the state.[3] In an earlier chapter again the *Matsya Purāṇa* urges on the part of the king to do such things as would evoke *anurāga*. This would bring the people in close touch with him and they would be faithful and loyal.[4] On this account the Purāṇa rules that the king should act even like a father towards his *bandhu* which must mean here his children or very near relations.[5]

Kālidāsa the immortal poet is very clear when he refers in his *Raghuvaṁśā* to Dilipa[6] as the father of all his people. These were treated by him as his sons and daughters in three ways, *(i)* by enforcing discipline and character, *(ii)* by protecting them from all kinds of danger and *(iii)* by attending to all their comforts. A king who did these to his people could not be termed an autocrat. The same idea is expressed by the same poet in a later canto of the *Raghuvaṁśā* in his sketch of Rāma, son of Daśaratha.[7] We can compare in this connection the words of Duṣyanta in the *Śakuntalā* of Kālidāsa.[8]

This conception of the king's duty is further supported by the evidence of Śangam literature of the Tamils. For do we not read in the Tamil classic *Śilappadikāram* thus: "Due regard for the welfare of subjects and the fear of tyrannical rule always cause anxiety to the protecting king born of a noble lineage. The position of the king is not one to be longed for."[9]

---

1 ch. 17.45.
सर्वाः समुद्धरेद्राजा पितेव व्यसनात्प्रजाः ।
आत्मानमात्मना धीरो यथा गजपतिर्गजान् ॥

2 Ch. 220. 44.
महता तु प्रयत्नेन स्वराष्ट्रस्य च रक्षिता ।
नित्यं स्वेयः परेयश्च यथा माता यथा पिता ॥

3 Ibid. 47.

4 215.98 and 99.
जनानुरागप्रभवा हि लक्ष्मी राज्ञां यतो भास्क रवंशचन्द्र ।
तस्मात्प्रयत्नेन नरेन्द्रमुख्यैः कार्योऽनुरागो भुवि मानवेषु ॥

5 Ibid, 57.

6 प्रजानां विनयाधानाद्रक्षणाद्भरणादपि ।
स पिता पितरस्तासां केवलं जन्महेतवः ॥ I. 24.

7 XIV. 23.
तेनास लोकः पितृमान्विनेत्रा तेनैव शोकापनुदेन पुत्री ।

8 Act. VI. st. 23.
येन येन वियुज्यन्ते प्रजाः स्निग्धेन बन्धुना ।
स स पापादृते तासां दुष्यन्त इति घुष्यताम् ॥

9 Canto XXV. 11. 102-4.

The Satiyaputras, Śātakarṇis, Sātvatas and Nāsatyas[1]

In a note under the caption 'Who were the Satiyaputras?' in the *Indian Culture*, Calcutta,[2] I have tried to identify them with the Tamil tribe Kośar who figure in ancient classical Tamil literature. I have not examined therein the validity of identifications attempted by Professor Jean Przyluski, and I propose to take up the question in this paper.[3]

Dr. Barnett threw out a suggestion that the Satiyaputras of Aśoka's inscriptions may be compared with the Śātakarṇis, the Setæ being described by Pliny immediately after the Andhras.[4] This observation has evoked support recently from Professor J. Przyluski. In his article in the original French under the caption *'Hippokoura et Satakarni'*[5] an attempt is made to show that the Satiyaputras are probably Śātakarṇis. In this connection the term Hippokoura of Ptolemy[6] is rendered 'town of the horse', Gk. hippos = horse, and Indian Kūra = town. Then the expression Satiyaputra and its hypothetical equivalent Śātakarṇi are examined, and the equation putra = karṇi is made, meaning 'son', Karṇi being taken to be derived from the Muṇḍa Kōn, and the whole thing is rendered as 'Son of Sata'. We are further told that *han*, and *hapan*, of the Muṇḍa languages mean 'son' and the Andhra word *Satapahana* was perhaps Sanskritized into Śātavāhana. The forms Sadām, Sādam, Sādām in the Muṇḍa languages mean horse, and hence the terms Śātavāhana, Śātakarṇa, Satiyaputra, all mean 'son of a horse'. It is then contended that the Andhras worshipped the God under the form of the horse or having celebrated the *aśvamedha* sacrifices, the princes born of the magic union between the premier queen and sacrificial horse came to be called 'Son of the Horse'. Next the names Viḷivāyakura and Śivalakura occurring in some of the Andhra coins are explained so that both Viḷivāya and Śivala should be understood as designating their capital towns, and the kings who inscribed these names of theirs on their coins should have adopted them as their own names. Though the authority of the Greek writers is cited in support of this usage, it cannot be shown to receive confirmation from Indian sources. In ancient India the towns were founded after the name of the king, and no such practice existed as that of the king taking the name of the capital for his title.

---

1 From Indian Cultuure, Calcutta, 2 (1935–36) 549 ff.

2 Vol. I, Pt. III, pp. 493–496.

3 I am thankful to Professor K. Sundararama Aiyar, M.A., who looked into this paper in MS. and offered valuable suggestions.

4 C.H.I., I, p. 599.

5 J.R.A.S., 1929, pp. 273–79 translated by Mr. L.V. Ramaswami Aiyar in the *Jour. of And. His. R.S.*, Vol. IV, pp. 49–53.

6 VII. I. 83.

Assuming that this was an ancient Indian usage, Professor Przyluski has put forth his theory that the Śaiva king Māḍharīputra, gave the name of Śivalakura to his capital and also took for himself a name similarly derived, i.e., from the name of the God Śiva. This cannot be accepted for a moment. The theory is doubly inconclusive. First, according to South Indian practice as revealed by the Pallava and Coḷa inscriptions, it was the king who gave the God his own name, the god enshrined in the temple which he built. To cite a similar case, the deity enshrined in the Tanjore temple is named after its patron-founder, Rājarāja, the Coḷa king. Secondly, it is stretching the imagination too far to understand Śivala to denote the God Śiva. Having thus disposed of the name Śivalakura Prof. Przyluski assumes Hippokoura, Baleokoura and Viḷivāyakoura are three names of the same capital. It is said that phonetically the equation *baḍava vaḷava = beleo* is possible, and *vaḍava* means horse, while *viḷi* may be made to correspond to *bele.* This is indeed ingenious, but unfortunately does not stand criticism.

First, if Hippokoura and Baleokoura are names of the same capital, there is no reason why Ptolemy should mention both. It is argued that while the first was the Greek name, the second was the popular commercial name.

Secondly, we are not able to judge why the Indian word *kura* has been added to the so-called Greek Hippo. To make the suffix belong to one language and the prefix to another is not always happy, and is itself liable to lead us into error.

Thirdly, what perplexes one is that the Professor himself quotes the Tables of Ptolemy which state that Hippokoura is the capital of king Baleokouros. If Baleokoura is the king's name, it cannot be the name of the capital. Ptolemy says that the name of the capital was Hippokoura. It is thus established that Baleokoura cannot be the name of the capital.

Fourthly, as we find the names of kings together with the names of their parents, in the colophons in the treatises forming the Tamil Classic *Paḍiṟṟupattu*, so also the early Śātavāhana kings seem to have their coins struck with their names preceded by the names of their parents. We have, therefore, to interpret Śivalakura, which, as we shall show in the sequel, corresponds to Sanskrit Śivakumāra. He was the son of Māḍharī, as were Viḷivāyakura, the son of Gautamī, Śri Pulumavi, the son of Vāsiṣṭhī, and Śivaśriśatakarṇi, the son again of Vāsiṣṭhī. This must be the case wherever two names are given in the Andhra coins. Otherwise we cannot explain other similar names occurring in this same context such as Vāsiṣṭhī Śri Pulumāvi, Vāsiṣṭhī Śivaśriśātakarṇi.

Fifthly, the term *Koura* is a variant of Kumāra. It cannot be contended that the term *kura* is an Indian word meaning town. To our knowledge there is no such Indian word meaning a town. On the other hand *Koura* may be the Kanarese term *Kora* or the Malayalam *Kōran*, both being variants of the Sanskrit Kumāra. Hence Baleokoura of Ptolemy has been elsewhere identified with Balakumāra mentioned in the Tamil classic *Śilappadikāram.* In the same way Śivala Koura is Śiva Kumāra and Viḷivāya Kours is Viḷivāya Kumāra, the suffix Kumāra not being used in the sense of a son but forming a part of the full name. In literature we meet frequently

with names like Udayakumāra, Nāgakumāra, not in the sense of the son of Udaya, or son of Nāga, but as wholes forming the proper names of individuals. Similarly Śivalakoura and other names ending in *Koura*, which are the names of monarchs themselves, cannot be also their titles as hitherto maintained, or the name of the capital city, as is now contended.

This is not all. There is no corroborative evidence of the Horse having been worshipped by the Andhras. The argument of the Aśvamedha sacrifice has no force, as every kṣatriya king from the pre-historic times down to the first few centuries of the Christian era has performed such a sacrifice, and that, by kings in every part of India, not to speak of other ancient countries. If this theory is universally applied, all the princes of ancient India must be termed 'Sons of the Horse', and there is no purpose in singling out the Śātakarṇis for the sake of an argument.

Proceeding to examine the term Hippokoura, it seems to stand for the name of a prince, and not of a capital as Ptolemy's evidence would at first sight seem to imply. We see no reason also why this explanation should be pressed. For, it cannot be assumed that every statement of Ptolemy should be correct. To quote Mc-Crindle, the translator of the Ptolemy original : 'The work lost of course much of its old authority as soon as the discoveries of the modern times had brought its grave and manifold errors to light'.[1] Even if the argument is assumed to have any force, it will be safer to conclude that the town adopted the name of the prince who was a predecessor of Balakumāra, or rather it was founded by the prince himself in his name. *Hippo* need not therefore necessarily be a Greek word, but a variant or a corruption of some Indian expression.[2] Hence we can regard Hippokumāra as the name of a predecessor of king Balakumāra.

Let us now examine the terms Śata or Śāta which are sought to be identified with the Muṇḍa words Sadam or Sādam meaning a horse. We regard this too as unacceptable. The term Śātakarṇi has been interpreted by a Tamil writer who flourished roughly 1,800 years ago, as *nūrruvakaṇṇar*, a term occurring in the *Śilappadikāram*. *Śata* meant to its author, Iḷaṅgo-Aḍigaḷ, one hundred, and not horse. Surely this interpretation must be accepted as he lived very near the Andhra country when the Śatakarṇis flourished as an imperial power. In the light of this important testimony the meaning of Śata as horse falls to the ground.

The next question is who are these Śātakarṇis? Different interpretations have been attempted but nothing conclusive has yet been reached. The whole difficulty is due to the corrupt texts of the Purāṇas which furnish us a list of the Andhra kings. Before we attempt an answer, one thing is clear, viz. the term Śātakarṇis does not stand for a tribe but denotes a geneaological group forming the members of a royal line among the Andhras. Which of such a line is the enquiry we now enter upon.

The Śātakarṇis are the lineal descendants of a certain Śatakarṇa. And who is this great Śatakarṇa? The answer is furnished by the Matsya Purāṇa and the Vāyu

---

1 Preface, ed. 1885.

2 There is a Tamil word *Hippar* meaning a trader or a merchant.

Purāṇa. Śri Śatakarṇi or Śatakarṇi according to the Vāyu texts is the son and successor of Kṛṣṇa, the brother of king Sindhuka. According to the Matsya texts Śatakarṇi becomes the great-grandson of the king Kṛṣṇa. Both the Purāṇas agree that Sindhuka (wrongly spelt Śiśuka in the Matsya) is a member of the Andhra tribe by the significant phrase *Andhrajātīya.*[1] This establishes beyond all doubt that the Śātakarṇis are also Andhrajātīyas. Taking up this single expression Śatakarṇi we find it misspelt as Śantikarṇi, Śāntikarṇa, Śvatikarṇa, Śantikarṇika, Śatakarṇi, Satakarṇa, etc., in the Purāṇas. The correct expression should be Śatakarṇa when it first occurs as the son or great-grandson of Kṛṣṇa; but when it occurs subsequently along with other names among his descendants the expression should be Śātakarṇi. This also satisfies the grammatical demand. There was a king by name Śatakarṇa, possibly a contemporary of Kharavela of Kalinga, and some of his successors styled themselves Śātakarṇis after the name of their celebrated ancestor. This will become clear if we take the ancient Ikṣvāku line reigning from Ayodhyā. Many kings of this line called themselves Aikṣvākus. Rāma speaks of the Kiṣkindha country as ruled by the Ikṣvākus. Also some of the successors of the Raghu, another celebrated king of the line, called themselves as Rāghavas. Some kings attached significance to a great ancestor Kakutstha, and after him they styled themselves Kākutsthas. Rāma was a Dāśarathi being a son of Daśaratha. In this way we have also to understand Śātakarṇi as derived from the proper name Śatakarṇa. A member of the line became prominent and it was Śatakarṇa, and some of his successors took pride in calling themselves descendants of Śatakarṇa, by using the title Śātakarṇi. We retain the term Śatakarṇa, and not Sata or Sāṇtakarṇa, because as already pointed out, an almost contemporary work has given a literal rendering as *Nūrruvakaṇṇar,*[2] and *nūru* is certainly śata in Sanskrit. If it be the name of a tribe, or a mere title to be appended to the name, then the Purāṇa ought to have added a name before the term when it first introduced that expression. For, when it names various successors, the Purāṇa adds the title Śātakarṇi. It cannot give such a title to the first whose name itself is Śatakarṇa.[3] Such names are not unfrequently met with in Indian literature. To quote an instance or two. We have Kumbhakarṇa, Lambakarṇa and Hastikarṇa. Such proper names were common then, and it is idle to seek explanations for them.[4] In the light of the foregoing evidence the identification of Śātakarṇis with Satiyaputras has no leg to stand on.

In a note to the *Indian Historical Quarterly*[5] Prof. J. Przyluski continues his study on the identification of Satiyaputras. Here he endeavours to identify them

---

1 Vā. Ch. 99. 348 ; Matsya, 273, 2.

2 See Śilappadikāram, XXVI, 1. 149.

3 In this connection it is interesting to note Śatakarṇika as the name of a town in the Buddhist text Mahāvagga, V, 13–12. This bears test to the fact that a city was founded after this renowned king. See S.B.E., XVII.

4 In discussing the name Kauṭalya I have expressed a similar opinion: See my *Mauryan Polity*, 1932, p. 311.

5 Vol. IX, pp. 88–91.

with Satvants, Sātvatas, and Nāsatyas. Here again as we shall soon see his conclusion is far from acceptable. The term Satvan referred to in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*[1] is taken by Sāyaṇa to mean 'a charioteer' and in the *Rig Veda*[2] 'an enemy'. No doubt in Book VIII. 28 of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* a king Satvan by name is mentioned, but what was his relationship to the Satvants or Sātvatas of the Epics, we are not in a position to discover from the available records. It is significant that the Bhāgavata Purāṇa refers to Kṛṣṇa of Dvāraka as Sātvataṛṣabha.[3] This means undoubtedly that Kṛṣṇa was the best of the kings of Satvanta or Sātvata line. A critical study of the passages in the Epics and the Purāṇas shows that the royal dynasty of the Satvants or Sātvatas was flourishing in Dvāraka. It is a far cry to identify them with a people of the extreme south. Again the Bhāgavata Purāṇa mentions the Sātvatas as a distinct branch and different from other branches, Andhakas and Vṛṣṇis—all belonging to the common Yādava group.[4] It cannot, therefore, be maintained that Sātvata was another name of the Vṛṣṇi race or more correctly the Vṛṣṇi branch of the Yādava group.

The main contention of the learned Professor is that the terms Satvant, Sātvata, Satiyaputra are components of a word formed by a non-aryan radical *sat* and the Aryan suffix *vant*, cannot stand in the light of more sober evidence. As has been already pointed out in the case of Hippokoura, either the whole name must be treated as non-aryan or as Aryan. Nothing is served by splitting a name in the manner attempted, simply for the sake of an argument. Sat, satya and śata are unambiguously Sanskirt words, meaning the good, the truthful, and a hundred respectively. Granting for the sake of argument that *sata* is the non-aryan radical equivalent to Muṇḍa *sadam*, how *sat* and *satya* could be equivalent to *sadam* is beyond one's comprehension. If it were contended that such forms may be allowed as radical variants to the Muṇḍa *sadam*, then our answer is that it is a flimsy foundation to build any stable superstructure upon. For, other circumstances which we must need take into account in considering this question militate against such a view. Let us take, for example, the geographical data. The Satiyaputras were a people living in a place adjoining to the ancient Kerala. The Śātakarṇis were kings of the Andhra country lying more towards the east coast. The home of the Sātvatas was in the North-West corner of the Peninsula, very near modern Bombay. And the Nāsatyas must have been originally residents of the plains of the Punjab. Thus the geographical location of these different peoples and dynasties is primarily, and perhaps definitely, against the identification of these absolutely different royal lines and tribes. In one case it is a tribe, in the other it is a royal line, and in the third it is a branch of the larger Yādava group. Thus the distinction among them is strikingly clear.

---

1 II. 25.

2 I. 62.2.

3 X. 58-42 : XI. 27. 5.

4 I. 14. 25 ; IV. 1.20.

Let me now proceed to examine the interpretation offered to the Vedic term Nāsatya, by which name also the Aśvins were known. The remark that 'Nāsatya' has no satisfactory etymology in Indo-Aryan has no foundation. According to the Professor 'To analyse it into Na and asatya, na (netaru) and satya or nāsā+tya is impossible or fanciful'. Barring the first analysis, the other two offered are really fanciful. Still more fanciful it is to make the words Patana and Varuṇa non-aryan by getting the suffix *na* isolated. It may be noted here that in the case of Varuṇa it is not *na* but *ṇa*. The learned Professor applies it in the case of nāsatya. What is isolated is, it must be noted, the affix *na* and not the suffix *na* as in *Patana*. The contention that the word should have been originally Nasatya and extended into Nāsatya later on, is to unnecessarily tamper with a correct Vedic text. The correct term is *nā* and *nā* only. Even the Avestan equivalent Naonhaidya furnished by the Professor is Nāsatya and not Nasatya. The following etymology of the Nāsatya is satisfactory enough, and shows that it cannot be non-aryan term, as it is made out to be. Commenting on the term Nāsatya occurring in the sūtra of Pāṇini.[1]

नभ्राण्नपान्नवेदानासत्यानमुचिनकुलनखनपुंसकनत्क्षत्रनक्रनाकेषु प्रकृत्या ।

Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita in the *Siddhānta Kaumudi* analyses it thus :

न सत्या असत्याः । न असत्याः नासत्याः । (Bombay, Nirnayasagar edition).

We fail to see any impossibility or fancifulness in this analysis. Had the learned Indologist been aware of the existence of support of an authority so high as that of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita, he would not have suggested such impossible etymological analysis as mentioned above.

We shall take these in order for criticism. With the first analysis we agree. The next question is, can Nāsatya be analysed *na (netaa) + satya?* We hold, not. For, the resulting compound word, would, according to the rule of grammar, be *nṛsatya*, meaning the truthful among men, and not Nāsatya. The third suggestion nāsā + tya is not only fancilful but an impossible formation according to Sanskrit etymology. In Vedic literature the Nāsatyas are the reputed divine physicians and cannot, by any amount of grammatical jugglery, be interpreted to mean a horse.

Some Aspects of the Kuṟal Polity

What the Bhagavad Gītā is to the Hindus in general, what the Dhammapada is to the Buddhists, so is the Tirukkuṟaḷ of Tiruvaḷḷuvar to the Tamils of South India. The Tirukkuṟaḷ or simply Kuṟaḷ is probably a composition of the first century B.C. which has been quoted as an authority by the author of the celebrated Tamil epic Śilappadikāram of the second century A.D. It is a great work dealing with moral and ethical principles and with the ideals by which Tamilagam stood through the ages. 'It is a book of aphorisms', says Dr. S.K. Aiyangar, 'which lays down how exactly one should conduct himself to lead the good life' (Hindu Administrative Institutions in S. India, p.32). The Kuṟaḷ has been known to the Tamils by the more significant expression *muppāl*, as it deals with the three aspects of life, namely, *aṟam*, *poruḷ* and *inbam*. A comparative student is at once reminded of that much valued concept of the Sanskrit epics and works on polity, wellknown as the *Trivarga*. The term *Trivarga* stands exactly for *dharma*, *artha* and *kāma*. It is evident that *muppāl* is synonymous with *Trivarga*, and the terms *aram*, *poruḷ* and *iṉbam* are the literal translations, if we may say so, of the terms *dharma*, *artha* and *kāma*, respectively. In this masterly work, Tiruvaḷḷuvar enters into a critique, as it were, of the relation of *trivarga* or *muppāl* to the science of *daṇḍa* which is, in its broad sense, protection of life and property of the citizens of a state.

The book is divided into three sections and the whole covers 133 chapters. Analysing these chapters, we find that the first 38 chapters deal with *aṟam* or *dharma*, chapters 39 to 108 with *poruḷ* or *artha*, and the rest with *inbam* or *kāma*. Thus one sees that the largest portion of the book is devoted to a critical examination of the polity of the Tamils, containing as it does, seventy chapters. In the first section of the book the author is out to instruct the people in the path of virtue and truth. For it is the firm belief of Tiruvaḷḷvar that there is nothing higher than righteousness in this world and for the progress of the world every citizen should practise righteousness and cultivate feelings of brotherhood in every-day life. If we follow the spirit of the teachings of Vaḷḷuvar, we are led to believe that the practice of righteousness is entirely or to a large extent dependent on proper performance of the king's duties. The conception was that but for a well ordered state in charge of a righteous ruler, there would be no society and no state. Therefore the author devotes more chapters on the duties and responsibilities of the king and his officials, and points out how they should discharge their functions so that the country at large may be flourishing, prosperous and peaceful. This is a necessary condition for the welfare of the people. So the Kuṟaḷ is a logical presentation of the great values of life, and the ways and means by which to realise them. Thus the Kuṟaḷ is not a sectarian work but a cosmopolitan treatise written to suit not one age or a country but all ages and all countries. To a world rampant with materialism, the study of a work of this kind and the practice of the ideals

which it stands for are incalculably invaluable. One feels that the maxims of the Kuṛaḷ, based as they are on excellent moral and ethical principles, should be broadcast throughout the world. This is bound to ensure more solace to the distressed who unfortunately loom large in the world of today.

In Sanskritic literature we hear of four *Puruṣārthas* or four ends of life. The fourth Puruṣārtha is *moksha* or freedom from the bondage of *saṃsāra* or the cycle of care to stress that such life is possible, human nature of this school. But Tiruvaḷḷuvar has confined himself only to the three ends of life. For, it is well to understand that a person who pursues the three ends of life in the ordained path is automatically led to the fourth end which is salvation leading to heavenly bliss. So our author does not feel called upon to expatiate on the fourth Puruṣārtha. Emphasis is rightly laid on the fact that the state and the king who is at the helm of that state are largely responsible to enable one to attain these ends of life. The root of the polity is *dharma* or *aṛam*. A beautiful couplet says that *aṛam* or virtue is nothing more than a good family life *(aṛam enappaṭuvate ilvāḻkkai)*. A good family life is the basis of a good society. To ensure the bond of love between individual and society, what is needed is discipline which is best afforded by the state represented by the king and his officials. The result is a harmonious coordination of the different spiritual and moral standards tending to the material and moral progress of the world. So Vaḷḷuvar lays stress on the practice of *aṛam* by all the subjects of a state, duties to be observed by all classes of society. Among these, *dāna* (gifts) and *tava* (penance) figure prominently (Ch. II, 9). By this the author condemns selfishness and exalts selflessness.

More than the Sanskrit texts, it is the Kuṛaḷ that has cogently and logically worked out the exact relation between the polity and *Trivarga* or the three ends of life. The purpose of a state is the attainment of good life first, by securing wealth and utilising it generously and properly on things which would aid the people of that state in their onward journey, secondly, by enjoying pleasures of life with healthy restraints, and finally, by cultivating a detached view of life as age advances. The author of the Kuṛaḷ attaches high value to these ends of life, or more properly the conduct of life of every citizen and takes care to stress that such life is possible, human nature being what it is, only by the rigorous discipline enforced by a superior power. Hence the importance of a king in the polity of the Tamils.

The Kuṛaḷ does not go into the vexed theories of the origin of the State or society but simply envisages a well-established kingdom, with a righteous and powerful king being at the head. The form of government advocated is monarchy, and a constitutional monarchy based upon the entire will of the people who acquiesce in the selection of the monarch, though it was generally hereditary. The political philosophy of Tiruvaḷḷuvar was similar to that of Plato or Aristotle who emphasised the importance of the monarch in the progressive realisation of the ideals for which a state ordinarily stood.

With this background of the political philosophy enunciated by Tiruvaḷḷuvar we can proceed to examine the aspects of polity which he has so elaborately described.

In dealing with the institutions, he seems to follow the Kauṭalīyan school. The political and sociological data in the *Mānava-dharma-śāstra* are also now and then pressed into service. The king is at the top of the state. He is all powerful yet constitutional. He should not play the role of an autocrat. Tyrannizing over the subjects would lead to the ruin of the king's family. He should avoid vices of different kinds and be a man of good character. The vices which he should abhor are extreme indulgence with women dealt with in two chapters. The author takes care not to shut out legitimate happiness. Only excessive indulgence of an illegitimate character is condemned. The other vice or *vyasana*, as the Arhaśāstrā puts it, is that of drink. It has been conceded through the ages that drink is an evil that ought to be avoided at all costs. Otherwise it was felt that the king could not be sober-minded. Another vice prohibited is gambling. Though Hindu ideal has from Vedic times indulged in the game of dice, still it has been prohibited by law and custom. The idea was that such vices would cut into the legitimate functions of the king, or make the ruler lose his normal health which is so essential to a protector and guardian of the realm.

Having said what a king should not do, we shall examine what he was expected to do as a ruler. The Arthaśāstra polity speaks of a seven-limbed kingdom *(saptāṅgam rājyam)*. The Kuṛaḷ polity points to six limbs of the kingdom. These are the army, the people, the treasury, the ministry, the allies and the fortifications. While the Sanskritists would include the institution of monarchy as a limb of the state, the Kuṛaḷ polity has excluded him from the limbs of the state, and has thus apparently assigned to him a more important place. Notwithstanding this here is a correspondence between the Arthaśāstra polity and the Kurāl polity, for if we include the king, the Kuṛaḷ polity becomes a seven-limbed kingdom. It is not enough that a monarch possesses these institutions to aid him. They may be supplementary or complementary to the discharging of his responsibilities. What was required was a ruler of excellent character devoted to the duty of protection of his subjects. He must be wise, possess tremendous courage and energy and be liberal. He was to be learned and he must keep vigilant. He should avoid wasteful expenditure and enrich his treasury. Before taking up a decision, he should consult his advisors and try to follow them. Such a king was regarded as a god among men. God is impartial and just to all the people and protects the world from disaster. So also the king by his just rule shields his subjects from the unrighteous path (Kuṛaḷ 382—390)

After laying stress on the importance of perfect learning for a monarch, — for knowledge is wealth—in two chapters (40 and 41), the learned author of the Kuṛaḷ says that this learning should be enriched by the habit of listening to the wise *(kēḷvi)* in one full chapter (42). This adds to his wisdom which enables him to discriminate between right and wrong, good and evil, and gives him foresight to see things ahead (Ch. 43). In fact learning and wisdom are considered the foundation on which a monarch carries on the ship of state. Emphasis is placed on the fact that learning and righteousness would flourish in a kingdom where the king is

learned and righteous. Speaking on righteous rule, the Kuṛaḷ beautifully puts it that it is not the javelin but the sceptre that glorifies a king and his kingdom (546). He must be easy of access to his people and he must patiently listen to their grievances and bring succour to them. But if, on the other hand, he is swayed by evil propensities and uses his position for his own selfish ends, he is an improvident king and is said to prostitute justice. Under the rule of a cruel king, even the seasons alter, reminding us of the famous concept *Rājā kālasya kāraṇam* (559). It was the ancient belief, call it superstitious if you will, that the king was a god on earth, and the Tamils also entertained the same opinion. Though they hedged him with divinity, they fought tyrants and tyrannical rule. Says a Kuraḷveṇbā: «The days of a tyrant are numbered and he perishes'. The reign of terror was abhorred (Ch. 57) and it is said that that monarch who indulged in a terrorist rule would surely meet with ruin. So the Kuṛaḷ advises the monarch to do justice tempered with mercy and earn the goodwill of his subjects. Otherwise he invited destruction on himself.

Thus it is ordained that a king should be compassionate, sympathetic and noble. Unflagging energy should move the king in his acts and deeds. This is the *utthānam* of Sanskrit literature. On him fortune smiles, and of him despair takes leave. He should place high ideals before him and act up to them with grace and grandeur. Enthusiasm and not idleness should be the guiding spirit. Sloth is a canker that should not find a place in a king. It is the birth-place of poverty and disease to the different limbs of a kingdom. When once work is undertaken, effort should be made to carry it through to a successful termination. In the hour of distress one should not despair. He should take courage with both hands and tide over the crisis. What is wanted is the maintenance of what he calls a divine composure when assailed by misfortunes. If need be, he must fight even against fate. Ultimately his labour would be rewarded, and once more the sunshine of prosperity will illuminate his kingdom. (Ch. 62-3)

The king as envisaged by the Tirukkuṛaḷ is a law-abiding monarch. He took the advice of his ministers and consulted them on all affairs of the state. The ministers were to be learned, impartial and far-seeing. A minister is one who works out the details of an undertaking, studies the pros and cons of achieving it, waits for the opportunity and commences it when the right moment presents itself. A minister must be equally of indomitable will and of inexhaustible energy. It is he who should create dissension among enemies, cement the bond of friendship with fallen ones and cherish old allies. It is not enough that the minister is versed in the laws of the kingdom and knows the theory too well. But he must in addition be wise and put his knowledge to practical application to make the administration really sound. Even when a king would not listen to his advice, the minister should not abandon him. But he would continue to give his advice in season and out of season so that the king would be finally compelled to act up to his advice. The most indispensable qualification of a minister is said to be eloquence and command of language. He must be precise in his expression and endeavour to create a public opinion in his favour. He must be a bold and dauntless debater (Ch. 64-65).

A minister should be a man of character. He is a statesman and he should behave nobly. Purity in action is a virtue that must be cultivated by him. He should not stoop to conquer. He must not indulge in case and rest. He should not resort to foul means in achieving his objects. By clean fight he should remove obstacles. By walking in the path ordained he should advise the king to act up to the laws of the land. He should endeavour to command the respect of the world by following the policy of his predecessors and by firmness of action. Vacillation at a time of action will bring him down in the estimation of the people. Before he comes to a decision the minister is asked to deliberate calmly and deeply, and when once the decision is arrived at he should execute it without losing a single minute, for delay is dangerous. For instance, a minister can advise a declaration of war, only after taking into consideration the following resources–weapons of war, the opportune moment, the nature of action, and the place of battle. In every enterprise he should follow the method of deliberation and decision (Ch. 66—68). But at the same time it will spell disaster to a state if the minister proves dishonest and wicked and goes to the length of plotting the downfall or ruin of the king. A vile minister is said to be worse than a host of enemies (639).

We shall now examine the other limbs of the state. One of them is the nāḍu or kingdom. The Kuṛaḷ says (Ch. 74) that alone is a kingdom where a contented peasantry, wise men and wealthy people live. Add to this boundless natural resources which lead to the abundant supply of foodstuffs, notwithstanding a drain in time of pressing need. It should have plenty of water supply and natural fortresses which ensure defence. It is concluded: happy is the kingdom where prevailed peace and harmony between the ruler and the ruled. It should be free from the ravages of pestilence and famine. It must be a country where people live in amity and harmony, free from all civil and religious dissensions.

The importance of fortresses is emphasised in a special chapter (75). In those days a fortress was considered an invaluable defence. For there were frequent wars between the various chieftains. Especially the weaker powers regarded their fortifications as a sure refuge in case of an invasion by the enemy. Similarly the king who went out on an expedition should see that his subjects were safe during his absence. The fortress-city was provided with foodstuffs and kept beyond want, and at the same time well garrisoned.

The army was another limb of the state. The necessity of a disciplined army is insisted on (Ch. 77). The soldiers should be valorous and loyal. They should summon all their courage in the hour of peril and fight to the finish. The army should be contented and well paid. The success of an army is said to depend on the leader of the host. Though one should fight valorously, still one should be chivalrous to the fallen and to the defenceless. He was a hero who had the courage in battle to draw out the javelin from his wounded breast and send it back with more fury. The Tamil soldier wore an anklet which produced a ringing sound when engaged in the thick of action. He took a vow not to return from the field without

success, or to meet with a glorious death by fighting undaunted. Otherwise he brought ignominy.

The Kuṛaḷ in this connection mentions the institution of ambassador and spies. The qualifications of an ambassador are that he should be highly connected, learned and skilled in debate. He must be a statesman of high order, and a gentleman of winning personality. He was expected to deliver his message as briefly as possible and persuade the alien king to his way of thinking by the magic of his eloquence and wit. He was to answer to the point put before him calmly with an eye to the time, the place and the circumstances of the case for which he was sent on a mission. Even under a threat of torture, he should rise to the occasion and not utter any word that would leave a stain on his king and kingdom (Ch. 69).

Referring to the king's spies (Ch. 59) the author of the Kuṛaḷ follows almost entirely the Arthaśāstra texts. the spies are said to be one of two eyes of the monarch, the other eye being the established law of the land. There was a regular system of espionage and spies who went in different disguises throughout the kingdom and in other kingdoms were to report to the king day–to–day happenings. It was through them that the state got at the true state of affairs and the public opinion of the kingdom. Even the public departments were not free from these secret agents. This shows that the state was anxious to maintain the purity and efficiency of the government departments and government servants. Without being discovered, the spy, more often as an ascetic, wandered over the length and breadth of the land, gathered, correct information and communicated them to the king. The intelligence such as was gathered was precise and correct. To see that no mistake arose, the information was often tested by independent testimony. Spies were sent out without the knowledge of one another and these furnished the news independently. If the information received from these different sources concurred, then the king attached validity to it and acted upon it immediately. One of the regulations of the Kuṛaḷ was that such secret agents should not be honoured openly and this was to maintain strict secrecy. In such cases trust begets trust. So trustworthy servants were generally appointed as ambassadors and spies.

There is an elaborate disquisition on the nature of allies and character of alliances (Ch. 79-84). The value of a friend is something like an armour. Alliance should be with the worthy if it is to be fruitful. He who gives succour in the hour of peril and who shares the joy and the misfortune is a true ally. One should search for genuine friends and stand by them in weal or woe. For true alliance should be close and fast. It should not be base and false.

Tiruvaḷḷuvar realises that royal rule pales into insignificance if there is no organised treasury which has an unfailing stock of riches. The distinguished author proceeds at the outset to show that such treasury should be built up not by foul and unscrupulous means but it should be acquired by righteous methods without causing the slightest dissatisfaction to the people at large. Tiruvaḷḷuvar takes for granted the canons of taxation highly elaborated and discussed in the Sahskrit *nīti* texts. He says definitely that such fortune should result in *aṛam* or virtue and

inbam or happiness. The idea underlying this brief Kuṛaḷ-veṇbā is that in both his acts of acquisition and expenditure the king should use his discretion and that in a righteous way. That alone would ensure his happiness and the welfare of his subjects. In enumerating the sources of revenue to the State a categorical list is given. This includes the income from the estates of persons to whom there is no legitimate heir, the taxes from land and commerce, and the tributes from defected and subordinate princes. (Ch. 76 and especially 756). Emphasis is laid on the one use of wealth, viz., to put down with an iron hand the enemies of the kingdom.

We shall conclude this by examining the views of the Kuṛaḷ on what a kingdom should really be. It is said that it is a happy land where the intellectuals, the commercials and the peasantry live side by side, in concord and peace. The great political as well as the ethical concept underlying the Kuṛaḷ-veṇba (731) is that the kingdom should be free from communal wrangle and squabbles and should be full of community life based on the communalistic principles. In the opinion of the great Tamil sage mere political unity is not enough but there should be social unity also. Shall we not take a lesson in this century of conflicts and strifes, communal and otherwise, from a twenty centuries old writer and grow wiser and happier?

A Hindu University at Kāñcī

India has been reputed for her learning and philosophy from very early times. But what confronts an antiquarian at the outset is whether there were schools and colleges, like those we have today, and whether these educational institutions were affiliated to a University as we understand today. The impression created on the average reader of Indian literature is that, when a boy attained sufficient age to begin his educational career, he was often sent to a village schoolmaster who was a paṇḍita and, until the course was complete, he was to live under the control and guidance of the teacher. In some cases there was a Pāṭhaśāla or school, one in the midst of ten or twelve neighbouring villages with free boarding and lodging, something like the Rāja's College of Saṇskrit and Tamil Studies in Tiruvāḍi, Tanjore district today. Besides the *pial* school of the village and Pāṭhaśāla of a group of villages, there were also colleges which went by the name of Vidyāsthāna. We have the unimpeachable testimony of epigraphy to corroborate this statement. Professor Hultzsch gives an extract of a set of five copper-plates of Vijaya Nṛpatuṇgavarman which were discovered at Bāhūr near Pondicherry by M.J. dela Fon (See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV., pp. 180–181). The purpose of the charter was the gift of three villages, Cheṭṭupākkam, Viḷāṇgāṭṭankaḍuvaṇūr, and Iṟaippuṇaiccēri, to the Vidyāsthāna at Bāhurgrāma (Bāhur). The donation was made at the request of the ministers of Tuṅgavarman, or more precisely, Nṛpatuṅgavarman. There are some interesting details given about this institution. It was the organization of the learned men of the locality who were also responsible for its maintenance and control. It also received encouragement from the State. The grant is expressly said to have been made for the advancement of learning, and was consequently exempted, on the authority of a written document, from all taxes due to these villages. Another interesting detail that is furnished in this inscription is that the college at Bāhur consisted of fourteen gaṇas, identified with fourteen divisions of literature—four Vedas, six Aṇgas, Mīmāṁsa, Nyāya, Purāṇa and Dharmaśāstra, and fourteen divisions of Musical Science. It would thus appear that the fine arts were not neglected. The verse in question runs as follows:[1]

विद्यानदी तथागाथा चतुर्दशगणाकुला ।
बाहुग्रामजुषां स्थानं व्याप्य यस्मात् व्यवस्थिता ।। २५।।

Epigraphy again throws welcome light on the existence of a Hindu University at Kāñcī, the capital of the Pallavas from A.D. 200 to 900. We are familiar with the great University of Nalanda, its curriculum of studies, and the life led by the

---

1 (See for the full text of the Grant S. I. I., ii., pp. 514 ff. and for a translation of the Sanskrit portion in Prof. J. Dubreuil's Pallavas: pp. 48–51): See also Prof. V. Rangacharya's *Inst. of Madras Presidency*, Vol. III, p. 1694.

University students.[1] It is refreshing to know of the contribution made by South India to create a University atmosphere and to enrich the University life in general. The ancient city of Kāñci figures prominently in legend and history. We have elaborate description of the foundation, by celestials, of the Kāmākṣī shrine in the city in the Laḷitōpākhyāna portion of the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa.* In Tamil literature of Śaṅgam period and especially in the *Maṇimēkalai,* a classic which belonged to the second half of the second century A.D., Kāñci figures as a centre of great learning and as a great school of Buddhist philosophy. Side by side there flourished also other schools of thought and religion.[2]

Next we have the Pallava charters which show that Kāñci continued to be a University centre under the liberal and progressive administration of the Pallavas. The Velūrpālaiyam plates of Vijaya Nandivarman III are interesting in this connection. The verses (7 and 8) run thus:

स्कन्दशिष्यस्ततोभवद्द्विजानां घटिकां राज्ञस्सत्यसेनात्जहार यः ।[3]

गृहीतकाञ्चीनगरः ततोभूत् कुमारविष्णुस्समरेषु जिष्णुः ॥

S.I.I., II, pp. 501–13.

This means that Skandaśiṣya became the controlling authority of the Ghaṭika of the twice-born, which was so long under the control of King Satyasēna. The late Mr. V. Venkayya identified this Skandaśiṣya with Skandavarman in his article on Tirukkaḷukkuṉram inscriptions; and if this identification is correct, he must be Skandavarman II. The next verse of the inscription shows that Kumāraviṣṇu was the son of Skandaśiṣya and a conqueror of Kāñci. This bears testimony to the fact that, while Skandaśiṣya succeeded in getting at the management of the University at Kāñci, it was given to his son to take over the administration of the city. Or if we read the half line गृहीतकाञ्चीनगर : with the stanza preceding it, it would appear that Skandaśiṣya conquered Kāñci and became the patron of the University as well. One thing is clear, and that is that when the Pallavas assumed sovereignty in Kāñci, it was already a flourishing University centre.

This is not all. The same Velūrpāḷaiyam plates furnish more information on this subject. In verse 13, it is said,

तत्पुत्रसूनुर्नरसिंहवर्म्मा पुनर्य्यधाद्यो घटिकां द्विजानां । शिलामयं वेश्म शशांकमौलेः कैलासकल्पश्च महेन्द्रकल्पः ।

With regard to 'पुनर्य्यधाद्यो' it is strange that the Editor of the inscription has adopted a wrong reading while the correct one was available to him. The correct reading which gives the correct sense is पुनर्व्याधात्. Again in the second line *kalpa* in both places is *kalpa* meaning equal. Narasiṁhavarman II, son of Paramēśvara I's son, who was equal to Indra, reorganised the Ghaṭikā and erected a stone-house for Śiva, like the very Kailāsa. The latter shows that it was Narasiṁhavarman who

---

1 See in this connection Sankalia's *The University of Nalanda,* published by B.G. Paul & Co., Madras, 1934.

2 See S.K. Aiyangar: Intro. to his book 'Manimekalai in its Historical Setting', 1928.

3 Mr. Kavi points out that the half verse ends with ततोऽभवत्, and the next half begins with द्विजा: After य: a new verse in a different metre begins.

built the Kailāsanātha temple at Conjeevaram. But what we are more concerned with here is that the Pallava king reorganised the Ghaṭikā (पुनर्व्यधात्). It is unfortunate that we have no materials to show in what direction this reorganisation was effected. But it would not be wrong if we infer that a patron of art and letters like Narasiṁhavarman II should have improved the University both on its academic and financial side.

Passing on, we find the Ghaṭikā mentioned in the Tāḷaguṇḍa inscription of Kākusthavarman (Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, pp. 24 ff). Professor Kielhorn ascribes this epigraph to the first half of the sixth century A.D. It may be observed that Kākusthavarman belonged to the Kadamba family who were Brahmans and devoted to the study of the Vēdas and performance of yajñas or Vēdic sacrifices. It is said that a member of this family, Mayūraśarman by name, went to the Pallava capital Kāñci, accompanied by his guru, to complete the full course of his studies. The story goes that their stay at Kāñcī led to misunderstanding with the reigning king, which ultimately led to war and Mayūraśarman's success. Confining ourselves to verse 10 of the inscription which runs as follows:

यः प्रयाय पल्लवेन्द्रपुरीं गुरुणा समं वीरशर्मणा अधिजिघांसुः प्रवचनम् निखिलं घटिकां विवेशाऽशु तर्कुकः ।।

We have to note that this is very important from more than one point of view. First, it shows the universal recognition of the University learning at Kāñci. If this were not so, a prince of the neighbouring kingdom would deem it derogatory to enter an alien's territory with a view to further investigation of his studies. Though he belonged to an entirely different kingdom, and though he held the status of sovereignty not inferior to the Pallava, yet the Brahman prince Mayūraśarman who had heard so much of Kāñcī as a centre of learning made a humble petition to the University with a view to get the full benefit of the exposition of fundamental doctrines. In this connection the term *tarkuka* is taken to mean a suppliant, and does not at all mean mendicant. It is said that the prince came along with his Vīraśarma. It is difficult to explain why the guru came to Kāñci. Two explanations are possible. One is the Vīraśarama had not seen the institution and longed to visit it. Or the term *tarkuka* is a misreading for *tarkika* meaning logician and philosopher. Both pupil and master came to Kāñcī to hold contest with University authorities on all chief doctrines worth investigating. If neighbouring princes and kings resorted to the citadel of learning, need it be told that Kāñcī occupied a unique position as a University centre?

Next we have evidence to show that the University of Kāñcī continued to the beginning of the eighth century A.D. This is furnished by the Kāñcī Inscriptions of Vikramāditya edited by Dr. Hultzsch (*Ep. Ind.* III. pp. 359–60). This Vikramāditya was Vikramāditya II, who, according to the inscriptions of the Western Chaḷukyas of Bādāmi, conquered Kāñcī and returned the riches of the Rājasiṁheśvara temple. But what is interesting to us is the text of the inscription covered by the lines 6–8. The inscription is in Kanarese and refers to the *Ghaṭikeya Mahājana*. It is said that those who destroyed this charitable grant would go to hell as those who commit the sin of killing the members of the Ghaṭikā. Hultzsch's rendering "men of the

assembly" is not happy. The Ghaṭikā under reference is not assembly, but University itself. Perhaps Hultzsch was led to this interpretation by the term Mahājana occurring with Ghāṭikā. The honourable members of any big public institution in ancient India went by the name of Mahājana. The term must not be taken in its restricted sense. Viewed in this light it shows the sense of high appreciation and sincere feeling on the part of king Vikramāditya towards the University and its shining lights. To the king, the University authorities were sacred and inviolable, and it was a heinous crime to do injury to them.

Thus we see that, for at least a thousand years, from the early centuries before the Christian era down to 800 A.D., Kāñcī flourished as a great University centre. The antiquity of the Kāmākṣī cult, the evidence of Tamil literature and lastly the evidence of inscriptions show unmistakable traces of different institutions specialising in Vaidic, heretical and other systems of philosophy which existed side by side, and all of them collectively made up the great Ghaṭikā, of the history of which South India may feel proud.

Ancient Karnataka and the Tamils

What is today geographically designated the Carnatic, which is the territory below the Ghats on the Coromandel Coast covering all Tamil Districts and also the District of Nellore, has nothing to do with the Karnāṭaka of ancient Tamil literature. The Karunāḍu of Tamil literature is undoubtedly the territory above the Ghats, while all Southern India below the Ghats went by the general name of Tamilagam. Into the derivation of the term Karnāṭka we need not enter here. The derivations conjectured by scholars are all fanciful. The Tamil literature is rather explicit on this point, and we shall therefore say a word about it. The ancient classic *Śilappadikāram* of the second century A.D. refers to this kingdom is more than one place as Karunāḍu. And Karunāḍu may mean a territory with black soil. But it has been interpreted, not without authority, elevated region. As ancient Karnāṭaka was situated on a high plateau, much above the sea level, the early Tamils spoke of this region as Karunāḍu. The Tamilagam was covered by the plains below this nādu and consequently below the Ghats.[1]

Our endeavour is to trace the relations between Ancient Karnāṭaka and the Tamiḷagam on the strength of the evidence supplied by ancient Tamil literature, especially the Śangam literature of the Tamils. Before we proceed to an enumeration of the relations, political or otherwise, between Karnāṭaka and the Tamil land in the early centuries of the Christian era, it is better to say a word about the territorial and geographical divisions of the ancient Karnāṭaka as evidenced by the Tamil literature. To the Tamilian of the Śangam epoch, all territory beyond the other side of Nīligiris formed part and parcel of the Karnāṭaka country. For do we not read in the Tamil epic *Śilappadikāram* that when the Cēra king Śenguṭṭuvan reached the Nīligiris *en route* to the Ganges, that the country on the other side of the hill presented entirely a different picture quite in contrast to this side of the hill which formed a part of the ancient Cēra kingdom ? That it was summer season when the king set out on the march is evident from the story of the *Śilappadikāram.* When he was camping on the hill, there came to see him the dancing persons of Konkaṇa and of Karnāṭaka of both sexes. Also came there the Kuḍagar men and women. While the former set of dancers sang in praise of the appearing summer season, the latter set gave expression to the approaching rainy season. Thus the poet Iḷanko Aḍigaḷ who is a shrewd observer of nature shows that at one and the same time, while it was raining in one country it was summer for another. In other words, while it was winter for Kuḍagu kingdom, which we seek to identity with modern Coorg, it was summer for Konkaṇa dēśa and Karnāṭaka, as also for the Cēra kingdom. Thus the climatic variations due to peculiar geographical situations of each kingdom are vividly brought out.[2]

---

1 Cp. *Mysore Gazetteer,* Vol. I. pp. 254-56.

2 Canto XXVI. *ll.* 106-121.

These lines of the canto XXXVI of the *Śilappadikāram* enable us to fix approximately the territorial limits of the ancient Karnāṭaka. Karnāṭaka being coupled with Konkaṇa, it is reasonable to assume that these two peoples were neighbours. The ancient Konkaṇa seems to have occupied the northern part of South Canara and the southern part of modern North Canara.[1] Their neighbours were the people of Kuḍagu. Thus a considerable portion of modern Mysore State formed a part of the ancient Karnātaka kingdom. Further it is reasonable to suppose that the modern districts of North and South Canara were then also different territorial units, and these went by the name of Kadamba, Konkaṇa and Tuḷu kingdoms. The Tuḷus were the residents of the modern South Canara and the people of this territory were known as Kōśar and also Nānmoḷikkōśar which we have sought to identify with the Satyaputras of Aśoka's inscriptions. Possibly the Tuḷu kingdom formed the frontier state between Tamiḷagam and Karnāṭaka country proper. The evidence of Tamil Śangam literature with regard to the Kadambas points out that it was an island kingdom. That it was situated on the sea and that Śenguṭṭuvan's father Imayavaramban Neḍumcēralātan led an expedition against that island and routed them by cutting off their guardian tree *(kāval maram)* are seen from the pages of the *Śilappadikāram* and the *Pattiṛruppattu* decade dealing with Śenguṭṭuvan. To venture a conjecture, the Kadamba island was originally very near the modern Goa.

Proceeding to examine the boundary limits of ancient Karnāṭaka we have again valuable testimony in Tamil literature. In a stanza in *Ahanān ūru* attributed to poet Nakkīrar (stanza 253) we have unmistakable evidence of the Erumainādu which is said to be under Vaḍugar Perumakan, the great chief of the Vaḍugar.[2] This Erumainādu has been conjectured as equivalent to Mahisamaṅḍalam from which the modern term Mysore has been derived. Legend shows that it was originally the region of *Mahiṣāsura* who was discomfited by the Goddess Dēvī who hence came to be known *Mahiṣāsuramardinī*. According to one theory the Erumainādu covered also the modern districts of Anantapūr and Bellary.[3] It is reasonable to assume that these districts formed the northern portion of ancient Karnāṭaka. In its west we have the Kadambas and Konkaṇas and Tuḷus. It was bounded on the south by Kuḍagu or Coorg and Salem district which then formed a part of the Cēra kingdom. On the east portion of the Karnāṭaka was the little kingdom Kaṭṭiyar, the northern portion of the present Salem district and all territory east of Karnāṭaka. Thus we are enabled on the testimony of the Śangam literature to fix up more or less the boundary limits of the ancient Karnāṭaka dēśa.

---

1 This description of Konkan is neither historical nor traditional. As Fleet said long ago, the seven Konkans extended from Lata (Southern Gujarat) to Cochin (both inclusive). (Ed., K.H. Review.)

2 For details sec M. Raghava Aiyangar's *Tamils and Andhras* (in Tamil) *(Sen Tamil Series* 50, pp. 4-5.)

3 According to the *Rāmāyaṇa* Kiṣkindhā, ch. 11, Dundubhi the asura took the form of Mahiṣa and attacked Vāli king of Kiṣkindhā; The powerful Vali slew him. This shows that Mahiṣa's territory lay close to Kiṣkindhā.

The term Vaḍugar in the above paragraph is an interesting expression. Originally it seems to have been used without distinction to both the Telugus and the Kannaḍigas. It was used in the broad, literal sense of northerners. But in course of time the term came to be generally restricted to the Telugus. And in the time of Sundaramūrti svāmigal of the ninth century A.D. we find the occuption by the Vaḍugavēḍar of Tirumuruganpūṇḍi in Coimbatore district. In a *padikam* the Śaiva Samayācārya deplores that the shrine of Tirumuruganpūṇḍi is in the centre of the Vaḍugavēḍuvar (hunters). This shows that they had spread over the Tamil country. But in the Śangam age the Vaḍugar meant also the Kannaḍigas.[1] And these must have been the people who led the vanguard of the Mauryan army to the southern Tamil country. But when we come to the eleventh century and examine the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi*, a composition of that century attributed to Kavicakravarti Jayamkoṇḍar, we find Vaḍugar definitely used to designate the Telugus. The Kannaḍigas are separately mentioned. Jayamkoṇḍār makes the significant remark that the Kannaḍam language is made up of two sister languages – Tamil and Vaḍugu. Whether the author of the *Kalingattupparaṇi.* speaks of his age or refers to the origin and development of language, we cannot say with any satisfaction. In this connection we cannot refrain from referring to the views of a modern scholar, the late Mr. R. Raghunatha Rao. In his opinion the two schools in Kannaḍa, styled Northern and Southern, by Nṛpatuṅga and Bhaṭṭākalaṅka, owed their origin primarily to the influence of Telugu and Tamil respectively. His arguments have been examined by R. Narasimhachariar in his Readership lectures as having no valid grounds.[2] Whatever this may be, we find Mr. Narasimhachariar himself stating in an earlier chapter the close relationship between Kannaḍa and Tamil and between Kannaḍa and Telugu, differences apart.[3]

Kannaḍa seems to be an old language while Tuḷu and Kuḍagu may be regarded dialects of this language. But how old it is, it is not possible to determine at this stretch of time. Dr. Hultzsch identified a Kannada source for some Indian words in a Greek farce, being one of the papyri discovered at Oxyrhynchus in Lower Egypt and assigned to second century A.D.[4] This has received emphasis at the hands of Dr. B.A. Saletore.[5] If it were to be ultimately proved that the Indian words of the farce are Kannaḍa they may be treated of as Haḷa-Kannaḍa. Mr. Narasimhacaria; postulates the theory of primitive Old Kannaḍa, prior to the epoch of Haḷa-Kannaḍa. If this theory has any force, it once for all proves the antiquity of the Kannaḍa language.

Whether Old Kannaḍa was indebted to Tamil and Telugu for its development or not, one thing is certain, and it is that foreign words have largely entered into Kannaḍa as in other Dravidian languages and some of them have become even

---

1 Sea for example *Aham.* 115

2 *History of Kannada Language*; pp. 123 - 128.

3 *Ibid*, P. 26.

4 *Mysore Archaeological Report*, 1904.

5 *Saletore, Ancient Karnataka*, Appendix, A. pp.81-97.

naturalised. Tamil was no exception and it became enriched by the adaptation of Kannaḍa words and expressions in its literature. These expressions foreign to Tamil language but adapted in its literature characterised by the Tamils as *tiśaiccol* or alien words is opposed to *iyarccol* or indigenous words. The influence of Kannaḍa in Tamil literature is seen in the *Jīvakachitāmaṇi*, an epic of the 9th century A.D. attributed to one Tiruttakkadēvar who belonged to the *Dramiḍa* (Tamil) *saṅgha* of the Jains. At this time Śravaṇa Belgoḷa was the centre of Jain activities and there was frequent intercourse between *Dramiḍa sangha* and Śravana Belgoḷa, a part of the Karnāṭaka dēśa. This also is true of the other Kāvya *Ćūlāmaṇi* whose authorship is ascribed to Śrīvarttadēvar alias Tōlāmoḷi. According to an inscription[1] Śrivarttadēvar followed the author of the *Cintāmaṇi* in point of time.

The foregoing inquiry leads to the irresistible conclusion of mutual borrowing on the part of languages due to some reason or other. Their is little or no evidence in Tamil literature to construct a history of their social life. In the *Śilappadikāram* passage which we have quoted above, we see *Karunāḍar* with the attribute *Koḍum*, and the full expression *Kaḍum-karunāḍar* means literally cruel (hostile) *Karunādar.*[2] Why they were styled as fierce men we cannot answer at this distance of time except that perhaps they were at frequent war with the neighbouring Tamils. But with the same breath the epic refers to their musical attainments and expert dancing skill.

Inter-state relations: We have already said that the Kōśar of the Tuḷu country[3] and the Konganar were neighbours. As neighbours, according to the ancient concept of the *maṇḍala* theory, they were hostile to each other. To the Kōśar the Konganar were *ari* or enemy, and the ruling chieftain of the Konkan who was a contemporary of Śenguṭṭuvan was the powerful Naṉṉaṉ. In many a stanza the Śangam poets speak highly of the valour and prowess of Naṉṉaṉ. His totem tree was the mango tree, as the *kaḍamba* for the Kadambas. To cut off this totem tree technically called *kāvalmaram* amounted to, according to laws of ancient Tamil warfare, vanquishing the chieftain of the kingdom. Naṉṉaṉ who was the common enemy of both the Kōśar and the Cēras was attacked by Nārmudiccēral who cut off his *kāvalmaram* which was the mango tree.[4] One victory led to the other. At the time of Śenguṭṭuvan it is safe to conjecture that Tuḷu, Konkan and Kaḍamba countries were independent kingdoms. But Śenguṭṭuvan carried his sword to these kingdoms and brought them under his subjection one after the other. So he became the master of Tuḷu country on the evidence of *Aham* 15 and *Naṟṟinai* 391. Whether it was a peaceful or military occupation we have no definite evidence to furnish. We have the evidence however of the *Śilappadikāram* to show that a Kōśar chieftain by name Paḷayan who had his capital at Mōhūr was defeated by Śenguṭṭuvan. It may

---

1 No. 105 Tirumukuḍal, Narasipur Taluk.

2 *Kurun.* 73.

3 Neither the early tradition nor history of Tuluva warrants the assumption that there were a people called the Kośar anywhere in Tuluva. (Ed, K.H. Review.)

4 It is interesting in this connection to compare what Rājaśekara has to say in his *Kāvyamimāṃsā* about the Karnātaka of his time. सगर्वसर्वकर्नाटाः टङ्कारोत्तरभाषिणः ।

be that the Kōśar of Tuḷunāḍu voluntarily sought alliance with the Cēra king, in as much as they were looked upon with hostility both by the Koṅgaṇar and the Cōḷas. It is said in *Aham* 205 that the Cōḷa king Kiḷḷivaḷavan was bent upon a crushing defeat of the Kōśar. Śenguṭṭuvan would have gladly welcomed their alliance in as much as they were noted for their military prowess and honesty and truthfulness.[1] It can be concluded that the Tuḷu Kōśar cultivated peaceful relations with the Cēra king Śenguṭṭuvan with profit both to themselves and the Cēra king. In cultivating such relations it is not clear whether they accepted the suzerainty of the Cēra ruler or they were independent of the Cēras. The *Uraiperukaṭṭurai* says that they participated in the festival of founding the Paṭṭini shrine by Śenguṭṭuvan and carried the cult with them to their country. According to the evidence furnished by *Aham* 90 the capital of the Tuḷu country was Śellūr, or more probably Niyamam which lay to the east of Śellūr, and there has been a dispute as to the location of this city. The editor of the *Narriṇai* held the view that it may be looked for on the east coast. But it is difficult to accept this in view of the fact that, firstly, the Tuḷu country lay on the west coast, and secondly of the alleged tradition by which Paraśurāma is said to have performed a sacrifice in this city of Śellūr as could be gathered from a stanza (220) in the *Ahanānūru.*[2]

We have again evidence of the *Patiṟṟupattu* and *Śilappadikāram* to show that Śeṅguṭṭuvan went further north and brought the Kaḍambas to subjection. There are a few lines in the *Śilappadikāram* which refer to the other exploits of Śenguṭṭuvan. According to this the Karunāṭar, Gangar and Kaṭṭiyar were also put down by the Cēra king. Unfortunately we have no details of these expeditions. But it is a fact that Karnāṭaka with its eastern suburbs of the Kaṭṭiyar-nāḍu and Ganganāḍu were brought under his suzerainty. From this it is evident that the Gangas and Kaṭṭiyar were independent chiefs during the age of Śenguṭṭuvan and had an early history of which we have scanty or no record. Even the semi-historical work *Kongudēśarājākkal caritai* does not take us very far. According to this testimony the first Ganga ruler was Koṅgaṇivarman whose date may be tentatively fixed about 190 A.D. If this date could be accepted for Koṅgaṇivarman, then he must have been the first king after Gangas became independent, which must have been under the weak successor of Śenguṭṭuvan.

---

1 *Maduraik*, 1.773, *Aham* 205 and 262.

2 For the legend of Paraśurāma in connection with the legendary origins of Malabar and Tuluva see H.A. Saletore: *Ancient Karnataka*, Vol. I. 9 ff,

Historical Geography of South Canara[1]

South Canara has an area of 3902 square miles, and consists of five taluks, Mangalore, Coondapoor, Udipi, Kāsargod and Uppinangadi. Attached to it is a group of small islands known as Amindīvis. There are only two towns in the whole district, and these are Mangalore and Udipi. The urban population is 4.56 per cent. Thus as many as 95 per cent of the people live in villages. Taking the population of the district as a whole 81.68 per cent. are Hindus, 10.6 are Mussalmans, 6.75 are Christians and about 1 per cent. Jains. The Hindus of the district are mainly Śaivas. Only 11 per cent. of the Hindus are Vaishnavas and 4 per cent. Mādhvas. Tulu is the prevailing tongue in three taluks, Mangalore, Udipi and Uppinangadi-as Malayalam is in Kāsargod taluk and Amindīvi islands. The climate is characteristically humid and malarial. Agriculture is the main industry of the people.[2]

There are many legends regarding the origin of the Tulu country and the most important of all seems to be the account preserved in the *Keralotpatti* which ascribes the founding of the kingdom to Paraśurāma. There are some indications which bear ample evidence to its association with the honoured name of Paraśurāma. One may be the temple of Reṇuka at the village Kunjaragiri, southeast of Udipi. Foreign geographers and Saṅgam works give details of cities and ports that flourished in the early centuries of the Christian era. Barace of Pliny (A.D. 23-79) is identified with Basarūru while Maganur of Ptolemy and Mangarouth of Kosmos Indikopleustes are regarded connoting one and the same place standing for Mangalore. That this last place was sacred to the goddess Maṅgalādevi is evident from the *Śilappadikāram.* Again Oloikhora of Ptolemy is identified with Ālavakheda in the northern half of the present South Kanara district[3] and this term is said to refer to the original territory of the Ālupas who seem to have ruled Tuḷunāḍu from at least the fifth to the eleventh century, if not later.

South Canara, it will be noted, went by the name of Tuḷunāḍu in the early centuries of the Christian era, and formed a part of the ancient kingdom which was known as Karṇāṭaka, *Karunāḍu* of Tamil Saṅgam literature. Tuḷunāḍu, it is just possible, formed the frontier state between the Tamilagam and the Karnataka country proper. It formed a portion of the western part of the Karnataka proper. The people of this territory are known in Saṅgam literature as Kosar and Nānmoḷikkosar, whom I have sought to identify with the Satyaputras of Asoka's inscriptions.[4] The kingdom of the Tuḷus had the Koṅkaṇa country on the north,

---

1 From: *Jl. of the Madras Geographical Association, Madras*

2 South Canara Manual, Vol. II. (1895).

3 See in this connection B.A. Sṣalctore : *Ancient Karnataka*

4 See The Kosar, their place in South Indian History. (*Indian Culture*, Vol. I).

that part of Karnataka forming the present Mysore on the east. Kaḍalmalaināḍu on the south, and the Arabian sea on the west. Thus we see that the territory now known as South Canara was a separate and independent territorial unit in the first few centuries of the Christian era. The people were addicted to speaking truth, and hence the attribute Nānmoḻikkosar. Remnants of this tribe are perhaps to be found in the community of Koragar, gradually and across the ages, degraded to the status of a wild tribe.

In the Saṅgam age, as testified to us by the Tamil literature of the period, the Koṅgaṇar who were the people of Koṅgunāḍu, the northern neighbours of the Tulus, were hostile to the latter. If the evidence of *Ahanānūru* (15) and the *Naṯṯiṇai* (391) could be pressed into service, there is every reason to think that the Tulus were an independent people in the age of Śeṅguṭṭuvan, roughly second century A.D., and were brought under the Chera rule by Śeṅguṭṭuvan. Whether the Kosar sought a voluntary alliance with the powerful Chera sovereign as against the ruling chieftain of Konkan and the equally hostile Cholas it is difficult to say with any definiteness, It seems that the Tuḷu Kośar, as I have elsewhere said, cultivated peaceful relations with the Chera king. It is equally difficult to identify their capital city. The Saṅgam literature refers to Sellūr, to the east of which lay Niyamam, as the capital of Kosar. There is a difference of opinion whether it was to be located in the east coast or the west. For we find that even in Śaṅgam days the Kośar had begun to spread in different directions and settle in several parts of the Tamil districts.

Mention has already been made that the Āḷupas ruled this land for about six centuries from the fifth century at a rough estimate. The terms Āḷupa. Muka and Āḷva seem to be variants all of which trace their origin perhaps to the serpent king Sesha. If this were granted, the Āḷupas then belong to the Nāga stock, and we know from history and legend that the Nāga tribes were once powerful on the west coast. Apparently the ancient ruling chieftains who were the Kosar were overcome by the mighty branch of the Nāgas who were the Āḷupas and who extended their sway. The Kośar were so much beaten that they retreated to the Tamil districts proper and settled in peace.

It is not necessary for our present purpose to review the interstate relations between the Āḷupas and the neighbouring ruling kings of South India at that time. There is inscriptional evidence to show that the early Western Chalukyas had annexed this Āḷupa kingdom.[1] An important king of this dynasty seems to be Chitravāhana who was a contemporary of Vijayāditya Satyāśraya (A.D. 680-696). Udayāvara was his capital. He seems to have been an ally of the Kadambas. The next king of some importance was Bankideva Āḷupendradeva who may be assigned to the middle of the eleventh century A.D. Two records relating to this ruler come from Bārakūru mentioned as a prominent port town in this century, though foreign geographers are silent about this port. This explains that it must have risen to prominence only in the eleventh century A.D. when it became a provincial capital of

1 Ep. Ind., vi. p. 10 Ins. dated 634-5.

the Tulu kingdom. Under him the kingdom expanded and included Śāntalige Thousand. But Tuluva once again became a feudatory of the Western Chalukya king Vikramāditya VI who reigned c. 1073-1127. It seems to have recovered its independence about 1138 A.D. and lost it again about 1190 when a General of Someśvara Deva attacked it.

Early in the eleventh century, however, we hear of the Chola invasion and occupation of Tuluva. Panchava Mahārāya, a general of Rājarāja Chola invaded and occupied among others the Tulu kingdom. Traces of the occupation are seen to this day. One is the temple of Cholīśvara at Bhattakala. Another is a settlement in Tulu of the Vellāḷa communities who enjoyed *mirāsi* and other rights connected with agriculture. These communities improved to a large extent the cultivation of agricultural crops. The relations of Tulus in the twelfth century with Kadambas, Kālacūryas, Kākatīyas and others may be passed over as they have no direct bearing on the subject. Under the Hoysālas, however, Tulu was in a flourishing condition. The Hoysāla rulers endeavoured to promote the moral and material welfare of the people. Next the kingdom passed under the Vijayanagar empire and was ruled by Viceroys who had their capital at Bārakūru. We have an important record of a grant during the tenure of the viceroy Nāgarasa Oḍeya in Bārakūru dated A.D. 1399. When the grant was made it is said that besides the Viceroy who is entitled mahāpradhāna, the sixteen seṭṭis of the ten streets of the city, 770 citizens, sixty Ballālas, representatives of Mūḍila Niḍambūru, Nāḍavas, Nāyaks of four grāmas, and of four nāḍus were present. This means that representatives of the city and countryparts were present on the occasion. Apparently these correspond to the *paura-jānapada* of Sanskrit literature. This shows how representative institutions continued to flourish in India as late as the fourteenth century A.D. Notwithstanding a prosperous state of affairs under the rule of Vijayanagar, the coast ports and towns became the target of attack by the Portuguese.[1] The first landmark in the history of the Portuguese in this district was the landing of Vasco da Gama in 1498 on one of the islands of the coast of Udipi which island he named 'El Padrou de Śancta Maria', or St. Mary Isles by which name these islands are still known. The coast of South Canara was still open to the Arab and Moplah trade. But in 1524 Da Gama came to know of the Muhammadan merchants of Calicut having trade relations with Mangalore and Basrūr. Rivers were blockaded by the Portuguese who were out for commercial supremacy. Mangalore was conquered in 1526 and Christianity was preached by Franciscan friars. By the year 1526 the Portuguese became so dominant that they levied a sort of tribute of grain from all the chiefs of the west coast. This was all possible because of the support the Portuguese were able to secure from the Vijayanagar rulers, some of whom regarded their assistance very valuable. But with the fall of Vijayanagar and the success of Muhammadan arms in 1565, some of these chiefs invoked the aid of these Muhammadans against the Portuguese. This was resented by the Lingayat Ikkeri, sometime ruler of Tuḷuva, as a feudatory of Vijayanagar, and early in the 17th

1 I have generally followed here South Canara Manual, Vol. I.

century he attacked these chiefs most of whom were Jains and gave a death blow to all Jain influence in the district.

Though there was a slight misunderstanding between the Ikkeri chief and the Portuguese, still by a treaty of 1631 they once more became friends and the Portuguese were allowed to erect a fort at Basrūr. It was in 1646 the capital was removed to Bednore. Such friendly relations continued to the end of the 17th century. By 1718 the Dutch had a factory at Basrūr. In the meantime the material prosperity of the district was arrested by a number of imposts and extortions by the officials of Bednore chiefs. The story may be soon told. The hardships of the people became greater by the conquest of Mysore by Hyder Ali and his son Ṭipu. This resulted in the capture of Bednore by the English in 1793 whose Governor was an ally of Hyder Ali. It was in 1799 South Canara was annexed by the British and Captain Munro (afterwards Sir Thomas) was appointed Collector in June 1799. And from February 1st 1800 its administration was taken up by the Madras Board of Revenue. Peaceful measures were adopted and a calm prevailed after a storm extending over nearly a century.

In concluding, it would be interesting to furnish a bare outline of the history of the kingdom, people, religion, agriculture and trade of the district through the ages. If we are to believe the Tulu version of the *Grāmapaddhati*, which may roughly be a composition of the latter half of the 13th or 14th century A.D., the whole of ancient Tulu kingdom was divided into thirty-two grāmas whose representatives had a voice in the administration of their grāmas. Ibn Battuta who visited Canara in 1342 saw no wheeled carriage. Merchants carried on trade with the help of a number of carriers. But during the last fifty years and more the internal trade of the district has considerably increased by a popular use of carts for which roads are suitable.

The chief profession was agriculture supplemented by cottage industries. Cultivation of coconuts, arecanuts and sugarcane has also been in existence for a long time. The ancient people of this district built ships and traded with neighbouring parts. Infact ship-building appears to have a very ancient industry of the west coast in general, and South Canara contributed its own share to the promotion of this art. Salt fish must have been an article of trade. Industrially this district has remained backward through the ages due to lack-of raw materials necessary for industries, and due again to heavy rainfall during the major portion of the year. There has been for a long time a constant flow of internal trade with facilities afforded by some principal rivers up and down from the coastal ports. But this system was never considered satisfactory.

A word may be said about the peoples of the district and their religion. Tradition has it that the Kadamba king Mayūra Varman of the 8th century A.D. invited Brahmans from Āḷikshetra, differently identified with that on the Godāvarī and also with Haiga near Gokarṇam, and in the thirty-two villages above mentioned these Brahmins settled. These Tulu Brahmans are known as Shivalli Bahmans and are largely followers of Madhavācārya. There are as many as a dozen sub-divisions of the Brahman community. The next influential class is the caste of Bants who were

originally a military class and now reduced to a landowning and cultivating community. In point of numerical strength is the community of the Billavas or toddy drawers. There are besides a number of occupational classes. The ancient religion of the people consisted in worshipping serpents and bhūtas,. Soon Śaivism began to take firm hold while Vaiṣṇavism, Buddhism and Jainism were introduced long after.

Some Jain Teachers in Śrāvaṇa Belgola Inscriptions

Some of the inscriptions[1] at Śrāvaṇa Belgola contain references to Jain hierarchy and the succession of Jain gurus in South India. The order of succession followed may be tentatively stated: Kundakunda (Koṇḍakunda), Gṛdhrapiñca (Umāsvāti), Balākapiñca, Samantabhadra, Śivakoṭi, Devanandi or Pūjyapāda, Ākaḷaṅka and others. In the history of the spread of Jainism in the south almost the first place is taken by Kundakunda (the inscriptions invariably spell him Koṇḍakuṇḍa), the reputed author of the Pañcāstikāyasāra.[2] In a historical introduction to this work Professor Cḳakravarti identified this Kundakundācārya, whose original name was Padmanandī, with the celebrated author of the Tamil work Tirukkuraḷ. The authorship of the Tirukkuraḷ is still a bone of contention, and it is indeed very difficult to accept the identification of Kundakunda with Tiruvaḷḷuvar. There is a tradition which is not fully corroborated that Tiruvaḷḷuvar composed the Kuṛaḷ under the patronage of one Elālasiṅgha. It is contended that Elālasiṅgha may be Elācārya, and Elācārya is another name for Kundakunda,[3] though this has been questioned. Assuming this identification possible, the contention loses all its force, especially when it hangs on a slender thread of late tradition and on doubtful identity of names. Again, however much it may be argued that the teachings of the Kuṛaḷ breathe the lofty Jaina philosophy and religion, still it has been demonstrated with equal force that the Kuṛaḷ-veṇbās show the author to be a devout follower of the established religion of the land, in other words, a follower of the Brahmanical religion.[4] But apart from the identification of the author of the Kuṛaḷ with Kundakunda, one thing is certain that Kundakunda was a great Jain ācārya, who flourished in the south (Dakṣiṇadeśa) about the 1st century A.D. We will not be far wrong if we surmise that he was the immediate or the very next to the immediate successor of Guptigupta. And this would fit in with the tradition which fixes B.C. 8 as the date of his accession to the pontifical chair at the age of 44.[5] According to one version he was only thirty-three at the time.

The date of the ācārya is thus fixed. Scholars assign him to different periods ranging from the third century B.C. to the sixth century A.D.—all on insufficient data. The identification of King Śiva Kumāra for whom Kundakunda is said to have written his books with the Pallava king Śivaskanda or the Kadamba king

---

1 See, for instance, No. 47 of 1115.

2 Edited with translation by A. Chakravarti Nayanar, 1920.

3 Other names for the same ācārya are Vakragrīva, Gṛdhrapiccha. SII. i. p. 152. One view is that Vakragrīva and Gṛdhrapiccha were persons other than Kundakunda.

4 See my *Studies in Tamil Literature and History:* chap. IV on *Tiruvaḷḷuvar*

5 Intro. p. vii; see also śr. Bel. Ins. 105 (EC. ii. 154 dated 1398).

Śivamṛgeśavarman is purely conjectural and has no basis in fact. Śivakumāra must have been a petty chieftain who cannot be identified. Whatever that may be, that he flourished in the early half of the first century B.C. can be reasonably accepted.

Kundakunda then was a great monk of the Digambara sect of the Jains. Three of the four Digambara Saṅghas of the south trace their lineage to this distinguished ācārya. These three are Nandisaṅgha, Siṁhasaṅgha and Śri Yāpanīyasaṅgha. The fourth saṅgha called Mūlasaṅgha claims descent from the monk Vṛṣabhasena. His name is, however, associated with the Mūlasaṅgha as its leader.[1]

Besides the Pañcāstikāya, Kundakunda's other two works are Pravacanasāra and Samayasāra, works composed in Prākrit. Of these the Pravacanasāra has been edited by Professor A.N. Upadhye (1935, Bombay). Tradition attributes a number of other minor works to its author.[2] A word may be said on his chief works. Pañcāstikāya is a discourse on Samaya or Samavāya manifesting itself in five *astikāyas* soul, matter, dharma, adharma and space. The Pravacanasāra has been well said to be an academic treatise and a practical manual for a novice who wants to enter the order of Jain monks. Emphasis is laid on spiritual contemplation as a preparation for an ascetic life. The other work Samayasāra is a treatise on the liberation of the soul from the material kāmas and realisation of the self. He who realises this is termed a Jñānin. The commentators who have written eleborate glosses on these three above-mentioned works have rightly designated them by the common name Nāṭaka-trayī. Each is capable of being treated as a dramatic composition.

The next name in the list of ācāryas is Umāsvāti. Perhaps Umāsvāti was the successor of Kundakunda to the pontifical throne. Relying as we do on the inscriptions of Śrāvaṇa Belgola, we find that another name for Umāsvāti is Gṛdhrapiñccha (also Gṛdhrapiccha). This removes once for all the doubt that Gṛdhrapiñccha is another name for Kundakunda. We are afraid that a confused tradition has identified Gṛdhrapiccha with Kundakunda. The real fact seems to be that Umāsvāti went by the name of Gṛdhrapiccha. How he got this name is related in a story. It is said that Umāsvāti once felt like paying a visit to Śrīmanthara Tīrthaṅkara who was living in Videha to be instructed on Jaina siddhānta. So he flew through the air when his peacock feather bunch (Mayūrapiccha) fell down. He substituted this by taking the feathers of a vulture or gṛdhra.[3] Umāsvāti is credited with the composition of a learned work called Tattvārthasūtra. It is a treatise of the Jaina doctrines in general presented in the form of *sūtras*. What is remarkable to note is that while Kundakunda wrote in Prākrit, Umāsvāti wrote in Sanskrit. In fact he was the first Jain guru to adopt Sanskrit. In his description of omniscience and other dogmas he followed Kundakunda.[4] Both refer to *nayas*, a *naya* being a view-

---

1 Ec. ii. 69.

2 *Ibid.* See Intro. p. 26 ff.

3 See Intro. Tattvārthaślokavārttikam, Bombay.

4 B. See Upadhye op. cit., p. lxxx.

point generally occurring in the Ardhamāgadhī canon of the Śvetāmbaras.[1] The concluding verse of this work throws light on the Umāsvāti-Gṛdhrapiccha identification. It runs

tattvārthasūtrakartāram gṛdhrapicchopalakṣitam ।

vande gaṇendrasaṁjātam Umāsvātimunīśvaram. ।

As for the date of Umāsvāti, there is no tangible evidence to fix exact chronological limits. Tradition records him both as a contemporary of Kundakunda and a successor. However, to be consistent with the date assigned to Kundakunda by us, Umāsvāti must have lived in the first half of the first century A.D.

Balākapiñccha is said to be a direct disciple of Umāsvāti. Consequently he lived towards the close of the first century A.D.[2] It is a pity we have not much evidence to write about the career and works of this Jaina saint.

According to the inscription No. 54 at Śrāvaṇa Belgola the spread of Jainism received an impetus at the hands of Samantabhadra. The inscription records that he was a teacher and the head of a gaṇa devoted to the goddess Padmāvatī. He carried the Jaina Dharma to all places by holding disputations then and there. How he displayed his eagerness to commence such disputations is seen from his statement at Karahātaka (Kolhapur):

"At first the drum was beaten by me within the city of Pāṭaliputra, afterwards in the country of Mālava, Sindhu and Thakka, at Kāñcīpura, and at Vidiśā. I have now arrived at Karahāṭaka, which is full of soldiers, rich in learning and crowded (with people). Desirous of disputation, O king, I exhibit the sporting of a tiger. When the disputant Samantabhadra stands in the court, O king, even the tongue of Dhūrjaṭi (Śiva), who talks clearly and skilfully, turns back quickly towards the nape of the neck. What hope can there be for other?" (EC. Vol. II. Trans. pp. 24–5)

He was the author of the Āpta Mīmāṁsa dealing with the Syādvāda doctrine. His other work is Ratnakaraṇḍaka Śrāvakācāra (ed. with Introduction by Pandit Jugal Kishore). Samantabhadra's promulgation of the doctrine of Sarvajñatā was an important contribution to Jaina philosophy. It was a subject of academic discussion at the hands of experts for several centuries after the days of Samantabhadra. In course of time the subject assumed much importance and its psychological aspects were stressed. The Upaniṣadic idea of calling the divinity *svayambhū*, which according to the Jains is the enlargement of the individual self, is elaborated by our ācārya in his *Svayambhūśloka*.[3] It need not be told that he was a member of the Digambara sect; he flourished, according to one view, in the early Rāṣṭrakūṭa period. Professor A.B. Keith is inclined to place him in the seventh

---

1 *Ibid.* lxxxvi.

2 EC. ii. 64, 66, etc.

3 See Upadhye, op. cit. p. xcii n.

century A.D. though no evidence is cited.[1] But we may fairly accept the authority of the Jain tradition which assigns him to 138 A.D.[2]

According to the inscription No. 44 at Śrāvaṇa Belgola it is evident that this Digambara travelled from Pāṭaliputra to the Indus, and from the Indus to Kāñcī. It would appear that after this enthusiastic Jain missionary the work of proselytising to the Jain church was carried on in all earnestness.

Śivakoṭi was the next Jaina author of some importance. We know of his famous work Bhagavatī Ārādhana. It is unfortunate that we have not enough materials with regard to this saint. The other celebrity was Pūjyapāda, worthy of worship even by sylvan deities. His visit to the Videha country is recorded by tradition and epigraphy. The Rājāvalikathā refers to his miraculous powers[3] especially as a physician. It is generally believed that he lived in the fifth century A.D.[4] The Bhaktis in Sanskrit composition are all attributed to this ācārya. One work of his is the Samādhiśataka with a metaphysical bias.[5]

The most important figure after Samantabhadra is Akalaṅka. According to the Śrāvaṇa Belgola inscription No. 54 Akalaṅka, designated also Devākalaṅga Paṇḍita, defeated the Buddhists in public disputation at Kāñcī in the 8th century A.D. He is said to have been a vanquisher of Tārā and Buddha (Sugata), troublesome to false teachers of religion and devoted to his own faith. He informed king Sāhasatuṅga, probably a Rāṣṭrakūta king, of his victory in the religious disputation held in the court of Himaśītala, the last Bauddha king of Kāñcī which resulted in the banishment of Buddhists to Ceylon. Wilson in his introduction to the Mackenzie Collection (p. 40) inform us that Himaśītala was the last Buddha prince at Kāñcī since he was converted to the Jaina faith by the acknowledged ability of Akalaṅka. He is credited with the authorship of a small work named Akalaṅkaśataka.

From these accounts one thing is clear, and it is that the period covered by the sixth to the eighth centuries in South India was marked by wordy warfare and learned religious disputations, especially between Buddhists and Jains, as also between Śaivas and Vaiṣṇavas. Each sect was anxious to preserve its tenets and spread them among the masses. Though the Jainas succeeded in putting down the Buddhists, still they were overcome by the followers of the orthodox religion, who were largely the authors of the Tamil *Tevāram* and *Prabandham*.

---

1 A History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 497.

2 See Dr. Bhandarkar's Report on the Search of the Sanskrit Mss. in 1883 and 1884, p. 320.

3 EC. ii. 64, 254, 258.

4 See IA. Vol. X. pp. 75–9 and Vol. XII. pp. 19–21.

5 Sanātana Jaina Granthamālā Series, Vol. I. (Bombay 1905).

Kāladi or The Birth-Place of Śri Śaṅkara[1]

Brahmaśrī Śrīkaṇṭha Śāstrigal of the Śringeri Mutt will long be remembered for his eminent services to the cause of the Śringeri Mutt and particularly for refounding the agrahāram of Kāladi celebrated as the birth-place of Ādi-Śri Śaṅkarācārya. Śrīkaṇṭha Śāstrigal with his usual enthusiasm proceeded like its traditional founder Rājaśekhara to found a temple, a pāṭhaśāla, a *satra*, a guest-house, and finally a new settlement of Brahmanas and others for the service of the temple and the other connected institutions. The author of this short paper had the pleasure of visiting this hallowed place sometime back and was struck with the wonderful way by which the long–neglected village has been revived and restored to its past glory. This village of Kāladi is about six miles to the east of Alwaye, a railway station on the Cochin-Shoranur line. The temple which is, of course, of recent origin stands on the bank of the ever–flowing waters of the Alwaye river, otherwise known as Cūrṇī river. This stream is also known as Periyār.

In the course of a conversation with Mahāvidwān R. Raghava Ayyangar, now in the Annamalai University, I heard that he had his own doubts about the present recovered Kāladi on the Alwaye river. He drew my attention to that fact that the *Śaṅkara-vijayas* which give us information about the birth-place of Śri Śaṅkara refer to a Kāladi, not far from the river Pūrṇā, which he would identify, not with the Alwaye River but with *Ponnāni* river. The Ponnāni river is also known as Periyār among the Malayālis. In fact, a Malayāli scholar tells me that the Alwaye River and Ponnāni are the two large streams in Malabar, the waters of both containing medicinal properties, and that people called them Periyār in its literal sense of 'a great river' or the 'mighty river'. Following the Mahāvidwān M. Raghava Ayyangar, the Tamil Lexicon Office also contends that the Pūrṇā could not be anything else than the present river Ponnāni. The Tamil literature of the Saṅgam period, it is argued, refers to two rivers Śulliyāru which is to be identified with Cūrṇī and the Periyār which is Pūrṇā.[2] And Ponnāni takes its name from this Pūrṇā which is the Bhāratappuḷai of Malabar. If Pūrṇā is Ponnāni, then it is suggested that the birth-place of Śri Śaṅkara should be sought for on the banks of the Ponnāni. It is, therefore, maintained that the Kāladi village in Ponnāni Taluq may be the Agrahāra where the great Ācārya incarnated himself for the welfare of the world (M. Raghava Ayyangar's article 'Karur-Vanji and Inscriptions' in the *Journal of Oriental Research* of the University of Madras, Vol. I, parts 1 and 2).

---

1 From: *Journal of the Gujarat Research Society*, Ahmedabad.

2 To venture a conjecture, Pūrṇā may be a variant of Poruṇai of Saṅgam literature. Whether the Periyār of the Saṅgam works is a reference to Poruṇai or Śulliāru, it is not possible to say at this distance of time.

A student of history who is anxious to know the truth feels compelled to investigate the whole question once again. Our sources of information are merely tradition embedded in literature which goes by the name of *Śaṅkara-vijayas*, two of which are attributed to the authorship of Mādhavācārya and Ānandagiri. *Cidvilāsa* is another work of importance. Besides, we have traditional accounts of the life and career of the Ācārya in South Indian vernaculars like Tamil, Canarese, and Malayalam. Of these chronologically the earliest seems to be the composition of Mādhavācārya who is identified with Vidyāraṇya, the minister of Harihara and Bukka, the founders of the Vijayanagar empire. Of other works, Wilson would attach some value to the account of Ānandagiri, but Telang would dismiss it as untrustworthy material. So we shall attach no value to his statement that the Ācārya was born at Chidambaram. There is, however, a general unanimity with regard to the *Śaṅkaravijaya* of Mādhavācārya, and therefore we proceed to examine the relevant passages which throw light on the birth–place of Śrī Śaṅkara:

Tato maheśaḥ kila keraleṣu Śrīmadvṛṣādrau karuṇāsamudraḥ ।
pūrṇānadīpuṇyataṭe svayambhūliṅgātmanṛyadhāg āvirāsīt. ॥
taccoditaḥ kaścana Rājaśekharaḥ svapne muhurdṛṣṭatadīyavaibhavaḥ ।
prāsādam ekam parikalpya suprabham prāvartayat tasya samāhaṇam vibhoḥ ॥
tasyeśvarasya praṇatārtihartuḥ prasādataḥ prāptanirītibhāvaḥ ।
kaścit tadabhyāśajā tōgrahāraḥ Kālaṭyabhikhyosti mahān manojñaḥ ॥

(Anandasrama Series) II, 13.

From these lines one has to gather that there was once a chief by name Rājaśekhara. He had his palace on the banks of the river Pūrṇā. He dreamt one day the Lord Śiva had manifested Himself in a place near his capital as Svayambhūliṅga. He, therefore, built a temple in His honour and arranged for service in it. As the service was to be mainly done by brāhmaṇas, he also founded an agrahāra of brāhmans, and this was named Kāladi. The story then goes to say that among these brahmans was one Vidyādhirāja whose grandson was our celebrated Ācārya. What we are concerned here is about the location rather the identification of this Kāladi.

It is rather embarassing to an enquiring student to know that there is more than one village in Malabar, Cochin and Tranvancore, which bear the same name Kāladi. Besides the Alwaye Kāladi to which reference has been made there is a village of that name in the Ponnāni Taluq. Recently, quite an academic discussion centred round the identification of the river Pūrṇā. To establish his thesis that Vañcikkaruvūr, the ancient capital of the Cheras, was Mahodayapuri, the late lamented K.G. Sesha Ayyar pressed the evidence of the *Śukasandeśa* of Lakṣmīdāsa, especially the passage relating to the Cūrṇī (Pūrvasandeśa, stanza 65) and sought to identify it with the Periyār.[1]

1 The *Cera Kings of Sangam Period*, p. 94.

Almost all books, ancient and modern, treating of Śaṅkara's life mention the river Pūrṇā. [For example, see *Śribhagavatpādābhudayam* by Lakshman Sūri (Vani Vilas, 1927) Ch. I, 12.] If other evidence lead us to infer that the Alwaye Kāladi is the birth-place of the Ācārya, then it is reasonable to adopt the reading of *Cidvilāsa*, as Cūrṇī river. And Pūrṇā in other texts must be a mis-lection for Cūrṇā or Cūrṇī. The Tamil translations of the life of Śaṅkara mostly follow Mādhavācārya's composition and use the term Pūrṇavāhini (See *Śaṅkaravijayam* in Tamil, by Velayuda Mudaliyar, Madras, Ch. II, p. 12.) The other work in Tamil entitled Śaṅkaravijayakā)vyavacanam by Sivanandayatīndra Swami refers to the river simply as *Puṇyanadi* or the sacred stream (Madras, 1934).[1] To decide whether it was the Pūrṇā or Cūrṇī[2], we must take into consideration other cumulative evidences.

It has been agreed by almost every writer on the subject that Kāladi lay close to the hill Vṛṣādri or Vṛṣagiri. The hill is also known in literature as Vṛṣācalam or Vṛṣabhācalam or Vṛṣabhagiri. If we turn to the Malayalam *Nighanṭu*, we find Vṛṣagiri being indentified with Trichur.[3] Again, in his *History of Malayalam literature*, Narayana Panikkar refers to a certain *Keralīya Śaṅkarācārya Caritam* where it is said that in the course of his pilgrimage tour Śaṅkara reached Vṛṣācala where was the Dakṣhiṇa Kailāsa. And therefore it is reasonable to take that the present town of Trichur formed a part of the original Vṛṣādri hill mentioned as lying close to Kāladi.[4] Add to this, the *Śaṅkaravijaya in Malayalam* by Moosad.[5] This author informs us that, according to a Granthāvali, preserved in the Tekke maṭham in Trichur, Padmapāda who was the first disciple of Śri Śaṅkara inherited the property of Śaṅkara. According to a tradition, a pupil can be a legitimate successor of the Guru's property, if the Guru had no issue. The author of the Malayalam work also presses into service the tradition to the same effect recorded by Koḍuṅṅallūr Kuññikkuṭṭan Tampuran. The Sandeśa kāvyas—Śukasandeśa and Kokila śandeśa—again in their reference to Trichur call Vṛṣabhādri. If this were to be established, then the Vṛṣādri hill should have extended to about 20 miles towards Kāladi side.

Be this as it may, it is difficult to get over a strong local tradition current in Kāladi village in the Kunnattunad Taluq of the Kottayam district that Śrī Śaṅkara was born to a Nampūtiri Brāhmaṇa, and is associated with the village of Kāladi near Alwaye.

---

1 See also the Śaṅkaravijaya with Canarese commentary by Lakshmidhara Śāstri.

2 Ed. note: The problem does not arise since the river at Alwaye is known by both the names: Cf. S. Sankaranarayanan, *Śrī Śaṅkara*, Adyar Library, Madras, 1995, p. 42.

3 Sabdatharavali. Vol. II.

4 A History of Malayalam Literature, p. 116.

5 Śaṅkarācharya Svāmigal by Vasudevan Moosad.

The Story of the 'Present'[1]

The story of the 'Present' is the story of the acquisition of the "five new Madras Villages" as they are generally called. These five new villages are Trivatore, Nungambakkam, Vasalavāda (adjacent to Perambur), Catawauk near Ennore and Sātangadu, west of Trivatore. At this time, i.e., when Thomas Pitt was the Governor of Fort St. George, it may be noted in passing that Egmore, Purasawalkam and Tondiarpet were called the 'three old towns'. This shows that these had been the Company's possession for many years prior to the period of Pitt. Pitt opened negotiations with the Government of Shāh Ālam, who had succeeded Aurangazeb in 1707 as the Emperor. Ziya-uddin Khan, the Steward of the Household of the Emperor, and a well-meaning friend of Governor Pitt, was to a great extent responsible for this sympathetic attitude of the Emperor towards the Company's people. On the 31st July 1708 Pitt addressed the Steward that both Mylapore (Miliapore) and Trivatore might be granted to the English. The result of this representation was a grant received in September of the same year of the five Villages a free gift with effect from the 5th October.[2]

In December came a *hasbulhukm* with a Parwana which contained the following significant statement among others: " In regard that Chosen of his Cast hath not as yet sent a Present to his Majesty upon his accession to (sitting upon) the Sacred Throne, resembling the Throne of Heaven, the Royal Phirmaund in the name of that Exemplar of his people is not come forth. It must be that he send a Present that is suitable". About the same time there was a communication from the Steward giving an idea of what would be acceptable and suitable for the Present.[3]

Pitt lost no time in catching the opportunity. In the course of a lengthy communication dated the 4th January, 1709, Pitt says: "Since the receipt of which (Perwana) I have procured many of the Curiositys you mention for a present, for which we want a safe conveyance for that we have daily, of great Robberys on the road, therefore desire your excellency to favour us with an order to all Nahob and Governors to guard the Present from place to place whatever way it comes, and with it shall come out most Dutiful and humble Petition to the King with our addresses to the great Cawn Caunaun and Cawn Bahaudur, but for want of Englishmen of long standing and experience in the Country believe we shall send a Brahmin with it, and direct him to follow your orders which we humbly request you'll favour him with and your protection."[4] The address referred to in the above contained a request that the Company might be vested with proprietory right over the five new villages,

---

1 From: *Indian Historical Records Commission, Calcutta,* 1920; Report, 1930, 1 ff.

2 11. D. Love *Vestiges of Old Madras,* Vol. 11, pp. 20-22.

3 Ibid, pp. 22-23

4 *Diary and Consultation Book of 1709,* pp. 3-4 (Madras, 1929).

and other privileges granted in Bengal, as for example, authorising a mint at Calcutta. It was thus finally resolved that a suitable present be forwarded to His Majesty with a request that a *farman* to the above effect might be issued to the Company. What items constituted this Present and what was their worth even approximately we are not in a position to say. But there is evidence to demonstrate that one of the items was six elephants.

News reached Pitt that the Emperor was staying at Golconda and at a Consultation[1] the following was adopted: "We having received advices that the King draws near Gulcondah we think it absolutely necessary that as we have received from him the first favours of any Europeans, that it will tend much to our advantage if we make him the first Present, for if the Dutch Present before us, 'tis great odds but that theirs may be so considerable, as to render ours despicable and if ours be presented first it may chance to be dispursed into as many hands before theirs come to as not to be able to make any true valuation then by common fame, which is generally five times the value, soe 'tis agreed that all things for the Present be packed up, and made ready to send to Metchlepatam on the Rising Sun Smack on the first turn of the wind, and that the Persons who have the management thereof see if done. And whereas Mr. Lewis is a very worthy, sober, Ingenious man, and understands the Persian Language very well, as also the customs of the country, 'tis agreed that the Governor persuades him in behalf of the Company to undertake the management of this affair with the King now near Gulcondah, and Mr. Berlu who is generally well respected by the Natives, and understands Moors and Gentu languages as also their customs 'tis agreed that he accompanies Mr. Lewis, and in concert negotiate this affair and that in order thereto he be forthwith sent for from Fort St. David."[2]

The Present was despatched by the Smack Rising Sun, to Masulipatam.[3] The embassy consisted of the Reverend George Lewis, Berlu, Chief Merchant Serappa and some native functionaries, fifty peons, seventy servants and six hundred coolies. Before the gift, which, it is reasonable to assume, was of great value, reached Masulipatam for despatch to Golconda, the Emperor had left the place for the Imperial Capital. Hence, it was useless to take it to Golcanda. It lay for sometime in Masulipatam.

In the meantime Pitt retired from his office and William Fraser became President and Governor of Fort St. George. The Nawab Daud Khan (Nabob Dow'd Cawn according to the Despatches), demanded the return of the five new Villages and Fraser's Government followed the example of Pitt in winning him over by presents then and there. Hence it was decided to send him a Present "in such rarities as are procurable not exceeding six hundred and fifty pagodas."[4] At a Consultation on the 24th November, 1709, a tentative list of articles to be presented was decided upon,

---

1 Despatches to England 1711-1714, p. 142.

2 Diary and Consultation Book of 1709, pp. 13-14 (Madras, 1929).

3 Ibid., p. 14.

4 Diary and Consultation Book of 1709 (Madras, 1929), p. 202.

and the list included, it may be noted, 400 bottles of liquor. It was also agreed that a sum, not exceeding pagodas 650 resolved upon three days back, could be spent for the purpose. The final list of particulars constituting the present to the Nawab was adopted at a Consultation on the 3rd December, 1709, and its value was estimated at Pagodas 878.[1] It was despatched under the custody of 29 coolies on the 6th December.[2] In 1711, however, these five new villages went back to the possession of the native Government and continued to be in its possession till 1717, when they were restored to the Company under a Moghul Farman.

In the meantime steps were taken to carry the Present to Bengal and to keep it in the custody of the President and Council there.[3] Meanwhile news reached Madras that the Emperor Shāh Ālam was dead (1712), and the succession was disputed by many a claimant. How Jahan Dar Shah obtained the throne and soon lost it and how Prince Furruckseer became the Emperor are narrated to us.[4] Concerning the new Emperor the following paragraph appears: "The New King is a young Man of about twenty-six years of age, he has the character of being brave, prudent and generous and is the last of the race of Aurengzeb except some young children, imprisoned in the Fortress of Goualoeor where when once they have enter'd they never come out, have potions given to them to destroy their senses, this seems to be the king for whom, Providence has designed your Present, which leads us to touch upon that Affair." [5] In the course of the Despatch and in continuation of the above extract, we are told that the President and his Council, Bengal, made arrangements to send the Present, now a little reduced in bulk and consequently in value, on to Patna under the safe custody of one Cojah Serhad, an Armenian. It is thus concluded: "Now all our hope is, that the present King will have some Consideration for us, on Account of the sum of Mony so readily supplied him with upon his March from Patna to Agra, which he then said (or at least we are told so) he would never forget."[6]

---

1 Ibid., p. 108.

2 Ibid., p. 109.

3 Despatches to England 1711-14, p. 6 (Madras, 1929).

4 Ibid., pp. 140-141.

5 Ibid., pp. 141-142.

6 Ibid., p. 142.

A Forgotten Chapter in South Indian History

A history of South India is still in the making. There are several chapters that remain to be written or rewritten. One such chapter is that on the Āyi kingdom and its rulers. One among the problems that confront the historian of South India is to find out the origin of these Āyis. Who were these people that have left indelible mark in South Indian history? Were they indigenous or emigrants from other lands? Where did they rule? What was their country? Were they subordinate chieftains or independent chiefs? Can we approximately fix a chronology to their origin, rise and fall? These and other questions we endeavour to answer in the following pages.

Extent of the Āyi Kingdom

Before we proceed to examine the origin of the Āyis it is better to study the geographical background of their history, or in other words the physical basis of their history. The chief sources of information for this study are ancient Tamil literature which goes by the name of the Saṅgam literature and the records of foreign travellers. The earliest extant work of this literature has been generally accepted to be the Tolkāppiyam, a Tamil Grammar attributed to a certain Tolkāppiyanār who seems to have flourished about the fourth or fifth century B.C. He speaks of Tamilnāḍu as Sentamilnāḍu.[1] Writers of the mediaeval period, however, have divided the whole Tamil Nāḍu into two broad divisions Śentamil nāḍu and Koḍum tamil nāḍu.[2] Whatever may have been the conditions that made these mediaeval writers to differentiate Tamil nāḍu as Śentamil nāḍu and Koḍum tamil nāḍu it was not so, we can say without any fear of contradiction, in the early centuries of the Christian era, as evidenced by the Saṅgam works. It is incontrovertible that Tolkāppiyam does not mention a division like Koḍumtamil nāḍu. A later writer and a celebrated commentator on the Tolkōppiyam like Deyvaccilaiyār seems to accept this position of Tolkāppiyanār. In his gloss on the sūtra 393 of the Śolladikāram he rejects what other commentators state to be Śentamil nāḍu and declares that Śentamil region had the following as its boundaries—Veṅkaḍam in the north, Kumari in the south, and on the two other sides the sea.[3] We have then the authority of Deyvaccilaiyār that all the region

---

1 Śolladikāram, sūtra 393.

2 See for example, the comment of Śaṅkara namaśśivayar on Nannūl sūtras 271–3.

3 Veṅkaḍam is the modern Tirupati hills and Kumari is Cape Comorin.

வடவேங்கடந், தென்குமரி,
ஆயிடைத், தமிழ்கூறு நல்லுலகத்து,
வழக்குஞ் செய்யுளு மாயிரு முதலின்
எழுத்தும் சொல்லும் பொருளுநாடி.

என்றமையானும், இதனுள் தமிழ்கூறும் நல்லுலக-
மென விசேடித்தமையானும், கிழக்கும் மேற்கும்
எல்லை கூறாது தெற்கெல்லை கூறியவதனாற்

south of Tirupati hills and extending both to the east and west as far as the sea was Tamilagam. Another sūtra (395) is little more informing.[1] According to this Tolkāppiyanār makes a definite statement that the ancient Tamilagam consisted of 12 nāḍus or provinces. Though the sūtra admits of another interpretation, viz., the reference is to the kingdoms that were found on all sides of the Tamilagam. Deyvaccilaiyār would have it as the twelve nādus into which the whole of the ancient Tamil world was divided. The following are the names of these different regions: Tenpāṇḍināḍu, Kuṭṭanāḍu, Kuḍanāḍu, Karkānāḍu, Veṇāḍu, Pūḻināḍu, Panrināḍu, Aruvānāḍu, Aruvavadatalaināḍu, śītanāḍu, Maḻaināḍu and Punalnāḍu.

தென்பாண்டி குட்டங் குடங்கற்கா வேண்பூழி
பன்றியருவா ளதன்வடக்கு-நன்றாய,
சீதமலாடு புனனாடு செந்தமிழ்சே
ரேதமில் சீர்ப்பன்னிரு நாட்டெண்.

There is another list of these twelve nāḍus with slight variations in their names. These are the following: Pondungarnāḍu (also Pongar nāḍu), Oḷināḍu, Tenpāṇḍināḍu, Karuṅkuṭṭanāḍu, Kuḍanāḍu, Panṟināḍu, Karkānāḍu, Sitainādu, Pūḻināḍu, Malainādu, Aruvānāḍu and Aruvāvaṭatalaināḍu. The second list is accepted by Deyvacciaiyār as the correct list of the twelve nāḍus.[2] Into the identification of these different nāḍus this is not the place to go. Suffice it to say that Veṇādu of the first list represents roughly modern Travancore. This Veṇāḍu is perhaps the Oḷināḍu of the second list, one meaning of Oḷi is fame, and to venture a conjecture it was one of the renowned kingdoms of ancient days. Veṇāḍu again is not a single name. It consists of two words. Vel and nādu. The literal meaning is that it was the nāḍu or kingdom of Vel or Velir.[3] It lay south of the Kuṭṭanāḍu and extended as far as Cape Comorin.

It was not then a nāḍu on the outskirts of the Tamilnāḍu but formed a part and parcel of Tamilnāḍu proper. This is the view of Deyvaccilaiyār as has been already pointed out, and could be the only sensible view to be taken. For the Velir were the Tamil tribe of the Yādavas as we shall see in the sequel and spoke the Tamil tongue, having been long in the heart of the Tamil country. It may be pointed out in this connection that this was not the only place which was occupied by the Velir. There were other small states where the Velir got settled, like the Koḍumbālūr Velir of Pudukkotta state. But in the early centuries of the Christian era the Velir of the Veṇāḍu perhaps rose to prominence and became an independent ruling line in the

---

குமரியின் தெற்காகிய நாடுகளையொழித்து
வேங்கடமலையின் தெற்கும், குமரியின் வடக்கும்,
குணகடலின் மேற்கும், குடகடலின் கிழக்குமாகிய
நிலம் செந்தமிழ் நிலமென்றுரைப்ப.

Tolkap. Śolladikā—Deyvaccilaiyār. comment. Karandai edition, p. 217. 1929, th.

1 செந்தமிழ் சேர்ந்த பன்னிரு நிலத்துந்
தங்குறிப் பினவே திசைச் சொற்கிளவி. Tolk. Soil.

2 See the gloss on sūtra 395.

3 See also Tr. Arch. Series, Vol. II P. 33.

region now representing the Travancore State. We cannot say with any definiteness that Veṇāḍu covered the whole region now covered by the State of Travancore. On the other hand there is sufficient testimony to point out that the region now represented by the East or rather Central and South Travancore was ruled by a different set of chieftains who went by the name of Āyi. In the early years of the Christian era this portion of Travancore was mostly hilly tracts as it is also largely true today. In these hilly tracts which can be roughly said to begin from the Palghat gap and extend as far as the Cape Comorin these Āyi chiefs held their extensive sway independent of Veṇāḍu and Pāṇḍināḍu. It was the region of the famous Podiyil hills, sacred to the memory of the sage Agastya. In fact one Āyi is called Podiyil Śelvan,[1] These Āyis were then primarily the chiefs of the Podiyil hills: and attracted the attention of Ptolemy who visited India about 140 A.D. Ptolemy refers to the country of Aioi,[2] and this reference is unmistakably to the Āyi country round about the Podiyil hills. This reference is all the more important for a satisfactory identification of the Āyi country proper. For according to Ptolemy the kingdom of the Aioi was south of Bakarei. The late Kanakasabhai identified Bakarei with the village of Vaikkarai near modern Kottayam.[3] and it has not been so far questioned. So we may say that Kanakasabhai almost hit the right point in this identification. The mention of Paralia again may be a reference to Paraḷiyāṟu or the river Paraḷi of South Travancore. Again if the testimony of the *Puṟam* anthologies is of any value (137–140) it shows that to the west of the Podiyil hills was the Nāñjilnāḍu, now a part of modern Travancore and it was in the occupation of a chieftain who went by the name of Porunan. Porunan is celebrated in these four poems of the *Puṟanāṉūṟu* as the lord of lofty Nāñjil mountain famous for jack trees. Not only *Puṟanāṉūṟu* informs us that Āyis were the lords of the Podiyil hills (st: 128 ff.) but also definitely states the name Āyikuḍi (st. 132) leaving us in no doubt that it was the capital city of the Āyis. This Āyikuḍi has been rightly identified with the present Āykkuḍi near Ceṅkōṭṭai on the eastern border of Travancore State. The above discussion leads to the conclusion that most portion of the East and South Travancore of the present day was the territory of the Āyi in the first and second centuries after Christ, and that it included the Podiyil hills and that its capital was Āykkuḍi.[4]

Origin of the Āyis

We have said that the Veḷ or Veḷir ruled the ancient Travancore area for some time. We have no evidence to determine how long they ruled. If the tradition of the Perumāḷ rule could be accepted, then we can safely say that the Perumāḷs succeeded

---

1 Aham, 25, 1.20.
பொதியிற் செல்வன் பொலந்தேர்த் திதியன்.

2 *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy* by J.W. Me Crindle, 1885.

3 *Tamils 1800 years ago*, pp. 19–20, pp. 53.4. also p. 180.

4 *Contra*—Gopinatha Rao: Tr. Ar. Series, I. p. 188. A distance of 35 miles from the Podiyil need not preclude it being a capital. To say that there is no vestige of the ancient capital is not convincing. We fail to find, for example, traces of antiquities in the modern hamlet which represnts the ancient Chola Capital Puhār.

that of Veḷir.[1] For both theories however there is no impeachable testimony. History records that when these Veḷir were masters of Veṇāḍu, the Āyis continued to be overlords of Podiyil and its surrounding regions. One set of scholars represented by Paṇḍit M. Raghava Aiyangar[2] connects these Veḷir with Veḷḷalas who seems to have played no mean part in the history of the Tamils. The late Kanasabhai took this position when he says that Māveḷ Āay belonged to the tribe of Veḷḷāḷas.[3] The late Gopinatha Rao, some time Archaeologist to the Government of Travancore, has edited a number of inscriptions in the Travancore Archaeological Series, and he is also of opinion that the Āyis were 'Veḷḷalas of the higher social scale, that of the overlords of the farmers of the soil.[4] The Archaeologist further informs us the several inscriptions which however, belong to the eighth and ninth centuries furnish names of kings who belonged to the Āy-kula.[5] Though the consensus of opinion is for identifying the Veḷir with the Veḷḷāḷas, one objection can be raised against this theory, and that is that while the Āyis were a pastoral people, the Veḷḷālas were mainly an agricultural community. But nothing would prevent the pastoral people taking to agriculture in the march of time. Whatever this may be, it cannot be controverted that the Āyis were a branch of the great Vēḷir tribe. For Uṟaiyūr Ēṇiccēri Muḍamōsiyār, a śaṇgam poet of much renown who sings in praise of Āyi Aṇḍiran, definitely refers to him in one of the verses as Vēl Āyi.[6] In another verse[7] the same poet gives expression to Māvēl Āyi. These two references made by a contemporary poet of the Āyi king Aṇḍiran are sufficient to demonstrate that these Āyis were only a branch of the Veḷir clan. From the term Āykula in the later inscriptions it can be said that these Āyis were one of the chief families that constituted the Vēḷir-gaṇa.

Again the term Āyi has been equated with Āyar, a community of cowherds and shepherds. And it is said that the term is derived from the first letter ā which means 'a cow' in Tamil literature. There is nothing improbable in this if we only recall to our mind the original history of the Vēlir. A clue has been yielded by one of the verses in the Puṟanānūṟu attributed to the Saṅgam poet Kapilar (verse 201). Addressing Iruṅgovēḷ, a distinguished member of the Vēḷir line, the poet Kapilar says the Iruṅgo was forty-ninth in descent from the great Vēḷ who took his birth from the fire-pit in the northern direction and ruled Dvārakā.[8] This stanza[9] of Kapilar then

---

1 *The Travancore State Manual*, Vol. 8. pp. 219–229.
2 See his able monograph on *Veḷir varalāṟu*.
3 Op. cit., p. 106.
4 Tr. Ar. Series, No. 1, p. 3.
5 Ibid.
6 *Puram* 33, last line. தேர்வே ளாயைக் காணிய சென்மே.
7 *Puram* 135, 1.13. மலைகெழு நாடன் மாவே ளாஅய்.
8 We have a similar tradition about the founder of the Paramāra family who is said to have been born from a fire-pit on Mount Arbuda (Abu).
See for details D.C. Ganguly, *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, 1933, Pp. 1 ff.
9 நீயே, வடபான் முனிவன் றடவினுட் டோன்றிச்
செம்பு புனைந் தியற்றிய சேணெடும் புரிசை
யுவரா வீகைத் துவரையாண்டு
நாற்பத்தொன்பது வழிமுறை வந்த
வேளிருள் வேளேவிறற்போ ரண்ணல் etc.

yields much historical material of an original character. A mythical origin hangs about the founder of the Vēḷir family. The reference to fire-pit shows that the founder was what we may call Brahmanical in religion, as fire-pit is generally associated with Vedic yajñas or sacrifices. The second thing we learn from this informing verse is that the Veḷir originally belonged to Dvārakā, the quondam capital of Śrī Kṛṣṇa of the Yādava line. The Purāṇas bear witness to the fact that the Yadus branched off into a number of groups which went by the name of the Bhojas, Sātvatas, Vṛṣṇis, Dāśārhas and Yādavas. To what group the Vēḷir belonged it is not possible to say at this distance of time. Apparently the Vēḷīr is a Tamil expression standing for one of the above communities. Whatever this may be, the fact remains that the Vēḷir were a branch of the great Yādava tribe. We know again from the Purāṇas that Yādavas claim their descent from Yadu, son of Yayāti. As the throne did not of right belong to Yadu, owing to the curse of Yayāti,[1] the members of Yadu line came to be looked upon as Kṣatriyas inferior in rank. Another circumstance that led to their inferiority complex is the alleged birth and growth of Kṛṣṇa in the midst of gopālas who consequently became akin to the Yādavas. Notwithstanding these peculiar circumstances, the Yadu dynasty was a great Kṣatriya line of kings. And history records that twice these Yādavas had to leave their capital in search of new homes and newer settlements. It is Kauṭalya's dictum that when a king behaved tyrannical, one course open to his peaceful subjects is to withdraw to an alien land and settle down there . So when Kaṁsa assumed charge of administration at Mathurā imprisoning his father Ugrasena and ruled according to his will and pleasure, the Yādavas migrated to neighbouring kingdoms as the Bhāgavata Purāṇa would have it.[2] (X. ch. 2, 2–3).

Again after the great decease of Kṛṣṇa the Yādavas wandered in search of new homes, and while some groups settled in different parts of Mysore, others more adventurous, reached Tamilnāḍu and settled in mountainous tracts which were suitable to their pastoral culture. These were known as Vēḷ or Vēḷir in the Tamil country. Thus the Vēḷir belonged to the Kṣatriya stock. As a branch of this Vēḷir clan the Āyis should be regarded also as Kṣatriyas, unless there is strong evidence to support the theory that they belonged to the tribe of Gopālas, as some scholars would believe. Thus we have to connect these Āyis with the great Yādava movement that took place on the great decease of Kṛṣṇa. This Yādava connection of Āyis and Vēḷir is again borne out by the fact that we have a number of temples dedicated to Kṛṣṇa in the state of Travancore. It is well known that the Yādavas were followers of the Kṛṣṇa cult, and wherever they settled, they spread the cult of Kṛṣṇa. That explains the fewer temples to Kṛṣṇa in the Tamil districts and more temples for Him in the west coast, and especially in the state of Travancore.

Added to this is the tradition recorded by the celebrated commentator Naccinārkkiniyar that when Agastya came to the Tamil land, he took, among

---

1 See Bha. Purāṇa, X. Ch. 45. 13.

2 The epic Mahābhārata speaks of eighteen families of Yādavas. Kṛṣṇa in addressing Yudhiṣṭhira says thus, Sabha, 14, 27. Kumbhakonam ed.

others, with him the Vēḷir who were the descendants of Kṛṣṇa. This further supports the theory of migration of the Yādavas into the Tamilnāḍu. Above all, the Pāḷiyam plates of Varaguṇa[1] who was not the Pāṇḍyan Varaguṇa but who has been identified with Vikramāditya Varaguṇa of the Huzur Office plate, clearly mention that this Varaguṇa of the Āy-kula belonged to the Vṛṣṇi tribe to which, it needs no saying, Kṛṣṇa belonged. Is the Vēḷir then a corrupted Tamil form from the Sanskrit expression Vṛṣṇi? Perhaps it is. The reference to Malaya hills in the inscription shows a great Vṛṣṇi settlement in the region. Further the inscription shows that the members of the Yādava Vaṃśa were in the habit of performing horse sacrifices. And none but Kṣatriya princes could of right perform Āśvamedha sacrifices. All these facts taken together compel us to conclude that the Āyis, like their neighbours the Vēḷir, belonged to the great Yādava stock, and were Kṣatriyas who settled in the Tamil land in prehistoric days. As Kapilar speaks of Iruṅgovēḷ as 49th in descent from the founder of the Vēḷir family, and as he flourished roughly about the second century A.D.[2] the founder of the dynasty must have flourished forty generations before Kapilar. If we estimate approximately even twenty years for a generation then it is about a thousand years before 100 A.D. when the Yādava-vaṁśa was founded in Dvārakā.

The Early Āyi rulers

It is rather difficult to construct a political history of the Āyi rulers, the overlords of Podiyil hills. Reliable data are indeed lacking. Still an endeavour is made here to give a history with the materials available. The Āyi king we meet with in Saṇgam literature goes by the name of Aṇḍiran, and Aṇḍiran Āyi may be taken to be the Aioi referred to by Ptolemy. As Ptolemy visited India by about 140 A.D. we may suggest that Aṇḍiran was his contemporary. We have no means of knowing anything about the ancestors of Aṇḍiran, and also when Aṇḍiran's family commenced to reign at Āykkuḍi. The available evidence shows Aṇḍiran Āyi to be first king of the Āy-kula of whom we know anything. This does not mean that Aṇḍiran was the first ruler of his family. The chief source of information about Aṇḍiran consist of the ten verses of Puṟanānūṟu (127–136). These are sung by Uṟaiyūr Ēṇiccēri Muḍamōsiyār, a Brāhman poet who received much patronage at the hands of the Cera king Antuvan Ceral Irum-poṟai. That his account of Āyi was not an exaggerated one and that he spoke the bare truth is attested to by another poet Perumcittiranār (Puṟam st. 158). The same poet Mōsiyār has also sung in praise of the Cōla monarch, Muḍittalaikko Perunaṟkiḷḷi. From this it appears that Aṇḍiran was a contemporary of Antuvan Ceral Irumporai and Cōḷan Perunaṟkiḷḷi. In a tentative chronology of the Cera kings Mr. K.G. Sesha Aiyar assigns[3] to Antuvan Ceral c. 100–120 A.D. If this date is accepted, Aṇḍiran was already a ruler before 120 A.D; he continued his rule to c. 140 A.D. and beyond if he were the Aioi referred to by Ptolemy. Anyway it is certain that he flourished in the earlier half of the second century A.D. He is

---

1 *Tr. Ar. Series* 1. pp. 187–93.

2 See my *Studies in Tamil Literature and History*, p. 54.

3 *Cera Kings of the Saṅgam period:* p. 129

addressed by the post as Āyivēḷ or Vēḷ-Āyi and Māvēḷ-Āyi. He is reckoned to be the first of the seven Vaḷḷals or those who gave away rich and profuse gifts to the deserving.[1] About his gifts, Muḍamósiyār informs us that he was not dealing with righteousness as an article of merchandise. He did not do Dharma expecting the return of heavenly happiness. He felt that giving gifts to the needy and the deserving was the highest Dharma irrespective of the fruits thereof, and he acted accordingly. He realised that it was a duty incumbent on him to give without expecting anything in return even in the other world. In fact his duty of gifts amounted to what Sanskritists would say *niṣkāmakarma*.[2]

His gifts consisted chiefly of elephants. Being the overlord of mountain tracts which were rich in elephants Aṇḍiran gave away a large number of elephants as gifts. He was giving so much that the poet wonders whether elephants in his forests would give birth to ten cubs at a time. (Puṛam 130). By his unparalleled gifts, Aṇḍiran's name became widely known. A certain Viṛali (female bard) who had heard so much of Aṇḍiran's generosity expressed to Muḍamosiyār her desire to see the person of such wide fame. With great difficulty, this lady got up the hill in spite of hot weather and hard rocky soil, not with a view to receive gifts but to feast her eyes with looking on that gifted person. (Ibid. 133 and 135). Such a reputation the high-souled Aṇḍiran had earned. A certain poet Ōḍaikiḷār of Tuṛaiyūr had heard of the philanthropic nature of Aṇḍiran and feeling the pinch of hunger, had audience with his majesty the Āyi king and was richly rewarded.[3] Such continuous gifts of elephants and other things, the poet says, drained completely his resources so much so that there was no elephant found in his stables, and no ornament excepting the *maṅgaḷavaṇi* decking the bodies of his queens. Such a spirit of philanthropy actuated his mind, and no wonder he has been assigned the foremost rank among the Vaḷḷals of the Tamil country.

Aṇḍiran was at the same time a trained soldier and a warrior of much prowess. (*Puṛam* 128). He decked himself with the garland of flowers of *śurapunnai* (ochrocarpus longifolius) which was perhaps characteristic of his region. From *Puṛam* st. 135 it can be inferred that he was in possession of a chariot force besides horses and elephants. Though we have no details of the wars and conquests effected by him, there is a passing reference in *Puṛam* 130 to his invasion of Koṅgar kingdom and the crushing defeat of the Koṅgar[4] at his hands. It is said that unable to stand against Aṇḍiran, the Koṅgar retreated from the battle-field leaving their swords behind. They went away as far as the western sea:

---

1 The other six are Adigaman, Nalli, Pekan, Ori, Kari, and Pari.

2 *Puram* st. 134.
இம்மைச் செய்தது மறுமைக்காமெனு
மறவிலை வணிக னாயலன் பிறருஞ்
சான்றோர் சென்ற நெறியென
வாங்குப் பட்டன் றவன்கைவண் மையே

3 *Puram*, 136.

4 The Kongar under reference are no other than Ceras.

அண்ணல் யானை யெண்ணிற் கொங்கர்க்
குடகடலோட்டிய ஞான்றைத்
தலைப்பெயர்த்திட்ட வேலினும் பலவே.

(*Puṟam* 130, ll. 5–8)

This proves beyond doubt how Aṇḍiran was a great conquering king also.

He seems to have been a Śaivite by religion. Once he got a very valuable silk garment from a certain nāga (euphemistically for a Nāga prince and friend of Aṇḍiran) When he was going back to the place of his residence it was winter and he came upon his way a *liṅga*, the phallic emblem of Śiva. As a devotee of Śiva, he at once felt that this *liṅga* was suffering much from the bad effects of the season, and put the silk cloth in his possession over the *liṅga* covering it against the cold.[1] He enjoyed for some time seeing the *liṅga* covered with his cloth, and after bowing to it he returned home. This account is based on the *Śirupāṇāṟṟupvaḍai*, one in the category of *Pattuppāṭṭu*. (11. 96–7). Not only was he godfearing, he had other noble qualities to commend him. He was always obliging and was ever generous and sympathetic. (Ibid. 98–9)

He had a happy home. He had more than one wife. All of them were devoted to him and chaste. They were so chaste that when he died his wives practised *satī* or self-immolation. The poet says well that on his death, Indra the king of gods welcomed him to his abode. By his deeds and by his character he won heaven. (See *Puṟam* 240 and 241). It is even said that a certain owl who lived in his forest saw that the master of the country had died, and without bestowing any thought he fell into the funeral fire and burnt himself. The idea is that Aṇḍiran won even the love of esteem of inanimate objects. (*Puṟam* 240).

Titiyan: Whether Aṇḍiran had a son to succeed him or who succeeded him is still a moot point in South Indian history. We meet with one Titiyan in Saṅgam literature, and it is just possible he was the successor to Aṇḍiran. But what was his relationship to Aṇḍiran, it is not possible to determine. Like Aṇḍiran, Titiyan seems to have been a great warrior and chieftain. Ollaiyūrtanda Bhūtappāṇḍiyan refers to Titiyan as 'Podiyir śelvan' or the lord of Podiyil hills.[2] In another verse the poet Paraṇar refers to the prowess of Titiyan and his army, especially the chariot force.[3] A certain Titiyan is being celebrated in a number of stanzas in the *Ahanāṉūṟu*. In *Aham.* 36 the poet Madurai Nakkīrar informs us that Titiyan was one of those who joined the confederacy of kings against the Pāṇḍyan Neḍuñceliyan who defeated them in the historic battle of Ālankānam or Talaiālaṅkānam now identified with Talai-ālam-kāḍu, eight miles north-west of Tiruvārūr in the Tanjore district. It seems that two Titiyans are involved here, the one possibly an Āyi king and the

---

1 In Śettur, Pandit Raghava Aiyangar informs me, the enshrined lord goes even today by the name. *Nāccāḍailiṅgam*, literally liṅgam clothed with Nāga's coil. It perhaps records the tradition attributed to Aṇḍiran.

2 *Aham.* 25, 1. 20.

3 Ibid. 322; See also 133.

other a Vēḷir chief of Teraḷannūr in Tanjore district. It is significant to recall to our mind in this connection the term *Podiyircelva* attributed to Titiyan by Bhūtappāṇḍiyan. This attribute well nigh shows that Titiyan was not only an independent ruler but also a chieftain who evoked the regard of the Pāṇḍyan king. At least the poet does not warrant any enmity between the Pāṇḍyan king Bhūtappāṇḍiyan and Āyi Titiyan. He was possibly an immediate successor of Aṇḍiran Āyi. Here it is difficult to follow the chronology of Mr. Sivaraja Pillai. There is at least a difference of a century between his calculation and ours. It is established with more plausibility that Aṇḍiran was the Āyi king referred to by Ptolemy, ruling about 140 A.D. It is therefore reasonable to assign to Titiyan a date after 140 A.D. If we roughly assign to him a generation of rule, he should be placed somewhere between 140 A.D. or 145 A.D. to 165 A.D or 170 A.D. But it may be noted in passing that this was the age of the Cera king Śeṅguṭṭuvan and his Pāṇḍyan contemporary according to the Śilappadikāram was a certain Neḍuñceḷiyan. Bhūtappāṇḍiyan must be possibly the immediate predecessor of this Neḍumjeliyan.

The history of the Āyi dynasty after Titiyan is a completely blank chapter in South Indian history. Neither literature nor epigraphy comes to our aid. Mr. K.N. Sivaraja Pillai however thinks that Adigan was a successor of Titiyan, and his successor was the Titiyan who fell in Ālamkānam battle. But there is no warrant to this theory. Nowhere is it stated that either Adigan, or Titiyan who took part in the battle of Ālaṅkānam, was of the Āyi dynasty that ruled from the Podiyil hills. On the other hand the very little evidence points to Adigan being identified with Adigamān; Titiyan who fell in the Ālaṅkānam battle had his kingdom in the Cōḷadeśa. In these circumstances it is difficult to agree with Mr. Pillai who seeks to bring the history of the dynasty to two more generations than we actually know.[1]

Later Āyi Kings

After the death of Āyi Titiyan it seems highly probable that the Āykula ruling from the Podiyil region lost its independence and became subject to the Pāṇḍyan kingdom. It was roughly about the end of the third century when the Āyi kingdom lost its independence. What became of the Āyis after this, we cannot say with any certainty. Indeed there is no clue, literary or epigraphical, to show that the Āyi recovered their independence in the later years. For about four centuries the history of this Āyi dynasty is thrown into the shade. Apparently the Āyi king continued to hold the position of a subordinate ruler until, in the eighth century, a member of the dynasty became powerful and asserted his independence. From the fact that the inscriptions of the eighth and ninth centuries shed needed light on the later Āyi rulers, we have to assume that the Āyi dynasty did not totally disappear in the third century A.D. and succeeding centuries. Perhaps a legitimate successor to the Āyi Titiyan was reinstated on terms of subordinate alliance to the Pāṇḍyan king, and this continued for some centuries until it was given to one Śaḍaiyan to shake off

1 *Chronology of the Tamils*, pp. 122-24.

the Pāṇḍyan yoke and regain his independence. Saḍaiyan is according to the available inscriptional evidence must have regained the independence of the Āyi country. This kingdom is known in the documents as Malaināḍu. The documents which throw light on the later Āyi rulers are the Huzur Office plates, the stone inscription at Kaḷugumalai and the Pāḷiyam plates of Varaguṇa.[1] A reconstruction of chronology on the basis of these records shows that Aḍakkan was reigning in 855 A.D., and continued to rule till 866 A.D. when Vikramāditya Varaguṇa succeeded him. It has been taken for granted that Śaḍaiyan, according to inscriptions, was the father of Karunandan. In the absence of definite evidence it is not possible to say whether the independence of the Āyi kingdom known to epigraphy as Malaināḍu as we have already said, was gained by Śaḍaiyan or one of his predecessors. Whatever this may be, it seems certain that Śaḍaiyan enjoyed a rule of independence and freedom. How long Śaḍaiyan flourished and whether he had any achievements to his credit, it is not possible to say. But one thing that can be claimed as a historical fact is that the throne passed on to his son Karunandan peacefully.

Karunandan succeeded his father Śaḍaiyan and is known in inscriptions as Śaḍaiyan Karunandan. As the epigraphist puts it, it simply means Karunanda, son of Śaḍaiyan. The Madras Museum grant and Velvikuḍi grant inform us that king Jaṭilavarman Parāntaka (Mārañcaḍaiyan) was his Pāṇḍyan contemporary. This receives further corroboration from the Kaḷugumalai inscription. It is said here that Mārañcaḍaiyan the Pāṇḍyan king led an expedition to Malaināḍu in the twenty-third year of his reign. This expedition was a successful one to the extent that the fort of Ariviyūrkkoṭṭai fell. The reigning Āyi chieftain also fell a victim to the Pāṇḍyan sword. It is not clear from the materials available whether his immediate successor Aḍakkan became a vassal of the Pāṇḍyan king. It must be noted that Aḍakkan ascended the throne with high sounding title of Ko-kkarunandaḍakkan which is also the reading of the stone inscriptions at Tiruviḍaikkoḍu.[2] So we have to take it in this necessarily imperfect sketch that Karunandan enjoyed freedom to the last years of his life. But Mr. Gopinatha Rao seems to think that he became a vassal and as is usual with the vassals he assumed the name Śrī Vallabha of his overlord for himself and Varaguṇa for his son.[3]

Adakkan. His full name is Ko-kkarunaḍaḍakkan. The Huzur Office plates yield much information about him. The first plate says that he built a Viṣṇu shrine and a śālai. For this purpose he bought a plot of land known as Ulakkuḍivilai from the sabhā of Miñcirai, and the whole was converted into a village which was named Parthivaśekharapuram. Before fixing up the final boundary limits of the village, he let loose an elephant round the land, it being an ancient custom. According to this a she-elephant was generally let loose. It would take its own route and come back home. As it went the route was marked, and the area thus marked out was a fitting

---

1 See *Tr. Ar. Series,* Vol. i.

2 *Tr. Ar. Series* 1 p. 14

3 Ibid. p. 189.

grant for any charitable purpose. So it is said that Karunandaḍakkan did it, and that land was apparently set apart for the temple and the śālai. This śālai was a boarding school, arrangements being made to feed ninety-five śaṭṭars. The other plates give more information about grants of lands to temple services, such as bringing water to the temple, supplying flowers, playing music and conducting the festival of seven days in the month of Paṅguni. It was already stated the provision was made for feeding 95 śaṭṭars who were followers of three Caraṇas—45 for the *Paviliya (Bahvṛca) caraṇa,* 36 for *Taittirīya caraṇa,* 14 for *Talavakāra.* Each caraṇa represents an important section of the Vedas.[1] Then the records give further information as to the relations between temple servants and śaṭṭars. In the fifth plate on its second side there is a Sanskrit verse which is in praise of one Śrī Vallabha,[2] and from this we have to infer that Karunandaḍakkan bore that name also. His Pāṇḍyan contemporary was Varaguṇa Pāṇḍya. Karunanḍadakkan had a son called Varaguṇa. The inscriptional evidence points out that this Varaguṇa or Vikramāditya Varaguṇa who succeeded Aḍakkan must have been born in A.D. 853, and it further records that Aḍakkan continued to live till 866 A.D.

Vikramāditya Varaguṇa: He succeeded Aḍakkan when he was a boy. According to one calculation he must have been thirteen years old when he ascended the throne. The source of information for his reign is mainly the Pāliyam plates of Varaguṇa.[3] The second part of the record commences with an invocation to Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha,[4] followed by a glorious description of Yaduvaṁśa. It appears from this record that this Varaguṇa became a convert to the Buddhist faith, and that Buddhism was his personal religion. He had granted in the year A.D. 868 extensive lands to the Buddhist temple at Śrīmūlavāsam.[5] He had also endowed the Jain temple at Chitarāl in the Vilavaṅgoḍu taluk.[6] We have no information about the Āyi dynasty after this prince. To venture a conjecture the dynasty died out soon.

In conclusion we have to note that the inscriptions, especially the Huzur Office plates, use the Tamil alphabet, and the language is Tamil. The particular interest it conveys is that the Āyi kingdom continued to be a part of the Tamil country until the end of the ninth century, if not later.

---

1 cp. Naccinārkkiniyar on Tolkāppiyam, Śirappuppāyiram.

2 Whether this was borne as the title of his overlord or in memory of God Krsna who uplifted the Yādava race, it is not quite easy to say. But I am inclined to take the latter view, and associate the school of Kanyākumāri which went by the name of Śrīvallabhapperumālai with the honoured name of this Āyi king (*Tr. Ar. Series* II, p. 138).

3 Tr. Ar. Series Vol I. pp. 187 ff.

4 Ibid p. 190—verses 1–2 First plate: second side.

5 A considerable amount of interest entres round Śrīmūlavāsam. What was flourishing about 868 A.D. had become submerged under sea waters by the commencement of the eleventh century. The description of the city has been recorded in the Mūsakavaṁśakāvya. What affords greater interest is the discovery of an image in Gāndhāra with the short inscription:

Daksināpathe mūlavāsalokanātha

(A Foucher: L' Iconographic Bouddhique Pt. I. p. 105)

This demonstrates two things: (i) Śrīmūlavásam was a reputed Buddhist shrine of Lokeśvara, (ii) a duplicate of this image was worshipped in distant Gāndhāra (*Tr. Ar. Series* 11, pp. 116–7)

6 *Tr. Ar. Series* 1, pp. 193–5.

Sultans of Mysore and the Śṛṅgeri Mutt

That toleration was the keynote of the religious policy of the Sultans of Mysore is evident from several records which have been happily preserved and handed down to us. The Sultans of Mysore with whom we are concerned are Hyder Ali and Tippu. It was in 1761 that Hyder became *de facto* ruler of Mysore and continued to rule until his death in December 1782 in camp in the Carnatic. His officers who were loyal to him did not make a public announcement of the death of the Nawab until his son Tippu Sultan who was then in Malabar was sent for and placed on the throne. Hyder enjoined upon his son Tippu Sultan to follow in his own footsteps and attach the affection of the people to himself as much as he could.

The administration of both Hyder Ali and Tippu Sultan was marked by activities of a healthy kind. Though Mussalmans by faith, they respected the feelings of their Hindu subjects and their institutions. The *inām* lands, villages, and *agrahāras* which had been granted in former times by previous Hindu rulers were left untouched. Hyder allowed those who had been enjoying them undisturbed.[1] In the same way Tippu Sultan is said to have restored a grant of twenty villages given to the Dattātreya Pīṭha by the Kings of Ānegoṇḍi.[2]

But if one examines the records now in the possession of the Śṛṅgeri Mutt, and traces the relations which existed between these Nawabs and the authorities of the Mutt, one is struck by the tolerant spirit which imbued the two rulers. The records demonstrate that their relations were something more than mere toleration. They actively helped the heads of the Mutt in pursuing their old traditional modes of religious worship and conduct. There are many records in the Śṛṅgeri Mutt which are in the form of sanads, *nirūpas* or letters addressed to the Heads of the Mutt by the Kings of Mysore from time to time, ranging in date from 1737 to 1878. Of these records which number more than 150, three are by Hyder Ali, and about 30 by Tippu Sultan. Taking the three records which relate to Hyder, one which is dated in 1769 reads thus : 'You are a great and holy personage. It is nothing but natural for everyone to cherish a desire to pay respect to you.' The letter which is a request to the Svāmiji to undertake an embassy to Sahib Raghunatha Rao, the Peshwa, informs us that for this trip the Nawab sent an elephant, one palankeen, five horses and five camels besides cash of Rupees ten and a half thousand for expenses. The Nawab also presented on this occasion gold cloth for the goddess, five pieces of silk cloth for the standard (*nisani*), and a pair of shawls for the use of the Svamiji. In the second letter the Nawab assures the Svamiji of the continuance of the *ināms* etc., due to the Mutt and this letter is accompanied by presents by Hyder Ali to the *maṭha*. As the letter insists on the Svamiji returning to Śṛṅgeri and living happily as

---

1 *An. R. Arch. Survey of Mysore* 1930, p. 101.

2 *Ibid.* 1931, p. 21.

before, it appears that due to some disturbance, the Śṛṅgerisvāmigal had to abandon his residence and live outside. Under what circumstances that event happened we are not in a position to know. But it is definite that Hyder assured him of the safety of both person and property. A third letter of Hyder is a *nirūpa* of date 1780 addressed to all his officers concerned. They were ordered to see that the contributions to the Mutt were properly realised. The contributions mentioned are, among others, two *Śrīcaraṇa kāṇike* and *dipārādhana kāṇike*. The tax-collectors of the Mutt were helped by the officers of the Nawab in realising the amounts due to the Mutt.[1]

An examination of Tippu's records shows how he esteemed the Śṛṅgeri svāmi, and was anxious to ensure his welfare. These records of which there are twenty-nine in the Mutt range in date from 1791 to 1798 bearing the years of the Mauludi era, commencing from the birth of Muhammad. The letters addressed to the svāmis generally begin thus : 'To Sachchidānanda-Bhārati svāmi of Śṛṅgeri, possessed of the usual titles Śrimat-paramahaṃsa and so forth, the *salām* of Tippu Sultan Badshah.' The Mysore Archaeologist who has taken pains to investigate these records tells us that of the records of Tippu at Śṛṅgeri, 17 are dated in 1791, five in 1792, one in 1795, one in 1796, and two in 1798. The general contents of these letters betray the fact that Tippu who was harassed by three enemies, the Mahrattas, the English and the Nizam wanted the Śṛṅgeri svāmi to perform religious ceremonies with a view to the destruction of the enemies and for the welfare of their country. The names of some such religious ceremonies are mentioned, *Śatacaṇḍī japa* and *sahasracaṇḍī japa*. The first was a rite in honour of Caṇḍī to be repeated one hundred times and the second, the same to be repeated one thousand times. The belief was that the more a mantra was meditated upon and repeated, the more efficacious it was. When the Svāmiji wrote to the Sultan that he had decided to perform the ceremony known as *Sahasracaṇḍī japa*, Tippu was overjoyed and he offered to meet all the expenses incurred in that connection. He seems to have been anxious that the ceremony should be conducted on proper lines, according to the prescribed rules. One item of the ceremony was to feed a thousand Brahmans every day. Adequate provision was made by the Sultan to see that disturbance of any sort should not attend the rite when it was being performed, extending over a maṇḍala or forty-eight days. The records which relate to the performance of the rite of *Sahasracaṇḍī japa* bear out the keen and absorbing interest of the Nawab in the matter.

Another letter records the Nawab sending to the Mutt two palankeens, one for the goddess and the other for the personal use by the Svāmiji, together with a pair of *Chauris* with silver handles. Still more interesting is the letter of 1793 which says: 'You are the Jagadguru. You are always performing penance in order that the whole world may prosper and that the people may be happy. Please pray to God for the increase of our prosperity. In whatever country holy personages like yourself may reside, that country will flourish with good showers and crops. Why should

---

1 *An. R. Arch. Survey of Mysore*, 1916, pp. 71 and 73

you live so long in a foreign country? Please finish your work soon and return.' The letter speaks for itself and requires no comments. This one letter is enough to indicate Tippu Sultan's regard for the occupant of the pontifical chair at the Śṛṅgeri Maṭha, and his solicitous care for Hindu religion and its accredited institutions. The Sultan is so much all veneration when he expresses his desire that the Svāmiji must as far as possible reside in his own country. The reference to the svāmiji outside his own place may be to the occasional tours taken by the Maṭhādhipatis for the welfare of the people at large.

That Tippu Sultan believed in the blessings of a holy personage of the status of the Maṭhādhipati at Śṛṅgeri, and wrote to him to send his blessings is evident from another letter dated 1791 which says : "You are a holy personage and an ascetic. As it is your duty to be solicitous about the welfare of the many, we request you to pray to God along with the other Brahmans of the *Maṭha*, so that all enemies may suffer defeat and take to flight and all the people of our country live happily, and to send us your blessings." Again, when the Svamiji wrote that consequent on the raid by Maratha horsemen on Śṛṅgeri, a reconsecration of the Śāradā ieon was necessary, the Nawab generously sanctioned 200 *rahati* in cash and 200 *rahati* worth of grain for the consecration ceremony.[1] These all point out to the solicitude on the part of the two Muhammadan rulers of Mysore towards the Hindu religious head of Śṛṅgeri.

1 *An R. Arch. Survey of Mysore, pp. 73.76.*

Around the City Pagodas

Even in the Centuries that preceded the Christian era, there flourished the town of Mylapore. The tradition that Saint Thomas was buried here in the First century A.D. and that the Sage Tiruvalluvar was born here or at least lived here a good part of his life—and Tiruvalluvar may be assigned with great probability to the first century B.C.—confirms the view that in the centuries preceding and following the Christian Era, Mylapore must have been a prominent locality. The tradition again as recorded in the *Divyapprabandam* of the Vaishnava Alvars gives the hint that Mylapore was the town to which the hamlet of Triplicane was attached. For does not the *Prabandam* speak of Mayilaiṭṭiruvallikeni? Triplicane was a suburb of Mylapore until it shot to prominence in the time of the Pallavas who, it is plausible, were the founders of the present Parthasarathi shrine. Mylapore is much celebrated in literature and legend. While the spurious *Kapilar Ahaval* makes it the birth-place of Valluvar, still other grounds are there to show that it was the residence of Valluvar, if not his birth-place. There is a separate shrine dedicated to this Sage in the present Kapalisvarar temple. There is some reason to conjecture that originally the shrine stood near the Mylapore beach and had been either overwhelmed by sea or pulled down by fanatics of alien faith. According to the *Tirunurrantati* attributed to Avirodhi Alvar and the *Neminatham,* Ten-Mayilai or South Mylapore was celebrated also on account of its Jain pagoda which is now lost. It was the birth-place of Peyalvar, one of the earliest Alvars, in whose honour a shrine exists even to-day. It is evident that the Saiva Samayacharya Sambandar visited this ancient place and established it as a leading Saiva center. Here it is said that this Acharya wrought the miracle of calling to life a Chetti girl from her cremated bones. This ancient shrine contains many sculptural images commemorating certain local legends, of which two are noteworthy. One, the penance of Parvati in the form of a mayil (peacock), and the other the miracle wrought by Saint Sambandar referred to above. Mylapore is also noted for its association with the sixty-three Saiva devotees called in popular Tamil Arupattumuvar belonging to different castes and communities. There are bronze statues enshrined in the Kapalisvarar temple for all these sixty-three Nayanmars. Even to-day a big festival is got up annually in honour of all these Saints, attracting thousands of people from all parts of the city and the suburbs.

Apart from such religious traditions which have centred round the town, Mylapore played an important part in the heyday of the Pallavas as a port of considerable significance. Mylapore port was as much a centre of trade as the Mamallapuram port under the Pallavas. It is probable that much sea-borne commerce was carried on in this port, as can be testified from the treatise *Nandikkalambakam,* Nandivarman III is known as Mallaivendan. Being advantageously situated, Mylapore kept up its prominence until the beginning of

the 16th century when the Portuguese took possession of it and beautified the shore part with churches and chapels. The Portuguese settlement got the name San Thome. Under them it became a commercial place, and it was administered separately from the Indian town of Mylapore. By 1640, the Portuguese power had begun to decline. The political history of the town, generally known as San Thome de Meliapur from this time until it was acquired by the Government of the East India Company in 1749 need not detain us. Many a vicissitude in political life did not diminish its prominence as a Saiva centre, nor did the cultural influence of the temple suffer to any appreciable extent. Additions have been made to the shrine, including beautiful sculptures, and its festivals are being celebrated on a grand scale. On the north-western corner of the temple tank there is a figure of Jyeshthadevi or the Goddess of Misfortune facing the tank and reckoned to be an image of the Pallava period.

Triplicane, as has been stated above, began as a small suburban village of Mylapore. If we can credit the tradition recorded by Tirumalisai Alvar, the original shrine was the Ranganatha one now on the north-eastern part of the Parthasarathi shrine. The date of its original construction is not known. Important Alvars like Peyalvar and Tirumangai Mannan have composed songs in its praise and Tirumangai even refers to Tellisingar after whom the present Tolasinga Perumal Koil Street is named. The temple contains within its precincts a Pallava inscription of Dantivarman, fragments of Chola records and a few inscriptions of Vijayanagar times. The main shrine dedicated to Parthasarathi was probably the gift of Pallava Mallan on the basis of two facts : (i) The Dantivarman inscription clearly shows that he only made a gift of land and therefore it existed already in his time, (ii) Tirumangai attributes definitely the construction to a Pallava and he must be one of the predecessors of Dantivarman. Among them Pallavamalla was a staunch Vaishnava and hence he might have been the founder. Along with this big temple the village also grew and soon became separated from Mylapore. An inscription in the temple shows that a pious citizen added to the structures and repaired the old ones in 1564 A.D. There are a number of fine carvings and beautiful images in the temple. People say that no fish can live in the tank Kairavini in front of the temple because of the curse of a Sage who was disturbed by a fish in his penance on the banks of the tank. With its acquisition by the Company about 1676, the management of the temple was taken by the Company and its chief merchants like Beri Timmanna. The influence of the temple grew under the fostering care of the Company's merchants. We shall refer to this later.

Mention may be made of the ancient temple of Tiruvorriyur, sacred to Thyagaraja, which is again a celebrated. Saiva shrine, about five miles to the north of Madras. Three of the four Samayacharyas have sung in its praise. These were Appar, Sambandar and Sundaramurti. Here also is situated the tomb of Saint Pattinattu Pillaiyar. The temple was also a centre of learning and in its mandapa were held discourses on Vyakarana and other subjects. There was a mutt attached to this about the 9th century A.D. presided over by Caturanana Pandita. There are a

number of inscriptions beginning with Pallava times recording gifts of land and other endowments to the temple. Sri Sankaracharya is said to have visited this shrine and put down the power of an evil goddess who was devouring anything that came before her. There is a tradition that associates the Durga Devi on the northern side of the main shrine with Kannaki, the Pattinidevi of the *Silappadikaram*. An annual festival lasting for 15 days is celebrated in her honour even to-day. On the last day the pandal is burnt down as a symbol of Kannaki burning down Madurai city.

Tiruvorriyur was acquired by the English only in the beginning of the 18th century and became a separate suburb of the city; and the Company's government had not much occasion to interfere in its growth and progress. There is a single record of 1785 describing the disturbances in this pagoda between the Left Hand and Right Hand castes, when the Company's government had to interfere and bring about an amicable settlement. But this old shrine continues to maintain its prestige and is visited by a number of pilgrims even to-day. As a piece of architecture and for its fine sculpture, the temple is unsurpassed in beauty and excellence.

Mention may also be made of the Puzhal Jain temple. About nine miles to the north-west of the city of Madras on the road from Madras to the Red Hills, there is a very ancient Jain temple dedicated to Sri Rishaba Deva or Sri Adinatha Bhagavan. Tradition says that it was built by a Jain saint who had a vow not to take food before doing puja to a Jain image. When he came to the village Puzhal, he was invited by a grhastà for food. But the ascetic said that he could take his food only after worshipping God in the form of a Jain image. The grhasta at once ordered a sculptor to make an image according to the rules laid down in the Jain scriptures. On seeing the image the ascetic was exceedingly glad in heart ; he performed puja to it and broke his fast. While departing from the village he asked his host to build a temple for the image and for the expenses to be paid to the workmen he asked him (the grhasta) to pay every man a handful of mud in the evening. This is strange and cheap way of paying for hard labour! The work of building the temple began and in the evening of the day when the workmen came to their master for the wages, he gave every one of them a handful of mud. Lo ! when the mud touched the hand of the labourer it was changed into coins worth the labour he turned out. In this way the temple was built. The temple is now under the management of an Upadhyaya who resides in the village. It is not possible to assign a date to the origin of this pagoda.

For ages together, the ground that lay between Tiruvorriyur and Mylapore was no-man's land, interspersed with primitive hamlets of fishermen and country sailors; until 1639 when Francis Day, a factor of the East India Company, obtained this vacant site and built a fortified town which is the great and wonderful city of which we all feel proud today. The following pages will deal with the later growth of the Hindu pagodas in this city.

Notwithstanding the rise of cults of different religious persuasions from time to time and the countless invasions of alien cultural waves, the Hindu religion has

held its own. This unalterable character in the life of this religion is due to the special genius of Hinduism for tolerance and appreciation of differing points of view. Madras under British rule was no exception to this long established practice. It was the policy of the Company's government to patronise the Indian faiths, Hindu and Moslem, sometimes undertaking the direct management of the temples and sometimes supporting native enterprise. In pursuance of this policy, the Government of Madras, as we shall see in the sequel, took over the management of the Madras Town Temple, and also of the Triplicane temple, among others, as well as of a mosque or two. Duties were levied on merchandise for the maintenance of the mosques and the temples. Both the communities, Hindu and Moslem, were subjected to this taxation, and this practice continued for a long time. But in 1707 the Moghul and Pathan Moormen merchants in the city, showed their unwillingness to pay for the Hindu shrines. Thomas Pitt who was then the Governor decided in favour of the continuation of the old practice. The Pathan merchants, however seemed to have threatened at this to desert the city and settle in San Thome. As this would have led to the ruination of trade, the Company's government ultimately yielded to their wishes in 1716. Some time later the Bengal merchants were also exempted from payment of taxes to support both Hindu and Muslim institutions.

We shall pass in review some of the temples that rose to prominence during the days of the Company and see in what ways the government of the day and its chief merchants helped in the growth and development of Hindu religious institutions. We are reminded of the philanthropist and chief merchant of the Company Alangada Pillai who flourished at the end of the 17th century. Most probably the street that bears his name in Triplicane is after this generous citizen of Madras. Alangada Pillai founded a new Saiva temple, known in the records as Allingall's Pagoda. This pagoda now goes by the name of Ekambaresvarar temple and finds mention in the map of Madras drawn by order of Thomas Pitt dated 1710. This pagoda is located in Mint Street which was originally known as the Washers Street being a street primarily of calico washers. It may be recalled that Alangada Pillai who founded this institution was a colleague of Pedda Venkatadri who succeeded Verona (Kasi Viranna) on the latter's death in 1680. We are told that Alangada Pillai died in 1685 and was succeeded by Beri Timmappa son of Pedda Venkatadri as chief merchant. Beri Timappa did not properly acquit himself in his new office, and had to flee from Madras even within a year of his office. Chekka Serappa succeeded Beri Timmappa as chief merchant in 1696. This temple was long regarded as the common property of the Right Hand and Left Hand castes, the troubles arising out of quarrels between them causing frequently unrest and trouble to the government. It was later recognised as the possession of the Right Hand castes.

Much more important than this Ekambaresvarar temple, and very much in the eyes of the Company was the Madras Town temple also called the Chennakesava temple. This account of this temple has an historical interest to the student of Madras history. It figures prominently as the Great Pagoda in Thomas Pitt's map of

1710. It was located, as the map would show, in the present High Court Park. Nothing definite is known about the original foundation of this shrine. The earliest notice about this pagoda is by Dr. Fryer who was on a visit to the city in 1673. His impressions are worth quoting as they shed some welcome light on its architecture and sculpture, though his remarks thereon show colossal ignorance of the symbols represented by them.

" Maderas divides itself into divers Long Streets, and they are checquered by as many transverse. It enjoys some CHOULTRIES for Places of Justice ; one Exchange, one PAGOD, contained in a square Stone-wall ; wherein are a number of Chappels (if they may be comprehended under that Classis, most of them resembling rather Monuments for the Dead than Places of Devotion for the living) one for every tribe ; not under one Roof, but distinctly separate, though altogether, they bear the name of one intire PAGODA. The work is inimitably durable, the biggest closed up with Arches continually shut, as where is supposed to be hid their Mammon of Unrighteousness (they burying their Estates a here when they dye, by the persuasion of their Priests, towards their VIATICUM for another State) admitting neither Light nor Air more than what the Lamps, always burning are by open Funnels above suffered to ventilate : By which Custom they seem to keep alive that Opinion of PLATO, in such a Revolution to return into the World again, after their Transmigration according to the Merits of their former living. Those of a minuter dimension were open, supported by slender straight and round pillars, plain and uniform up to the top where some Heiroglyphical Portraiture lends its assistance to the Roof, flat, with stones laid along like Planks upon our rafters. On the walls of good sculpture were obscene images, where ARETINE might have furnished his Fancy for his Bawdy Postures: The Floor is stoned, they are of no great altitude ; stinking most egregiously of the Oyl they waste in their Lamps, and besmear their Beastly Gods with : Their outsides shew Workmanship and cost enough, wrought round with monstrous Effigies ; so that OLEUM AND OPERAM PERDERE, Pains and Cost to no purpose may not improperly be applied to them. Their gates are commonly the highest of the Work, the others concluding in shorter Piles."

With the acquisition of suburban villages perhaps the last of which was San Thome in 1749, the Company's government felt the need for the expansion of their army. The question of defence against their rivals and enemies assumed proportions of enormous importance. According to the Military Consultations of the year 1757, this pagoda had to be razed to ground owing to military exigencies. The government which was fully wedded to the support and patronage of Hindu institutions would not dare to desecrate the hallowed ground. In consideration of this act on their part, the Company generously offered in 1762 an area equal to that occupied by the old shrine in Peddunaikenpetta, to the south of China Bazar Road, and helped the merchants and the local Hindu residents to put up a new structure, and the result was the new Town Temple erected in 1768. It is said that the Hindus being of

Vaishnava and Saiva persuasion built two shrines, Chennai Kesava Perumal and Chennai Mallikesvarar. And the two shrines together are known as the Town Temple in the Records available, and seem to have existed in close association from the very beginning.

It may be noted in passing that from a letter addressed to Fort St. George in 1752, five years before its demolition, the pagoda is claimed to be the Company's pagoda, and official recognition had been obtained to that effect. Col. H.D. Love who quotes this letter has an interesting observation to make. On account of this official recognition the temple servants of the New Town Temple continued to wear until recently badges marked with the words "East India Company." This only goes to confirm the view that was taken at the outset that the Town Temple was the Company's Pagoda and most probably the management of the temple was at one time vested in the Company. This means that a high percentage of tolls collected in the city for the maintenance and upkeep of temples and choultries were devoted to the expenses of the Town Temple. Mention can be made of two civil suits regarding the proper heir to the management of the temple. From these suits one can gather some important materials concerning the temple, its foundation and upkeep. One suit was in 1831, filed by the son and the grandson of Muthukrishna Mudaliar, who is claimed to be the founder-patron of the temple. Muthukrishna Mudaliar was Dubash to Governor Pigot (1755-63 and 1775-77). In those days the Dubashes wielded enormous powers and influence. So Muthukrishna opened a subscription list to erect the new Town Temple in place of the demolished one, and himself subscribed 5202 pagoda, while the Company's government paid a compensation price by contributing 1173 pagodas. The total amount collected including that realised from the public amounted to 15652 pagodas, and a fine structure was put up in the China Bazaar Road. Consequently the government appointed him as the First Warden of the shrine. He died in 1792 and as a result of the suit in 1831, his grandson Manali Muthukrishna Mudali (Junior) was recognised as Warden. According to the figures available during this early period, the income of the temple was from three sources : the Company's contributions being 500 pagodas. tolls and customs 800, and Raja of Kalahasti as the representative of the old Damarla family contributing 100 pagodas. In the second civil suit filed in 1898. some original documents were produced and these show that Naga Battan who was a gun-powder maker in the Company's service and Beri Timmanna a broker who came along with Day to Madras granted endowments to the Chennai Kesava Perumal temple in 1646 and 1648 respectively. Both the donors executed their documents in favour of one Narayanappa Ayyar or Narayana Ayyar.

[1] A Gift executed to Narrainappyer by Bari Thimmanen, who was employed as Native Head in the affairs of Moserinjour, an English Agent and Captain, residing at

---

1 Mr. K. Venkatasami Naidu, the Mayor of Madras, furnished me with this information from a record in his archieves. We have the authority of Beri Thimmanna here to say that Madras (Chennapatam) formed a part of the Chola Kingdom in the greater division of Tondamandalam, which, according to the celebrated Naccinarkiniyar, was one of the divisions of Tamil Nadu.

Chenna Puttanem alias Nawyer Nattoo, attached to Pulul Cottai of Sholavala Nattoo, under Thondamundalum, which had thereto been remarkably successful ; dated Monday, Thriyodasee or the 13th (of either the bright or dark fortnight), the 28th of Chitri month in Sarvathari year of Salivahana Era, 1569.

(To say)

"Whereas at (this) Chenna Puttanem I have built the Chenna Casava Perumaul Covil, and have endowed it with Manyam, a piece of ground, and other privileges, which all I do (hereby) transfer now to you, and which you are to hold and enjoy from son to grandson, as long as the duration of (both) the sun and moon, performing the divine services to their utmost extent. Should any one act prejudicially towards the charity, he would incur the guilt of having massacred a black cow on the bank of the Ganges. It is the gift to Narrainappyer by Bari Thimmanen through his consent."

(Signed) THIMMANEN.

"And as dictated written by Arnachellam on the part of Gooroovaputtem, Carnum of Chenna Puttanem."

As if to corroborate this, B. Ramaswami Nayudu, who published a *Memoir on the Revenue system of Madras*, in 1820, calls himself a descendant of Beri Timmappa (Timmanna) whom he refers as the builder of the Madras Temple. If the statement of Ramaswami Nayudu could be credited, then Beri Timmanna should have substantially added to the existing structure, as it undoubtedly stood before from the fact that only two years before Naga Battan had endowed it.

There were several other shrines put up in Madraspatnam, thanks to the munificence of private merchants and generous public. Thomas Salmon who served as an Ensign of Madras garrison in 1699 has left behind an account of the city at the time and has occasion to refer to the existence of a number of temples, big and small, and points to the institution of female choristers or songstresses and priests. It was then a custom for these choristers to form part of the equipage of a man of status and of some early governors of Fort St. George whenever they went out. For Salmon himself notes that governors of his time did not encourage that practice. About 1796 George Parry, Superintendent of the Company's Lands, reporting on the collection due to the pagoda makes mention of ten temples and a water pandal, maintained by public funds.

It is not possible in a paper like this to furnish an account of the various temples that grew up rapidly in the growing city. Mention however may be made of the great Kachchali pagoda or the Kachchalesvarar temple built *circa* 1725 in Armenian Street beyond the Company's Old Garden by the members of the Left Hand caste in a Garden which originally was owned by one Kalavai Chetty. When it was found that the structure encroached upon the preserves of the Right Hand castes the latter objected and dissensions ensued. An arbitration board was set up and it was decided to open a new approach to the temple. There was the Mallikarjunar pagoda situated in the north of Muthialpet, between Thambu Chetty Street and Lingi

Chetty Street. It is said to be an ancient foundation, and referred to as the "Mally Carjuns Old Pagoda" in the Company's records of the 17th century.

Another was Kalyana Varadarajasvami temple erected at Collett's pettah, the suburb that took the name of Governor Joseph Collett (1717-20). The latter vested in one Viraraghava, a Brahmin, the management of the shrine. The Governor is said to have helped the growth of this pagoda by lavish gifts. A part of the funds from the exports and imports of the city was allowed to this, and it is said that the Church Warden Viraraghava bestowed all his estate to the shrine. In this pettah weavers and painters from Tiruvorriyur settled in 1719.

The next pagoda of importance was Krishnaswami temple built about 1787, also Muthialpetta. Three years had hardly passed since its foundation when dissensions between the Left Hand and the Right Hand castes set in. The members of the Right Hand caste hoisted their white flag during the festival in 1790, thus replacing the flag of five colours which was the ensign of the Left Hand group. The riot took a serious turn, and led to the arrest and imprisonment of the caste headmen at the Main Guard at the inner Fort Gate. The Government had to interfere and ordered that caste flags should be pulled down and the ensign of St. George alone be used. It was the custom to use these flags at Hindu festivals. The Government released the prisoners and instructed the Town Major to be the medium of communication between the Governor and the military garrison to maintain peace.

A similar case of Government arbitration is noticed when there was trouble between Komatties and Beri Chetties concerning the Chintadri Pillaiyar temple, erected probably in 1717, not far from the present Chennai Mallikesvarar shrine in Muthialpetta. In this locality one of the early pagodas seems to be Kalahastesvara shrine built in the heart of the present Coral Merchant Street, the date of its foundation coinciding with the commencement of Fort St. George.

The Kandaswami shrine situated in George Town near the Big Bazaar is a very wealthy and richly endowed temple, founded in the 18th century, with the help of the Beri Chetty community of the city. The image is said to have been taken from the Tirupporur shrine. It has a beautiful stone-faced and stepped tank and very costly and jewelled *vahanas*. The tower of the temple was renovated in recent times by a rich merchant, Kali Ratna Chettiyar. A grand festival is celebrated every year in the month of *Tai* (January-February) which attracts a vast concourse of people from every part of the city.

In the early part of the 18th century a piece of ground called the Komatla Thota (Cutwal Chawadee) otherwise called Kooragayala Thota (a vegetable garden) situated in Audiappa Naick street was dedicated by the then owner for the benefit of the Bania community. Its income was to be spent for their festivals and charities. This charity was managed by Sunku Chinna Krishnama Chetty in 1784. It was during the church wardenship of Colla Ravanappa Chetty, that the pagoda Kanyakaparamesvari and a number of bazaars were built in 1803-4 in Kotwal Bazaar by raising public subscriptions, himself contributing a liberal donation. The charities are now being managed by a committee of Vaisyas and are being devoted,

among other purposes, to the education of Vaisya pupils. They are running two hostels, a dispensary and two elementary schools, one for boys and the other for girls. The present Kotwal market forms the property of the Devasthanam of Kanyakaparamesvari.

Passing on to the suburbs of the Madraspatnam we find that side by side with foundations and annexations, the growth of Hinduism is distinctly marked. The village of *Chinna-tarai-pettai* is largely due to the enterprise and initiative of Adiappa Narayana, the Dubash of Governor Benyon. The village of weavers which goes by the name of Chintadripettah today thus came into being. The residents being mainly Hindus, Adiappa erected new temples and for the benefit of Muhammadans a mosque was also put up. About 1740 with the gradual loss of the estate of Adiappa, an appeal was preferred to the Company's Government for funds for the upkeep of the temple. Adiappa died in 1743. But the Chintadripet temple was later used as a powder magazine when the city was besieged in 1758-9 and as hospital in 1785.

Regarding additions to the city, on an appeal to Emperor Aurangazeb, Governor E. Yale, got Tandore (Tondiarpet), Persewacca (Puraswakkam) and Yegmore (Egmore) as free gift. The Emperor's son granted Nungambacca (Nungambakkam) and four adjoining villages for an annual rent of 1500 pagodas. These were villages much more ancient than Fort St. George, and had their little pagodas like the Gangadharesvarar shrine of Purasawakkam. But the Iswaran temple in Nungambakkam deserves some attention. It contains a dated inscription and records a grant of lands to the Brahmans for its maintenance. Nungambakkam with Egmore is mentioned in epigraphy of the 11th century A.D. Egmore was known as Elumur and had a shrine dedicated to Telliyasinganāyanar. Perhaps it is the present Perumal Koil adjoining the Gangu Reddy Road and facing the Chinna Reddy Road. It is interesting that Saint Appar refers to it. There was again probably a temple at Tirucharator near the end of Mint Street, and its only vestige is a slab (preserved in the Madras Museum) containing a fragment of inscription of Parthivendravarman's time.

The Muhammadan residents of the city were comparatively few. They figure as Moors in the Company's records. Their chief residences were in Moors Street. A mosque was built for their welfare in this street in Old Black Town by a chief merchant Cassa Verona (Kasi Viranna) who died in 1680, on behalf of the Company. When Yale was Governor another mosque was put up in Muthialpet. Both these served the Muhammadan population of Madraspatnam in the first century of its existence. It is interesting to see how the Hindus of the city were tolerant and respected the religious teachings of their Muhammadan brethren. They founded mosques for them and in some cases continued to manage such foundations.

Thus it is seen that by donations, endowments and funds collected from a tax on exports and imports being a voluntary payment, and with customs dues, the Company's government made ample provision for the maintenance and upkeep of

Hindu pagodas and Moslem places of worship. Whenever there were communal troubles between the Left Hand and Right Hand castes, government effectively interfered and settled their differences either by arbitration or by order in Council. In some cases the riots were of a serious nature and the government was hard put to it to keep order and peace. On one occasion the aged and the children of the caste concerned were imprisoned, but Government released them. It is not possible to find out the origin of the rise of the two groups, the Left Hand and the Right Hand. But they already figure in the time of the Imperial Colas and seem to be peculiar to South India. On what basis this division was made it is not yet possible to say definitely. One explanation may be that one group represented the native inhabitants and the other emigrants to the land. Though both professed a common faith and common beliefs, the disputes were about the particular street through which a festival or a funeral procession was to pass, and matters of such trivial interest. Even to-day remnants of these groups survive in parts of Chingleput district. Whatever be their origin and views, the Company's government took timely and bold steps to compose their differences then and there, and bring about communal unity and peace. For under these conditions alone trade and commerce would flourish and prosper.

The accounts of the pagodas were properly kept. It was then a custom to pay a fee of ten cash to the Town Conicoply (Kanakku Pillai or accountant) by every pagoda. It was not paid out of the funds of the Company, but it was a voluntary payment made by the native merchants, probably in charge of charities and charitable institutions, like temples, water-sheds and other religious and quasi-religious institutions. A certain Kanakku Pillai Peria Aiyan claimed this fee when it fell in arrears for a long time. This office of Conicoply served the purpose of auditing the accounts so that the funds allotted would not be misused.

While it was largely a case of communal riots between Left and Right Hand castes in the temples established at Madraspatam, there were similar troubles between Tengalai and Vadagalai sects among the Vaishnavas, concerning the management of the Parthasarathy temple at Triplicane. The chief differences centered round the form of the prayer and the service in the temple. Up to 1676 when Triplicane was granted to the Company, they did not interfere in its politics. But when it became a part of the city, the temple was placed in charge of the Company's chief merchants. In 1736, an interesting case before the Mayor's Court was launched to the effect that two merchants refused to take certain oaths, as they 'were contrary to their religion and the rules of their caste.' The Mayor's Court committed them to jail. But a great crowd of people entered the Fort on behalf of these merchants and petitioned to the President of the Council. The President observed that the Natives might not be disturbed in their religious rites and ceremonies and instructed the Mayor and the Sheriff to release these two merchants.

The next dispute was between the two sects of Brahmans in 1780 and engaged the attention of Governor John Whitehill. It was a petition from the Tengalai sect

against the new prayer of the Vadagalai Brahmans who had been authorised to use their prayer by Lord Pigot and who were assisted in that by the Town Major and a number of Sepoys. The Government decided in favour of the petitioners. This evoked a counter-petition from the Vadagalai sect. Sadlier, a member of the Council, confirmed the decision of the Board in 1754 and 1766 and ordered that 'neither of the Prayers named Streesyla Diapatrom (Sri Sailesa Daya Patram) be allowed to be said in future.' A similar outbreak is reported in 1790. As in the case of the Town temple the Company's government managed the Triplicane temple by means of their chief merchants and continued to maintain communal concord and harmony allowing freedom of conscience as far as possible.

In pursuance of the policy established by precedent and custom the officials of the East India Company patronised the pagodas in different ways. Lord Clive (Earl of Powis) Governor of Madras (1798-1803) presented jewels to the Conjeevaram and Madras pagodas from the loot of Seringapatam. The patronage of Joseph Collett has already been referred to. Lionel Place, Collector of Chingleput (Jaghir Distirct) (circa 1794-1800), who had his headquarters at Karunguzhi is said to have made several gifts to the temples at Madurantakam, now a Railway Station not far from Madras.

In addition to gifts and patronage of the temples and their festivals by the Company's government, it was customary to send out troops on the occasion of the celebration of Indian festivals and of the ceremonial visits of the Nawabs of the Carnatic. It once happened that a Private of the 40th Native Infantry was killed by a fireworks explosion when he escorted two women carrying bundles of rockets during the great Conjeevaram festival in June 1836. On this Sir Robert O'Callaghan, Commander-in-Chief in 1836, ordered that such escorting troops should be "kept in a collected body as a military guard for the maintenance of order, and ..... not an any account to be permitted to join or take part in the procession or ceremony, nor to act as escorts either to persons or property."

This order was construed by Brigadier Fane, commanding at Trichinopoly, as an absolute prohibition, and he refused the honorary escort for the Hindu festivals at the place. He quoted, in support of action, a previous circular that the employment of military drums and bands should not be allowed in the cantonments as was usually permitted on certain festival days, and at places of worship, except when required for the service of the Established (Anglican) Church. In this way began the protest of the Company's servants against participating in Hindu festivals.

The whole question was considered by the Governor-in-Council, the Commander-in-Chief adhering to his own view. A Government order was issued in March 1837 that the previous order of June 1836 of the Commander-in-Chief was not to make any change as to the occasions on which troops should attend native festivals, but only to regulate the manner of their employment when required to attend at such festivals according to custom ; and they should not participate in the ceremonies or processions, nor detached individually, but only employed as soldiers for the maintenance of order. It was not to interdict their attendance as guards or escorts at festivals and to compliment native princes.

The Commander-in-Chief who was not satisfied with the order of the Madras Government kept it in abeyance and forwarded all the papers to the Government of India. The reply received from the Government of India on 21.06.1837, regretted the ambiguous wording of the Madras Commander-in-Chief's General Order of 21st June 1836, and also his habit of issuing letters having all the force of a general order on questions involving general policy or innovations in long-established customs. It approved of the resolution of the Madras Government and recommended that the circular orders of the Commander-in-Chief varying with it, should be allowed to fall gradually into desuetude without being formally cancelled. Attendance of troops at native festivals and in honour of native princes was to continue as usual; only Christian drummers should not be compelled to be present at the religious festivals of the Sepoys except when on duty with their Company. The Madras Commander-in-Chief appealed against this to the Court of Directors stating that the compulsory attendance of officials and soldiers at festivals might be offensive to their conscience and deprecating the allowing of orders to fall into desuetude. The reply from the Court of Directors was unfavourable as it led to the resignation of Sir Peregrine Maitland, the then Commander-in-Chief of Madras Army in December 1838. The immediate cause of his resignation was his refusal to punish a European soldier who did not attend a native festival contrary to practice. The practice of troops attending festivals, etc. however gradually ceased.

At this time Bishop Corrie of Madras again submitted to the Madras government a memorial signed by 150 civil and military servants and by 50 clergymen and missionaries protesting against official patronage of idolatry. The Secretary of the Madras Government in the course of his reply wrote ; "that he was directed to inform the Bishop that the sentiments of the Governor were not in accordance with the sentiments of the memorialists, that the Governor was sorry the Bishop did not attend to his own particular duties in moderating the zeal of overheated minds. Instead of agitating questions that were calculated to endanger the peace of the country." The Bishop was thus censured. When the memorial ultimately reached the Directors, they sent a despatch that was "ambiguous and faint-hearted." This was another ground which weighed with Sir Peregrine Maitland in his resignation. Lord Auckland who became Governor-General in 1836 was perplexed by this episode in Madras.

But 'the tender dry-nursing' of Hindu and Moslem religious institutions continued to be shown by the Company's Government. It is recorded that in 1837 the Order of British India was bestowed on Kilpauk Chittaldroog for his splendid organisation of the procession of Jagannath. At the same time the agitation on the part of Christian officials and non-officials also continued with the result that in 1840 the pilgrims' tax was abolished. The gradual withdrawal of Company's patronage was viewed with suspicion by the natives of India. Confidence was however restored by the proclamation of Her Imperial Majesty Queen Victoria in 1858, assuring of religious neutrality, due regard being paid 'to the ancient rights, usages and customs of India.' From this time the temples in the city were placed

under the management of a trustee or trustees and continue to function with satisfaction. During this period again a number of small temples have been built, and the old ones renovated.

BiBliography

H.D. Love : *Vestiges of Old Madras* (1913).

Rev. William Cambell: *British India in its relation to the Decline of Hinduism and the Progress of Christianity* (London, 1858) Chapter XXV.

F. Penny : *The Church in Madras*, Vol. III.

A. Mayhew : *Christianity and the growth of India*, pp. 144-45.

Buckland : *Dictionary of Indian Biography* (1906).

Wilson : *History of the Madras Army*.

Madras Epigraphy Reports.

Eipgraphia Indica, Vol. VIII.

John Fryer : *East India and Persia* (Hakluyt Society).

Records relating to the Town temple (in the possession of Mr. K. Venkataswami Naidu).

MacLean : *Manual of the Madras Administration* (1881).

The Aryan Path, Vol. VI, Nos. 10-12 (1935).

Divyappirabandam.

Tevaram.

Kapilar Ahaval.

Tirunurrantati.

Neminatham.

The Marumakkattāyam and the Śangam Literature[1]

Introductory

No study is more fascinating for the antiquarian than that of the Marumakkttāyam or what writers on social science would call 'mother-right'. This institution whose origin can be traced to the far and misty past still persists in Malabar, not to speak of other parts of India where vestigial forms of the system are found largely prevalent. We confine ourselves to the peoples of Malabar, especially the Nairs among whom the institution has been kept intact having the sanction of the custom of the land behind it. The present study of the system is justified on the ground that the origin of the Nairs and of their peculiar institutions is still unsettled. As a preliminary to this subject of investigation it would not be out of place in examining the different stages in the history of human marriages of which four can be prominently marked out: promiscuity, polygamy, polyandry and monogamy. This evolution of the institution of marriage has been universal as corroborated by the vestigial forms still traceable among the advanced races, and the actual practices still obtaining among tribes of lower culture.

In primitive times people should have lived in a state of archaic simplicity when kinship did not mean blood relationship and did not express a physiological fact[2]. At this stage of human life society was based on the matriarchal family thus presenting a contrast to modern society based on the patriarchal family. In other words the original kin-relationship was based on a community of blood reckoned through the mother[3]. It would appear that early man did not understand the complex sentiment of paternity and the responsibility it carried with it. This is borne out by researches in the field of anthropology. For there was a time when it was seriously believed that pregnancy was caused otherwise than by sexual intercourse, for instance, by supernatural agencies and the practice of magic[4] At this primitive stage of human culture when father-right was an unknown factor and when the institution of private property was non-existent, the mother-right was the ruling principle accepted and recognised by very ancient tribes as is evidenced by their beliefs, customs, and institutions. It was the mother who was the head of the family assisted by her brother who perhaps exercised exclusive right over the property of

---

1 A paper submitted to the XVIII Congress of Orientalists, Leiden. I acknowledge with thanks the help and valuable suggestions given to me in the preparation of this paper by Prof. M.A. Candeth, Deputy Director of Public Instruction, Madras, the Hon. Justice Madhavan Nair, and the Hon. Justice Dr. K.K. Pandalai. Pub. Bd. IX, pp. 255–67.

Zeitschr. f. Ind. u. Iran. Bd. IX.

2 Hartland, Primitive Paternity, Vol. I, p. 256.

3 Nathan Miller, The Child in Primitive Society p. 225 f.

4 See the first two informing chapters of HARTLAND, Op. cit.

the family.[1] In a matrilineal society the property was transmitted in the female line. Inheritance was generally through the daughter while in the patrilineal, the property belongs of right to the father who shares it amongst his sons.

Again the fact that matrimony preceded patrimony cannot be disputed. The latter gradually and naturally evolved through economic causes. With the development in arts of peace, the enhancement of the value of property became an economic factor by a long process of time. The right to possess private property further advanced the spread of paternity. These economic forces which were silently at work brought about the intimate relationship of the sexes with the result that the father-right completely usurped the mother-right throughout the civilised world.

Origin of Nairs — a Primitive type

Primitive folks of ancient India were no exception to this universal practice. The Nairs of Malabar are the descendents of these primitive folks and the remnants of a civilisation of which we would have no knowledge except by tracing back to the very remote ages the ideas and practices peculiar to them. Added to this is the theory that Nairs are the descendants of the ancient Nāgas who were an indigenous tribe of ancient Malabar. Classical Sanskrit literature affords much material regarding these Nāgas and especially about their ladies. The Nāgakanyās are said to be examples of feminine beauty much coveted by many a famous prince. A common feature of this tribe was the worship of the serpent. Even to this day the Nairs are generally serpent worshippers and some kind of serpent worship is continued in every ancient taravāḍ. The vestiges of this ancient Nāga race are still traceable in the primitive tribes of modern Assam. Hodson, whose researches on the customs and manners of these tribes are well known, informs us that as a rule "marriage is free between all the clans in a village or group", and that their present customs are survivals from a time when "the family was not based as now upon male agnatic descent".[2] Hence the attempt of Starcke to regard the Nair type as an ultimate type rather than primitive is inconclusive.[3]

This demonstrates beyond doubt that these people who live in the solitary confines of Malabar and especially in North Malabar,[4] cut off from the rest of India by barriers of mountains and forests, are natives of the soil. This geographical position of Malabar is largely responsible for primitive institutions like the Marumakkattāyam continuing unaffected by progressive waves of civilisation. The people continued to live in hordes or groups and did not feel the necessity to advance economically, for their land enabled them to live independent of the outside world.

---

1 Traces of this system are still lingering among the community of the dancing girls in India.
2 Naga Tribes of Manipur, p. 89.
3 The Primtive Family, p. 133.
4 To be more accurate, Malabar coast, north of Quilon (Kollam) which was considered to be the southern boundany of ancient Kerala. Mr. C. Achyuta Menon, University Lecturer in Malayalam, kindly furnished this information.

Origin of the marumakkattāyam

Investigation of a similar nature was made by the Malabar Marriage Commission and their findings are on record in a monumental report of much importance. Champions of the Marumakkattāyam system attribute to it a divine origin on the basis of literary tradition. It is said that Paraśurāma is the founder of the institution and it would be a sacrilege to interfere with it. Both the Brahmanic theory and the property theory adduced regarding its origin have no basis in fact.[1] The real origin seems to lie in the primitive culture of the hoary past where, as we have seen already, maternity precedes paternity. Though in other parts of the country and for the matter of that in the civilised world, maternity gave way to paternity, there were different causes at work which contributed to the fostering of mother-right among the Malabar folk.

Causes for the continuation of the institution

The first is the peculiar geographical position to which a reference has already been made. Secondly these Nairs seem to have been a fine race of fighting men.[2] We know from modern history how they continued to be warriors when the Portugese came to Malabar during the 15th and the 16th centuries. Many a foreign traveller to this land has recorded that it was the practice in Malabar to subject the youth to drill and discipline so that they might become able soldiers when they grew to manhood. Having taken to warfare these spent the major portion of the year in the field when their women lived with their mothers and their elder brothers who looked after them. Men being slain in wars, their ladies became permanent members of their mother's family and this helped to fix the polyandrous system among many of them. With the introduction of the taravāḍ or the joint family system, property became indivisible and vested in the person of Kārṇavan, invariably the elder brother of the mother. This largely explains why the Marumakkattāyam marriage known as Sambandham is not regarded as legal or religious though it has all the elements of a valid marriage[3] A parallel to this is afforded by the Aliyasanthānam Law of South Kanara. Though the system entails only a temporary stay on the part of the wife or the husband and allows divorce to both. Still 90 per cent of their unions are said to remain undissolved. It is a trite observation of the writer who says: "the existence of marriage does not depend on laws. Marriage is not an artificial creation but an institution based on deep-rooted sentiments, conjugal and parental: it will last as long as these sentiments last"[4].

The third was possibly contact with the Arabs. C. N. Starcke quotes the authority of G.A. Wilken who has made a special study of the matriarchal

---

1 Vide G. Panikkar, Malabar and its folk, chap. on the Marumakkattāyam.

2 Perhaps the term Cāveruppadai meaning 'soldiers who would fight to the finish, undaunted' in the South Indian inscriptions refers to the army composed of the Nairs. See Malabar and the Portugese, p. 21.

3 See Chandu Menon's dissenting note in the Malabar Marriage Commission Report.

4 Westermark, History of Human Marriage III, p. 378.

institution of the Arabs and who assigns to them this peculiarly ancient custom[1]. If it is an Arab institution primarily, the contact of the Arabs with the West Coast of India especially on the Malabar side from the early centuries of Christian era as pirates and traders would have gone a long way to fix the system already existing in the country. Further about the 7th century the Arabs settled in large numbers in Malabar, and the Māppillas are perhaps descendants of these Arabs through the women of the country. This must have certainly contributed to strengthen the institution.

A further reason is the support accorded to it by the Nambūtiris, the Brāhman immigrants of Malabar between the 7th and the 9th centuries as is generally believed. They came to the land with a type of advanced culture and evoked regard from the simple natives of the soil. Like the Norman settlers who adapted themselves to the Anglo-saxon institutions these Nambūtiris found the usefulness of that institution so much that they themselves adopted the system in a modified degree. We find today among certain sections of the Nambūtiris and the Moplas the practice of the Marumakkattāyam so that it is not the Hindu law that is applicable to the Nambūtiri Brāhmans.

Is it exclusively a Dravidian institution?

Writers on the subject of the Marumakkattāyam in the Malabar have remarked that this matriarchal system is the Dravidian as opposed in the patriarchal Aryan system. This is not convincing. Though we have no direct evidence as to the fact of matrimony among the ancient Aryans, still the polyandrous system of Draupadī marrying five Pāṇḍava brothers, marriage by capture like Kṛshṇa carrying off Rukmiṇī without the knowledge of Śiśupāla and his party, the legend of Śvetaketu introducing laws of marriage, and the prescriptions of the Dharmasūtras and the Dharmaśāstras lead us to conjecture that originally marriage was absolutely free and suggest a time when the original and the natural system of matriarchy prevailed which gave place to later patriarchal system. According to this the eldest male member was the head of the family. The Hindu law-givers have prescribed the divisability of ancestral property among the sons and have recognised the right of inheritance by the children of their daughters if they had no sons. But among the folk-practices common alike to all Hindu castes not excluding Brāhmans, as far as the South of India was concerned, is the prevalence of marriage of cousins which Westernarck styles cross-cousin marriage[2]. This is largely marriage between father's sister's daughter and his son, and mother's brother and her daughter. Though there is no provision in the Hindu law for the latter alliance still many marriages are taking place warranted only by the usages of the people. This is perhaps due to the mighty influence exerted by the indigenous Malabar system. In the light of the above remarks it seems that the matrimonial system was universal, traces of which are even now perceptible in many of the ancient tribes inhabiting

---

1 Das Matriarchat bei den alten Arabern. Leipzig (1884), quoted in the Primitive Family, p. 87.

2 History of Human marriages II, p. 71-73. Also see : Rivers, 'Marriage of Cousins in India, Journ, Royal Asiatic Society 1907 p. 625.

America, Australia and Africa, not to speak of India. It also shows the gradual development of cultural ideas from the horde and tribal system. It further points out that mother-right preceded father-right, for while maternity is a determinate entity, paternity is not.

Marriage in Sangam literature

Let us divert out attention to the Sangam literature of the ancient Tamils and see how far these works throw light on the institution of the Marumakkattāyam. Historical studies in this ancient literature show that the period of the extant sangam works can be said to range from the 5th century B.C. to the 5th century A.D.[1]. In ancient Tamil land two forms of marriages were normal in earliest times, the *Kaḷavu* and the *Karpu* which can be roughly translated as marriage in secrecy and marriage openly acknowledged. It appears that *Karpiyal* is a more civilised form than *Kaḷaviyal*, the latter being the more original form of love and marriage. It is evident from the *Tolkāppiyam* that the original simple form of love developed itself into a complex institution at the time when that grammatical treatise was composed, roughly the 5th century B.C. From the phrase *Makaṭpār Kaṅji* it is obvious that there was no law of marriage as such and that it was during the epoch of the *Tolkāppiyam* that regulations were laid down, as falsehood, dishonesty and treachery gradually crept into the ancient forms of marriage[2], and the prevalent system among the first three castes formed the model[3] on which a code of laws on marriage was drawn up[4]. The *Tolkāppiyam* then presupposes a period of free marriages perhaps sanctioned by the customs of the people, but there is absolutely no reference even in an indirect form to the institution of Marumakkattāyam. On the other hand it is obvious from the phrase *Tāyattiṇaḍaiyā*[5] that sons inherited their father's property.

The evidence of the Padirrupattu

Recently there has been an attempt to make out, on the strength of some of the padikams in the *Padiṟṟupattu*, that the succession of the early Cera dynasty was Marumakkattāyam and not Makkattāyam[6].

The chief *Padikams* pressed into service for this purpose are :

1. ..... *Utiyañcēraṟku veḷiyaṉ vēṇmā nalliṉi iṉṟa makaṉ...*
   imayavarambaṉ Neḍum cērlātaṉ (II Ten).
2. *Cēralātaṟku Vēḷāvikkōmān padumaṉdēvi īṉṟa makaṉ ...*
   Kaḷaṅkāykkaṇṇi Nārmuḍiccēral (IV Ten).
3. ... *Neḍum cēralātaṟakuc-cōḷan maṇakkiḷḷi īṉṟa makaṉ ...*
   Kaḍalpiṟakkōṭṭiya śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ... (V Ten).

---

1 See author's Studies in Tamil Literature and History, p. 21.

2 Tolkāppiyam, Sūtra 4.

3 Ibid. 3.

4 Op. cit. Ch. VII Sec. III.

5 Tolkāppiam Poṟul, Sūtra 27.

6 M. Srinivasa Iyengar, Tamil studies. Ch. X esp. pp. 270—273. See also S.S. Bharati. Sen Tamil, Madura Vol. 27. 4: Ibid. Vol. 28. 7.

4. ... *Neḍum cēralataṛku Vēlāvikkōmāṇdēvi īṉṛa makaṉ ...*
Āḍukōṭpāṭṭu-c-cēralātaṉ ... (VI Ten).

5. ... *Antuvaṛku oru tantai īṉṛa makaḷ Poṛaiyaṉperundēvi*
īṉṛa makaṉ śelvakkaḍuṅgō vāḻiyātan ... (VII Ten).

6. ... *Śelvakkaḍuṅgōvukku vēlāvikkōmāṉ Padumaṇdēvi īṉṛa*
makaṉ ... Peruñcēralirum-poṛai ... (VIII Ten).

7. *Kuṭṭuvaṉ irumpoṛaikku maiyūrkiḻān vēnmāḷ*
Antuvañcelḷai īṉṛa makaṉ ... Ilañceral irumpoṛai ... (IX Ten).

The following is the interpretation in favour of makkattāyam. Side by side the interpretation of marumakkattāyam is also furnished.

1. Imayavarambaṉ Neḍumcēralātaṉ, son of Utiyaṉcēral and
Veḻiyaṉ vēṉmāl Nalliṉi

The meaning in favour of Marumakkattāyam :

Imayavarambaṉ Neḍumcēralātan , son of Veḻiyanvēnmāl
Nallini to her brother Utiyaṉcēral..

2. Kalaṅkāykkaṇṇi nārmuḍicēral son of Vēlāvikkomān
Padumṇdēvi and cēralātaṉ.

In favour of Marumakkattāyam :

Kaḻaṅkāykkaṇṇi nārmuḍicēral, son of Vēlāvikkōmān
Padumṇdēvi to her brother cēralātaṉ.

3. Kaḍalpiṛakkōṭṭiya Śeṅguṭṭuvan son of Colaṉ Maṇakkiḷḷi's (daughter) and Neḍumcēralātan. In favour of Marumakkattāyam: Kaḍalpirakkoṭṭiya Seṅguṭṭuvṉ son of Colaṉ Maṇakkilḷi's (wife) to her brother Neḍumcēralātan.

4. Āḍukoṭpāṭṭucēralātaṉ son of Vēlāvikkomāṇdēvi and Neḍumcēralātaṉ

In favour of Marumkkattāyam :

Āḍukōṭpāṭṭucēralātan son of Vēlāvikkōmāṇdēvi to her brother
Neḍumcēralātaṉ

5. Śelvakkaḍuṅgōvāḻiyātaṉ son of Poṛaiyaṉperundēvi
daughter of a certain father and Antuvaṉ.

In favour of Marumakkattāyam :

Śelvakkaḍuṅgō vāliyātsaṉ son of Poṛaiyaṉperundēvi,
daughter of the father of Antuvaṉ.

6. Peruñcēralātaṉ Irumapoṛai son of Vēlāvikkōmāṉ Padu-
maṇdēvi and Śelvakkaḍuṅgo.

In favour of Marumakkattāyam :

Peruñcēral Irumpoṛai son of Vēlāvikōmaṉ Padumaṉdēvi
to her brother Śelvakkaḍuṅgo.

7. Iḷamcēralirumpoṛai son of Maiyūrk-kiḷāṉmāl Antuvaṉ
celḷai and Kuṭṭuvaṉirumpoṛai.

In favour of Marumakkattāyam :

Iḷamcēral Irumpoṛai son of Maiyūrkkiḷān Vēṉmāl Antu
vaṉcellai to her brother Kuṭṭuvaṉirumpoṛai.

Other evidences of the Sangam literature.

The interpretation in favour of Marumakkattāyam is forced and is in contravention to rules of Tamil grammar[1]. Makaṉ (son) cannot mean marumakaṉ (nephew) and Dēvi need not mean wife or queen only. There is no warrant for usage of such terms in the interpretation sought for. This is corroborated by the texts in the twin epics. Iḷaṅgo Aḍigaḷ says :

'Cēralātaṛku ... cōḷaṉ makal īṉṛa[2] *maintaṉ'*

Again Dēvanti addressing Iḷḷaṅgo Aḍigaḷ :

'Juntai tāniḷaliruntōy'[3], meaning, that Cēralātaṉ is the father and not uncle of Iḷaṅgo. Yet again Māṭalaṉ addresses Śeṅguṭṭuvaṉ as having vanquished a confederacy of nine princes and established his nephew the Coḷa prince Kiḷḷi son of Perumkiḷḷi on the throne of the Coḷas. It may be remembered that Śeṅguṭṭuvan is the son of Narcōṇai, daughter of the Coḷa king Maṇkiḷḷi and sister of Perumkiḷḷi[4]. Further it is absurd to think that a sister of the Cēra king could have been the daughter of the Coḷa king. She must have had a Cēra father to have been a Cēra king's sister. But the *Padikam* like that of the V Ten shows that Śeṇguṭṭuvaṉ's mother was a daughter of the Coḷa king Maṇkiḷḷi and therefore she could not have been sister of Neḍumcēralātaṉ and could only have been his wife[5]).

From these it is clear that the succession in respect of the early Cēra dynasty was hereditary, the son succeeding the father and not Marumakkattāyam as alleged.

The silence of Sangam literature explained.

But it stands to reason to enquire why the Sangam literature does not mention the existence of this institution to which so high an antiquity is assigned. The evidence of the Sangam literature can lead as to postulate two theories. One is that this institution did not exist during the Sangam epoch but came into being only after it. The other is that it was confined to a section of the people cut off from active and cultural centres by a long belt of forests and mountains. In other words the king of the land was far away and the capital was located until nearly the 7th

---

1 See M. Raghava Aiyengar's Cēravendar tāyavaḷakku.

2 Son born to Cēralātaṉ.

3 Śilappadikāram, Kātai 30, b 174.

4 Ibid. Kātai 27, l. 117.

5 Mr. S. Anavarata Vinayeyam Pillai, M.A., University Reader in Tamil, drew my attention to this.

century A.D. at Vañji-Karuvūr in Trichinopoly District. He did not interfere with the customs and the institutions of the different parts of his kingdom so long as these did not arrest the wheel of his administrative machinery. The second theory appears more plausible for one reason that such a primitive institution could not have been introduced at a later period like the 8th or the 9th century A.D. when the Brāhmanical influence had already spread. So it must have been an ancient institution and being a social one it was neither interfered with by the state or by other people. If the Cēra capital had been located in Malabar itself then this institution is bound to have attracted the notice of poets not to speak of princes. But it was not so. The capital was Vañji Karuvūr until roughly the 7th century A.D. when Mahōdai Koḍungolūr became the capital.[1]

When the capital was situated in the heart of Malabar country there is every reason to assume that the ruling chieftains who had Koḍungōlūr for their capital were impressed by the usefulness of the institution and probably introduced it even with regard to the succession to the throne. Adopted by the reigning princes and aquiesced in by the Nampūdiri community a new life was given to the old system of Maramakkattāyam. Hence the argument of silence cannot negative the very existence of this ancient institution. The institution existed but did not come to the notice of the band of scholars who are responsible for our glorious literary heritage that goes by the name of the Śangam works.

Conclusion

Though it is hazardous to conjecture the future of this institution still the impact of western culture into Malabar, and the frequent intercourse of its people with the rest of India, not to speak of outside India, where paternal system has triumphed, the recent legislation and similar circumstances have sought in undermine these age-long institutions and practices with the result that polygamy is fast becoming extinct and it may happen that in a few decades the Marumakkattāyam system may completely disappear from this part of India[2]).

The Marumakkattāyam and the Śangam Literature.

Books Consulted

General

1. T.C. Hodson : The Naga Tribes of Manipur (Macmillan, 1911).
2. J.G. Fraser : Totemism and Exogamy, 4 Vola (Macmillan, 1910).
3. E. Westermarck : The History of Human Marriage, 3 Vols (Macmillan, 1921).
4. Bertrand Russel : Marriage and Morals (1929).
5. Nathan Miller : The Child in primitive Society.
6. Elie Reclus : Primitive Folk.
7. E.S. Hartland : Primitive Paternity, 2 Vols (London, 1909)
8. C.N. Starcke : The Primitive Family (2nd Ed. 1896, London).

---

1 See notes on the Ikkayāgapparaṇi, pp. 361—362, quoted from Kūttaṉ's Kulottuṅgan Pillai-t-tamil.

2 Since writing this paper, the Madras Legislative Council have passed the Marumakkattāyam Bill into law, and if it would be enforced, it may tend to break the system.

9. Elliot Smith : Migrations of Early culture (1929).
10. Bustton : The Peoples of Asia (London 1925).

Special

11. C. Achyuta Menon : The Cochin State Manual (1911).
12. V. Nagam Iyer : The State Manual of Travancore, 8 Vols. 1906.
13. T.K. Gopala Panikkar : Malabar and its folk (Madras, 3rd Edition).
14. Report of the Malabar Marriage Commission (1891).
15. Keralolpatti.
16. E. Thurston : Ethnographical Notes in South India (1906)
17. L.K. Ananta Krishna Iyer : The Cochin Tribes and Castes, Vol. II (1909).
18. K.P. Padmanabha Menon : A Memorandum on the questions referred to the Marriage Committee (1908).
19. WM. Logan : Malabar, 2 Vols. (1887).
20. M. Srinivasa Iyengar, Tamil Studies.
21. M. Raghava Iyengar : Śera Vendar tāyavaḷakku (Tamil).
22. Dikshitar : Studies in Tamil Literature and History (1930).
23. Padiuṟṟpattu : a Śangam Tamil classic.
24. Manimekalai : Tamil Classic.
25. Śilappadikāram : Tamil Classic.
26. K.P. Padmanabha Menon : History of Kerala, 2 Vols.
27. Fawcett F. : Nayars of Malabar (1915).
28. H. Wigram : Malabar law and customs (2nd Edition, 1900)
29. K.M. Panikkar : Malabar and the Portugese (1929).
30. R. Raghava Aiyangar : Vañjimānagar (Tamil).

A Note on the Composition of Sabhā at Uttaramerūr[1]

Ever since the late Rao Bahadur V. Venkayya published the Uttaramallūr documents[2] which have considerably enlarged our knowledge of Cōḷa local administration, these have largely attracted the attention and scrutiny of scholars. A close examination of the documents relating to the composition of the sabhā has led me to the following conclusion. It has been generally taken that the members of the sabhā and its committees were all Brahmans and that the *Caturvedimaṅgalam* can be regarded as a community of joint landlords. If we approach dispassionately to study the qualifications expected of the member of the sabhā, we find the following among others:[3]

(a) One who owns a quarter *veli* of tax-paying land and more.

(b) One who is an owner of a house built in his own site.

(c) he must not be above seventy or below thirty-five in age.

(d) One who has a profound knowledge of the Mantrabrāhmaṇa.

(e) One who owns one-eighth *veli* of landed property and who possesses the knowledge of one Veda and a Bhāṣya.

It is nowhere said in the inscriptions that the candidate for membership should be a Brahman and a Brahman alone. What is said is that the city was divided into thirty wards and that the people of each ward assembled was to elect their representative. It cannot be claimed that the Brahmans alone constituted a ward. Surely there must have been members of other communities also in each ward. It is explicitly stated that a certain individual who desired to contest municipal elections could base his claim on two things — property and educational qualifications. Any one possessing either of these two was entitled to stand as a candidate. Any one

---

1 *Ācāryapuṣpāñjali Volume* In honour of Dr. D.R. Bhandeskar, Calcutta, 1940, pp. 59–61.

2 A.R.A.S.I., 1904-5.

3 The relevant portion of the inscription may be quoted;

(a) Kuḍumbu muppadu muppadu kuḍumbilum avvava kuḍummilare kūḍik kā nilattukku mēl irai nilam uḍaiyān

(b) tan manaiyile agamm eḍuttukkoṇḍ iruppanal

(c) eḷubadu pirāyattin kiḷ muppattaindu pirāyattin mēr paṭṭār.

(d) mantrabrāhmaṇam vallānodu-viytt-ariyvānai

(e) araikkānilame uḍaiyān āyilum, oru vedam vallānāy nālu bhāṣyattilum oru bhāṣya vakkāṇittariyavān avanaiyum.

producing evidence of the property qualification required, — ownership of a quarter *veli* of land or house, — was eligible.[1]

In the same way a Brahman, who might not own lands but who was an erudite scholar in the Mantrabrāhmaṇa, was qualified to contest the seat of the ward to which he belonged. There is no restriction in this case that he must be a landlord also. At any rate the record under review does not warrant an assumption like this.

In some cases both property and educational qualifications were demanded. One who knew one Veda and one Bhāṣya was eligible if he owned at least 1/2 *veli* of land. This shows that owning a small property by itself did not entitle one for membership in the Board, though educational qualifications alone like a knowledge of Mantrabrāhmaṇa entitled him to a seat in the sabhā. In these circumstances it is difficult to accept the conclusion that the administration of the *Caturvedimaṅgalam* was confined exclusively to one particular community.

While on this subject we will take up for examination the different standing communities of the sabhā and their duties, for it throws welcome light on the question of community representation in the sabhā. The sabhā carried on the management of the city through a number of committees which discharged their functions representing various interest:[2]

(a) *Samvatsara vāriyam* — annual supervision committee.

(b) *Tōṭṭa vāriyam* — the garden committee which was evidently in charge of parks, gardens, etc.,

(c) *ēri vāriyam* — the tank supervision committee. It exercised supervision over reservoirs, tanks and sources of water supply.

(d) *Kaḷani vāriyam* — the committee in supervision of cultivated lands.

(e) *kaṇakku vāriyam* — accounts supervision committee.

(f) *kaliṅgu vāriyam* — sanitation committee. It took charge of drains, sluices, water pipes, etc.

(g) *tadivali vāriyam* — the committee exercising supervision over the construction and repair of roads and streets.

(h) *kuḍumbu vāriyam* — evidently a census committee.

(i) *pañcavāra vāriyam* — assessment and collection committee.

(j) *poṉ vāriyam* — gold supervision committee.

(k) committee for the administration of justice.

---

1 The Māṉūr Inscription of Māranjadaiyan (E.I., xxii, Jan., 1933) records a resolution of the mahāsabhā of Māṉanilainallūr fixing the procedure to be follwed in future meetings of the sabhā. A minimum property qualification was fixed to be a member of the sabhā. Whether educational qualification was required in addition to this prescribed minimum in property, or property qualification also entitled one to the council is not clearly told in the inscription. It seems that according to the modified resolution, he who possessed a full *sravanai* could be selected to be a member. It may be noted here that Māṉanilainallūr is a *brahmadeya* village, and not a town.

2 See Tiruppārkadal Ins. re Nārāyaṇa-caturvedimaṅgalam, S.K. Aiyangar, Hindu Administrative Institutions in South India, pp. 170-1.

A glance at these committees and of their functions further corroborates our viewpoint. It is impossible to understand, knowing as we do, the *svadharma* of a Brahmana, whether Brahmans had the necessary technical skill and training to serve efficiently in such committees pertaining to agriculture, gold, tanks, roads, sanitation and gardens. It would be reasonable if experts — and in India they were only experts who pursued hereditary occupations — served on such committees. It may, however, be readily conceded that a member or two of these committees were Brahmans to help and advise the experts. I shall not go here into the details of every committee. But let me take up the *Poṉ vāriyam* or gold committee. It is not expressly stated what functions this committee discharged.[1] Poṉ was a coin in South India, circulating as currency as testified to by the inscriptions. Evidently cash transactions, including endowments, had this coin poṉ as the medium of exchange. It is natural that bad and counterfeit coins also were in circulation. This committee was apparently to deal with cases where the fineness and the weight of the gold had to be tested and certified. One other function of the committee is also said to have been the regulation of currency. If this were conceded, the area covered by the jurisdiction of the committee cannot be a village which would not require a committee to supervise its currency. Besides lending support to the view that its jurisdiction must have covered a flourishing city, — for in a village we could not ordinarily expect such heavy transactions — this committee demonstrates that some expert goldsmiths should have also served on the committee. That such committees consisted of only Brahmans is to say the least unconvincing.

We have therefore to conclude that in the *taṉiyūrs*, the sabhā, which was the municipal board, consisted of a number of committees reminding us of the Mauryan municipal system of government. It was composed of different communities and was consequently a cosmopolitan body.

1 See in this connection K.A. Nilakanta Sastri: *Studies in Cola History and Administration, p. 143.*

Migration of Legends[1]

A Study in Indian Folklore and Tradition

In the absence of well-authenticated records for reconstructing the history of ancient India, north and south, legends are of indispensable value as one of the sources of information. Being records not of facts but of beliefs, they are not entitled to much credence for historical purposes. But in very early times when superstition and magic largely influenced the minds of the peoples of the ancient world, the poet chronicled the beliefs of his times in such a way that the mythological poetry becomes, as Froude, the historian, has remarked, the foundation of all national religions. 'Such popular stories handed down chiefly by oral tradition came to be claimed as common property of all peoples. Hence the antiquarian can now trace folklore parallels between not only those of different parts of the same country, but also of the countries of the world.[2]

Many of the Indian tales, for example, have been taken to Tibet and some of them have been published under the name 'Tibetan Tales' originally in German by Von Schiefner and translated into English by W.R.S. Ralston.[3]

The object of this publication is said to be "to call attention to any features which the stories may have in common with European tales." The learned introduction to the volume shows how the legends have numerous European variants, though in some cases they have undergone considerable modification. So far as the fables about animals are concerned there is much similarity. As has been remarked "many of them are old acquaintances under a new guise."[4]

Confining ourselves to India, we have a rich store of folklore in every province in India – the Punjab, Bengal, Maharashtra, Konkan, Andhradesa and the Tamil Nadu. A study of the legends of each of these provinces has been attempted and the results of such a study have been from time to time published. Some of them have been incorporated in some form or other by later writers and chroniclers. Having been handed down orally to a large extent it is but natural that these anecdotes travelled from one part of the country to another. The ancient poets and bards who found handsome patronage in different courts of reigning chieftains from time to time were primarily carriers of these traditions. Traces of these are found embedded in the rich literary productions they have left behind for our use and pleasure. The incidents mentioned in the biographies of saints and heroes in the two totally different traditions,–North Indian tradition as embedded in Sanskrit literature and South Indian tradition as embedded in Tamil literature, are a standing testimony in this regard.

---

1 Paper Submitted to the First Bombay Historical Conference.

2 For such interesting studies see I. A. Vols. VIII, IX & X.

3 Kegen Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., London (1906).

4 Ibid. Intro., p. lxiv.

How the legends migrate from one part of the country to the other and how they are skilfully woven into the warp and woof of the traditional history of the land can best be illustrated by the following few examples.

In the Mahābhārata, the great epic of India, there is a well-known story of a Dharmavyādha, literally a righteous hunter.[1]

The following is a summary account of the story.

Once there lived a Brahman Kauśika by name, well versed in Vedic lore. He directed his mind in the path of renunciation for a long time. While once sitting underneath a tree, one of the cranes on the tree let his urine fall on the Brahman's head, who at once got angry and looked on the crane with fiery eyes. The crane fell dead. The Brahman came to know of his great powers, and become proud of them. Once he happened to beg alms from a house in the neighbouring village. At that time the lady of the household found her husband coming home wearied. She attended to him first, making the Brahman wait at the door for some time. After services to her husband she brought food to Kauśika who saw her with eyes full of rage. The lady put him to shame with the remark 'Do not regard me as the crane.' Kauśika became terribly afraid of her wonderful psychic powers and asked how she came to know of the incident.

In reply she asked him to go to Dharmavyādha in the city of Mithilā and get the necessary information. The Brahman became curious to know what it was. So he reached the residence of Dharmavyādha and found him engaged in cutting the meat and offering it for sale in his shop. Kauśika grew bewildered and waited for Dharmavyādha for some time after which he narrated to him the incidents of the crane and the lady and said that though he had toiled hard to earn *yogic* powers, still they did not bear fruit to him. The reason was that he was totally lacking in *dama* and *śama* which are the fundamental bases of all higher religion and that he thought too much of himself, and that by coming to him his overweening pride had a fall. Having learnt this fact from Dharmavyādha, Kauśika became wiser though a little sadder.

Some of the incidents in this legend find mention in the biographical accounts of Tiruvalluvar, the celebrated author of the Tirukkural and Uyyavanda Devar, one of the Śaiva siddhānta saints. There has been a popular tradition connected with the life of saint Tiruvalluvar. Apparently this tradition is orally handed down in the Tamil land.[2] Valluvar's wife, Vāsukī by name, was an incarnation of chastity and literally practised what is said in the famous *kuṛal-veṇbā Daivam tolāl kolunan toludolukuvāl.* In other words she did not worship god but worshipped her husband. Service to him was equivalent to service to God. Once, when she was engaged in attending on him, there appeared an ascetic, apparently from the Konkan country, for alms. On his way a crane from a tree dropped urine on him. When he looked at it with anger, it fell down dead. Vāsuki made him wait as she

---

1 Vana Parva, Ch. 209-219, Kumbakonam Edn.

2 See Vadivelu Chettiar's *Tirugñana Cintāmaṇi.*

was attending to her husband. The Brahman was put out and looked at her in wrath. To his great surprise she said in reply "*Kokkeṇṇu ninaittāyo konkaṇavā?*' 'Do you regard me as the crane' alluding thereby to the harm he had done to the crane. The ascetic became afraid of her powers and wanted to know the truth. She directed him to her husband. Every day he came to Valluvar, and every time he was asked to come the next day. Months passed on. Knowing that the ascetic had grown impatient, Valluvar told him that even in domestic life one can attain fruits of penance provided it is lived in the proper way and that even in ascetic life they cannot be attained if it is not practised as it ought to be.

Another part of the selfsame legend in the Mahābhārata occurs in almost the same form in the life of a Śaiva Siddhānta saint, Uyyavanda Devar.[1] There are two Uyyavanda devars, one of Tirukkaṭavūr and the other of Tiruviyalūr. When Uyyavanda devar of Tirukkaṭavūr was in quest of an ācārya, there came by somebody who directed him to go to Uyyavanda Devar of Tiruviyalūr. Accordingly Tirukkaṭavūrār reached Tiruviyalūr and was not able to find out the gentleman referred to him. A passer-by who knew his residence which lay outside the streets of caste-men directed him to a lane which took him to his would-be teacher. The latter was a meat-seller and was sitting in his shop selling meat. Tirukkaṭavūrār become stupefied at this but still he had faith in his greatness and hence prostrated himself before him. Tiruviyalūrār finished the business of the day and then asked what brought him there. "To get initiated into the supreme knowledge" was the reply. "I knew this beforehand." So saying he handed to him a manuscript of his *Tiruvundi*, the origin of *Tirukkaliṟṟuppati*, an important work on the Saiva Siddhānta philosophy.

Let us take up another example of the same legend as transmitted by the literary tradition in the *Pañcatantra* and the Tamil classic *Śilappadikāram*. This is the story of a Brahman lady killing in haste a faithful mongoose without giving the least thought to such an action. The legend is laid in the Śilappadikāram[2] as having taken place in Puhār or Kāverippaṭṭnam in the time of Kovalan, the hero of the poem. The story runs in brief thus:

A mongoose was brought up in a Brahman household in the city of Puhār. The lady of the house went to the river to fetch water, leaving the child under the guard of the mongoose. This innocent creature was a faithful servant. At that time a cobra came to bite the baby when the mongoose killed it and thus saved the child, and with its face besmeared with blood was waiting at the front gate for the arrival of the lady. The lady noticed the blood-stricken face of the mongoose and thinking that it had killed her child, she threw the pot on its head, and the poor creature was crushed to death. Entering the chamber she found a dead snake, and by the side of it the child safe. She regretted much for her hasty action. Her husband who came to know of her sin left her and proceeded on a tour of pilgrimage. Her

---

1 See *Śaiva Siddhānta Varalāru* by S. Anavarata Vinayakam Pillai, pp. 14-15 (Madras, 1909).

2 *Ataikkalakātai*, Canto, 15. 11. 54-75.

entreaties to follow him fell flat on his deaf ears. But he handed over to her a copy of a *śloka* by which she was to gain her redemption. With that verse in her hand she wandered in distress throughout the city to find one who could get relief for her. Kovalan saw this and by proper *Prāyacitta* he absolved her of her guilt after which she was once more united with her husband.

This legend which is distinctly South Indian has been incorporated in the *Pañcatantra*[1] which is a mine of folklore. The story runs that a Brahman lady left her child under the care of her husband and went out to the tank with a pot to fetch water. The Brāhman also soon left the house, even before his wife returned, to get alms. In the meantime a cobra came very near the child's bed. Luckily there was a mongoose on the spot. It sprang on it, killed it and saved the youngster. When the lady came, she found the mongoose at the front gate with its face covered with blood, and little thinking that it could not have but killed her darling, she threw the pot on the poor creature as a result of which it met with instantaneous death. But when she went in and saw what had happened, her grief knew no bounds. She detested her husband for having left the home avarice-sick for which he paid the penalty by losing his son. Therefore it is said 'that one must not do anything without previous examination and a good deal of thinking.' Hasty action always leads to regret.

aparīkṣya na kartavyam, kartavyam suparīkṣitam

paścād bhavati santāpam brāhmaṇī nakulam yathā ॥

This moral of a śloka in which the legend ends is quoted by Aḍiyārkkunallār, the commentator of the *Śilappadikāram* as the very verse oft referred to in the *Śilappadikāram*. We meet with a number of similar folk myths which are the common property of all peoples and which migrate from one place to another.

Let us now examine the Buddhist tradition and see how far it has been used in the Tamil literary tradition. The Jātaka stories which claim a great antiquity must have become popular in the early centuries of the Christian era as is evident from the *Maṇimekalai* which is roughly assigned to the 2nd century A.D.[2]

According to the *Jātakas*[3] Manimekalai was the guardian of the sea appointed to save worthy persons shipwrecked at sea from being drowned in the deep waters. The deity left them to themselves for seven days, and on the eighth day took cognizance of deserving men. The story goes that when the righteous Brahman Śaṅkha was thrown overboard and was struggling for life for seven days, the deity appeared before him and after satisfying his hunger made him reach home safe. This story has its exact counterpart in the Tamil classic[4] *Maṇimekalai.* The deity

---

1 See the *Pañcatantra Reconstructed* by F,. Edgerton (American Oriental Series 1942, Vo. III.pp. 401.5.)

For another version see Tantrākhyāyikā by Dr. J,. Hertel (Harvard Or. Series, pp. 132-33).

2 See Author's *Studies in Tamil Literature and History*, pp. 74-5.

3 Nos. 442 and 539, Vol. VI, Cowell ed.

4 *Mani*, Canto 25. 11.207-11

Ibid 29.1.19.

Maṇimekalādaivam is appointed by Indra, the lord of heaven, to protect passengers on sea from being shipwrecked or otherwise disturbed by the Rākṣasas and Asuras. It is said that a predecessor of Kovalan who sailed on commercial business was shipwrecked, and it was Maṇimekalādaivam which saved him from finding a watery grave. It is significant to note that the merchant continued to swim for seven days on the seas when the deity offered succour. This was because he was a man of righteous conduct and deserved help.[1]

While there seems to be no doubt that the ancient Tamils have incorporated in their works legends from the Buddhist books, there is also much that could be said the other way round. The Ceylon chronicles, the *Mahāvaṁśa* and the *Dīpavaṁśa*, have several legends in common with the Indian folktales. Some of these may be mentioned here. There is first the well-known story of Manunītikaṇḍacoḷan legendary in character. When that Coḷa king was ruling he caused the bell of justice to be hung near the palace gate so that it could be accessible to all, even to the animals. Once it happened that the Crown Prince went out in his chariot for a ride. On the way his vehicle ran over a calf. Its mother, the cow, grew wrathful and rang the bell of justice at the palace gate with its horns. The king found his son guilty of a grave crime and had him executed.[2]

An interesting parallel to this story is found in the *Mahāvaṁśa*. It was the reigning time of King Elara, highly reputed for his even justice. At the head of his bed he had a bell hung up with a long rope the end of which was outside, so that those who pleaded for justice might ring the bell by pulling the rope. This king had only one son and a daughter. When this prince was riding in a car to the Tissa tank, he killed accidentally a young calf lying on the road with the mother cow. In great distress the cow rang the bell. Finding that his son had done wrong, the king ordered his son's head to be severed by the same wheel.[3]

We may also call attention to another folklore story, very popular among the Tamils even today. This is about an ancient Tamil King, known as Kumaṇa Cakravarti. Tradition says that he was a mountain chieftain and that he won much fame by his liberality and munificent gifts. It so happened that his brother deprived him of his kingdom and so Kumaṇa had to seek refuge in the wild forest. He knew that his brother had set a price on his head. Once a Sangam poet by name Peruntalai Śāttanār met Kumaṇa by accident and asked him for alms. To this he handed over his sword to the poet to chop off his head and earn a reward from his brother, the usurper.[4]

---

1 *Śilapp.* Canto 15, 11. 29-37. See for details the author's paper on *Buddhism in Tamil literature*, in the *Buddhistic Studies* ed. by B.C. Law, Cal. 1931 pp. 679-80; See also Sylvan Levi's articles on the *Maṇimekalai* in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. pp. 173. pp.371 ff.

11 [Annuals, B.O.R.I.]

2 Palamoli 93. See also *Periyapurāṇam, Manunīti kaṇṭa Purāṇam.*

3 Ch.XXI:p. 143. Trans. by W. Geiger 1912.

4 *Puram*, st. 158 and 165.

A variant of this story is told by *Mahāvaṁśa*. Sri Saṁgabodhi was one of the rulers who reigned in Anurādhāpura, Ceylon. He was a pious king and kept the five precepts of the Buddhists to their letter and spirit. His minister who was known by the name Gothabhaya had turned a rebel and was marching towards the capital. The king fled alone by the south gate. A passerby entreated him to eat of his food. After the meal, in order to show kindness to the other, Samgabodhi said; 'I am the king Saṁgabodhi. Take thou my head and show it to Gothabhaya. He will give thee much gold.' The poor man would not do so, and to aid him, the king killed himself when the other took his head and showed it to Gothabhaya. The latter presented him with much gold.[1]

Such legends must be handled only with caution by students of history. But that their study has its own cultural value cannot for a moment be doubted. These legends reflect the tendencies of the age and portray ideas firmly rooted in the beliefs of the times. To this extent they are of great value though generally they will be found clothed in the garb of mythological lore. And it is for students of ancient history and culture to detach fact from fiction, on which alone much depends for a right understanding of genuine history.

1 *Mahāvaṁśa*, Trans. by Wm. Geiger Ch. XXXVI 263.

காரோணம்

காயாரோஹணமென்றும், காரோஹணமென்றும், காரோணமென்றும் தற்காலம் வட இந்தியாவிலும் தக்ஷிண தேசத்திலும் பல ஊர்கள் புண்ணிய க்ஷேத்திரங்களாகக் கருதப்பட்டு வருகின்றன. தென் இந்தியாவில் தமிழ் நாட்டிலே மூன்று நகரங்கள் காரோஹணமென்னும் பெயரை உடையன. இவைகள், நாகை (நாகபட்டினம்), குடந்தை (கும்பகோணம்), கச்சி (காஞ்சீபுரம்) என்பவைகளாம்.[1] யூனிவர்ஸிட்டித் தமிழகராதியில் (Tamil Lexicon) நாயன்மார்கள் பாடிய தேவாரத்தை ஆதாரமாகக் கொண்டு காரோணம் என்பதற்கு, ''மகாசங்கார காலத்திற் சிவபெருமான் ஆன்மாக்களைத் தம்முள் ஐக்கியமாக்கிக் கொண்ட தலம்'' என்ற பொருள் வரையப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. தேவாரமாகிய தமிழ் வேதத்தில்[2] சில விடங்களில் காரோணமென்பது பிரயோகிக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறது.

இந்த ஆதாரங்களைக் கொண்டு தேவாரம் பாடியவர்கள் காலத்தில் நாகையும் குடந்தையுமே காரோஹண க்ஷேத்திரங்களாகக் கருதப்பட்டிருந்தன என்று சொல்லக் கூடும். இந்த ஆதாரங்களையே கொண்டால் கச்சிக்குக் காரோணமென்னும் பெயர் சைவ சமயாசாரியர்கள் காலத்திற்கு அதாவது கி.பி. ஒன்பதாம் நூற்றாண்டிற்குப் பின்னரே வழக்கில் வந்ததென்று ஊகிக்க இடமுண்டாகிறது.

இது நிற்க, மஹாபுராணங்களிலொன்றான வாயு மஹாபுராணத்தில் காயாரோஹண விஷயம் பின் வருமாறு கூறப்படுகிறது. மன்வந்தரத்தில் பெரிதான வைவஸ்வத மன்வந்தரத்தில் யுகக்கிரமத்தில் 28-வது யுகத்தில் மஹாவிஷ்ணு வாஸுதேவனாக அவதாரமெடுத்த காலத்தே மஹேசுவரரான பரமேசுவரர் சிறப்புற்ற மேருபருவதத்தின் ஒரு குகையில் காயாரோஹணமென்ற ஒரு ஸித்த க்ஷேத்திரத்தில் லகுலீ என்ற திருநாமத்துடன் அவதரித்து லோக ரட்சணார்த்தம் அவ்விடத்து மயானத்தில் சவமாய்க் கிடந்த ஒரு சரீரத்தின்கண் தம் யோக பலத்தால் நுழைந்து குசிகன், கார்க்யன், மித்ரகன், ருஷ்டன் என்ற நால்வர்களுக்கு மஹேசுவர யோகத்தை உபதேசித்து அவர்களுடன் திரும்பிவாரா உருத்திர லோகத்தை அடைந்தார்.[3]

இந்த விஷயத்தைப் பற்றி ஆராய்ச்சி செய்த புரொபஸர் **பந்தார்கார்** இந்த லகுலி அவதாரத்தை அவலம்பித்து லகுலீச பாசுபதமென்ற ஒரு மதக்கூட்டம் ஏற்பட்டதென்றும், தற்காலத்தில் ராஜபுதன மென்ற சமஸ்தானங்களில் காரவான் என்ற ஊரே லகுலீ அவதரித்த இடமென்றும். அவ்வூர் ஸ்தலமாஹாத்ம்யத்தில் இந்த லகுலீசர் அவதார விஷயம் விவரிக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறதென்றும். வாயுபுராணத்தில் சொல்லியிருக்கிற நால்வர்களே சிஷ்யர்களாகக் குறிக்கபட்டுள்ளனரென்றும், காரோஹண க்ஷேத்திரமென்பது இந்தக் காரவானாகவே இருக்க வேண்டுமென்றும்

---

1 See *Tamil Lexicon*, Vol. II, p. 890.

2 திருக்குடந்தைக் காரோணம்-சம்பந்தர், P. 435. நாகைக்காரோணம்-சம்பந்தர், அப்பர், சுந்தரர், (pp. 667–668) (Svāminātha Panditar edition).

3 Ch. 23, 217–224.

அபிப்பிராயப்படுகிறார்.[1] நாம் இங்கே முக்கியமாய்க் கவனிக்க வேண்டியது ஒன்றுண்டு. தென் இந்தியக் கல்வெட்டுக்களில் அநேக விடங்களில் லகுலீச பாசுபத விஷயம் கூறப்படுகிறது.[2]

இரண்டு கல்வெட்டுக்களால் லகுலீசுவர பண்டிதன்' என்ற திருநாமம் ஓர் ஆசாரியனுக்கு அளிக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறதாகத் தெரிகிறது.[3] இவைகளிலிருந்து சைவர்களுக்குள் அநாதியாய் வழங்கி வருகிற பாசுபத மதத்திற்கு லகுலீச பாசுபதம் என்பது ஒரு பகுதியாக ஏற்படுத்தப்பட்டதென்பதும் இந்த மதம் வடக்கே 'இமயத்திலிருந்து தெற்கே கன்யாகுமரி வரையில் பரவியிருந்த தென்பதும் தெரியலாகும். சரித்திர ஆராய்ச்சிக்காரர்கள் இந்த மதம் பிரசாரத்தை அடைந்தது சுமார் கி.பி. ஆரம்பத்திலென்று சொல்லுகிறார்கள்.[4]

வட இந்தியாவில் ராஜபுதனத்திலும் மேருபர்வதத்திலும் காயாரோஹணம் சொல்லப்பட்டிருப்பது போல் தமிழ்நாட்டில் தல புராணங்கள், நாகபட்டினம், கும்பகோணம், காஞ்சீபுரம் என்ற மூன்று நகரங்களையும் காரோண க்ஷேத்திரங்களாகக் கூறுகின்றன. இத்தல புராணங்களிற் காணும் வரலாறுகளைச் சுருக்கமாய்க் கூறுவோம்.

நாகபட்டினமான நாகையைக் காரோணமென்றும் அவ்வூரில் விளங்காநிற்கும் சிவபெருமானைக் காயாரோகணப் பெருமானென்றும் **திருநாகைக்காரோணப்புராணம்** கூறுகின்றது. இம் மகிமை பெற்ற தலத்தில் புண்டரீகர் என்று ஒரு முனிவர் சிவபிரானைக் குறித்துத் தவம் செய்ய. சிவபிரான் பலமுறை திருக்காட்சியளித்தனர். அவற்றுள் மூன்றாங் காட்சியில் புண்டரீக முனிவரை அவர் காயத்தோடு ஆரோகணஞ் செய்து கொண்டனர். இதைப் பின்வரும் பாடலும் விளக்குகின்றது:

'என்றுநைந் துருகிக் கண்ணீரிழிதர வெதிர்நின் றானை
நன்றுளக் கருணை பொங்க நாமிரு கரத்தால் வாங்கி
ஒன்றுத லமையக் காயத் தொடுமாரோ கணஞ்செய் தோமோர்
கன்றுத லின்றி யொன்றாய்க் கலந்தின்பந் துளைந்தா னன்றே.'

இனி, **திருக்குடந்தைப் புராண**[5] வரலாற்றைக் கவனிப்போம்.

இப்புராணத்தில் காரோணப் படலமென்று ஓர் அத்தியாயமுண்டு. இதில் ஸ்ரீமந் நாராயணன் ஸ்ரீ தசரதராமனாக அவதரித்த அவசரத்தில் சீதாபிராட்டியாரைக் கொடிய அரக்கனாகிய இராவணன் தூக்கிப் போக அவ்வரக்கர் பூண்டை வேரோடு களையக் கங்கணம் கட்டிய இராகவன் தண்டகாரண்யம் தாண்டி இலங்கை நோக்கி ஏகுங்கால் கும்பகோணத்தில் தங்கி அவ்விடத்தில் எழுந்தருளி யிருக்கும் சிவபிரானை வழிபட்டு, தான் அரக்கர்களுடன் போர் செய்யும் நிமித்தம் தனக்கு உருத்திராம்சத்தை அளிக்க

---

1 *Ar. S.R.* 1906–7, pp. 179–192.

2 See V. Rangachari, *Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*, North Arcot 681, Bellary 217, Coorg 978 and 1101.

3 *Ibid.* South Arcot, 603, North Arcot 681.

4 See author's paper on Some Aspects of the Vāyu Purāṇa in the *Journal of the Madras University.*

5 திரிசிரபுரம் மகாவித்வான் ஸ்ரீ மீனாக்ஷிசுந்தரம் பிள்ளை இயற்றியது.

வேண்டுமென்று அப்பிரானைப் பிரார்த்திக்க, சிவபிரானும் உளமகிழ்ந்து ஸ்ரீ ராகவன் காயத்தில் ஆரோகணஞ் செய்தார். இது முதல் இத்தலம் காரோண க்ஷேத்திர மென்று வழங்கி வருகிறது. இவ்விஷயங்களைப் பின்வரும் செய்யுட்களிற் காணலாம் :

'அடியனேன் காயத் துண்ணீ யமையவா ரோக ணஞ்செய்
தொடிவற வுறலாற் காயா ரோகண மெனும்பே ருற்று
முடிவிலித் தலமு நீயு முனிவற வினங்கல் வேண்டும்
கடியபொற் கடுக்கை மாலைக் கடவுளே யென்றுதாழ்ந்தான்.'

'இராகவன் வதன நோக்கி யெம்பிரா னருளிச் செய்வான்
பராவுநஞ் சத்தி நீகாண் பண்டுசா னின்கா யத்தில்
விராவுத னமக்கு மிக்க வரிமைகா ணெனவி ளம்பிக்
கராசலங் காத்த வண்ணன் மேனியுட் கலந்தி வர்ந்தான்.'

'காயத்து விராவி யேறக் கடுஞ்சமர் வீர னாகி
நேயத்து மகிழி ராம னிகழ்ந்தன னன்ன காலைத்
தோயத்து நடுவி லங்கை சுடுவதற் கெண்ணங் கொண்டு
தேயத்து மன்னர் மன்னன் மகனிது செய்தா னன்றே.'

'ஓங்குபல் வளஞ்சால் காயா ரோகணத் தமுதைப் போற்றிப்
பாங்குசெய் விடையும் பெற்றுப் படையெலா முழங்கிச் சூழத்
தேங்குதெண் டிரைநீர் வேலை செறிந்ததிற் சேதுகட்டி
வாங்குவிற் றடக்கை யண்ணல் மாற்றல னிலங்கை புக்கான்.'

இதே விஷயம் ஸ்ரீமத் வால்மீகி ராமாயணத்திலும் சில இடங்களில் குறிப்பிக்கப் பட்டிருக்கிறது.[1]

இதே விஷயம் ஸ்காந்த புராணத்திலும் கூறப்படுகிறது.

கொடிய அரக்கர்களான கரன், தூஷணன் முதலிய பதினாயிரம் அரக்கர்களுடன் கடும்போர் செய்யப் புகுந்த ஸ்ரீராமபிரான், யுத்தகளத்தில் புகுந்ததும் நந்தி வாஹனத்தோடு கூடின பிநாகி போல் விளங்கினானென்றும் கராமயுத்தமான கடும்போரில் ஸ்ரீராமன் உருத்ராம்சத்துடன் கூடிய உருத்திரன் போல விளங்கினானென்றும் கூறப்பட்டுள்ளது. மற்றும் யுத்தகாண்டத்தில் ராமராவணயுத்தம் நடக்கும் சமயம், ஸ்ரீராமன் காந்தர்வாஸ்திரப்பிரயோகம் செய்து நின்றவளவில் இராவணன் முதலியோர் திகைத்து நிற்க ஸ்ரீராமனே இவ்விஷயம் எனக்கு அல்லது உருத்திரனான திரியம்பகனுக்குத் தெரியுமென்று கூறுவதிலிருந்து ஸ்ரீராமன் உருத்திராம்சத்தை மேற்கொண்டானென்பதைத் திண்ணமாய்க் கூறலாம்.

---

1 See *Aranyakandam*. Ch. 16, 43; *Ibid*. 24, 26.

இது தவிர, ஸ்காந்த மஹா புராணத்தே இச்சந்தர்ப்பத்தில் ஒரு கதை சொல்லப்பட்டுள்ளது. அஃதாவது : ஒரு சமயம் பார்வதீ பரமேசுவரர்கள் உல்லாசமாய் ஆகாய வீதியில் சஞ்சாரம் செய்ய, அதனைப் பார்த்து நின்ற யாஜ்ஞவல்கிய முனிவரின் புத்திரர்கள் மூவரும் சீடர்களான 14000 பேர்களும் வித்தியாகர்வத்தால் இந்த ஆகாச சஞ்சாரிகளைப் பரிகசிப்பது போல் தங்களுக்கு வேண்டிய பத்தினிகளைக் காட்டிக் கொடுக்கும்படி அவர்களைக் கேட்க, பகவான் கோபங்கொண்டு இவர்கள் அரக்கர்களாகப் பிறக்கக்கடவர் என்று சபித்திட, இவர்கள் துயருற்று ஈசனைத் துதிக்க, அப்பெருமான், ''நான் தசரதராமனாகப் பூலோகத்தில் அவதரிக்குங்கால் உங்களைப் போரிற் கொன்று என் உலகமான கைலாயத்திற் சேர்த்துக் கொள்கிறேன்'' என்று கூறியதாக ஒரு வரலாறு காணப்படுகிறது. இந்த ஆதாரங்களில் நம்பிக்கை உண்டாயின் இராமன் இராவணவத காலத்தில் உருத்திராம்சத்தை எடுத்துக் கொண்டான் என்று சொல்லத் துணியலாம்.

இஃது இப்படியிருக்க, காஞ்சிப்புராண[1] வரலாறு மற்றொரு விதமாயுள்ளது.

முதற்காண்டம் காயாரோகணப் படலத்தில் சகல ஜீவராசிகளைப் போலவே பிரமாதி தேவர்களுக்கும், ஆயுட் பிரமாணமுண்டென்றும், ஆகையால் தேகவியோகங்களுண் டென்றும் மஹா புராணங்களில் சொல்லியபடி இப்புராணமும் கூறத் தொடங்கி எந்த யுகத்தில் பிரமா விஷ்ணு இருவர்களும் சேர்ந்து கால வியோகத்தை அடைவார்களோ, அக்காலத்தில் மஹேசுவரரான பரமேசுவரர் அவ்விரு தேவர்களின் காயத்தில் ஆரோகணித்துக் கருணாமூர்த்தியாய் விளங்குகிறாரென்று சொல்லுகின்றது. இவ்விதக் காயாரோகணம் பண்டைக்காலத்தில் கச்சியில் நடந்ததென்ற ஐதிஹ்யத்தை இப்புராணம் கூறுவதாகும் :

'இருவரு மொருங்கே யிறவருங் காலை
யெந்தையே யொடுக்கியாங் கவர்த
முருவமீ தேற்றிக் கோடலாற் காயா
ரோகணப் பெயரதற் குறுமால்
வருமுறை யிவ்வா றெண்ணிலா விரிஞ்சர்
மாயவர் காயமேற் றாங்கிக்
கருணையா லங்க ணடம்புரிந் தருளுங்
காலமாய்க் காலமுங் கடந்தோன்' (ப. 88)

புராணங்களிற் கண்ட விஷயங்களும் கதைகளும் ஆதாரமற்றவைகளென்றும், அவைகளுக்குப் பிராமாண்யம் கொடுத்தல் கூடாதென்றும் சரித்திர ஆராய்ச்சி நிபுணர்கள் கருதுவாராயினும் அவைகளில் உண்மைக் கலப்பும் உள்ளதென்று ஒரு புறம் கருதப்பட்டு வருகின்றது. மேற்சொன்ன கதைகளில் நம்பிக்கை யுண்டானாலும் உண்டாகாவிடினும் காயாரோகணமென்ற வடநாட்டு வழக்கு, பண்டைக் காலமுதல் தென்னாட்டின் கண்ணும் பிரபலமாக இருந்ததென்று நாம் கூறத் தடையில்லை. இதையே **திருக்குடந்தைப் புராணமும்** கூறும்.

---

1 Ed. by Nāgalinga Mudaliar, Madras, 1910.

‘காயாரோ கணமெ னும்பேர் காரோண மென்றா யிற்று
காயாரோ கணமெ னும்பேர் கருதுமத் தலம்பூண் டன்று
காயாரோ கணமெ னும்பேர் கைக்கொண்டா ரகிலநாதர்
காயாரோ கணத்து மேய கடமுனி யிலிங்கம் போற்றி’

‘மருவுகா ரோணத் தாரை வழிபடுந் தகுதி யோர்கள்
பொருவுதீர் கல்வி செல்வம் பொற்புறு மடவார் போகம்
இருவுமற் றனைத்துந் துய்த்தாங் கெய்திய போக முந்துய்த்
தருவுரு வினர்கா ரோணத் தன்னவ ரடிசார் வாரே.’ (ப. 207)

An Early Prakrit Inscription from Kanchipuram

Iravatham Mahadevan

Excavations at the ancient site of Kanchipuram carried out by T.V. Mahalingam during 1969-70 yielded, among other finds, an early Prakrit inscription incised on pottery, which has remained unpublished except for a brief notice (without illustration) in the preliminary report on the excavations[1]. The pottery, presently in the collections of the Department of Ancient History and Archaeology, University of Madras, came to my notice in 1993 during my search for Brahmi inscriptions in Tamilnadu[2]. I am grateful to Prof. K.V. Raman for permission to study and publish this interesting inscription. I am indebted to Dr. P. Shanmugam for the archaeological data on the find. The photograph (**P1.1**) of the inscribed sherd published here for the first time was taken by Mr. R. Venkatesan.

The excavations revealed two periods of occupation, Period IA (ca. 3-1 cent. B.C.) with black and red ware, some with painted designs, and Period IB (ca. 1 cent. B.C. - 4 cent. A.D.) characterised by rouletted and arretine ware, thick black and red ware, and fine black and grey ware. At one of the sites **(KCM-1)** located near the Kamakshi Amman temple, the remains of a square brick structure, identified as a 'Buddhist shrine chamber', was found in Period IB. The inscribed sherd was also found in this area at a depth of 5.3 m. The sherd is part of a bowl of grey ware (dia. 23 cm.; thickness 0.5 cm.). It has been dated in ca. 1-2 cent. A.D. on the basis of palaeography, stratigraphy and associated finds. The inscription is in Prakrit language in the Brahmi script. The earlier reading, *Pu ta la ti sa,* (interpreted as 'the name of a Buddhist monk') is however incorrect.[3].

I have examined the inscribed sherd carefully. The characters are fairly large in size and legibly incised **(Fig.1)**. The extant text has five characters only; probably there was one more at the end, which is now lost. The correct reading of the text is as follows:

Pu śa la khi ta

The inscription records a masculine personal name, **Puśalakhita** in Prakrit corresponding to Skt. **Pushyarakshita**, 'one who is protected by the asterism Pushya'. The inscription may be assigned to ca. first century A.D. when the squat, squarish forms seen in *Pu* and *la* in this inscription came into vogue. During this period, names based on asterisms with suffixes like - *guta (gupta), -mita (mitra) and*

---

1 *Indian Archaeology : A Review (IAR),* 1969-70, pp. 34-35. Ibid, 1970-71, pp. 32-33. Also see K.V. Raman, "Archaeological Excavations in Kanchipuram", *Tamil Civilization,* Vol.5, nos. 1&2 (1987), pp. 61-72.

2 This is part of the National Fellowship Project (1992-95) undertaken by me on behalf of the Indian Council of Historical Research, New Delhi, to compile a Corpus of Tamil-Brahmi Inscriptions found in caves and on pottery, coins, seals etc. The volume is under preparation.

3 *IAR* 1969-70, PP. 34-35.

-rakhita (rakshita) were quite common in Prakrit votive inscriptions at sites like Sanchi and Bharhut and in the early cave inscriptions of SriLanka. These names were popular among the followers of all religions, and there is no evidence to identify the name found in this graffito as that of a 'Buddhist monk'.

What transforms this otherwise commonplace inscription into an interesting epigraphical puzzle is the apparently discordant components of the name, *Puśa* and *lakhita.*

The Indian Prakrits had almost completely replaced the sibilants *ś* and *sh* with *s.* It is true that *ś* occurs in some dialectal variants in the Asokan inscriptions; however there is no instance of *ś* replacing *s* in a South Indian Prakrit inscription. Thus one should expect the form *pusa* (Pkt. *pussa;* Skt. *pushya*) rather than *puśa* in this graffito.

On the other hand, Early Sinhala-Prakrit had almost completely replaced the sibilants *sh* and *s* with *ś.* The word *pusa* is always written as *puśa* in the early cave inscriptions of SriLanka[1]. What is more, the linear form of *śa* found in this graffito is the standard type in the SriLanka cave inscriptions, but seldom if ever, seen in this shape in the Indian Prakrit inscriptions[2]. Thus it appears both from linguistic and palaeographic evidence that *puśa* in this graffito is written in Sinhala-Prakrit.

However the other component *lakhita* is unlikely to be in Sinhala-Prakrit for two reasons. The sound *r* is replaced by *l* (as in this case) only in the Magadhan dialect of Pali. There is no evidence of this change in Sinhala-Prakrit inscriptions. Secondly, Early Sinhala-Prakrit had replaced the aspirates with the corresponding un-aspirated consonants. The early cave inscriptions of SriLanka have only the form *rakita* (for *rakhita*)[3]. Even though the aspirated *kh* appears sporadically in SriLankan cave inscriptions, its use is exceptional as sinhala-Prakrit had no aspirated consonants. Thus the change of *r* to *l* and the retention of *kh* would seem to indicate an Indian Prakrit, akin to Magadhan Pali, to be the source of *lakhita,* the second part of the name in this graffito.

What is even more curious is that the forms *puśa* (for *pusa*) and *lakhita* (for *rakhita*) are not expected to occur in a South Indian Prakrit inscription of around the first century A.D.

While I was mulling over this puzzle, I happened to run into Prof. Harry Falk, the distinguished German Indologist, in a conference at Helsinki in July 1993. During a long bus-ride on an excursion through the beautiful Finnish countryside, I brought up this problem for discussion. Falk immediately suggested an elegant solution: read *lakhita* as such, regarding it as the Prakrit form of Skt. *lakshita,* 'marked by, called, named after'. Then **Puśalakhita** (Skt. **Pushyalakshita**) can be translated as 'one named after the asterism of Pushya'.

---

1 S. Paranavitana, *Early Brahmi Inscriptions,* Inscriptions of Ceylon, Vol. 1, 1970, Glossary, P. 115..

2 It is instructive to compare the palaeographic charts for the letter *śa* in Paranavitana, 1970, (f.p. xvi) and in C. Sivaramamurti, *Indian Epigraphy and South Indian Scripts,* Madras, 1952, p. 142.

3 S. Paranavitana, 1970, Inscriptions Nos. 220, 232, 312, 416, 700, 769 etc.

While I am unable to find an exact Indian or SriLankan parallel for a name based on an asterism with the suffix *lakshita*[1], this is a plausible explanation and perhaps the only possible one in the present context, as it neatly avoids the unlikely assumption of a 'Magadhism' (change of *r* to *l*) in a relatively late South Indian or SriLankan Prakrit inscription.

Even after adopting this improved interpretation suggested by Falk, there seem to be two equally valid solutions to this epigraphic puzzle:

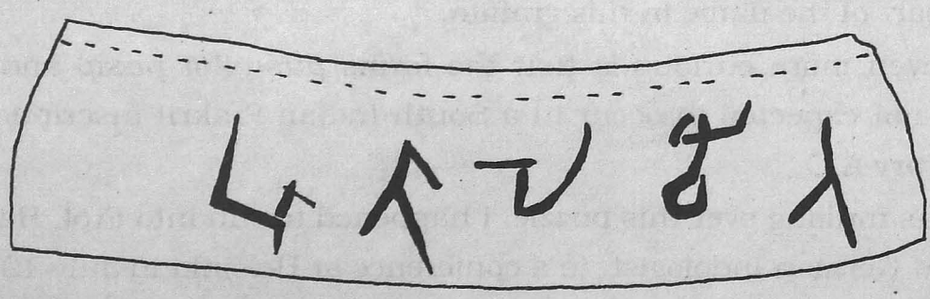
(a) This is a Sinhala-Prakrit inscription influenced by an Indian Prakrit as seen from the retention of the aspirated *kh*. If the bowl was incised at Kanchipuram, this is quite likely to have happened[2]; or

(b) This is a South Indian Prakrit inscription influenced by Old Sinhalese language and script as seen from the expression *puśa* and the linear shape of the character *śa*. The bowl was probably owned by a SriLankan living in Kanchipuram.

Whichever be the case, this inscribed bowl is a remarkable piece of evidence for ancient India-SriLanka contacts and the important role played by Kanchipuram in the cultural, religious and social intercourse between the two countries around the turn of the Christian Era.



Inscribed Bowl from Kanchipuram



Inscription on the Bowl

---

1 It is however interesting that *Lakshita* ('distinguished') was one of the titles of Mahendra Pallava - I of Kanchi. *Annual Report on Epigraphy*, 1908, no. 369; *South Indian Inscriptions*, XII. 13.

Recently one of the coin-issues of Mahendra Pallava has been discovered by R. Krishnamurthy bearing the title *Lakshita*. Natana Kasinathan, *Tamizhar Kaasu lyal*, Madras, 1995, pp. 55-56.

2 For a catalogue of Sinhala-Prakrit inscriptions on pottery found in or near ancient sea-ports on the East coast of India, see I. Mahadevan, "Old Sinhalese Inscriptions from Indian ports : New Evidence for ancient India-SriLanka Contacts", Journal of the *Institute of Asian Studies*, Vol : XIV, no. 1 (1996) pp. 55–68. One of these Sinhala-Prakrit inscriptions (No. 4) is influenced by Tamil - Brahmi Orthography.

Tamil and Typology

Prof. R.E. Asher

This paper arises partly from some of my current preoccupations and partly from a re-reading of that monument of a work, Bishop Robert Caldwell's *A comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages*, a book that has still not been completely superseded even though the first edition came out in 1856, Caldwell was born almost 181 years ago and it is 151 years ago that he first embarked on a study of Tamil - immediately on reaching Madras, in January 1838, As an undergraduate his interest in comparative philology had been fired by teaching he had received in the University of Glasgow.

In Caldwell's productive years, the scientific study of language was strictly equated with historical and comparative work. It should at the same time be remembered that this comparative study was based on first-rate descriptive work, much of it by amateurs, in the sense that many of the ablest practitioners were not employed as academics but as missionaries or civil servants.

The excitement caused by the realisation at the end of the eighteenth century that languages spoken as far apart as Southern Asia and Western Europe were related, that is to say had a common origin, led to the development of an instinct that wished to see genetic links established between larger and larger groups of languages. As far as languages spoken in South India were concerned, there were moves in two opposing directions. The first was in the direction of assuming without much thought that they must belong to the enormous Indo-European family. Then came a movement in the opposite direction, resulting from P.W. Ellis' incontrovertible statement in 1816 that this assumption was mistaken. The instinct already mentioned nevertheless took over again, with attempts over the last century and a half to show that the Dravidian languages are related to a wide range of other languages whose homes are some distance to the North-East, the South-West and the West of South India.

The possibility that all languages are ultimately related is, of course, not to be summarily excluded. If we are to believe accounts of recent DNA research, the ancestry of all members of the human race can be traced back to the same female. If this is the case and if it could be shown that the use of language had begun by the time of that female, then it would not be unreasonable to suppose a common origin for all languages. Joseph Greenberg's view, expressed in 1987, that the 5000 or 6000 languages of the world form "What is likely as single language family" has certainly attracted the interest of geneticists as well as linguists.

There is fair agreement now on the 30+ languages that can properly be labelled Dravidian (Caldwell, it will be remembered, enumerated, "exclusive of the Brahui", twelve Dravidian languages "six cultivated dialects" and "six uncultivated dialects").

There is less agreement on the question of any larger grouping to which the Dravidian languages may belong.

The interest in seeking such affinities goes back to Caldwell himself. "Leaving aside the idioms of Northern India out of consideration for the present, as extraneous to the object of the work," he devoted twelve pages to an examination of the question: "With what group of languages are the Dravidian idioms to be affiliated?" This section was somewhat expanded in the second edition of 1875, and it is significant that in this edition Caldwell was able to draw on no less than eighty books and papers bearing on Dravidian philology that had been published subsequent to the first edition of his own book. In addition to this section concerned solely with the matter of possible affiliations, Caldwell regularly makes comparisons with other language groups in discussing aspects of the phonology and grammar of individual Dravidian languages.

The resemblances between languages that Caldwell examines as possible clues to relationships are of several kinds. These types of resemblance are not in any absolute sense mutually exclusive, but some classification is possible.

1. Phonological

(a) Inventory of sounds; e.g. the presence of cerebral consonants.

(b) Phonological rules; e.g. the law of the convertibility of surds and sonants.

2. Morphological forms; e.g. the form of case endings (especially genitive, dative and accusative), of pronouns, of the suffix for ordinal numbers.

3. Typological

(a) Morphology; e.g., agglutination, differentiation of inclusive and exclusive first person plural pronouns.

(b) Syntax; e.g. relativisation strategy.

4. Lexical : Under one or another of these heads he points to resemblances between features of Dravidian languages and features of a wide range of the world's languages : Indo-European, Semitic (though in these two cases no close relationship is ever assumed), Turkish (including Oriental Turkish, Turkoman, Khivan, Ottoman Turkish), Finnish (including Finnish itself, Lappish, Esthonian, Mordvin, Votiak, Ostiak), Mongolian, Japanese, African (Bornu or Kanuri), Australian, Tibetan, Chinese, Malayo-Polynesian (including Malay, Tagala, Tahitian).

Perhaps because Caldwell's aim was to provide a comparative *grammar*, the first and last of these types are not accorded a dominant position in the body of the work. Little is said in a general way about phonological features, and lexical resemblances are relegated to appendices containing lists of vocabulary items and show resemblances between Dravidian on the one hand and Indo-Europeon, Semitic or Scythian ("particularly ... the Ugro-Finnish dialects") on the other. It cannot be said that these lists are presented in the framework of strict comparative method, and to that extent they lack conviction.

The heaviest concentration is on similarities (in terms of sequences of letters/sounds) in morphological forms Caldwell regularly draws attention to the danger of being seduced by apparent resemblances that are in fact illusory. Nevertheless, it is not always the case that he avoids such pitfalls, mainly perhaps, because of a failure to establish in a fully systematic way sets of sound correspondences that apply over a large area of the vocabulary of the languages that are being compared. It is possible to feel, for instance, that he attaches too much importance to the fact that the form of "the pronoun of the second person is *ni*" not only in Dravidian languages but "also in Bornu, a language of Central Africa" as well as "in the Schythian of Behistun, and even in Chinese."

He devotes less space to typological matters than to the phonological shape of grammatical morphemes. It is clear, however, that he regards typological similarity as being very significant. The most important reference in this connection is no doubt in his discussion of the morphological form associated in Dravidian languages with the process of relativisation. In introducing this question, he states:

"It is a remarkable peculiarity of the Dravidian languages that they have no relative pronoun whatever, and that the place of the relative pronoun is supplied by a part of the verb which is called the relative participle, or the adjective participle, a participle which is invariably followed by a noun, and preceded by the words or phrases that depend upon the relative."

A little later, having noted that other languages lack relative pronouns, he writes:

"In the older Scythian languages, a relative participle is used, as in the Dravidian languages, instead of a relative pronoun. Japanese also has no relative pronoun, but uses a relative participle instead in a truly Scythian manner. The existence of a family likeness in so remarkable a particular tends to show the existence of some family relationship between the Scythian group and the Dravidian."

Now it can be shown that a large number of languages, both among those referred to by Caldwell and some that he does not mention, share several typological features, including a number which, if European languages are taken as the standard, are no less exotic than the use of relative participles. In a paper presented at the VIth International Conference Seminar in 1987, I showed that Tamil and Japanese resemble each other to a remarkable degree at the level of syntactic structure :

1. Both are basically SOV.
2. Modifier precedes noun.
3. Genitive precedes noun.
4. Complex modifiers such as relative clauses (as noted by Caldwell) precede nouns, and in such cases the dependency relationship that holds between the verb form in the relative clause and the head noun is indicated neither by the order of constituents nor by any grammatical feature on the head noun, which takes its case marker from its function in the main clause.

5. Both languages use postpositions, not prepositions.
6. Comparative adjectives are preceded by the standard of comparison.
7. Conjunctions in temporal clauses occupy clause-final position.
8. The strategies for reporting speech are very similar.
9. Passive constructions are similar.
10. Causative constructions are similar.
11. Noun phrases that can readily be recovered from the context are freely deleted in both languages.
12. There is an interrogative particle that occurs in sentence-final position.
13. The pattern for and - coordination of nouns is similar.

Turkish, much more frequently cited by Caldwell than Japanese (mention of which appeared only in the second edition), presents a closely analagous picture. At the level of morphology, it is an agglutinating language, perhaps to an even higher degree than Tamil. The basic order of morphemes in both nouns and verbs is the same. Noun phrases are similarly composed, with modifiers (including relative construction) and genitives preceding the noun. Adverbial modifiers precede adjectives. Interestingly, to descend to a matter of detail, *bir (= oru)* can in a noun phrase either precede or follow a modifier, as in Tamil. A positions are of the postpositional type. At the sentence level subordinate clauses precede the main clause, with subordinating conjunctions being clause-final, and the basic order of major constituents is SOV. The interrogative suffix {-mi} closely resembles Tamil -AA (more so, in fact, than Japanese ka).

Kanuri or Bornu attracted Caldwell's interest for two reasons. The first is its second person singular pronoun from *ni*, and the second "resemblances of a general [i.e., typological] nature". Caldwell notes the following :

1. Agglutinative structure of words
2. Use of "postpositions instead of prepositions"
3. Kanuri "adds to nouns and sentences syllables expressive of doubt, interrogation and emphasis, in a peculiarly Dravidian manner."
4. The verb "has a negative voice."

To these one could order

5. A basic SOV word order
6. Conjunctions in subordinate clauses occupying clause-final position
7. Noun phrases (both nouns and pronouns) are freely deleted.
8. The pattern for an co-ordination (with *-wa* added to each noun in a coordinating structure) resembles Dravidian.
9. In nominal forms the sequence of morphemes is stem (+Plural) + case.

There are, however, non-Dravidian features : adjectives and genitives follow nouns, and, though the language has no relative pronouns, the strategy for relativisation is of a different type from typically used in Dravidian language.

On the matter of Australian languages it is difficult to be precise, since Caldwell does not specify any particular language, perhaps because little detailed work had been done and reported on in publication before the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The material he presents on the form of first and second pronouns, however, is supported by recent work. He has little to say about the syntactic typology of Australian languages. If recent findings has been available to him, he would have found that they provided but little grist for his mill. Australian languages, it is true, are largely agglutinative. A fair number distinguish between inclusive and exclusive first person plural pronouns. Though word order is typically very free, the commonest type is SOV. In most other respects, however, they are unlike Dravidian.

There are other languages geographically remote from Dravidian languages (apart from the many mentioned by Caldwell) which exhibit shared typological features. One such language is Hadiyya, an East Cushitic language spoken in Central Ethiopia. As with Japanese, it is possible to point to a considerable number of shared characteristics, among them the following (data from Sim 1990) :

1. A basic SOV word order.

   mat manc higukk agananne iina hara? mukko
   one man past month-in me-to helped-he

2. Modifier precedes noun.

   "A man helped me last month".

   ka kasar addicco

   this red calf

3. Genitive precedes noun.

   ee land anna

   that girl father

   "that girl's father"

4. "In the relative clause, the appropriate head-word is phrase-final, and immediately preceded by the Relative verb in subordinate form."

   an hara? moomn t'ummoro ...

   I help-will-I Tummoro

   "... Tummoro whom I'll help"

5. The use of postpositions

   t' arpp'ez hanenne
   table-GEN top-LOC

   "on top of the table"

k'ure *woronne*
pot-GEN bottom-LOC

"Inside the pot"

6. In subordinate clauses (e.g. of time, reason, purpose, result, and conditionals) there is a clause-final conjunction, with the main clause of following.

an *erisa* *la? oom* *googonnet*
ihoomm *ammane* *lobakata* *takke?oommo*

I well know-I road-on-COP be-I time greately walk-I

"When I am on a road which I know well, I really step it out."

7. Serial verb constructions resemble the use of adverbial participles (*vinai eccam*) in Tamil.

meenticco *giira* *giittaa, giil*
gadanonne *lobakat* *ammane*
afuutto?o

woman fire kindling fire-GENb e -
side much time sit-she

"Having kindled the fire, the woman sat beside it for a long time."

8. For and-coordination there is a lengthening of world-final vowel on all coordinate heads.

it' waasa beetinaa landicconaa uwwaakko
he insete-bread boy-to-& girl-to-& gave-he

"He gave insete-bread to his son and daughter."

9. Equational sentences typically consists of N+N, but can have verb (COP) to carry tense.

an *astamaarekkicco*
I teacher

"I am a teacher."

i landa ladiiseena illageen an goddaanco he?ummo

my girls marrying before i rich-man was-I

"I was a rich man before my girls married."

10. For yes/no questions a final interrogative particle *(-nnihe)* is added to the verb.

at beeballa katama mattittonnihe

you yesterday town went-you-QU

"Did you go to town yesterday?"

11. There are morphological causatives.
12. The sequence of morphemes in verb forms is stem-tense-person.
13. Subject and verb agree in person/number/gender.

For a Dravidologist such facts are exciting. This is, however, not so because the discovery proves a genetic relationship. Research undertaken in recent years has shown conclusively that the distribution of syntactic typological features in a language is not random. That is to say that the presence of one feature will lead to an expectation that other specific features will also be present. Though there are few absolute laws, certain sets of features go together in given languages more frequently than would happen by pure chance. Thus, while languages with a dominant VSO order are always prepositional, SOV languages will usually be postpositional. While postnominal relative clauses are most common in SVO and verb-initial languages, SOV languages tend towards the prenominal type.

Caldwell's instinct therefore that the lack of a relative pronoun and the existence of a relative participle in Japanese tended to indicate a family relationship with Tamil is mistaken, as would be any suggestion that the resemblances set out above mean that Tamil, Turkish and Hadiyya are genetically related. If two languages are typologically similar at the syntactic level, a number of explanations are possible.

The first is that they come from the same source and have not been separated for a sufficiently long time for typological divergences to occur. That a language can change typologically is shown by languages for which we have a continuous recorded history. French, for instance, though undoubtedly a daughter of Latin, is typologically different in a number of ways. Similarly, on the other side of the globe, some Australian languages that are accepted as members of the same family differ as regards syntactic typology.

Secondly, language may be typologically similar because they have been in contact over a long period and have influenced each other in this respect. Masica has shown in *Defining a Linguistic Area* that this may be so and can demonstrate that Hindi and Telugu share thirty defining features. It could well be, too, that it is the factor of contact that is in part responsible for the fact that Dravidian languages on the whole have not diverged typologically.

Thirdly, as noted above, there seem to be universal tendencies at work. Under these, one typological change can be expected to entail certain others.

Caldwell's views on the affinities of the Dravidian family with other languages or groups of languages can therefore for the most part be viewed as lacking conviction. This is not to be taken as diminishing the importance of his work as a landmark in the study of human language. Building on Ellis' work, he firmly established the Dravidian languages as a separate group and made clear both the nature of their relationship and their characteristic features. It should be remembered, too, that he was a pioneer and that he was very conscious of the fact that his conclusions in many cases could not be regarded as definitive. Thus, in talking about kanuri and the ways in which it resembles Dravidian, he made no dogmatic claim, stating

simply, "The Kanuri language differs so remarkably from the rest of the African tongues, that it is very desirable that its relationship should be fully investigated. "Similarly, at the end of the Appendix on "glossarial affinities", he is equally modest:

"I am fully persuaded that many of the resemblances I have tabulated in these lists will turn out to be resemblances and nothing more. It will be found also that the resemblance diminishes or disappears in the course of inquiry, and therefore that it must have been accidental. I am equally persuaded, however, that all the resemblances I have pointed out will not be found to be the result of accident; and I consider it an aid to further, more extended, and more searching inquiry, and therefore not unscientific, to draw the attention of scholars to such resemblances as exist whatever their nature or degree. It is desirable, in the interest of scientific inquiry itself, to indicate the various directions in which such inquiry should be made, and to furnish some means of forming an idea as to whether it is likely to be rewarded or not."

He speaks elsewhere of "the necessity of tracing words back to their earliest stages before concluding that resemblances imply relationships."

We should in any case be thankful for Caldwell's enthusiasm and admire its results. In speculating on the possible implications of his hypothesis that Scythian and Dravidian may be related, he is moved to write : "What a confirmation of the statement that 'God hath made of one blood all nations of men, to dwell upon the face of the whole earth'!" Is this really very different from what a number of serious scholars are now beginning to say ?

References

Asher, R.E. (forthcoming). *"Tamil and Japanese : some typological analogies"* Paper presented at the VI International Conference Seminar of Tamil Studies, Kuala Lumpur, 1987.

Caldwell, R. 1856. *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South-Indian Family of Languages.* London, Harrison, 2nd ed. revised and enlarged, London, Trubner and Co., 1875.

Campbell, A.D. 1816. *A Grammar of the Teloogoo Language, commonly called the Gentoo, peculiar to the Hindoos of the North Eastern Provinces of the Indian Peninsula,* Madras College (of Fort St. George) Press.

Ellis, F.W. 1816. "North to the Introduction". In Campbell 1816.

Masica, C.P. 1976. *Defining a Linguistic Area : South Asia.* Chicago and London, University of Chicago Press.

Sim, R 1990. *Predicate conjoining in Hadiyya : a head driven PS grammer.*

Thesis presented for the degree of PhD, The University of Edinburgh.

On the Beginning of Buddhism in Tamiḻakam

Dr. Peter Schalk[1]

In documents presented to the International seminar on Tamil Buddhism in Madras on May 25-30, 1992, in conversation with scholars invited to that seminar, there has been a vagueness about what is meant by »Tamil Buddhism «. Is »Tamil Buddhism « the same as » Buddhism in Tamilnāṭu « or » Buddhism in Tamiḻakam « or even » Buddhism in South India «? Can we widen the concept of Tamil Buddhism to be » Dravidian Buddhism « or » Buddhism in the southern regions «, i.e. south of the rivers Narmadā or Gaṅgā? When did Tamil Buddhism start its history and when did it end? Can Tamil Buddhism be classified in one or several of the categories hīnayāna, mahāyāna or vajrayāna? Did it go through an » ideal « development from hinayāna to vajrayāna? Did the Tamil sangha enjoy royal patronage? Can influences from outside on Tamil Buddhism be identified?

Looking at the contributions to that seminar about Tamil Buddhism, all these questions have been taken up but have been answered differently. To make things short about a definition of Tamil Buddhism, we stipulate that Tamil Buddhism is transmitted from the 4th to 13th century in the history of Tamiḻakam that includes TamilĪḻam as well. R. Nākacuvāmi dates its beginning to 2nd Century Ad,[2] but not earlier. Even the 2nd century is, however, a conjecture. Only the fourth century offers us a solid ground for stating that Buddhism is established.

For a more detailed discussion of this term » Tamil Buddhism «, we refer to another paper.[3] In this paper, we shall speak about » Tamil Buddhism « and about » Buddhism in Tamiḻakam«. To us it is the same.

By » Tamiḻakam « is meant the unity of the Cōḻa-, Cēra- and Pāṇṭiya Kingdoms (inclusive of their annexed territories like Iḻaccōlamaṇṭalam and the at times non-annexed Tamil parts of Iḻam). The word *tamiḻakam* we find already in *Puṟanāṉūṟu* 168, 18. The concept of a unity of the three kingdoms is then pre-Pallava. It is also expressed in *Puṟanāṉūṟu* 357 by the word *mūvarulakam*, » the world of the three (kingdoms) «. That can be paralleled to another unitarian concept, to *tamiḻulakam*, » the Tamil world « in the *pāyiram*, » preface «, in *Tolkāppiyam*. This Tamiḻakam is of course much wider than the present state of Tamilnāṭu. We do not look for support for reconstructing a united Tamil nation-state in the » Caṅkam age «, but for support for reconstructing a concept of cultural unity on the basis of the Tamil language.

---

1 Dr. Peter Schalk is professor in the History of Religions, Faculty of Arts, Uppsla Uniersity, Uppsala, Sweden.

2 R. Nagaswamy. >> Buddhist Icons of Tamil Nad. << Unpublished manuscript presented in a workshop on Tamil Buddhism at Uppsala Universit, 8-10 May, 1993, p.00.

3 P. Schalk, >> Tamil Buddhism <<, *Lanka*, December, 7 (1992), pp.

There are four areas that in the present research about Tamil Buddhism seem to be controversial. The *first* is the dating, especially the beginning of Tamil Buddhism. The *second* is the content of Tamil Buddhism regarding its classification with traditional labels like hīnayāna, mahāyāna and vajrayāna. The *third* is the position of Tamil Buddhism in society and state and the *fourth* is the influences on Tamil Buddhism from outside Tamiḻakam, especially from Āndhra, Īlam and the area of the Pālas, but also from Java and China regarding doctrines, rituals and archaeological evidences like architecture and sculpture.

In this paper only one problem will be taken up, the problem of the dating of the beginning of Tamil Buddhism. Common among researchers is the opinion that Tamil Buddhism was established in Aśoka's time in the 3rd century B.C. There is, however, no support for this view.

There are mainly three types of arguments put forward for the statement that Buddhism is pre-Pallava in Tamilakam. The first type seeks support in artefacts, the second in inscriptions and the third in literary creations. Let us look at one literary » evidence « for an early dating, but before that we have to give a small note on the word *caṅkam*.

The word *caṅkam* is derived from Sanskrit *saṇgha*. It refers allegedly to a council of wise men who came together three times in Maturai to codify Tamil literature. It is used frequently by Tamil scholars and refers to a period dated differently within a frame of 300 BC-500 AD. A specified corpus of texts created within this period, whenever it is placed in time, is called *caṅkam* literature.

Some take the word *caṅkam* itself as an indication for the existence of a Buddhist *saṅgha*, [1] but the legend itself about the *caṙṅkam* and about the three *caṅkam* is not contemporary with the period it refers to, i.e. precisely 100 BC to 200 AD. The first time we here about the Caṅkam is in the 7th century AD.[2] The whole concept of *caṅkam* is an anachronistic projection of the 7th century back into far off history. The *caṅkam* period is an *imagined* period by later generations from the 7th century onwards.

Then of course, in the 7th century, we can assume a Buddhist influence, but this influence cannot be projected back to the time 100 BC to 300 AD. - at least not by impartial historians. As historians we should not spread fictions about a historical period. We should abandon the term *caṅkam* period and instead write and speak about pre-Pallava time. The dynasty of the Pallavas saw history in the late 3rd century AD. and beginning of the 4th century AD.

There is a group of scholars in present Tamilnāṭu who dream about a glorious past that was a Buddhist past. They try to construct a pre-Aśokan Buddhism in » Tamilnāṭu «. That becomes equal to make the origin of Tamil history a Buddhist

---

1 Rao, *Buddhism...*, 46, Hikosaka, *Buddhism...*p.14-15. Id., » History ... «, p. 190.

2 K Zvelebil, » The Caṅkam legend. The Texts. « *The Smile of Murugan. On Tamil Literauture of South India.* Leiden : Brill, 1973, pp. 45-64, See also JR Marr, *The Eight Anthologies. A Study in Early Tamil Literature.*Madras : Instiute of Asian Studies, 1985, pp. 1-13.

origin. Let us look at a wide spread argumentation in Tamilnadu by a Japanese scholar, by Dr. Shu Hikosaka, Ph.D. of Maḍras University, co-director of the Institute of Asian Studies in Madras. His works are widely quoted and form a base for a school-formation that projects Buddhism in » Tamilnāṭu « into even pre-Aśokan times.

He states that the word *potiyil*, that we find in the » Caṅkam « literature, has a reference to Buddhism. According to him, it should be interpreted as a Tamilised version of *bodhi-il* > *pōti-yil* > *potiyil*. The word is allegedly a name of holy Buddhist places and of a mountain. That is allegedly no less than the Potalaka mountain, the residence of Avalokiteśvara.[1] Potalaka is according to him » secondary derivation « of *potiyil*.[2]

It is not easy just to dismiss this primary derivation as wishful thinking - even if it looks like it. It would not have been possible to find the true derivation without Rajam's new descriptive grammar on old Tamil (see below).

Since this derivation *bodhi-il* > *pōti-yil* > *potiyil* was launched by the Institute of Asian Studies in 1988, many a scholar, inclusive the present writer and well-known professors of Tamil, went about with an uneasy feeling that something was wrong, but we were not able to identify it. It would not have been possible to identify it with reference to classical normative grammar like *Tolkkāppiyam* and *Naṉṉūl*. The thinking in categories of normative grammar was an obstacle and made it possible for the Hikosaka-school at Institute of Asian Studies to persist on its position. This is not possible any more because we have now a new way of looking at it thanks to Rajam's grammar. The analysis of the word *potiyil* is therefore not only interesting from the point of view of the history of Buddhism, but also from the point of view of the development of knowledge.

We only discuss here the statement that the word is derived from *bodhi*, to which allegedly the Tamil word il was added, meaning allegedly » the residence of Buddhists « (sic).[3] If this is wrong, everything else is also wrong.

The main problem in this analysis is that the long ō is just disappearing without explanation. The » Caṅkam » texts always write *potiyil* with *o*, but the derivation from *bodhi* must result in *ō*. *Bodhi* is regularly written as *pōti*. The word *pōti* also exists in many other meanings as verb and noun. It means » be full «, » fullness «, » dry state of wet land «. It has then nothing to do with *bodhi*.

**Pōtiyil* and *potiyil* are not the same. The first does not exist in the » Caṅkam « texts, and if one hypothetically constructs the latter to prove Buddhism, one begs the question. It is a circular and therefore invalid reasoning.

---

1 S. Hikosaka, *Buddhism in Tamilnadu. A new Perspective*. Madras : Institute of Asian Studies, 1989., p. 181.

2 Hikosaka, *Buddhism...*, p. 181 .

3 loc. cit.

True enough, it is only in the 19th century that manuscripts distinguish between *o* and *ō*. Usually *o* stands for *ō* also, but in the case of *potiyil*, for metrical reasons, there is no doubt that all the 39 appearances should be given as *potiyil*. The modern editions giving *potiyil* are quite correct.

Regarding the composition of the word *bodhi-il* , it is allegedly combined of a Sanskrit and a Tamil part. Such compositions usually keep a very long time their original form. In this case the *ō* should have been kept, but it has not. We therefore suspect that it has nothing to do with *bodhi*. A Vēluppiḷḷai, professor of Tamil, Yalppanam and Uppsala, even sharpens this argument by stating : » A hybrid compound *bodhi + il* coming from remote antiquity and in frequent use in different contexts in early old Tamil texts is linguistically impossible. Many centuries of language contact of an intensive nature are needed before such compounds make their appearance. *Tirukkuṟal* is the earliest text in Tamil to use such a compound. «[1]

There are not less than 39 instances of *potiyil* in old Tamil literature and not a single instance of **pōtiyil*. As *bodhi* is regularly given as *pōti*, all these 39 instances from different authors, times and places must be regarded as corruption - if we follow the interpretation given above. We shall of course not follow this interpretation. We shall make reality an ultimate test of an interpretation and not an interpretation an ultimate test of reality. We start from the conviction that the 39 instances of potiyil are not corruption of *pōtiyil*, but that *potiyil* is a proper Tamil word.

Let us now look at an alternative word-analysis of *potiyil*, that our interpreter knows and that he rejects. He says : » Traditional Tamil scholars interpret Potiyil as potu+il, i.e. common place. This is not correct, since according to Tamil morphophonemic rule potu + il will become potuvil and not potiyil. For instance, common place is referred to in Caṅkam classics as potuvil (Puranānūru : 89) «.[2]

The » traditional Tamil scholars « referred to are not specified and therefore it is not possible to check if they really held this view. The *Tamil Lexicon*, however, has an analysis according to which both *potiyil* and *potuvil* are derived from *potu + il*. The latter derivation is correct, but the former seems to be wrong, as our interpreter pointed out. The i is disturbing, no doubt, but the fact that *potu-v-il* is available and that a strong commentarial tradition finds the same meaning in both *potuvil* and *potiyil*, makes it hard to neglect the *Tamil Lexicon* analysis.

We are aware that this appeal is not very convincing, and therefore we give an other argument to enforce this sentimental eloge of traditional Tamil scholarship. We refer to a morphophonemic rule formulated by V.S. Rajam in his *A Reference Grammar of Classical Tamil Poetry*. There is his analysis of the following case :

---

1 Written communication to the present author dated 930523.

2 loc.cit

»The stem has two open syllables with short vowels and is an adjective. The following item is a suffix or a nominal. The stem-final vowel is deleted. Subsequently, one of the following changes occurs : the consonant preceding the stem-final vowel is doubled or hardened, or the vowel *i* is inserted between the stem and the item following it. Consequently, the glide *y* is inserted between the *i* and the following item.«[1]

As examples he gives :

mutu + i + y + ōḷ > *mutiyōḷ*

ciṟu + i + y + ilai > *ciṟiyilai*

paru + i + y + arai > *pariyarai*

peru + i + y + atu > *periyatu*[2]

Now we can add :

potu + i + y + il > *potiyil*

The formation of *potiyil* follows then a regular pattern and cannot said to be corrupt.

A comment supportive of the present authors argumentation and conclusion above, stems from A. Vēluppiḷḷai. Having examined the argumentation above, he commented : » There are two ways to check whether *potu + il* can be *potiyil*, a study of grammatical rules in traditional Tamil texts and a study of the structure of classical Tamil. The derivation of *potiyil* is difficult, but not impossible, according to traditional texts. *Tolkāppiyam* deals with external sandhi only. *Naṉṉūl* deals with external sandhi (*patappuṇarcci*) of qualitative nouns (*paṇpuppeyarkaḷ*) also. The derivation of *poti* from *poti-mai* is possible in internal sandhi. This change has to be made applicable in external sandhi in the case of *potiyil*. A study of the structure of classical Tamil to check on the derivation of *potiyil* is the proper linguistic approach to the problem. Examples like *ciṟiyilai* and *pariyarai* are clearly external sandhi forms. «[3]

To sum up, the base is then *potu* to which *il* is added. The writers of the *Tamil Lexicon* were quite correct, even if they did not know exactly why. Rajam was not yet born in their time in the 1920s, nor was the present author or A. Vēluppiḷḷai who could tell them.

If *potu* is a » pure « Tamil word can be discussed, but we are quite sure that it has no connection to the Indo-Aryan *bodhi*. *Potu* means » common « and *il* means » house «. As synonym in the commentarial tradition is given *ampalam*, » public hall « or more generally a » public place «. Another synonym is *maṉṟam* meaning also »

---

1 V.S. Rajam, *A Reference Grammer of Classical Tamil Poetry (150 B.C. - pre-fifthsixth century A.D.)* Philadelphia : 1992, p.85.

2 Rajam, *A Reference Grammar*...,p.86.

3 Written communication to the present author dated 930522.

public place «. A public place is meant when a text speaks about for example the *potiyil* under the Banyan tree. This we understand.

We can therefore dismiss the statement that the occurrence of this word in pre-Pallava time documents the existence of Buddhism. There is none of the 39 instances of *potiyil*, may it refer to an open space or to a mountain, that has any connection to Buddhism by its mere name.

If the mountain called Potiyil is the seat of Avalokiteśvara, if it has any connection with Buddhism, can then not be decided on the base of the term *potiyil*. We need other arguments for that statement. To test them goes, however, beyond the scope of this paper. We can also refer to a statement, that there have been made no finds at the mountain Potiyil that indicate that it is a Buddhist place.[1]

The main argument, the analysis of *potiyil* as *bodhi-il*, for projecting Buddhism to pre-Pallava literary documents, has to be dismissed, and the speculations about Buddhist finds have to be seriously questioned.

Let us abandon the idea of pre-Aśokan or Aśokan Buddhism in » Tamilnāṭu « - as long as it is based on the *bodhi-y-il* projection.

---

1 Statement made by Dr. T. Tayālan on behalf of ASI, in Uppsala, May 9, 1993, Uppsala University.

Approaches to Jīvaka Chintāmaṇi

Dr. Prema Nandakumar

Introduction

Not dramatic like *Silappadhikāram*, nor philosophic like *Manimekalai*, *Jīvaka Chintāmaṇi* is the delight of the student of literature constituting as it does the adventures of an ideal Prince, a kind of Ulysses for ever passing forward to adventures new, till he reaches the "peace, that passeth understanding" and enters the still waters of final spiritual enlightenment.

Each activity of Jīvakan is a new enterprise. His education and growing up are described as an adventure with the Goddess of Learning. Jīvakan's guide here is the teacher Achanandi, who deftly shows the prince the pitfalls of a life of unchecked sensuality and instructs him to lead a pure and moral life. A series of heroic adventures involve the youthful Jīvakan in married bliss. But he lives an ethically praiseworthy life and his inner being goes through a parallel adventure in consciousness. Thus, it comes as no surprise when King Jīvakan renounces life here for the life everlasting. The concluding Canto of Enlightenment is itself an epyllion of the spirit's adventure in consciousness. We follow Jeevakan step by step in the path of Renunciation while he performs austerities that conclude with his *parinirvāṇa*. Devar's art as a story-teller is remarkable. Whether it is romance or realism or renunciation, Devar is never at a loss for description. The poet in him leaps out like a spring stream and we are assailed by many emotions. In short, there are hardly any dull movements in the entire epic.

But it is not merely as a long tale that *Jīvaka Chintāmaṇi* is dear to the students of Tamil literature. The poem happens to be the earliest in Tamil literature to boldly detail a subject in all its epic grandeur. According to Salem Ramaswamy Mudaliyar, *Jīvaka Chintāmaṇi* was the guiding star even for the great Kamban who wrote the story of Rama as *Rāmāvatāram*.[1] *Jīvaka Chintāmaṇi* has had its detractors now and then. But it has continued to hold its position as a major epic in Tamil literature. For centuries the Tamil Jains have recited the poem at home with religious fervour. Generations of Tamil lovers have praised its epic smiles.

An apocryphal story is extant that the Chola King Anapayan loved to hear the poem recited daily, captivated as he was by its sheer poetic power. It is said that Sekkizhar indited the *Periа Purānam* to turn away the King's mind from the overwhelming influence of the epic. The story certainly goes to show the undimmed lustre of the epic's poetic value.

---

1 U.V. Swamintha Aiyar, *En Charithiram* (1950), p. 734.

And yet, this poem, "this touch-needle of major poetry in Tamil" was a neglected bunch of palm-leaf manuscripts shoved away into obscurity by Tamil scholars. In the 1860s, the first canto had been published by an Englishman. According to Salem Ramaswamy Mudaliyar, this edition contained more English than Tamil ! It was Ramaswamy Mudaliyar who enthused Swaminatha Aiyar to take up the task of editing and publishing the poem. Aiyar took great pains in collecting twenty-four manuscript versions, spent countless hours with Jain friends to get into the spirit of the poem, carefully studied the commentary of Naccinārkiniyar and published the work with a detailed introduction. It was by no means an easy task for Iyer to overcome the linguistic hurdles, religious bigotry and the envy of fellow-scholars. However, for him it was a self-appointed battle and he did win this battle against Time's destruction.

The author of the epic, Tiruthakka Devar belonged to the early decades of the tenth century, though many scholars prefer to place him anywhere between 2nd and 7th century A.D. Jain tradition assigns him to the royal Chola family. Having entered the monastery at an early age, Devar, seems to have become a scholar in Tamil and Sanskrit literature. The other work with which he is associated is *Nari Virutham*, an essay on man.

Tiruthakka Devar may have gathered much of the material for his poem from *Chathra Chūdāmaṇi*, *Gadya Chintāmaṇi*, *Jīvandhara Champu* and *Jīvandhara Nātakam*, all in Sanskrit. *Sripurānam* and *Mahāpurānam* composed in Manipravalam which form a part of the sacred literature of Tamil Jains may also have yielded much valuable material for the poet. The poem was not merely popular but was apparently regarded as sacral. Even when Jainism weakened in Tamil Nadu and the Jain population grew small, the epic continued to hold its pre-eminent position in Jain households. As centuries went by, its scriptural nature was emphasised, and it is often referred to as the 'auspicious poem', reading of which brings wedded happiness and prosperity to the householder.

Coming immediately after the Sangam Age, Devar was closely conversant with the aesthetics of the ancient Tamils. Some of the stanzas in the epic do reflect the ideas and phrases found in *Purananūru*. Devar's own poetic genius breathed new life into old usages, and his poem became an important structural guide to later epic poets like Kamban. Thus, *Jīvaka Chintāmaṇi* is a significant bridge that spans old and new Tamil literature and culture. No student of Tamil history and culture can afford to neglect the poem.

The epic calls for many approaches. It contains much priceless ore for students of histriography, linguistics, music and dance. Again, the epic can be approached from the viewpoint of story, structure, poetry, symbolism and spiritual enlightenment. The present introduction but briefly grazes at a few streaks of symbolism in the epic.

The Story

The thirteen cantos of the epic are flagged off by the Canto of the Goddess of Learning. In the course of its 408 verses we learn about the birth and growth of

Jīvakan. Satchandan is the King of Emangada, who rules from the capital of Rajamapuram. The country is prosperous and Satchandan is verily

"Dharma in bestowing grace :
Giver of gifts like Varuna :
Death-dealing Yama to the enemies :
Arhat in character : in beauty
A graceful Cupid ..."[1]

Happily married to Vijayai, he neglects the affairs of the State. His Chief Minister Kattiyankaran overthrows him and Satchandan dies in battle. But the King gets his pregnant queen out of the capital prior to the disaster. Left alone in a cremation ground, Vijayai gives birth to a son and laments :

"Are children of kings
Born in such environment?
Here the jackals howl pipe music
While pyres aglow give illumination.
On the cremation ground as a stage
The ghouls execute shadow dances.
The owl hoots in appreciation.
What a royal welcome !"

While Vijayai enters a Jain nunnery with the help of a goddess, her son is brought up as Jīvakan by a merchant, Kandukkadan. Jīvakan is taught by Achanandi who also takes care of the boy's moral instruction. Jeevakan comes to know of his antecedents from Achanandi, but decides to bide his time as adviced by the teacher.

The Canto of Govindai places before us the first flush of Jīvakan's adventures. He gains Govindai the daughter of the cowherd chief Govindan by defeating cattle-thieves. However, he bestows Govindai in marriage to his bosom friend, Padumukhan. While this canto celebrates Jīvakan the warrior, the Canto of Gandharvadattai reveals the artist in him. In the Canto of Gunamālai we see another facet of the hero to the fore — his strong conviction in the vow of ahimsa. He takes pity on a critically injured dog and recites the Pancha Maha Mantra in its ears. While the dog dies in piece, a being of brightness comes out of it. This is Sudanchanan. Jeevakan tells his friends that the lessons of this adventure should be kept in mind for all time :

"Let none doubt that
A dog given to ill deeds
Could yet be made celestial
By a mantra.
Iron is transformed into gold
In the alchemist's workshop,

---

1 All translations from *Jeevaka Chintamani* are by Prema Nandakumar.

When he pours at the proper time
Mercury on the prepared iron."
Further he exhorted them :
"If you get ready
The plough of ceaseless effort,
Cultivate the field of body
With austere living,
Sow the seeds of good deeds,
Water that land
With incorruptible character,
Hold the senses five as a fence
To keep the mind
From straying into evil,
You would gain heavenly joy first;
And then the life eternal of Siddhas."

Jīvakan the self-lost devotee can be seen in the Canto of Padumai. He prays to Mahāvira in a temple at Aranapadam :

"You gifted the Scripture to us.
You stood in a rain of flowers.
You have realised the Righteous path.
You are the God of true wisdom.
You are the leader to whom we pray.
Destroy the shackles of desire
That bind us to endless lives.
You have destroyed the cycle of birth.
You are indeed the abode of joy.
For you have rejected the very heavens.
You have assumed the Lordship
Of all nature on earth.
O great one who stays in bliss
In this temple of golden fort!
Show us the way to life eternal
To escape the seas of desire."

The canto of Khemasari has a gem-like conversation between Jeevakan and a stranger on the vanity of life and the need to perform deeds of charity while there is time and opportunity. The Canto of Kanakamālai introduces a decisive turn in the fortunes of Jeevakan, bringing him one step nearer his birthright as he is reunited with his long-lost friends, the heroes Padumukhan and Nandattan. The Canto of Vimalai opens with a touching scene of reunion between Vijayai and Jīvakan. They discuss the plan of future action. Vijayai goes to her brother for soliciting help in the coming war.

The Canto of Suramanjari is like a midsummer night's dream. This is followed by the Canto of Mother Earth, wherein is described Jeevakan's return to his royal

heritage. He meets his uncle Govindan and together they plan the future course of action. An announcement for the *swayamvara* of Govindan's daughter, *Ilakkaṇai*, goes forth to all kings. At the assembly, Jeevakan alone shoots down the whirling mechanism and wins the bride. The incensed Kattiyankaran battles with Jīvakan. Kattiyankaran's forces are routed and Jīvakan emerges the victor.

The Canto of Kingship is a brief interlude about Jeevakan's coronation and the general mood of jubilation. The Canto of Ilakkaṇai gives an account of Jīvakan the administrator, ruling over his people with justice and love and his own domestic bliss with the eight queens, each of them a gem of purest ray serene.

So we come to the last Canto of Enlightenment. After waiting all these years in self-exile, Vijayai is now a widely respected Queen Mother. But she prefers to renounce the world. After performing countless deeds of charity, she enters the strict regimen of a Jain nunnery to undertake severe austerities and free herself from the cycle of birth.

Jīvakan reigns for some years and becomes the father of bright and strong sons. His friends also prosper. While at the apex of his royal glory, he chances upon a group of gallivanting monkeys. A female monkey sees its mate make amorous approaches to a stranger and then make its way back to her. Though angry, the female monkey is flattered into submission when the male gives it pieces of jackfruit. At the moment of reunion, a gardener chases them away and eats the fruit. This sets Jeevakan thinking on the base nature of physical attraction and the irrevocable law of old age.

"The female monkey is like Kattiyankaran and I am no better than the gardener", he tells himself and goes on a pilgrimage to a temple. Two Jain ascetics in the temple instruct him on the tenets of Jainism. He returns to the capital and installs his son Satchandan on the throne. Divorced from his worldly possessions, Jīvakan exhibits a rare calm when undergoing rigorous penance like the *pratimā yoga*. He overcomes the evil forces that attack him during his penance, defeating the *gatiya* and the *agatiya karmas*. Jeevakan's soul is liberated and he speaks to those who come to him in scriptural accents. The siddha's words are nectarean to the listeners; and though not a king anymore, he continues to guard the world by the power of his *tapasya* and himself remains in the Bliss of Realisation. Having "burst the bounds of consciousness and time", all knowledge pours into him. Wedded thus to the eternal maid of *kevaliya jnāna* who is not afflicted with disease, old age or death, Jīvakan becomes a light unto the world and attains *parinirvāna*.

An Ideal for Humanity

Jīvaka Chintāmaṇi is an episodic tale like Homer's *Odyssey*. What John Cowper Powys says of *Odyssey* is true of *Jīvaka Chintāmaṇi* also: that its appeal is in a "marked novelistic interest". The criticism that this epic is but a series of repetitions (the hero marries eight times !) must be noted. But these weddings are merged completely in the vastness of the poet's epic conception. Action, poetic fancy, religious lore, spiritual discourses and devotional poetry are integrated in a

magnificent manner by Tiruthakka Devar whose artistic instinct is never at fault. By turns he is a story-teller, thinker, psychologist, social reformer, administrator, philosopher and romantic poet.

Structurally the epic has a 'beginning' in the opening canto that gives details of the birth, childhood and boyhood of Jīvakan. The eleven cantos that follow form the 'middle' and are devoted to bringing out the qualities of mind and heart that made Jīvakan put his youth to proper use. Romantic lover, poet, artist, hero, practical joker, humble student, fond son — each canto elaborates one or more of the ideal constituents of the hero's character. The final canto is about Jeevakan's old age and his entry into the inner worlds of the spirit. Each of these three parts again, has its own significance. The first is important from the viewpoint of the story. The second part is concerned with character-building while the final part is about the Jain way of renunciation.

The three parts are not mutually exclusive, nor are the three pivots — story, character and religious base — compartmentalised. All of them are present everywhere, but structurally such a demarcation helps Devar avoid distraction. Hence, the first canto is pure drama; the intervening eleven cantos sing of romance and heroism; the final canto lays the accent on the transfiguration of the human into the divine. At the same time, Devar's integral artistry makes it possible for us to see unified pictures of this triple truth of existence.

Devar's aim was to portray the ideal man and to instill in his readers the faith that what man has done, man can do. For, the epic has much to say about the problems of man in society and the nature of salvation. In Jīvakan, it gives a habitation to the Jain view of a perfect life as a householder and as an ascetic. He is set up as an example. Details may vary, but the essentials of right conduct exhibited by him hold true for us even today. In the words of Prof. M. Hiriyanna :

"It is the ideal man that is the ideal of man, and there is only one way to achieve it — to strive for it in the manner in which others have striven, with their example shining before us. Such an ideal carries with it all necessary hope and encouragement, for what man has done, man can do."[1]

Only a long epic like *Jīvaka Chintāmaṇi* can have enough elbow-space to creatively elaborate the major principles of discipline without becoming a moral sermon. It goes without saying that Jīvakan is the symbol of the ideal man. The adventures of Jīvakan is the symbol of the ideal man. The adventures of Jīvakan had been prevalent long before Devar's time and was perhaps, born of the jain notion of 'jiva' or 'animate'. According to prof. Hiriyanna :

"The concept seems to have been arrived at first by observing the characteristics of life and not through the search after a metaphysical principle underlying individual existence. It would therefore be more correct to take the word in its original significance as standing for the vital principle than for the soul."[2]

---

1 *Outlines of Indian Philosophy* (1932), p. 171.

2 ibid., p. 157.

Jīvakan is moulded accordingly as a symbol whether it is of the vital principle. There is a vibrancy about his activities and a thirst for achieving the best in life — whether it is kingly ambition, domestic bliss or spiritual illumination. At the same time the Jain concept of *jiva* is not confined to an invigorating lust for life alone. According to Jainism, *jiva* is knowledge as well.

"The soul is a wonderful thing; it is a substance, and at the same time is the repository of knowledge. Knowledge and memory do not exist in it like loose images stocked in a drawer, or photos in an album, but as the diversified aspects of a partless entity, the mutually interpenetrating flashes or corscations of a huge undivided conscious illumination, or as a multitude of inseparable and co-existing notes or rhythms of a unitary intelligent force.

From the point of view of somethingness, the soul is a substance; from that of consciousness it is a pure embodiment of knowledge, consisting in an infinity of inseparable, and yet separately perceivable, scintillations of intelligence itself, and from the point of view of energy it is an unbreakable unit of force that cannot be exhausted by any means, being eternal and unperishing, in its nature."[1]

This is true enough of Devar's Jīvakan who symbolises the *jiva* communing with matter. The soul has necessarily to suffer some obscurations as Jeevakan does with his robust absorption in love-play and alcoholic drink. Tremendous odds are ranged against the *jiva* trying to discard the layers of matter and get back its true knowledge-effulgence. When the material obstacles are overcome, Jīvakan takes up the life of the ideal householder and engages in works of charity. When the mental obstacles are overcome, he becomes an ideal ascetic, a Tirthankara.

Puritans do find fault with Devar for indulging in sensual details and flights of picaresque imagination while there are purists who criticise the poem as a mass of ideas. Neither of the extreme views is correct. Tiruthakka Devar's *Jīvaka Chintāmaṇi* is a classic where facts gain the wings of poesy, and together they advance the cause of man. Such epics should be cherished for our good, as a study of them helps us in all the other branches of our activity. They appear distant, they are difficult to study, they lack glamour of modernity. but in them lies our help and hope :

"For what are the classics but the noblest recorded thoughts of man? They are the only oracles which are not decayed, and there are such answers to the most modern inquiry in them as Delphi and Dodona never gave. We might as well omit to study Nature because she is old"[2]

---

1 C.R. Jain, *Fundamentals of Jainism*, p. 115.

2 H.D. Thoreau, *Walden*.

Siva Worship as a Means of Knowing

Dr. K.I. Koppedrayer

Introduction

Back in 1976 a book by an art historian caused quite a bit of a stir in North America. That book was Merlin Stone's *When God was a Woman*, a work that reconstructs the history of Goddess worship in Western civilization. Nowadays, one finds a considerable number of works by Westerners and for Westerners on Goddess worship and Goddess traditions - both ancient and newly improvised. However, as I just said, when Stone's work was first published it caused some stir, for a number of different reasons. In North America, 1976 saw the feminist movement taking some different and perhaps unusual directions in that feminists began challenging for more than inclusion in corporate board rooms; they began challenging some dominant and accepted ways of perceiving and thinking.

The uneasiness generated by Stone's book was in part due to its central theme, namely, "When God was a Woman," or divinity in female form. This book is about, to use Stone's words, the story of the Great Goddess, the Divine Ancestress. In essence, it is an argument about the possibility of conceiving of the divine in female form, except that Stone does not present it as an argument, but rather as history. For North Americans that challenge was not so much one of thinking of God as woman, but of shaking up the notions of divinity or divine that one held, but perhaps had not really given much reflection. Stone's book, and the others like it that followed opened a crack to other possibilities, if you wish, to other visions of the divine.

The effect this had was quite exciting, even liberating, to some, while terrifying to others. For some Westerners the idea of different and differing visions of the divine, different ways of perceiving the divine, different awareness, brings about acute apprehension. I periodically encounter such responses in undergraduate students who occasionally threaten me with my life for dissolving their axiomatic beliefs. For some of them, living with anything less than absolute certainty is both unfathomable and intolerable, a fate worse than death. I should note that such extreme reactions are infrequent and are perhaps a reflection on other uncertainties clouding the students, such as the economic uncertainties brought about by this recession. Nonetheless, in my teaching I encounter in my students what appears to be preference for clear, sharply delineated, sharply defined statements and beliefs, statements that can be reduced to the paradigm of 'this is, this is not'. Anything amorphous, anything that teases at the certainty of what is and what is not leaves them uneasy.

In that way, when it was first published, Stone's book about God as Women teased. For most Christians — and this was especially true in 1976 — God is not feminine, but Stone by drawing divine and feminine together suggested the unthinkable that is, that which was not and could not be thought. Stone collapsed together two separate and utterly distinct categories, namely, divine and feminine. Once done, once the collapsing of that separation was effected, other collapses were conceivable. The imminence, or even the possibility of such collapses can threaten one's ground of being, as defined in standing notions of what is and what isn't.

Stone, however, merely opened the door to this possibility in her work, she didn't go further. In her book, she has much to say about worship of the Goddess, but how she thinks of worship, how she conceives the relationship between divine and devotee is quite revealing. Throughout the book she uses the term worship in a fashion that suggests one particular type of relationship between goddess and devotee. Supremacy and superiority, terms attributed to the Great Goddess, are matched with terms such as veneration and reverence to reflect the attitudes of her devotees. With no other terms mediating, the pairing of supreme/veneration, dominant/reverence, reigning/homage and other similar usages implies a radical separation/gulf between divine and human, a hierarchical relationship between separate and distinct entities. This singular conception of a human/divine relationship echoes in statements such as "Goddess — as people today think of God." (p. 18). Phrases like this suggest that Stone had merely made a gender shift in a conception of the divine; beyond that not much else had changed. The way of thinking about the human encounter with the divine remained kind of stagnant. I don't mean to condemn Stone here for a lack of spiritual imagination, for indeed, her work offered an opening that for mainstream North America in 1976 was fairly radical. Rather I simply want to note that her rethinking of how divinity was understood of was but a beginning and once begun could crack open into numerous other possibilities. In the intervening decades since when god was a woman was first published, a lot of rethinking and questioning has taken place. We have been witness to much religions imagination and spiritual creativity, and there is much afoot in the area of religious and spiritual exploration these days. Spirituality, however defined and however understood, is of common parlance, and even what passes as New Age traditions reflects this exploration. Some of it may be misguided, but it nonetheless suggests some creativity afoot. As one of my friends recently put it, "These are the nineties, anything goes."

I have talked a bit of length about Stone's book not simply to review part of the history of the interest in spirituality in North America today, but rather to provide a point of departure for some reflection on Śiva worship. Just a few minutes ago I remarked upon how the term "worship" for Stone had a fairly limited connotation, namely an attitude of reverence a subordinate felt towards a superior. Does worship in the Saivite sense mean the same thing? I suggest not, at least not entirely. Further, I suggest that the interplay of relationships and presence found in Śiva-

pūja is more than ritual activity;it also models a mode of knowing, that is, a mode of conceiving and thus being, being in this world as it were.

Āgama Texts

The Śiva puja that I want to comment upon is that described in the Śiva *Āgamas* and *paddhati* texts of South India. Some dispute lingers over the dating of the *Āgamas*. As for exact dating, that is not possible. The is evidence from external references to suggest that the *Āgamas* were existing before the tenth century in similar forms as we have them today. The texts also reflect some historical redaction and reworking over a period of time. Dating from seventh to tenth centuries seems probable; the earliest portions of some texts perhaps go even beyond the seventh century.

Traditionally there are 28 *Āgamas*, though in fact some of the texts included in traditional lists are no longer extant, while there are many other either minor *āgamas* and other *āgamic* texts that do not figure in the main listings. The texts consist of treaties on doctrine and ritual technique. An *āgama* is said to be made up of four sections, or *pādas*, known as the *jnānapāda, yogapāda, kriyāpāda,* and *caryapada.* Of these, the *jnanapāda,* the section on doctrine that sets forth the order of the world, and the *kriyapāda,* the section on ritual and worship, the section outlining how one relates to that order, complement each other in that knowledge of Śiva's order and action within that order are inseparable. The *yogapāda,* the section which provides knowledge of the subtle body is subordinate to the *jnanapāda,* while the *caryāpāda,* the section on day-to-day conduct is subordinate to the kriyapada. These divisions in effect, locate the individual in the world while defining that world, and outline the individual's activity, of which no real distinction is made between religious behaviour and other behaviour. I should also note that although each *Āgama* is said to be divided into these four sections, the divisions and presentation are much less precise and vary from one text to another.

The *paddhati* texts are ritual manuals that outline the rites featured in the *caryā* and *kriyā* sections; they derive their descriptions and reflections on ritual patterns from the *Āgamas.* Typical *paddhati* material covered the rules of personal hygiene and purification, the rites of Śivapūja and the maintenance of the sacred fire, special rules for worship on various ceremonial occasions, the Saivite initiations *(dikṣā),* the consecration of images and temples, the way to conduct temple festivals, ceremonies to ancestors, propitiation, restoration of temples, appeasement, and gifts. A large concentration of these Sanskrit texts was compiled in the twelfth through fifteenth centuries, and manuals were still being compiled in the late sixteenth century when the ascetic lineages at Tiruvavatuturai and Dharmapuram were founded. Members of these lineages in turn produced Tamil ritual manuals following the Agamic and *paddhati* patterns.

These texts as we have them at present give most of their attention to the section on ritual. This section is certainly the most voluminous and perhaps the most significant. The importance given to ritual underscores the close association made

between actual ritual, or act, and its metaphysical and theological basis. Knowledge is ritual in that ritual is knowledge made manifest or given being. Clearly ritual is not isolated from knowledge, not in the minds of those who compiled the Agamas, nor in the minds of those who follow the type of religiosity depicted in them.

I should note that the sections on *jnana* in the texts available at present are somewhat varied and until more of these texts are available generalizations are premature. Much of our information on the make-up of these texts, the origins and development of them is at present incomplete, simply because to date only a small number of the texts have been published. They remain as manuscripts, often lost in storerooms or the equivalents of attics, and scholarly work is just beginning to give these texts their due attention. Several centres in South India are working on these texts, including the L'Institut francais d'Indologie, located in Pondichery, the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute in Mylapore, Madras, and the International Institute of Śaiva Siddhanta Research, housed in the Dharmapuram Adhinam at Dharmapuram. One of the research projects of the French Institute is the publication of critical editions of the *Āgamas* and *Paddhati* texts.

The sections on ritual were perhaps more carefully preserved as they formed the basis of what was practised daily and that they in themselves do not form the basis of controversy. It should also be noted that the philosophical systematization done by later thinkers, such as Aghoraśivācārya and Appayadīkṣita, is based on the agamas, and that their fundamental positions are derived from these texts. The discussions of ritual in these texts collectively provide the foundation of the forms of ritual characteristic of the Śaiva Siddhānta tradition. In South India, the type of worship undertaken in public temple ritual as well as in private or personal worship stem from these sources.

The range of ritual activity presented in these texts is quite comprehensive. The *Kāmikāgama*, for example, provides instruction on how to construct and consecrate a temple, the provisions for the deities of the temple, the maintenance of the necessary and extensive ritual cycle, which included the celebration of special ties such as those undertaken on *Śivarātri* and well as the on-going daily rituals. Further, the texts specify the rites Sativites should undertake, which comprised among others, initiations *(dikṣa)* and consecrations required, daily observances, rites of expiation *(prāyaścitta)*, pacification *(śānti)*, and cremation. The listing I have just recited is quite compact; a complete expansion of what, for example, *diksa* or *ācāryabhiseka* entails could well run over one hundred pages.

Śivapūja

Central to all of this activity is *Śivapūja*, and the rituals outlined in the Agamic material still obtain today. But what is *Śivapūja*? From the point of view of someone looking onto pūja, the rite appears to be simply an expression of devotion through the worship of divinity in the form of an image. One watching might notice the worshipper — the temple priest, ascetic, householder, or whoever is performing the puja — undertake a number mysterious, but seemingly routine acts directed at himself, the space around him, the utensils and implements used, and finally at the

image or icon. Someone watching might find that with the completion of this preparation, the acts of worship towards the deity residing in the image begin. There is welcoming, honouring, bathing, all done with propitiating gesture after propitiating gesture after propitiating gesture: the offering of flowers and soothing substances, a cooling bath, anointment, presentation of wonderful vestments, mirrors, sweet scents, beautiful music, delectable food, consisting of a whole range of aesthetic pleasures, and offering of light. A careful observer might even note that many of the offerings — the fly whisk, the umbrella and so on — bespeak of royalty. Then with the culmination of the offerings and recitations, the rite is about finished. Space, icon, implements will be deconsecrated, and what is left is the distribution of prasadam, the dispensing of the consecrated grace that worshipper and observer alike participate in. The observer who has seen and participated in all of this might then believe that he or she has come to understand the structure of puja, that it is a rite resembling the receiving and honouring of a royal guest, and that the actions have the greatest symbolic significance.

For many sensitive observers of puja, symbolic is the expression often used to explain puja, for, as they see it, unless symbolic, the ritual would reduce to mere idol worship. Fred Clothey, a fine scholar with a sophisticated understanding of South Indian tradition and ritual, once described *abhisekam* in the following way:

"The *abhisekam* traditionally consists of applying to the divine symbol or pouring over it elements that are believed to enhance the symbol's sacrality."

Clothey here speaks of *Abhisekam* as enhancing the divine symbol's sacrality. But what exactly does he mean by enhancement of the sacredness of a symbol? When we look at Clothey words carefully, we realise that he is attempting to understand the ritual by seeing its symbolic content. Clothey is not alone here. Many, many works written on puja use expressions such as symbolic or expressive, suggesting that ritual activity differs from real activity, that ritual activity mirrors or images genuine creative, actual action. Yet, as Richard Davis notes in his very fine Ritual in an *Oscillating Universe*, a work on South Indian ritual, *kriyā* and *karman*, the standard terms for ritual activity in the *Āgamas*, derive from the Skt root *kr*, to do, to make, and signify action in its most fundamental sense. For the ritual specialists, their activity is plain and simple. Davis practically shouts this out in his remarks (p. 73) on the explanation of Śaiva ritual as offering of cosmological principles:

"While the use of such a model of microcosm\macrocosm as a convenient shorthand to comprehend Śaiva ritual is not erroneous as such, it does suggest a misconception, at least insofar as the Śaiva self-understanding goes. It implies that the world constructed and acted upon within ritual is a representation of a larger and distinct world, and that the ritual world, as a symbolic construction or a reflection, exists at a lower level on ontological reality. To suppose that Śaiva ritual "mirrors" microcosmically a real world that exists apart from it, however, would seriously misconstrue the Śaiva' basically realistic and integral sense of what they are doing. Other metaphors of mimesis implying a separation of real and ritual

domains, such as "play," "theater," and the like, are equally misleading. To put it as directly as possible: Śaiva daily worship is understood to be real action, employing real forces, directed at real recipients, and accomplishing real effects. Ritual is not a metaphor for Śaiva cosmology, for it participates in that same world."

Pūja from within

If symbolism is an inappropriate term, then how can one go about understanding pūja? If one turns to what the *Āgamas* and ritual manuals have to say, one gains quite another understanding. These texts, and indeed the living practioners of the tradition, tell us that *there is more to pūja than first meets the eye.* The rite is more than a series of routinized actions; rather there is a structuring to the ritual the involves transformations on the part of the celebrant — the priest or other individual performing the puja. This transformation unfolds in a series of steps moving from self-purifications, to consecration of space and offerings, to invocation and interaction with the divine, and to the sharing of grace.

It commences with self-purification, the act that precedes all other in puja. During this consecration, *ātmasuddhi* as it is called, the worshipper/celebrant uses mantra to dissolve his own body and reconstruct or reconstitute Śiva's body in its place. The process begins with a transformation of the hands done by imposing a series of mantras on the fingers in an order that reflects the unfolding agency of Śiva. The texts specify the order in which the mantras are placed; for a householder, a person such as a temple priest, the placement should follow *the path of emanation,* the order of creation. For an ascetic, for example the head of a Śaiva matha, placement accords with the *path of reabsorption.* The ordering reflects each domain of activity — the differentiated world and the undifferentiated from which it emerges — while by implication acknowledging its counterpart. The supplicant's hands thus charged with mantra, with Śiva's agency, become Śiva's agency. They become Śiva's body, for *the texts say only Śiva can worship Śiva.*

The celebrant then turns to his own body and again using the power of mantra returns the elements of his subtle body to their source, and brings about the collapse and consummation of the elements of his gross body. Into this *emptied form* Śiva is then invoked. Mantra is imposed from head to toe. Filled with this state of mantra, the worshipper's body has been *reconstituted as that of Sadāśiva,* holding within it the energy whereby Śiva acts in the world.

This transformation completed, the *ritual space, the utensils, the liquids used for ablution* are then similarly transformed. It is no longer rose water, sandal and ganga water poured during abhisekam; *it is Śiva's emanation* itself. As the texts say, only Śiva can worship Śiva. The linga likewise is prepared — charged with mantra — as an embodied form into which Śiva emanates. *Śiva is pure spirit, unbound by space, time or the like, and is outside human comprehension. Yet puja requires visualization and presence.* Again a *mantra prepares the linga for Śiva's presence,* and invocation completes this rite. Divinity is thus manifest, at least to the fully consecrated devotee.

From then on, the aspects of the pūja that are most visible to outsiders commence. These aspects consist of the homage rendered to the deity through offerings and oblations. In some ways I would suggest that what is most visible *to the observer is hardly the most important aspect of the rite.* Given that the ritual is an instrument that aids the soul in its ascent towards Śiva, or towards the divinity, the focus not on the external object, the image or the linga. The focus of the ritual and the reason for its undertaking is the internal state of the devotee, or the internal state of the person on whose behalf the ritual is being done. *The divinity is certainly not in need of the services the ritual offers;* rather, the ritual is a means through which the individual attains a state that brings him closer to the divine. For that reason, the texts *note that image upon which the ritual is done need not be a linga,* it can also be fire, water, the teacher, a diagram traced out in purified air, or *even an image that is entirely a mental construction,* though only a jnanin or a yogin is capable of performing such an internal ritual.

Mantra

What happens during puja is more than the sacralization of an image or the supplication of a supreme power; rather it is the culmination of a supra-experiential state in which one partakes of divinity through the use of proper medium, the mantra. *The image is thus but an external support for pūja. Mantra, however, is indispensable.* Why? Mantra is the agency of Śiva, the instrument of activity. As emanation works from undifferentiated sound (nada) to audible sound, mantras are the auditory aspects of the realities they designate. Recitation of the mantra brings about that reality. By that they permit, having invoked a power, a reality and the rendering of homage to it. *The mantras used are not Vedic mantras, though the terminology is borrowed from the Vedas.* The form is:

Om + *bija* + name in dative case + ending

Bija is the seed in which the energy of the mantra is condensed. The bija is a monosyllabic association of vowels and consonants that have no ordinary meaning, but the nature and the purpose of these phonemes have an esoteric signification that is revealed only to the initiate. All begin with the H sound that signifies Śiva. The term in the dative is the name or one of the names, of the form to which the mantra is associated.

The termination is one of the seven endings of *Vedic formulas: Namah, svadhā, svāhā, hum, phaṭ, vaṣaṭ, vauṣaṭ.* But the use is quite different in this system. The divisions: *mulamantra* which will differ according to the class of person who employs it (e.g., *Om namah Śivāya* = upper three *varna; namah śivāya* = sudra; *sivo'ham asmi* = *sannyāsi*). Then there are the samhita-mantras that correspond with the different parts of the body of Sadāśiva. The names proper of what constitutes the body of these mantras are taken from the *Taittiriya ārankyaka,* and finally there are the *angamantras* which evoke the limbs of Sadāśiva, or more precisely, his powers.

These *mantras* taken together constitute a power through which they can accomplish various functions. They construct, or invoke; e.g., the *Brahmamantra creates the body of Sadāśiva* and each mantra has a similar power. To be more precise, mantras are *the auditory aspects of the realities* that they designate and reciting the mantra is to bring about the reality. Mantras also transform in the strong sense of the word, and this power corresponds with the idea of invoking. For example, if the mantra of Śiva is placed in water, water become Śiva; if the mantras of *Sadāśiva* are placed on the body of the worshipper, he becomes *Sadāśiva.*

Mantraṣ thus also purify, thanks to the transformations they bring about. A divine object is substituted for *an ordinary object.* And finally, *mantras* protect as well as perform other functions (e.g., one cuts with Astra). The recitation of the mantra is accompanied by mudra which symbolizes the transformation which the mantra brings about, though it seems that the importance of the mudra is not equal to that of the *mantra.*

The transformation brought about by mantras are considered real. The recitation of the mantra calls forth a force which acts automatically. *They are no mere aids to help concentration, rather they constitute the efficacy of the ritual.* The form of the mantra the pronunciation and so on are determined with great precision and followed with great care; otherwise the ritual is useless. Sacralization of the image it certainly is not; the ritual; the puja is the creation of Śiva's domain that is accessible to the worshipper. Through Śiva's agency the worshipper participates in Śiva.

Dīkṣa

Moreover the worshipper has already previously entered that domain. No one can undertake these rites of puja unless they have been the *recipient of Śaiva dīkṣa*, or Śaiva initiation. There are three initiations: *samaya-dīkṣā*, the rite that brings the initiate into the community of Saivites; *viseṣa-dīkṣā*, a rite which is effectively a rebirth that marks the transition between entry into the way and the ultimate transformation; and *nirvāṇa-dīkṣa*, the rite that brings about the emergence of the soul's inherent Śivaness *(śivatva)*. A fourth rite, *ācāryābhiseka*, the anointment of the preceptor, can follow *nirvana-diksa.* Only recipients of this *abhiseka* can administer the initiation to others and serve as temple priests.

The effect of the initiation rites is to bring about an irrevocable transformation in the individual who by the receipt of *nirvāṇa-dīkṣā* shares an identity with Śiva. This transformation occurs as the preceptor who has prepared both himself and the initiate draws out the initiate's soul *(ātman)* and removes from it its binding obstructions *(pāśa)*. The preceptor then joins the initiate's *ātman* with his own, which through his preparations is pervaded with Śiva's essence. This union and the ensuing acts of the preceptor give rise to a new, completely pure body created out of the subtle elements that is able to experience fully the joining with the essence of Śiva. The guru then gives the *paṇcākṣara* (root mantra) to the initiate who is transformed and is *united with Śiva.* That initiate become thus like the linga that holds Śiva's presence during puja. In addition to this not insignificant result,

nirvāṇa-dīkṣā has one other effect. The individual who has received *nirvāṇa-dīkṣā* becomes fully qualified to undertake the worship of Śiva, for, as the *Āgamas* state, *"to adore Śiva one must become Śiva."* To that end the initiate is presented with a personal *linga* and instructed in the practice of worship.

There is a recursive pattern here. What happens during *nirvana-diksa* at the hands of the preceptor is played out again and again during the self-consecration, the *ātmasuddhi* rite that commences pūja. The process folds back on itself again and again, teasing out separations of human and divine, all the while collapsing them. Recognition of this process of differentiation and collapse calls to attention what Saivites understand to be creation, emission and reabsorption, not emission followed by reabsorption, but simultaneous co-existence of both.

Śaiva Siddhānta texts suggest that knowledge is not separate from ritual; the transmission of knowledge is the transmission of how to undertake and perform ritual. Śivapūja brings about a knowing, a knowing of 'I different from that done simply with the head; it is a knowing that involves presence and being; unification and differentiation. That type of knowing is tantamount is being, but being in a completely awakened sense. *To be and to know, Perhaps this is what the texts mean when they state that to adore Śiva one must be Śiva.* All things considered, this worship found in puja is no simple thing.

Śivapūja as a means of knowing

In closing, let me return to Merlin Stone's book and to some of my earlier comments. I suggested earlier that one of the reasons why Stone's book generated some response was because of the psychological effect it had on some of its readers. I suggested that some found its argument threatening because it challenged their view of the order of things. It did this for them by collapsing two categories they held separate and distinct, namely feminine and divine. Here, I suggested that it threatened their ground of being as established by what they knew and defined. What then do we make of a ritual such as Śivapūja that purposely accomplishes collapses of this sort in very real ways? What effect might such collapse have? There is of course liberation, something I can't really say much about. But what of other effects, such as how one operates within the world? What effect would pūja — an act that as I have stressed above is not symbolic but real — have on one during ordinary day to day situations? I have spoken about puja as transformation, So in what ways is pūja the transformation of consciousness?

I can think of one way, a way in which puja provides one with a means of knowing. What happens during pūja is that much one might ordinarily take for granted is no longer true. Paramount is one's sense of the self, or knowledge of the self as a separate and radically distinct entity from Śiva, a position endorsed and repeatedly affirmed in Śaiva Siddhānta philosophy. Through the rites which, I have described, the worshipper has become Śiva, and yet remains as a human supplicant of Śiva. *Worshipper, worshipped, space, utensils, all merge together, yet all remain separate.* At every moment during the ritual process, the worshipper, worshipped, and worshipping are merged but also separated, they are differentiated but also

undifferentiated. The identity and certainty of what is there is continually challenged. This challenge is compounded further by the recognition that what someone standing outside the performance of pūja sees and understands can be completely different from what someone inside knows. Think of the conceptual difficulties of attempting to reconcile the idea of receiving and honouring a revered guest with the idea of shared identities. Pūja demands reconciliation of these very opposing ideas, not the assertion of one over the other, for both are true. The result: What is known is not known; what is not known is known. It might seem that that makes for confusion and uncertainty, but it might also have quite a different effect altogether. That effect is what I call a means of apprehending the world, an attitude towards knowledge. What I mean is an approach towards knowing that continually has to entertain the possibility, to continually recognize the possibility of knowing something that cannot be known. *One operating in this mode is not likely to stop when something has been grasped, but continue grasping.*

Pāśupata Adhikaraṇam

Dr. R. Nagaswamy

One of the *Brahma Sūtrās, Patyuh asāmañcasyāt,* (2.2.37) is of great interest to the students of Saivism. In many printed versions of the Brahmasūtrās, with Sankara's commentary, the title for this sūtrā is given as *Pāśupatādhikaraṇam.* Five sūtras beginning with the one mentioned above are brought under this *adhikaraṇam.*[1] Thus it would appear that this *adhikaraṇam* deals with the Pāsupatas. The present paper is an examination of this *adhikaraṇa* and its relevance to the study of Pāsupata cult.

Adhikaraṇa titles not original

It may be mentioned that Sankara's commentary is the earliest study on the Brahmasūtras of Bādarāyana.[2] In a number of printed versions of the *Śankarabhāṣya,* the titles are found for all the *adhikaraṇas.* The question is whether this sub-heading *Pāśupatādhikaraṇam* was given by Sankara himself or a later introduction. For example, the Kamakoti Kosasthanam edition of *Śankarabhāṣya,*[3] published in Madras in 1954 carries this sub-heading. This sub-heading is also seen in the *Srībhāṣya* of Sri Rāmānuja but with a slight modification as *Paśupati adhikaraṇam* and not as *Pāśupatādhikaraṇam.* In the Sri Kanta's commentary on the Brahmasūtras, it does appear as *Pāśupatādhikaraṇam.* In the commentary of Mādhvāchārya it appears as *Patyuradhikaraṇam.* Thus in the printed versions of different schools, it appears differently.

George Thibaut, who translated the Vedanta sūtrās, with the commentary of Sankara, published in the Sacred Books of the East series, in 1890, has taken the headings for the *adhikaraṇa* from *Vyāsādhikaraṇamālā* (P. XXXI. SBE, 1890) "In stating the different heads of discussion, (the so called *adhikaraṇas,* each of which comprises one or more *sūtrās*), I shall follow the sub-division into *adhikaraṇas* adopted in the *Vyāsādhikaraṇamālā,* the text of which is printed in the second

---

1 "The *Brahmasūtra* is divided into four *adhyāyas* or books, and each of these is divided into four chapters or *pādās.* Each of these contain a number of topics of discussion *(adhikaraṇa)* which are composed of a number of sūtras, which raise the point at issue, the points that lead to doubt and uncertainity and the consideration that should lead one to favour, a particular conclusion". Das Gupta S.N., A history of Indian Philosophy, Vol. I, 1975, Delhi, PP. 433-4. The five sutras under this *adhikarana* are:

पत्युः असामञ्जस्यात् । सम्बन्धानुपपत्तेःच ।

अधिष्ठान अनुपपत्तेश्च । करणवत् चेत् न भोगादिभ्यः ।

अन्तवत्त्वं असर्वज्ञता वा ।

2 *Vedanta Sūtrās* with the commentary of Sankaracharya, Translation, George Thibaut, Sacred Books of the East, Series, Oxford, 1890, Introduction, p. XIV. Also Das Gupta S.N., A history of Indian Philosophy, Delhi, 1975, p. 429.

3 *Brahmasūtra Bhāshyam:* Kamakoti Kosasthanam, Madras, 1954.

volume of Bibiliothica Indica, edition of the sūtrās." It seems the headings of the sub-divisions were not originally found in the manuscripts.

The following editions do not carry the *adhikaraṇa* headings.

1. 1861 – *Bhāmatī*, the commentary of Vacaspati Misra on *Sankara bhāṣya*. Edited by Sri Jivananda Vidyasagar, Calcutta.
2. 1877 – Bhāmati, the commentary of Vacaspati Misra on *Sankara bhāṣya*. Edited by Pandit Bala Sastri, Benares.
3. 1890 – Anandagiri's tīka on Sankara's commentary. Edited by M.C. Apte, Anandasrama series, Poona, instead it gives the title *Taṭastha Īsvara vādasya ayuktatvam* i.e., the unsuitability of the argument that Lord Isvara is the instrumental cause.

   Some of the editions of Sankarabhāṣya carry different titles for the *adhikaraṇa* and not the one *Pāsupatādhikaraṇam*.

   1895 – The commentary of Amalananda, named *Vedāntakalpataru*, edited by Rama Sastri Trailinga, published at Benares, carries the title *Patyadhikaraṇam, Isvarādhikaraṇam vā, yogādhikaranam vā*.

It has been shown that some of the editions, published after 1900, carry this title *Pāśupatādhikaraṇam*. The title *Patyadhikaraṇam* is also not uncommon in some editions, 1935 edition of *Prakaṭārtha vivaraṇam* of an unknown author, edited by T.R. Chintamani, and published at Madras, carries this title *Patyadhikaraṇam*. Similarly the 1941 edition of Anantakrishna Sastri, of Brahmasūtra Sankara bhāṣya, with five commentaries gives the title *Patyadhikaraṇam*. It is thus evident that the titles of the adhikaraṇas were not the ones given by Sankara, and were later introduction by his followers.

Adhikaraṇa headings pre 16th cent.

However it may be shown that the titles for the adhikaraṇas were known prior to 16th cent. A.D. Appayya Dikshita who lived in the 16th cent., and wrote his commentary on Sankarabhāṣya mentions some of the *adhikaraṇas* by name. Many of the names tally with the present printed versions. For example he refers to *Na vilakshṇatva adhikaraṇa* (2.1.4) (in his commentary on the sutra *ata eva prānah* (1.1.23)). This *adhikaraṇa* is found with the same title in the other published versions. Similar is the title, *vālākhya adhikaraṇam* (1–4–5) in the same sūtrā (1.1.23). Thus it is clear that the titles for the *adhikaraṇas* were certainly known before the 16th cent. A.D..

However it must be mentioned that, some of the titles known to Appayya dikshita, were different, than the present ones and in some cases the titles have undergone shortening. For example Appayya Dikshita refers to *Aṅgushṭa adhikaraṇa* by name in his commentary on sūtrā 1.1.11 but this title appears as *Pramitā adhikaraṇa* in modern times (1.3.7). Similarly the title *Bhūmnah Kratavat* (3.3.57) mentioned by Appayya Dikshita reads as *Bhūmajjyāyastvādhikaraṇam*, in recent publications. The later titles are found in the work of Sadāsivendra

Sarasvati's *Brahma sūtrā vṛitti* assigned to 17th cent. Thus within 100 years of Appayya Dikshita, some variations have taken place in the titles, in Tamil Nadu itself. Both Appayya and Sadāsivendra hailed from Tamil Nad.

That the titles appeared in shortened form may be noted from the following illustrations. Appayya Dikshita gives the titles of the *adhikaraṇa* in the body of his commentary thus *ādhyana prayojanābhāvād iti adhikaraṇa* (8.76). This appears shortened as *ādhyanādhikaraṇa.*

Paramata setu unmāna (p.131) *iti adhikaraṇa* of Appayya, is found in its shortened form as *Parādhikaraṇa* (3.2.7). *'Abhāva bādari' iti adhikaraṇa* of Appayya, reads as *abhāvādhikaraṇa* (4.4.5) later.

From these illustrations it is clear that at the time of Appayya, the full sūtrā was taken for naming the adhikarana, as *Paramata setu unmāna*, but this was shortened in course of time due to familiarity.

The title "Pāśupata adhikaraṇam" not appropriate

Reverting to the title *Pāśupatādhikaraṇam* we may say, that the more appropriate one is the title *Patyadhikaraṇam*, as the sūtra begins *Patyurasāmanjasyāt.* For this reason also the title *Pāśupatādhikaraṇam* is apparently inappropriate, as Sankara deals not exclusively with the views of *Māheśvaras*, but also deals with the tenets of *Sānkhyayogins, Vaiṣeṣhikas, Naiyāyikas*, and others.

Sankara does not reject the views of only the Pāsupatas in this adhikaraṇa, but other schools as well, like Sānkhya yogins, Vaiseshikas, Naiyāyikas and others. In fact he deals with all schools that hold Īśvara as the instrumental cause, but not the material cause. The following translation of the relevant sūtrā and its commentary may be noted.

"The Lord cannot be the cause of the world on account of the inappropriateness of that doctrine" –

Sūtrā "Patyur asāmancasyāt".

"The purpose of the sūtrā is to make an energetic attack on the doctrine of those who maintain, that the Lord is not the material cause, but merely operative cause of the world, a doctrine entirely opposed to the Vedantic tenet of the unity of Brahman. The theories about the Lord, which independent of the Vedanta are of various nature. Some taking their stand on Sānkhya and Yoga systems, assume that the Lord acts as a mere operative cause as the ruler. The Māheśvaras maintain that the five categories were taught by the Lord Paśupati. According to them, Paśupati is the operative cause. Similarly the Vaiseshikas and others also teach according to their various systems that the Lord is the operative cause of the world'[1]

इदानीं केवल अधिष्ठात्रीश्वर कारणवादः प्रतिषिध्यते । -------। तस्मात् अप्रकृतिः अधिष्ठाता केवलं निमित्तकारणं ईश्वरः इत्येष पक्षः वेदान्त-विहित-ब्रह्मैकत्व-प्रतिपक्षत्वात् यत्नेन अत्र प्रतिषिध्यते । साच इयं वेदबाह्य-ईश्वर-कल्पना अनेक प्रकारा

1 *Vedanta Sutras*, George Thibaut, Ibid, pp. 434 – 435.

It is evident, that Sankara's bhāśyas the earliest commentary available on this sūtrās, includes Sānkhya, Yoga, Māheśvara, Vaiseshika, Tarka and other schools.

In the second sūtra of this adhikaraṇa, *Sambandha anupapatteh ca*, Sankara rejects the views of Sānkhya yogins. *Tasmāt anupapannā sānkhyayoga Vādinām Īśvara kalpanā.*[1]

The other three sūtrās of this *adhikaraṇa*[2] deal with the views of Logicians, Tārkikas and rejection of the same. Thus out of five sūtrās of this *adhikaraṇa*, four of them are devoted not to the school of the Māheśvaras but to other schools. Only the first sūtrā deals with the Māheśvara view and that too along with other views. So the title *Pāśupatādhikaraṇam*, is not appropriate for the entire *adhikaraṇam*. On the contrary the title *Pati adhikaraṇam*, which is seen in some of the editions is appropriate.

About the title given by the other commentators like Rāmānuja, Srikantha and Mādhva, we will deal in the sequence.

The Pāśupata Sūtrās

What is significant is that Sankara gives the tenets of the Māheśvaras, in detail. For example, he says Lord Paśupati taught the *Panca padārthas*, (the five categories) namely *kārya, kāraṇa, yoga, vidhi* and *duhkhānta* (effect, cause, union, ritual and the end of the sufferings) in order to help the individual soul, to cut as – under its bondage. They hold Paśupati as the operative cause *'nimitta kāraṇa'*.

केचित् तावत् सांख्ययोग व्यपाश्रयाः कल्पयन्ति प्रधान पुरषयोः अधिष्ठाता केवलं निमित्तकारणं ईश्वरः इतरेतर विलक्षणाः प्रधान पुरुषेश्वराः इति । माहेश्वराः तु मन्यन्ते कार्य कारण योग विधि दुःखान्ताः पञ्चपदार्थाः पशुपतिना ईश्वरेण पशुपाश-विमोक्षणाय उपदिष्ठाः पशुपतिःईश्वरः निमित्तकारणं इति वर्णयन्ति । तथा वैशेषिकादयः अपि केचित् कथंचित् स्वप्रक्रियानुसारेण निमित्तकारणं ईश्वरः इति वर्णयन्ति । अतः उत्तरं उच्यते ''पत्युः असामञ्जस्यात्'' इति

The *Panca Padārthas' – Kārya, Kāraṇa, Yoga, Vidhi* and *Duhkhāntā* are the famous tenets of the Pāśupata system.[3]

---

1 तस्मात् अनुपपन्ना सांख्ययोग-वादिनां ईश्वरकल्पना ।

2 Sutra 39, Com.
इतश्च अनुपपत्तिः तार्किकपरिकल्पितस्य ईश्वरस्य ।
Sutra 40, Com.
अन्यथा वा सूत्रद्वयं व्याख्यायते
अधिष्ठान-अनुपपत्तेः च । इतश्च
अनुपपत्तिः तार्किक परिकल्पितस्य ईश्वरस्य
Sutra 41. Com.
इत्यतश्च अनुपपत्तिः तार्किक-परिकल्पित ईश्वरस्य । ...
तस्मात् अपि असंगतः तार्किक परिगृहीत ईश्वरकारणवादः ।

3 *Pāsupata sūtras*. with the commentary of Kaundinya, Edited by R.A. Sastri, Trivandrum, 1940.
एवं दुःखान्तः कार्यं कारणं योगो विधिः इति पञ्चैव पदार्थाः समासत : उद्दिष्टाः ।
Kaundinya's commentary p.4.
The linga purāna also refers to Pañcartha Jnāna
पञ्चार्थ ज्ञान संपन्नः शिवतत्त्वे समाहितः
कैवल्य कारणं योग बिधि कर्म छिदं बुधः
पञ्चार्थ ज्ञान सम्पन्नः दुःखान्तं व्रजते सुधीः
L.P. 1.86 49 – 50

The Pāsupata sūtras are ascribed to Lakulisa,[1] who is assigned to 1st – 2nd cent. A.D. There is a fine commentary called *Pancārthabhāṣya* by Kaundinya assigned to the 5th cent. A.D.. The Pāśupata sūtrās begin with the statement:–[2]

अथातः पशुपतेः पाशुपतं योगविधिं व्याखयास्यामः ।

The colophon of the commentary calls it *Srimad yoga-pāśupata Sàstra Sūtra.* It seems the sūtrās were then known as 'Pāsupata yoga sūtrā'. We now conclude the *Pancārthas*, viz., *Kārya, Kāraṇa, Yoga, Vidhi* and *Duhkhānta* were ascribed to Śiva Maheśvara, and the sūtrās were composed by Lakulisa and the later was intimately associated with the yoga system. It is also seen the believers of the *Pancārtha* tenets were known as Māheśvaras. Sankara does not give more than stating that the Māheśvaras call Īśvara as Paśupati, who is the giver of the *Pancapadārtha* and who is the instrumental cause of this universe.

It may be recalled that Sankara groups Sānkhya yoga, Vaiseshikas and Tārkikas (Naiyayikas) with Māheśvara. All of them believed in a personal Lord, Īśvara, as the instrumental cause of this universe. Thibaut, in his translation of Sankara bhāṣya, holds the *Sānkhya Yoga vyapāśrayās*, as followers of two different groups - Sānkhyas and yoga. S. Radhakrishnan, in his 'Brahma sūtrās' also holds them as distinct groups. But it is also possible that Sankara refers to Śesvara Sān khyaś who themselves emphasised Yoga and in all probability refers to one group only.

Commentators on Sankara : - Vācaspati Misra's Bhāmati

Sankara's commentry was elaborated by many scholars in the succeeding ages. It would be advantageous to assess their views on this *adhikaraṇa* in a chronological order, which would give the influence of Pāśupata system through the centuries. It is well known that the followers of Sankara were mainly divided into two groups as *Bhāmati* school and *vivaraṇa* school.[3] The commentary *Bhāmati*, on Sankarabhāṣya was written by Vācaspati Misra. He is said to be a disciple of Sankara himself. His date has to be assigned, depending upon the date of Sankara, which itself is not settled. At any rate we may note that Bhāmati is one of the earliest commentaries available on Sankara Bhāṣya. Vācaspati Misra, first mentions under this *adhikaraṇa*, Sānkhya yogins of the Hiranyagarbha and Patanjali schools (*Sānkhya yoga vyapāśrayāh Hiraṇyagarbha Pātanjala prabhṛtayah*). They consider a special entity as Īśwara, not affected by suffering, action, modification etc., and who is other than *Pradhāna* and ordinary soul.

The Bhāmati also states that Māheśvaras are divided into four categories - as Śaivas, Pāśupatas, Kāruṇika siddhāntins, and Kāpālikas.[4] As all these four

---

1 Bhandarkar R.G., Vaisnavism, Saivism and minor religious systems, First published 1913. Reprint 1983, New Delhi. PP 165 – 177.

2 Ibid. For a fuller discussion on the Pañeārtha see. pp. 173 – 177.

3 S.N. Das Gupta, A history of Indian Philosophy, Vol. II.

4 माहेश्वराः चत्वारः शैवाः,
पाशुपताः कारुणिकसिद्धन्तिनः,
कापालिकाश्च इति ।

categories are said to follow the agamas, expounded by Maheśvara, they are called the Māheśvaras. Īśvara for them is the cause, the *pradhāna* and *mahat* are the effects. Meditation and retention of syllables like 'Om' are the yoga; bathing three times a day with sacred ashes, and residing in secret places constitute *Vidhi*, the end of sorrow *dukhānta* is *mokśa*, i.e., final release. The individual souls are the *paśus;* their bondage is called *pāśa*. The release of this bondage is the end of suffering *duhkhānta*. Just as the potter, who can only be an instrumental cause and not the material cause of a pot, so also Lord Īśvara is only the instrumental cause of the universe and not its material cause, according to this school, says *Bhāmati.*[1]

It is evident that though the Vācaspati Misra mentions the four fold subsects among the Saivas, by referring to the *Pancapadārthās (Kārya, Kāraṇa, Vidhi, Yoga* and *Duhkhānta),* he obviously refers only to the Pāśupata school. The other school, he mentions among the Māheśvaras, is Kārunika siddhāntins. The tenets of the Saivas and Kāpālikas are not at all mentioned.

The four fold division among the Māheśvaras, as Saivas, Pāśupatas, Kārunika siddhāntins and Kāpālikas, was well established in the time of Vācaspati Misra, and as he was a contemporary of Sankara, the same were known to him, though he refers only to the tenets of *Pañcapadārthas* and does not mention the tenets of others.

Ānandagiri's Nyāyanirṇaya

The other commentator who deserves our attention is Ānandagiri, the author of *'Nyāya nirṇaya'*. Ānandagiri is assigned to the 13th Cent, A.D., by competent scholars.[2]

Ānandagiri takes a view different from that of Vācaspati Misra. He holds that the *adhikaraṇa* is directly intended to refute the views of Māheśvaras.[3]

"i.e., Having rejected the views of those who pluck the hairs (Jains), the school of Māheśvaras who wear matted locks, is being rejected now". Anandagiri, again asserts unequivocally that, this *adhikaraṇa* is mainly to refute the tenets of Māheś varas. He says "this is relating to the doubt, whether there is conflict between those who hold that it is from the Advaita Brahman that the world emanates, and those who hold Īśvara is not the material cause of this universe".

---

1 चत्वारोऽपि अमी महेश्वरप्रणीत- सिद्धान्त - अनुयायितया माहेश्वराः । कारणं ईश्वरः । कार्यं प्राधानिकं महदादि । योगः अपि ओङ्कारादि ध्यान धारणादिः विधिः त्रिषवण स्नानादि गूढचर्या वसानः । दुःखान्तः मोक्षः । पशवः आत्मानः तेषां पाशः बन्धनं तद्विमोक्षः दुःखान्तः एष तेषां अभिसन्धिः चेतनस्य खलु अधिष्ठातुः कुम्भकारादेः कुम्भादि कार्ये निमित्तकारणत्वमात्रं न तु उपादानत्वं अपि । तस्मात् इह्रपि ईश्वरः अधिष्ठातृत्व अधिष्ठेयत्व विरोधात् इतिप्राप्तम् ।

2 Balakrishna Sastri K., 'Anandagiri' in Preceptors of Advaita, Edited by T.M.P. Mahadevan, Secunderabad, 1968, pp. 320– 322.

3 लुञ्चितकेशमतं निराकृत्य जठाधारि माहेश्वरमतं निराचष्टे पत्युः इति ।

अद्वितीयात् ब्रह्मणः जगत्सर्वं ब्रुवतः समन्वयस्य केवलं अधिष्ठाता ईश्वरः जगतः न उपादानं इति माहेश्वर राद्धान्तेन बिरोधः अस्ति न वा इति सन्देहे पूर्वपक्षयति - सा च इति माहेश्वरमत निराकरणेन समन्वय विषय ब्रह्मात्म ऐक्यस्य अत्र ट्टटीकरणात् पादादि संगतयः

He further states, that the unity of Brahman and ātmā, which is the subject matter of this discussion, is strengthened by rejecting the school of Māheśvaras.

Ānandagiri also gives the four fold division of the Māheśvaras as Saivas, Pāśu patas, Kārunka siddhāntins,[1] and Kāpālikas. All of them hold Isvara as the instrumental cause alone, basing their conclusion on the agamas authored by Maheśvara.

He also defines the *Pañcapadārthās*. This is almost identical with what Vācaspati Misra has defined in his Bhāmati except the definition of yoga. While Vācaspati holds yoga as meditating on 'Om' and other syllables and retention thereof, Ānandagiri defines yoga as *samādhi*.[2] Anandagiri's definition of the concepts of *Paśu* and *Pāśa* are also identical with Vācaspati. It looks as though Anandagiri is literally borrowing from Vācaspati Misra.[3]

Then he goes on to include the views of Vaiśeṣhikas, Naiyāyikas, Vivasanas (Jains) and Buddhists (Sugatās). He gives also the arguments of each of these schools.[4] However these schools are included in a secondary way, the principal school mainly rejected is the Māheśvara school.

It is seen that though Vācaspati Misra, and Ānandagiri belonged to the same school of thought, there is a distinct difference in their emphasis, the former, treating Sānkhya yogins mainly and treating Māheśvaras, Vaiseshikas, and Naiyāyi kas equally, Ānandagiri directs his attack mainly against Māheśvaras while others are treated insignificantly. In this Vācaspati is true to Sankara's views than Ānandagiri.

Ratna Prabhā of Govindānanda

Though it would be advantageous to take this later, in the chronological order, it is discussed here, as this author closely follows the work of Ānandagiri. The commentary of *Ratnaprabhā* by Govindānanda is famous among the commentaries on Sankara's bhāṣya. Govindānanda is certainly later than 12th cent. as he refers to *Prakaṭārtha vivaraṇa*. [5] Govindānanda almost borrows from Ānandagiri, as many of his expositions are literal borrowings. For example the beginning of this

---

1 चत्वारो माहेश्वराः शैवाः पाशुपताः । कारूकसिद्धान्तिनः कापालिकाः च । ते माहेश्वर प्रणीतं आगम प्रामाण्यात् केवलं निमित्तं ईश्वरं इच्छन्ति ।

2 योगः समाधिः

3 Anandagiri in his Nyāyanirṇaya repeats almost verbatin Vacaspati's commentary.

पशवः जीवाः तेषां पाशः बन्धनं तद्विमोक्षः दुःखान्तः तदर्थमिति यावत् ।

कार्यं प्रधानादिकं महदादि । कारणं महेश्वरः । योगः समाधिः विधिः त्रिषवणस्नानादिः दुःखान्तः मोक्षः इति पञ्चपदार्था :

कुम्भकारादे : अधिष्ठातुः चेतनस्य कुम्भादिकार्ये निमित्तत्वमात्रदृष्टेः ईश्वरः अपि जगदधिष्ठाता निमित्तमेव न उपादानं एकस्य उभय विरोधात् इति ।

4 वैशेषिक नैंयायिक - विवसन सुगतमतानि सूचयति । उपादानात् अपरोक्षज्ञानवत् जन्यं कार्यत्वात् घदवत् इति वैशेषिकाः कर्मफलं संप्रदानादि अभिज्ञप्रदातृकं कर्मफलत्वात् सेवा फलवत् इति नैयायिक दिगम्बरौ । सौगताः तु सांख्य अनुमानेन एव तटस्थं ईश्वरं आस्थिताः ।

5 Subramaniam. T.R., 'Govindananda' in 'Preceptors of Advaita' Edited by T.M.P. Mahadevan, Secunderabad, 1968, p. 190.

adhikaraṇa is exactly identical with what was mentioned by Ānandagiri. It states, 'having rejected the views of those who pluck their hairs (Jains), the views of the Saivas who wear matted locks is rejected".[1]

It is almost a word to word borrowing. In several other passages the borrowing could be demonstrated. This author also states that this adhikaraṇa is mainly to refute the Saivamata.[2]

The one perceptible difference is that instead of calling *Māheśvaramata,* it is now called *Śaivamata.* The author identifies the Sānkhyas as Seśvara sānkhyas. This author also mentions *Pancapadārthas* and like his predecessor, gives the four fold divisions among the Māhesvaras as Saivas, Pāsupatas, Kāruṇika siddhāntins and 'Kāpālikas'. 'Since all of them followed the agamas taught by Mahesvara they are called Māheśvaras.' At another place this author calls the agamas, *Pāśupata āgamas.*[3]

This school holds Paśupati as the *nimitta kārana,* only on the authority of the *Pāśupata āgama (Pāśupatāgama prāmānyādeva Paśupatih nimittam eva iti matam).* The arguments of Vaiseshikas, Gautamas, Digambaras (Jains), Sānkhyas, Saugatas, and Pātanjalas are also given. The arguments adduced by these followers are the same noticed in Ānandagiri. Govindānanda, the author of *Ratna Prabhā,* does not add anything new except to call the followers of Pāśupata school, as Śaivas, instead of Māheśvaras. Though Śaivas are listed as a distinct group among the four sub-sects of the Māheśvaras, all the four are also called by the general term Saivas and their agamas called Pāśupatāgamas. We notice, the words Saivas, Māheśvaras, and Pāśupatas used in a loose manner and appear as synonyms. That seems to the position around 1200 A.D.

Prakaṭārtha Vivaraṇa

The *Prakaṭārtha Vivaraṇa* is another well known commentary, but the name of the author is not known. The work is assigned to 11th cent. A.D. This author is very close in his exposition to Sankara.[4] He does not refer to the four fold division but simply mentions the Māheśvaras as done by Sankara, and refers to the *Pancapadārthas* and their meaning. Then he goes on to explain Vaiseshika and Naiyāyika stand, and does not consider this adhikaraṇa, as solely directed against the Māheśvaras.

---

1 लुञ्चित केश निरसनानन्तरं जठाधारि शौवमतं बुद्धिस्थं निराक्रियते ।

2 कर्तैव ईश्वरः न प्रकृतिः इति शैवादिमतेन विरोधः अस्ति न वा सन्देहे

3 चत्वारो माहेश्वराः । शैवाः पाशुपताः कारुणिकसिद्धान्तिनः कापालिकाश्च इति । सर्वेऽप्यमी माहेश्वर प्रोक्त आगमानुगामित्वात् माहेश्वराः उच्यन्ते ।

पाशुपतागमप्रामाण्यात् पशुपतिः निमित्तं एव इति मतं ।

All later part of the same commentary on the same *adhikarana,* calls Saiva mata as *Pañcapadārtha vādi Māhesvaramata.*पञ्चपदार्थ वादी माहेश्वरमत निरसानन्तरं

4 *Prakaṭārthavivarana* Edited by Chintamani T.R., Madras University Series No. 9, University of Madras, 1935.

Appayya Dikshita

The views of Appayya Dikshita, who commented on both the Sankara bhāṣya, and Srikaṇṭha bhāṣya need an elaborate discussion and is not pursued here.[1]

Sadāsivendra

Sadāsivendra Sarasvati assigned to the 17th cent. holds that this adhikaraṇa is mainly against the Māheśvaras *(Kevalam adhishṭāta Īśvarah Jagatah na upādānam iti Māheśvara rāddhānto viṣayah).* He neither mentions the four fold divisions among the Saivas nor the *Pancapadārthas.* Probably by the 17th cent., the *Pancapadārthas* have lost their force in the Tamil country.

Rāmānuja on Paśupati

Rāmānuja, the Visiṣṭādvaita exponent lived in the 11th and the first quarter of the 12th cent. His views on the Paśupati school deserve special attention. In some editions, of Rāmānuja Bhāṣya, the title for this *adhikaraṇa* appears as "Ridiculing Pāśupatas" *(Pāśupata dūshaṇam).* Rāmānuja holds that the school of Paśupati - *Paśupati mata,* is patently anti-vedic and should be rejected. He does not refer to the Vaiseshikas, Naiyāyikas or Pātanjalas as the Sankarites would do in this sūtrā, but deals only with the Saivites and to that extend the scope of the *adhikaraṇa* is narrowed down. He does speak of the four fold divisions among the Saivites as Kāpālas, Kālāmukhas, Pāśupatas and Saivas. Rāmānuja substitutes Kālāmukhas for Kāruṇika siddhāntins of the Sankarite tradition. It is not clear whether he holds them as identical. While the Sankara school holds that the teachings of the Māheśvaras are not found in the Vedas, *(Veda bāhyās),* Rāmānuja holds that they were anti-vedic *(veda viruddhās).* The followers of Paśupati, says Rāmānuja, propound imaginary paths to attain the Supreme both in this and other worlds, but these are totally anti vedic. Rāmānuja's commentary on this *adhikaraṇa* is summed up by R.G. Bhandarkar in his work Vaishnavism and Saivism,[2] as follows.

"Ramanuja tells us under II 2.35 or 36 that the Kāpālikas maintain that a man who knows the essence of the six marks *(mudras)* and who is skillful in their use, attains the highest bliss by concentrating his mind on the soul seated on the female organ. The six marks are (1) a necklace, (2) an ornament, (3) an ear ornament, (4) a crest jewel, (5) ashes and (6) the sacred thread *(yagñopavita).* He, whose body bears these marks, is free from transmigration. The Kālāmukhas hold that the following are the means for the attainment of desires, concerning this world and the next : (1) eating food in a skull; (2) besmearing the body with the ashes of a dead body, (3) eating the ashes; (4) holding a club; (5) keeping a pot of wine and (6) worship the God as seated therein. A bracelet of rudrāksha, a skull, besmearing the body with ashes, and such other things are mentioned in the Saiva sacred books. They also maintain that people of other castes become Brahmans and attain to the highest order by the performance of certain rites. For it is said one becomes a Brahmana immediately after the process of simple initiation, and a man becomes a holy saint by undertaking the vow of a Kāpāla". Rāmānuja holds these

---

1 *Srī Bhāsyam* of Rāmānuja, Ed. Uttamur Veeraraghavachariar, Madras, 1961.
2 Bhandarkar R.G., Ibid, AES Reprint, P. 181.

observances are mutually contradictory and anti vedic. The *'Paśupati mata'* should not be followed as all the vedas declare only Nārāyaṇa as Supreme. He also rejects the suggestion that anyone could become a Brahmana by initiation and attain the Supreme Bliss".

Before we evaluate Rāmānuja's contention, a background of historical development, when Rāmānuja wrote his work must be noted. Rāmānuja, it may be said, wrote his commentary around 1155 A.D. By that time several great Siva temples like the great temple of Tanjore and Gangaikondacholapuram have come into existence. Hundreds of Siva temples haloed by the visits of Saivite Nayanmars, like Appar, Sundarar were reverberating with the Tevaram and Thiruvācakam hymns throughout the length and breadth of the Tamil country which Rāmānuja was well aware of. He could not have been unaware of the philosphy of the Saiva faiths, and beliefs, propagated by the Tevaram hymns which is certainly not the tenets, Rāmānuja projects in his *Sri Bhāṣya*. The Saivism prevalent in Tamil Nadu, was the Vaidika Saivam, and the most benign form, Rāmānuja totally ignores the contemporary scene and selects some obscure passages without giving references and projects them as the general state of Saivism. We may hold, the same as totally unhistorical and distorted. The criticism levelled by Lorenzen against Rāmānuja in his work "Kapalika and Kalamukhas" is decidedly valid (PP 1 - 12).

"In some places Rāmānuja's *Sri Bhāshya* is ambiguous and his remarks about Kālāmukhas, do not always harmonise with what is otherwise known about them. Also he does not maintain consistently clear distinction between the four sub sects. Sometimes he seems to describe them collectively, at other times individually." (P. 1 - 2).

Rāmānuja's treatment of *Paśupati adhikaraṇam*[1] is deliberately worded to dismiss the entire Saiva faith and hold Nārāyaṇa as the Supreme, an avowed aim and committed conclusion, which is served admirably in his exposition. But that in his attempt he is partial and far from ground realities cannot be doubted.

Srikaṇṭa on Paśupati

Srikaṇṭha, the author of *Srikaṇṭha bhāshya*, and whose system is known as Śivādvaita, calls this adhikaraṇa as *Pāśupatādhikaraṇa*. He holds that 'Parameśvara' is both the material and instrumental cause of the universe. This is how the srutis define the Supreme. But the followers of this Agama without comprehending

---

1 While Sankara takes this *adhikaraṇa* as a refutation of different schools like Sankhya, Yoga, Vaiseshika, Tarkika and Mahesvara, Rāmānuja takes the whole adhikaraṇa as a refutation of Paśupatimata only.

कपिल-कणाद-सुगत-अर्हन्मतानां-असामञ्जस्यात् वेदबाह्यत्वाच्च निश्रेयसार्थिभिः अनादरणीयत्वं उक्तम् ; इदानीं पशुपतिमतस्य वेदविरोधात् असामञ्जस्यात् च अनादरणीयता उच्यते। तन्मतानुसारिणः चतुर्विधाः - कापालाः कालामुखाः पाशुपताः शैवाश्च - इति। सर्वेच एतं वेदविरूद्धां तत्वप्रक्रियां ऐहिक-आमुष्मिक -निश्रेयस-साधन-कल्पनाः च कल्पयन्ति। निमित्त-उपादानयोः भेदं, निमित्तकारणं च पशुपतिं आचक्षते ; निश्रेयसाधनमपि मुद्रिकाषट्क धारणादिकम् .....

मुद्रिकाषट्क धारण - भगासनस्थ आत्मध्यान- सुराकुम्भस्थापन - तत्स्थदेवतार्चन - गूढाचार - श्मशान - भस्मस्नान - प्रणवपूर्व अभिध्यानानि अन्योन्य विरूद्धानि। वेदविरूद्धं च इदं तत्वपरिकल्पनं उपासनं आचारः च। वेदाः खलु परं ब्रह्म नारायणं एव जगत् निमित्तं उपादानं च वदन्ति .....।

तस्मात् वेदविरूद्धत्व - उपासना - अनुष्ठान अभिधानात् पशुपतिमतं अनादरणीयम् एव।

the full import of them, hold Īśvara as only the instrumental cause. This view is not acceptable as it is opposed to the Srutis.

Srikaṇṭha does not refer to the four fold sub sects as mentioned by Sankara's followers, or Rāmānuja. Nor does he refer to Sānkhya yogins, Vaiseshikas or Tārki kas under this sūtra. At the end of the adhikaraṇa he makes his position still clear.[1]

'The early acharyas, hold that this adhikaraṇa is meant to refute the view, that Siva (that is Parabrahmam) is only the instrumental cause, according to some parts of the Sivāgamas. We do not subscribe to this view. We do not perceive any difference between the Vedas and the Sivāgamas. Since the Vedas were also created by Siva, we consider Sivāgamas are also found in Vedas. Sivāgamas are of two kinds. One relates to the three castes and the other is meant for all castes. Vedas are meant for the three castes, as asserted by such srutis as 'Isāna is the deity of all knowledge", *Īsānah sarva vidyānām*". Therefore both the Vedas and Sivāgamas are valid and give out the same meaning. Both Vedas and Agamas are valid, as they follow the tenets - viz. the mantras like *Pañca brahma mantras, Praṇava, Pancākshara* and the *Prāsāda mantrās;* the three categories *Pati, Paśu* and *Pāśa;* bathing in ashes, wearing *tripundras* (sacred ashes) worship of Linga, wearing Rudrāksha and other similar observances, are commonly found in both. We hold that this *adhikaraṇa* deals with the yoga system, propounded by Hiranyagarbha, who hold Īśvara as only the instrumental cause. We do not at all subscribe to the view that Īśvara is only the instrumental cause. That is our philosophy' says Srikaṇṭha.

From the above view of Srikaṇṭha, the following points are clear.

(1) Srikaṇṭha holds that this *adhikaraṇa* is not against Saivas but against the yoga system of Hiranyagarbha.

(2) He holds that both the Vedas and Siva Agamas were created by Siva and therefore have equal validity.

(3) As Sivāgamas are meant for all castes, there is no restriction on the basis of caste for the attainment of release (a view not accepted by Rāmānuja).

(4) He does not refer to the four fold sub sects of Saivas, or the Pancārthas of the Pāsupata system.

(5) His teaching is quite in confirmity with the then contemporary Saivism prevalent in Tamil Nad and is not distorted.

---

1 पत्यु : परमेश्वरस्य श्रुतिसिद्ध - जगदुभयकारणत्वस्य अपि तदागमनिष्ठाः तत् मताभिप्राय - अनभिज्ञाः एकदेशिनः तान्त्रिकाः केवलनिमित्तत्वं वदन्ति। तद्युक्तं न वा इति सन्देहः।

.....शिवागम - एकदेशे शिवस्य परब्रह्मणः केवल निमित्तत्वं उपपादितम्। तत्परिहारार्थं इदं अधिकरणं इति पूर्वाचार्याणाम् व्याख्या। वयं तु वेदशिवागमयोः भेदं न पश्यामः। वेदेऽपि शिवागमः इति व्यवहारः युक्तः तस्य तत् कर्तृत्वात्। अतः शिवागमः द्विविधः त्रैवर्णिकविष्यः। सर्व विषयश्च अन्यः। उभयोः एक एव शिवः कर्ता। .....

कर्तृ सामान्यात् एकार्थ परत्वेन च विरोधाभावात् इदं आधिकरणं केवल-ईश्वर निमित्तत्वादि हिरण्यगर्भ-उक्त-योगस्मृति विषयं इति वयं वदामः।

Conclusion

From the above discussion on the *Pāśupata adhikaraṇa*, the following conclusions may be drawn.

(1) At the time of Sankara, the adhikaraṇas did not bear the titles. The title *Pāśupata adhikaraṇa* is obviously a later introduction.

(2) It is not an appropriate title.

(3) Around the 10th cent., Sānkhya yogins, Vaiseshikas, Pātanjalas, and Nayāyi kas held Maheśvara as the Lord and were essentially Saivites. Their philosophy in the history of Saivism needs separate study.

(4) The four fold sub sects among the Saivas are not mentioned by Sankara but known to his commentators. Sankara is closer to the Sūtrakāra, Vyāsa in his exposition.

(5) Rāmānuja does not reflect the contemporary state of Saivism, but gives a distorted version.

(6) Srikaṇṭha, who was a native of Tamil Nad, reflects the Vaidika Saiva system, which was greatly the prevalent system in Tamil Nad.

Select Bibliography

1. *Pāśupata Sūtrās* with Kauntinya's commentary, Edited by R.A. Sastri, Trivandrum, 1940.
2. Vaishnavism and Saivism by R.G. Bhandarkar, Reprint, Delhi, 1983.
3. *Sri Bhāsyam* of Sri Ramanuja, Edited by Uttamur Veera Raghavacharya, Pt. I & Pt. II, Madras, 1964.
4. Preceptors of Advaita, Edited by T.M.P. Mahadevan, Secunderabad, 1968.
5. *Brahmasūtra Sankara Bhāshyam* with the commentaries of Ratna Prabhā, Vācaspati, and Ānandagiri, Edited by Mahadeva Sastri Bakre, Bombay, 1934.
6. Vedanta Sutras with the commentary of Sankaracharya, Sacred Books of the East series. Translated by George Thibaut, Oxford, 1890.
7. '*Prakaṭārtha vivaraṇa*' - Edited by T.R. Chintamani, Madras, 1935.
8. '*Brahmasūtra Bhāshyam*' of Sankara Bhagavadpada, published by Kamakoti Kosasthanam, Madras, 1954.
9. '*Prakaṭartha vivaraṇa*' Edited by S.R. Krishnamurthi Sastri, Madras, 1976.
10. Brahmasūtrā of Sri Dvaipayana with the commentary of Anandagiri, Edited by Mahadev Chimanaji Apte - Anandasram Edition, Poona, 1891.
11. *Nyāyarakshāmaṇi* of Appayya dikshita Edited by P. Ganapati Sastri, Kumbhakonam, Parabhava.
12. '*Paushkara Samhita*', Jnānapāda, by Umāpati Sivam, Edited by Ambalavana avala Jnāna Parāsakthi Swami, Chidambaram, 1925.
13. A history of Indian Philosophy, by Surendranath Dasgupta, Delhi, Reprint 1975.
14. *Brahma sūtra Bhāshya* by Vijñānabhikshu, Edited by Pandit Mukund Sastri, Benares, 1901.
15. The Kāpālikās and Kālāmukhās, by David N. Lorenzen, New Delhi, 1972.
16. 'The Tamilizing of a sacred Sanskrit Text : The devotional mood of Rāmānuja's Bhagavadgita Bhāshya and Alvars spirituality' by Nancy Aun Nayar, in Hermeneutical paths to the sacred worlds of India. Edited by Katherine K. Young, Atlanta, 1994.
17. The theology of Rāmānuja, by John Braisted Carmen, Bombay, 1981.
18. *Sarvadarśana Sangraha* of Madhvacharya E.B. Cowell and A.E. Gough, Delhi, 1986.

Sarabhamūrti in later Medieval art :

Dr. V. Balambal

In the history of Tamilnadu the Cōlas occupy a unique place by virtue of their contribution to art and architecture. They were masters of the South for nearly four centuries from the middle of the 9th to the early 13th century A.D. Temples of the ruling dynasty are found scattered all over the south and the northern part of Śrī Laṅkā. One of the greatest rulers of their time, the imperial Cōḷas were resourceful enough to erect hundreds of temples, Most of them concentrated in the Kāvēri delta. In view of the quantitatively higher number of temples, the changing patterns of style from about A.D. 850 to A.D. 1200 and the total span of Cōḷa rule in the South, historians usually bring the art of Cōḷas under three phases, vi., Early (A.D. 850–985), Middle (A.D. 985–1070) and Later (A.D. 1070–1279) (Balasubramanyam 1966 : 30). Stylistically early Cōḷa art, both in architecture and iconography, is a continuation of the Pallava–Pāṇḍya with the thematic variables increasing at a normal speed. From the time of the middle Cōḷas, beginning with Rājarāja I (A.D.985-1018), the magnitude of temple organisation and the addition of images acquire a macrocosmic format. Examples may be found in the Rājarājeśvaram at Tañcāvūr and Kaṅkaikoṇṭacōḷapuram. The Cōḷas all through were patrons of Śaivism (Pantarattar 1974 : 411). Most of the early Cōḷa temples were dedicated to Śiva.[1] During the early medieval period it has been estimated from a study of the hymns of Āḻvārs and Nāyanmār that there were 382 temples of which 274 were for Śiva and 108 for viṣṇu (Balasubramanian 1966 : 23-4). A recent statistics, based on a random survey of the temples and temple chariots of Tamilnadu, accounts for 44% of Śiva and 28% of Viṣṇu temples respectively from a total number of 246 all over Tamilnadu. These would prove the fact that all through the ages, Śaivism commanded majority of following in Tamilnadu.

I

The origin of Śarabhamūrti in art is traced back to the later Cōḷa period around the mid 12th century A.D. Rājarāja II (A.D. 1146-73) who erected the Rāja rājeśvaram at Tārācuram was the first in Tamilnadu to install an image of Śarabhamūrti in a special *devakoṣṭha* along the southern *pāda* section of the temple in its *mahāmaṇḍapa*.

The concept is definitely late (Sivaramamurti 1976 : 98). But the *śarabha* as a fabulous eight-legged mythical bird, dwelling in snow-capped mountain ranges, and

---

1 Examples are Vijayālayacōḻīśvaram at Nārttāmalai, Mūvarkōvil at Koṭumpāḷūr, Brahmapurīśvara at Puḷḷamaṅkai, the Rājarājeśvarams at Tañcāvūr, Kaṅkaikoṇṭacōḻapuram, Tārācuram and so on. See the three volumes of S.R. Balasubramaniam on 'Early', 'Middle' and 'Later' cōḻa Temples.

devouring lions and elephants was known from the later Vedic period onwards (Macdonell & Keith 1967 : 358. The *Mahābhārata* notes *aṣṭapādaḥ, śarabhaḥ* and *siṁhaghati* as an eight-legged animal with a long tail (Gonda 1969 : 202 fn). The characteristic *lakṣaṇa* of the *śarabha* was it had eight legs, two wings, two heads and sharp nails.

During the Pallava-Pāṇḍya period, i.e., anterior to A.D. 850, the Nṛsiṁha cult was strongly rooted in Tamilnadu. Many of the Pallava princes took the names Siṁhaviṣṇu, Siṁhavarman, and Nṛsiṁhavarman (Mahalingam 1969). Among the Pāṇḍyas Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha who embraced Vaiṣṇavism at the instance of Periyāḻvār (Sastri 1966 : 427). There were chapels for Nṛsiṁha right from the Gupta period (early 4th century A.D.) onwards as we find one, close to the Śeṣaśāyī *bas relief* at Udayagiri (district Vidiṣa in Madhyadeśa). Within the early medieval group of cave temples in South India, three separate cellae are found in Tamilnadu at Ciṅkaperumāḷkōvil, Nāmakkal (western cave) and Āṉaimalai.[1] Besides a number of classical images are to be found in Ellora (caves XV & XVI), Badāmī (cave III & Upper Śivālaya), Paṭṭadakkal (Virūpākṣa), Aihole (Durgā), Kāñci (Vaikuṇṭha Perumāḷ), Maḷaiyaṭippaṭṭi Tirupparaṅkuṉram and Kaḷukumalai. Interestingly, the Cōḷas who erected structural temples mostly for Śiva, had few dedicated for Viṣṇu also in places like Kumbhakōṇam. But no temple for Nṛsiṁha was built under them whereas their contemporaries, the western Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa and later the Hoysalas, continued to patronise the Nṛsiṁha cult (see Setter 1993 : figures in vol. II).

Myths should have originated and we find one taking a final shape in the 18th century A.D. called *Carapapurāṇam*, the work in Tamil was produced during the Marāṭha period. According to this myth, Viṣṇu incarnated himself as a terrific Man-Lion (*nṛ-siṁha*) to slaughter the demon, Hiraṇyakasipu.[2] After completing the prescribed job, the *raudra* (terrific nature) of Nṛsiṁha did not vanish. That is to say Viṣṇu could not recover himself from the impact of the *avatāra* form. Consequently, the *jvāla* 'fire' emanating from Ugra-Nṛsiṁha haunted the worlds. So, the gods led by Brahmā and Indra approached Śiva to do something to bring back the original Viṣṇu from the illusory Nṛsiṁha. Śiva consented and manifested through Śarabhamūrti. He approached Nṛsiṁha and advised him first to recover his original form and sense. Nṛsiṁha would not listen to Śiva. So, the former was cleaved by Śarabheśa and the lion flayed.[3] It became Śiva's garment. Others would add the

---

1 Ciṅkaperumāḷkōvil is Pallava, Āṉamalai Pāṇḍya, and Nāmakkal, attributed to authorship of a local feudatory called Āyvēḷ.

2 The myth is elaborated (Kalidos 1987 : 283-85) in a Tamil version of the *Rāmāyaṇa* by Kampar. He is said to have patronised by a feudatory of Kulōttuṅga III and persecuted (his son Ampikāpati was killed for falling in love with the Emperor's daughter, Amarāvati) by the Cōḷa. It is not known whether Kulōttunga's Śaiva bias was a force behind the persecution of Kampar who wrote about Viṣṇu, the glory of his Rāma and also Nṛsiṁha *avatāras*.

3 The myth is akin to the slaughter of *gajāsura* by Śiva (cf. Kalidos 1984 : 167-73). Also compare the note on Kaṅkāḷamūrti and the various *saṁhāramūrtis*, discussed in the article by Rajarajan (this volume) and Gopalakrishnan (this volume).

head of the lion became part of Śiva's *makuṭa* 'headgear' or a necklace (Rao 1971 : II, I, p. 172).

The iconography of Śarabhamūrti is enumerated in the *Kāmikāgama*, *Uttara kāraṇāgama* and the *Śrītatvanidhi*. [1] The *Kāmikāgama* version would present Śarabheśa with two uplifted wings and golden hued. The eyes glow like fire and the legs are four, *catuṣpāda*, with *ūrdhvadamṣṭri* 'erect nails'. The form is theriomorphic, half-human and half-lion. The face is of a *siṁha* or *yāli*, i.e., 'leonine'. He is decked with a *kirīṭa-makuṭa* instead of Śiva's *jaṭā-makuṭa*. He lifts Nṛsiṁha by two of his legs. Nṛsiṁha is anthropomorphic and has the hands folded in reverential attitude, *añjali-bandha*.

The *Uttarakāmikāgama* endows the Lord with *trinetra* 'three eyes', representing Sūrya, Candra and Agni. His glowing tongue is a personification of the fire of deluge, *vaḍavāgni*. The nails are like thunderbolt, *vajra* of Indra and the belly, *kālāgni* (fire of death). The thighs are those of Kāla and Mṛtyu. His strength is comparable to Mahāvāyu, the wind-god. The Lord is to be propitiated to destroy enemies and win victories in battlefield (Rao 1971 : I,I, 172-73). May be, this was the reason why the later Cōḷas and Mārāṭhas idealised the Śarabha cult who faced tough times with the Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa and the British imperialism respectively.

The *Śrītatvanidhi* (1:3:69) presents a graphic description of Śarabhamūrti. The work is a compilation of the 19th century A.D. by a scholarly Uḍaiyār king of Mysore. According to this work Śarabha is a monstrous creature with a big body, *mahākāya*, comparable to the Meru. He is burning like the Sun. The legs are eight and the hands thirty two. Durgā and Kāla represent his two sides. The hairs are erect. The right hands hold *vajra* 'thunderbolt', *muṣṭi* 'closed fist', *aṅkuśa* 'elephant goad', *khaḍga* 'sword', *khaṭvāṅga* (staff, fitted with a *kapāla* 'skull'), *paraśu* 'battleaxe', *akṣamālā* 'rosary', *asti* ' (a piece of) bone', *śūla* 'trident', *dhanus* 'bow', *muśala* 'pestle', and *agni* 'fire'. The left hands hold *pāśa* 'noose', *gadā* 'club', *bāna* 'arrow', *dvaja* 'flag', a saw, a pig, *śaṇkha* 'conch-shell', *nāga* 'cobra', *kheṭaka* 'shield', *padma* 'lotus', *kapāla* 'skull', *puṣtaka* 'book', *kuntāyudha* 'lance', and *halā* 'ploughshare'. Of the two front hands, one shows *varada-mudrā* and the other embraces Durgā. The teeth are protruding and mane encircling the head. The Lord wears all kinds of ornaments, *sakalābharaṇas*. The colour is red.

There is a text, called *Śarabhopaniṣad*, one among the 108 *upaniṣads*. According to it *śara* means *jīva* 'soul'. It considers Hari himself as Śarabha who offers *mokṣa* 'final liberation' to *jīvātmas*.

Spoken with reference to the iconic representations (*infra*), it is worth mentioning here that the *Matsya Purāṇa* (chs. 162-63) talks of a zoomorphic form of Nṛsiṁha.[2] In other words, there is no *nṛ* 'human' aspect but the *siṁha* 'lion' (alone) which compares with few of the names of kings, noted above. In early

---

1 The two *āgamas* are part of the Śaiva canon, the 28 Śaiva-*mahā-gamas*. They are dated in the 9th-12th centuries A.D. (Rao 1971 : I,I, 55-8). That is to say during the hey-day of Cōḷa power.

2 The myth adds Hiranya ordered the lion to be caught and imprisoned in a cage. Prahlāda adored lion.

medieval *bhakti* literature of the Vaiṣṇavas there is a subtle indication of this form. Kōtai, called Āṇṭāḷ, in her work *Tiruppāvai* (v. 23) talks of the lion who sleeps in a cave during the rainy season, gets up and walks majestically with eyes emiting sparks of fire whose mane spreads out in various directions and terifies the worlds by roaring loudly. To quote.

Māri malaimuḻaiñcil maṉṉik kiṭanturaṇkum
cīriya ciṅkam aṛivuṟṟut tīviḻittu
vēṟimayirpoṅka eppāṭum pērntutaṛi
mūrinimirntu muḻaṅkip puṟappaṭṭu

The poetess adds that the lion was the black-flower coloured Viṣṇu (*pōtarumā pōlē nī pūvaippū vaṇṇā*).[1]

It may be understood from the above account that the Vaiṣṇavas characterise the Man-Lion as a mighty creature while the Śaivas appropriate the lion's qualities in favour of Śarabheśa.

II

The Airāvateśvara temple at Dārācuram, originally called Rājarājeśvaram, is the earliest in Tamilnadu to provide for an image of Śarabhamūrti. The earliest images of Nṛsiṁha appear around A.D. 600 in Tamilnadu. After a lapse of 550 years, the counter to Nṛsiṁha appears during the period of Rājarāja II. The Tārācuram image in stone is found in a *devakoṣṭha*. It represents a zoomorphic *śarabha* in rearing pose who stands on two hind legs. The wings are two and erect. The hind legs are pressing down Nṛsiṁha who is fallen. Nṛsiṁha's hands are eight but do not carry any emblem or weapon. Śarabha presents a frightful appearance with the manes spread out and mouth agape.

The Kaṁpahareśvara temple at Tirubuvaṇam was the work of Kulōttuṅga III (A.D. 1178-1216). It was during this Kulōttuṅga's reign that the great Tamil poet Kampar lived (Sastri 1966 : 377). The Tirubuvaṉam temple provides for a separate chapel and houses a bronze of Śarabhamūrti. This is only one of its kind on the subject (Rao 1971 : I, I, Pl. E). The composition is theriomorphic, partly human and mainly animal. The body below the hip and face are leonine, rest being human. A long and twisted tail with the testicles are carved. A unicorn-like projection also emenates from above the hip level. The Lord is *caturbhuja* and holds Śiva's characteristic emblems, *ṭaṅka* and *mṛga*, in *para-hastas*. The face is terrific with bulging eyes. The *tiara* consists of a *karaṇḍa-makuṭa*. The Lord stands on hind-legs. The fore-legs are lifted and stamping a fallen Nṛsiṁha. The two Cōḻa images follow the canonical mandate of the *āgamas*.

The Dārācuram and Tirubuvaṇam images on the subject are the best outcome of the Cōḻa period. Later, it seems under the Vijayanagara and Marāṭhas the cult was

1 For a detailed study of *Tiruppāvai* see Kalidos 1994.

revived and a number of images are reported. For example, the Ekāmreśvara temple at Kāñci and the Jaṁbukeśvara at Tiruvāṉaikka were strong Śaiva centres. There are images of the Vijayanagara period in these temples, housed in *maṇḍapas*, usually appearing on pillar sections. The Kāñcīpuram image is ten-handed with the two wings spread out. The Lord's locks of hair are erect as stipulated in the *Śrītatvanidhi*. The Tiruvāṉaikka specimen is zoomorphic. Very strikingly, he attacks a zoomorphic lion, noted in the *Matsya Purāṇa* and *Tiruppāvai* (*supra*).

Nearly thirty images of Śarabhamūrti have been reported from the wood-carved chariots of Tamilnadu, a record list which outnumbers all other media in quantitative output (Kalidos 1980 : 213-18). These are likely to be reflections of the Vijayanagara-Nāyaka and Marāṭha impressions on the myth and art of Śarabha. Notable among the images are the following.

1. The Tiruvāṉaikka chariot represents Śarabha with eight legs, all stationed on the fallen Nṛsiṁha. Nṛsiṁha wears a *kirīṭa-makuṭa*. Śarabha is decked with a *jaṭābhara* type of headgear. The hands are ten, the *pūrvahastas* showing *abhaya* and *varada*.
2. The Veṇkaṭācalapati temple chariot at Tiruppaticāram houses an image of the feminine-Śarabha. It may be a counter to the Vaiṣṇava notion of Nṛsiṁhī. The latter presents an emaciated appearance.[1]
3. Another mode of presentation appears in the Tiruvāṉaikka chariot. Here a giant Śarabhamūrti appears behind a dwarf Nṛsiṁha. Śarabha keeps his fore-arms in blessing attitude, placed on Nṛsiṁha head.
4. In yet another mode a standing Nṛsiṁha is beaten by the bird. The chariot of the Ōṭṭāndīśvara at Tirumaḷicai shows Śarabha catching hold of Nṛsiṁha head.
5. Another mode of representation is called Nṛsiṁhānugrahamūrti. It shows Nṛsiṁha seated in *yogāsana* attitude. Śarabha stands behind and blesses the Man-Lion by placing his front hands on the latter's head. In a particular specimen from Tāṉippāṭi Śarabha is zoomorphic. Prahlāda is found adoring Yoga Nṛsiṁha.

The various models of Śarabhamūrti, traceable in later medieval art, would affirm the growing popularity of the cult from about A.D. 1150 to A.D. 1800.

References

Balasubramanian, S.R. (1966) *Cōḷar Kalaipāṇi* in Tamil, Madras.

Carapapurāṇam, Thanjavur, 1972.

Gonda, J. (1969) *Śivaism and Viṣṇuism* : A *Comparison*.

Gopal, B. R. (1981) *The Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa and the Kālachūris*. Dharwad.

Kalidos, Raju et al. (1995) *Cintaikkiṇiya Ciṟppakkalai* in Tamil, Thanjavur.

Kalidos, Raju (1976) *History and Culture of the Tamils*, Dindigul.

---

1 Nṛsiṁhī gets inducted into the 'Mātṛkas' list which becomes Aṣṭa 'eight' from Sapta 'seven'. The present image imitates Cāmuṇḍā who is emaciated.

..... (1980) Iconography of Śarabhamūrti. *South Indian History Congress Annual Proceedings*, Madurai, pp. 213-18.

..... (1984) Iconography of Gajasaṁhāramūrti. *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. LXXV : 2, pp. 167-73.

..... (1986) Iconography of Early Medieval South India, Vol. I Vaiṣṇava, Thanjavur.

Kalidos Raju (1989) *Temple cars of Medieval Tamiḻaham*. Madurai.

Macdonell, A.A. & A.B. Keith (1967) *Vedic Index of Names and Objects*. Delhi.

Mahalingam, T.V. (1977) *Reading in South Indian History*, Dharwad.

Pantarattar, S. (1974) *Piṟkālac Cōḻar Varalāṟu* in Tamil, Annamalai Nagar.

Rao, T.A. Gopinatha (1971) *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Delhi, 2 vols.

Sarkar, H. (1974) *The Kaṁpahareśvara Temple at Tribhuvaṉam*, Madras.

Krishna Sastri, H. (1916) *South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses*, Madras.

Sastri, K. A. Nilakanta (1966) *A History of South India*, London.

Settar, S. (1993) *Hoysala Temples*, Dharwad, 2 vols.

Sivaramamurti, C (1976) *Śatarudrīya : Vibhuti of Śiva's Iconography*, New Delhi.

Śrītatvanidhi, tr. K.S. Subramanya Sastri, Thanjavur, 1963, Vol. I.

The Stone Chariot at Darasuram and the Myth of Siva Tripurantaka

Gerd J.R. Mevissen, Berlin

The Airavatesvara Temple at Darasuram near Kumbakonam (Tañjavur district), built by the later Cola king Rajaraja II (A.D. 1146-72), has been regarded as the most beautiful Cola monument of this period, a sculptor's dream re-lived in stone, which is unequalled in its technical perfection and exuberant ornamentation. According to tradition the temple was constructed by the divine architect Visvakarma himself.

In front of the *mahāmaṇḍapa* of the temple there is a pillared *agramaṇḍapa* having a porch-like *mukhamaṇḍapa* on the south. This latter structure is designed to simulate a chariot *(ratha)* on two wheels drawn by two horses and serves as an entrance to the temple by way of lateral stairways on the east and west (pl. 1).[1] Though the temple has been described several times and is one of the best studied and perfectly documented monuments of South India,[2] the question of the underlying concept which finds expression in the structural and iconographic components of the *rathamaṇḍapa* remained unresolved so far.

In a recent publication it has been pointed out that the chariot motif in the famous Sūrya Temple at Konarak (Orissa) is entirely appropriate to the logic of the iconography of Sūrya, the Sun god, whilst there is no connection in the southern shrines of Tamilnadu with the Tripurāntaka form of Siva which is the only form of whose iconography may include a chariot.[3] The present paper will show that it was this very *mūrti* of Siva which inspired the masterbuilders when they planned the structure and opted for a distinctive distributional pattern of select iconographic features.

Set against the *adhiṣṭhana* mouldings of the projecting *mukhamaṇḍapa* are seven *devakoṣṭha-s* (fig. 1, A-G); the one in the centre (D), slightly larger than the others, is crowned by a *sālāsikhara* while the remaining six have a *pañjara* top. The niches contain almost completely preserved images of standing deities[4]; they have been identified by C. Sivaramamurti (1960: 28) and F. L'Hernault (1987: 80) as Candra (A), Agni (B), Indra (C), Brahma (D), Viṣṇu (E), Vayu (F) and Sūrya (G).

Brahma in the central *koṣṭha* (D) is depicted standing in an exceedingly flexed pose with both his legs placed firmly on a lotus pedestal.[5] In contrast to the other six images his figure is sculpted on a separate block, almost in the round, which is

---

1 Direct predecessors of this type of *rathamaṇḍapa* exist at Tukkacci and Palaiyarai, near Darasuram; see L'Hernault 1987: 6-7. For a study of similar structures see Mevissen (in press).

2 See Srinivasan 1948: 12-25; Sivaramamurti 1960: 26-43; Balasubrahmanyam 1979: 225-245; Srinivasan 1983: 299-309; L'Hernault 1987: *passim*.

3 Smith 1993: 66.

4 Height c. 48 cm for the one in the centre and c. 36 cm for the other six figures.

5 L'Hernault 1987: ph.ico. 4; Mevissen 1993: pl. 41.1.

inserted between the adjoining pilasters. His three visible faces are crowned with a *jaṭāmukuṭa*. He is four-armed; in his right lower hand he seems to hold a piece of cord (*pāsa* or *akṣamālā?*) parts of which are visible on his palm. His upper right hand is raised, the fingers are stretched out, and the open palm is slightly turned to the front. His upper left hand holds a pitcher *(kamaṇḍalu)* and the lower left a noose *(pāsa)* the curved ends of which are visible below his elbow. He is clad in a loin-cloth tied round his waist, passing between the legs and tucked in behind, the hem terminating in several folds which are shown fluttering on both sides of his legs.[6]

The figure of Viṣṇu[7] in the *koṣṭha* (E) to the right of Brahma is carved - as is the case with the remaining five figures - from the same stone block as the adjoining pilasters and the bottom part of the niche. Standing in a flexed pose, on a sparsely carved lotus pedestal, he is slightly turned to his left, i.e. towards the direction of Brahma. His head is adorned with *kiriṭamukuṭa* and his front hands are joined in *añjalimudra*. The attributes in his upper hands are a discus (*cakra*, right) and a conch (*saṅkha*, left). His legs are covered with a long garment falling down to his ankles, the ends of which are visible on the sides.

The image of Indra[8] in the corresponding niche (C) is very similar to Viṣṇu (standing pose, *kiriṭamukuṭa*, *añjalimudra*). The attributes in his upper hands are two different kinds of *vajra*. He is slightly turned towards the figure of Brahma. His legs appear to be bare though the sashes behind his hips and the fluttering ends indicate the presence of a loin-cloth. In contrast to the figures of Brahma and Viṣṇu he is not standing on a lotus pedestal but on a square projecting block which perhaps was intended to be carved as a lotus.

Further to the right side of Viṣṇu is Vāyu, the Wind god, in niche (F).[9] The general appearance of the figure is very similar to that of Indra (e.g. standing pose, *añjalimudra*, lower garment). His head is crowned with *karaṇḍamukuṭa*, and his upper hands hold his characteristic attribute, a banner (*dhvaja*, right), and a lotus (*padma*, left). His pedestal is meticulously carved with two rows of lotus petals. His body is slightly turned to the left towards the central axis of the *ratha*.

Agni, the Fire god, is depicted in the corresponding niche (B).[10] Although he shares certain features with the other figures, viz. *añjalimudra*, standing posture and garment, he is distinguished by his flaming hair and the attributes *akṣamālā* and *kamaṇḍalu* held in his upper right and left hands respectively. His pedestal is similar to that of Brahma and his body is again turned towards the central axis.

The *koṣṭha* on the western side (G) contains a two-armed figure of Sūrya, the Sun god (pl. 2).[11] He is standing upright *(samapādasthānaka)* with his bare feet

---

6 A figure of Brahma in a comparable position at the head of a *rathamaṇḍapa* is extant in the Kampaharesvara temple at Tribhuvanam built by Kulottuṅga III (A.D. 1178-1218); see Mevissen 1993: pl. 41.2.
7 Ibid.: pl. 41.3.
8 Ibid.: pl. 41.4.
9 Ibid.: pl. 41.5.
10 Ibid.: pl. 41.6.
11 Ibid.: pl. 41.7.

placed firmly on the lotus pedestal and holds the stalk of a lotus in full bloom in his two hands at the level of his elbows. On his head is a small *karaṇḍamukuṭa* with a large round halo behind it, and his chest is adorned with a *channavira.*

The two-armed figure of Candra, the Moon god (pl. 3),[12] in the corresponding eastern niche (A) echoes the standing posture and the position of the hands of the Sūrya figure. In contrast to Sūrya he holds the stalk of a lotus bud in each hand and wears *upavita* and *udarabandha.* His head is adorned with *karaṇḍamukuṭa* and has a halo behind which appears to be slightly oval-shaped. No lotus petals are visible on the pedestal.

Regarding the interrelation between the different gods represented on the *adhiṣṭhāna,* what first comes to mind is the group of gods known as *dikpāla*-s, the guardians of the directions of space who usually are eight in number. This interpretation was already discussed and discarded by F. L'Hernault (1987: 80-81) because only seven deities are depicted of which Agni alone is placed in the correct direction, i.e. southeast.

Applying formal criteria the seven figures may be divided into three sub-groups: (1) Brahma. He occupies the central *devakoṣṭha* which is emphasized by its size and its crowning member *(sālāsikhara).* The figure is carved on a separate block; it is larger than the other figures and the only one standing in an exceedingly flexed pose with both feet placed firmly on the ground. (2) Viṣṇu, Indra, Vāyu and Agni. All these figures are four-armed with their main hands joined in reverence *(añjalimudra).* They all stand in a slightly flexed pose which results from the fact that the *susthitapāda,* i.e. the foot bearing the weight, is placed firmly on the ground while the knee of the other leg is bent *(kuñcita)* and the foot, slightly raised from the ground, is pointing sidewards. Consequently their bodies are turned towards the central axis, i.e. the gods are orientated towards Brahma. Though all of them can be irrefutably identified by their characteristic attributes held in their upper hands, *añjalimudra* for their lower hands is quite an unusual feature and indicates a subservient status and function in the present context. (3) Sūrya and Candra. Both figures are two-armed and stand in *samapādasthānaka.* They belong to a different class of *deva*-s since they are planetary deities. The absence of *añjalimudra* may indicate that they serve a different function than the gods of the second sub-group.

With regard to the size, placement and orientation of the lateral figures it is obvious that Brahma in the centre is the most prominent deity of the group. Functioning as the charioteer he occupies the key position at the head of the chariot and thus may hold the key to revealing the interrelation between the different gods of the group.

In Hindu mythology there is an ancient theme closely associated with a cosmic chariot: the myth of Siva Tripurāntaka destroying the triple city of the *asura*-s. The

12 Ibid.: pl. 41.8.

myth is preserved in a number of different versions[13] and relates that the powerful demons had obtained the invincible fortress(es) as a boon from Brahma after practising fierce penance for a long time. Indra, who had been unable to defeat the troublesome asura-s, and the other gods sought refuge in Brahma. On Brahma's advice the deva-s asked Siva to slay the demons. Since they were ardent devotees of Siva, Viṣṇu took the role of the Great Deluder (Māyamohin) and corrupted the demons by preaching false and anti-Vedic doctrines. Visvakarma, "the divine architect of the universe, the personification of creative power which 'welds heaven and earth together'"[14] designed for Siva a most potent missile in the form of an arrow which was constituted by Agni as the fiery head, Viṣṇu as the shaft and propelled along by Vāyu as the feathered plume. He also created a splendid chariot by reassembling all the different elements, energies and entities that constitute the universe. The visible symbols of time and space, the ever-moving luminaries sun and moon, were made the wheels of the chariot: the sun was the right wheel and the moon was the left wheel. Brahma, the Grandfather, became the divine charioteer.[15]

The above short summary suggests that the seven gods represented at Darasuram are the main actors in the Tripurāntaka myth. Brahma's role as the charioteer is evident from his position at the head of the chariot as well as from his attribute *pāsa* which is otherwise not characteristic for him. The noose obviously symbolizes the reins by which the horses are restrained. In fact, only very few iconographic sources mention *pāsa* as an attribute of Brahma, *e.g. Amsumadbhedāgama* and *Silparatna* where he is described in his function as the charioteer of *Tripurāntaka* holding *veṇudaṇḍa* (bamboo stick) and *kamaṇḍalu* (water-jar) in his right hands, and *kuṇḍika* (small pitcher) and *padmāpasa* (lotus-noose) in his left hands.[16] Though the attributes these texts assign to his right hands do not seem to be depicted at Darasuram there can be no doubt that it is the charioteer form of Brahma which is represented here, as is suggested also by the raised right hand and the animated posture of the figure indicating swift movement.

The four gods flanking Brahma are provided with their iconographically characteristic emblems. Their common feature *añjalimudra* denoting obeisance is frequently hinted at in the myth.[17] The order in which they are arranged in the sequence mirrors their successive appearance in the myth. To the left of Brahma is Indra who was the first to take on the job of fighting the demons but proved

---

13 For references to Vedic, Epic and Puranic sources see Mukhopadhyaya 1951, O'Flaherty 1975: 126-137, 325, and Tripathi 1984: 446-447; for further Sanskrit and Tamil sources see Ekambaranathan 1985, Srinivasan 1987: 320 notes 4, 7-10, and Dayalan 1991: 446-447, notes 1-5. For studies on different aspects of the myth see O'Flaherty 1976: 180-189, and Kramrisch 1981: 405-421.

14 Stutley 1977: 337 quoting *Rgveda* 10.81.2-3; 10.82.2.

15 E.g. *Liṅgapurāṇa* (LP) 1.71-72; *Sivapurana* (SP) 2.5.1-8; *Kallādam* (see Srinivasan 1987: 320, n. 10). According to *Mahābhārata (MBh)* 8.34 and *Matsyapurana* (MP) 133.41 the arrow was forged with the potency of *Visnu*, Soma and Agni. *Saurapurāna (SauP)* 35.15 enumerates Visnu, Yama and Agni, MP 188.3-5 and *Padmapurāna* (PP) 3.15.1-7 Visnu, Agni and Vayu, *LP* 1.72.24-25, 109-113 Visnu, Soma, Kalagni and Vāyu, SP 2.5.8.26, 2.5.10.27 Visnu and Agni, and Kallādam (quoted by Srinivasan 1987: 319) Vāyu, Visnu and Agni.

16 Gopinatha Rao 1914-16, II, 2: 89-90.

17 E.g. *LP* 1.71.119-121, 1.72.173; *SP* 2.5.2.4, 12, 56-57, 2.5.6.4-5, 30.

hopelessly incompetent.[18] Later the distressed gods led by Brahma and Indra approached Viṣṇu[19] whose function in the myth is two-fold: first he deluded the asura-s and then he became part of the deadly arrow. He is depicted in the corresponding niche to the right of Brahma. Thus the triad of the main acting deva-s occupies the central part of the sequence. They are again flanked by the gods functioning as the head (Agni) and the end (Vāyu) of the arrow. The extreme positions of the ratha are thus furnished with the gods constituting the extremities of the missile; the corners as the most vulnerable parts of the chariot are protected by the gods representing the most potent weapon itself.

The placement of Sūrya on the proper right and Candra on the proper left side of the chariot faithfully follows the Puranic description.[20] Their niches are just above the wheels of the chariot (pls. 2, 3). Although the number of spokes mentioned in the myth, viz. twelve for the right wheel representing the twelve Āditya-s and sixteen for the left wheel indicating the sixteen digits (kala-s) of the moon, does not comply with the actual number of thirty-two spokes carved on both stone wheels, a certain solar-lunar symbolism can, however, be deduced from the latter number since thirty-two is regarded, for astronomical reasons, as combining the solar and lunar cycles.[21]

Now that it has become evident that all the *koṣṭha* figures in the *adhiṣṭhāna* of the projecting *mukhamaṇḍapa* part of the *rathamaṇḍapa* obviously refer to the myth of Tripurāntaka we may look for further allusions to that myth. The only large sculpture of Tripurantaka (pl. 4), now preserved in the Thanjavur Art Gallery (inv.no. 28), was probably installed in the central niche of the northern wall at the rear of the *rathamaṇḍapa* thus forming a balanced unit with the chariot in the south.[22]

In the *kaṇṭha* recess of the *upapiṭha* there is a long frieze of relief sculptures, running along the eastern, southern and western sides of the *mukhamaṇḍapa*.[23] The central section on the south is slightly projected *(bhadra)*. Thus the whole frieze can be divided into five zones (fig. 1, I-V) according to their architectural setting. The band of thirty-nine stone panels (nos. 1-39) is arranged in two vertical planes. As a rule, the slightly recessed panels of different length bear mostly narrative depictions of Saivite mythology; they are set apart by projecting blocks *(galapāda)* carved with miniature *devakoṣṭha*-s complete with pilasters and with crowning *toraṇa*-s containing seated or standing representations of different *devata*-s (table 1).

Almost completely preserved due to the hidden position beneath the rearing body of the eastern horse, a figure of the Buddha in panel no. 2, sitting cross-legged

---

18 E.g. *MBh* 8.34; LP 1.71.38.
19 E.g. LP 1.71.39; SP 2.5.3.9.
20 E.g. LP 1.72.3; SP 2.5.8.6; see also MBh 7.202, 8.34; MP 133.16-22; SauP 35.1-17.
21 Since 32 lunar months are roughly equal to 31 solar months (Sircar 1965: 225) the reconciliation of the motions of the sun and the moon is symbolized by the number 32, the original number of the symbolism of space (Kramrisch 1946: 31-32). For a general discussion on the numerical symbolism of spoked stone wheels of chariot-shaped structures see Mevissen (in press: 5).
22 For a discussion of this and other large kostha figures found on the interior and exterior walls of the *rathamaṇḍapa*, see L'Hernault 1987: 84-95, and Mevissen 1993: 547-556.
23 It measures c. 11.6 m in length and c. 40 cm in height.

(padmāsana) on a double-petalled lotus under a tree (pl. 5), may be regarded as the most outstanding image among these panels. His right hand is in the gesture of preaching knowledge *(jñānamudra)* while the left rests on his lap *(dhyanamudra)*. Although the figure is a representation of a single deity, it appears in the recessed plane and not - as would be expected - on a *galapāda*, thus being the only exception to the above mentioned rule. This fact indicates that the Buddha figure should be understood as part of a mythological sequence rather than as an independent deity, and its prominent position at the beginning of the row of panels further underlines its importance.

Representations of the Buddha are rarely found in Siva temples. In fact, only four instances are known predating the Darasuram example. All of them are located in the Rājarājesvara temple at Tañjavur,[24] and they invariably appear within the context of the Tripurāntaka myth.[25] The Buddha figures represent Viṣṇu in the form of Māyamohin, the Great Deluder, whom Viṣṇu engendered with the sole purpose of diverting the *asura*-s from their worship of Siva, thereby causing their destruction.[26]

The panel of the Buddha is flanked by two *galapāda*-s carved with standing images of a three-headed, four-armed Brahma (pl. 5) directly to his left (no. 1) and a similar four- armed Viṣṇu on his right (no. 3); each has his front pair of hands joined in *añjalimudra*.

Next to the figure of Viṣṇu, in a recessed panel arranged in two registers (no. 4), four seated two-armed male figures are depicted, their heads turned to the left, with flower garlands (?) in their left hands.[27] The disproportionately large heads, the fearsome countenance with protruding eyes, and the voluminous hairstyle indicate their demonic nature; they thus can be regarded as representations of the *Asura*-s listening to the discourse of the Buddha.

The next interesting panel (no. 7), around the corner on the southern side, is in a bad state of preservation. Though heavily weathered, the outlines of three figures are still discernable. They are shown standing up to their knees in water, indicated by wavy lines and fishes in the lower part of the panel (pl. 6). The scene may be interpreted as showing the penance performed by the asura-s in order to obtain

---

24 Two stone panels appearing side by side, showing a seated and a standing figure of the Buddha, each under a tree, are carved on the outer (eastern) face of the balustrade flanking the steps leading to the southern entrance of the transept (Srinivasan 1987: 316-317, pl. 3). Another stone relief of a seated Buddha is located in the topmost register of the west-facing northern half of the *upapiṭha* of the inner *gopuram* (Ekambaranathan 1985: 113; Dayalan 1991: 445). The celebrated wall-painting of Tripurantaka covering the entire north-facing inner wall in chamber 11 of the *sandhara* passage round the *garbhagṛha* contains the fourth Buddha image, again seated under a tree (Champakalakshmi 1973: 356; Ekambaranathan 1985: 113; Srinivasan 1987: 317). The latter two still await proper publication.

25 Previously the depiction of the Buddha had generally been regarded as demonstrating Rajaraja's remarkable religious toleration. K.R. Srinivasan (1983: 238-239) was the first to realize the Tripurantaka context.

26 SP 2.5.3.45 - 2.5.6.28; LP 1.71.73-96. Further references to Visnu as Buddhāvatara deluding the *asura*-s are found in *SauP* 34.24-71 and *BhP* 1.3.24, 2.7.37, 10.40.22, 11.4.22. See O'Flaherty 1976: 184-189.

27 Mevissen 1994: pl. 1.

from Brahma the boon of indestructibility.[28] Though their request was rejected, Brahma granted them three aerial cities *(tripura)*. Lakṣmi, who had been won over by the demons' ascetism[29] blessed the cities with glory and prosperity. A seated figure of Lakṣmi, of which only the lower part is extant, appears in the following panel (no. 8).[30]

Panel no. 9 contains one of the three existing representations of Siva as Tripurāntakamūrti in the *upapiṭha* zone (pl. 7). The god is shown standing in a dynamic pose on a chariot, his straightened left leg planted firmly in the cart while his right knee is lifted with the right foot placed on top of a squatting dwarf near the edge of the railing. The four-armed figure holds an arrow in the front right hand while the left clasps the upper end of a bow planted vertically on the proper left side. The attributes held in the rear hands are not clearly visible. The two-wheeled chariot (one wheel visible) is depicted in profile, slightly slanting at the back. Underneath the front part of the cart body a bull is carved. The scene refers to an episode in the myth: when Siva mounted the chariot it threatened to sink; Viṣṇu assumed the form of a bull, raised up the chariot and tried to stabilize it.[31]

The *galapāda* (no. 10) separating the two representations of Tripurāntaka contains a four-armed representation of Sarasvati (pl. 7) sitting on a double-petalled lotus with her right leg pendent, holding *akṣamāla* (rosary) and *kalasa* (pitcher) in her upper hands and *vyākhyānamudra* and *pustaka* (manuscript) in her lower hands. Sarasvati is mentioned in the myth as constituting the bells of the bow.[32]

The next panel of Tripurāntaka (no. 11) shows Siva in almost the same pose and with the same attributes as in panel no. 9 (pl. 7). There is, however, no squatting dwarf under his right foot, which is placed directly on the edge of the railing. In this panel the chariot appears horizontally balanced, and remnants of at least one horse are visible in front of it. Above the horse, the three-headed and four-armed figure of Brahma, the charioteer,[33] takes almost the same animated standing pose as Siva himself; of his four attributes, only a stick in the front right hand is clearly discernable. Behind Brahma the *vṛṣabhadhvaja*, the bull as the emblem of Siva is shown mounted on a standard, which is frequently mentioned throughout the myth. The body of the cart is composed of different mouldings; the railing consists of a row of small posts resembling the miniature balustrade of the central part in the upper level of the *rathamaṇḍapa* itself, just above panels nos. 12-28.[34]

---

28 "In late winter they stayed under water or wore wet dripping silken cloth or allowed themselves to be covered with dew drops" (SP 2.5.1.17, tr. 1970: 803). "They lived in water during the winter, ... and stood on their legs in the open space during the rains ... They practised austerities, half immersed in the mud of aquatic plants ..." (MP 129.6-11, tr. 1983: 550).

29 Cf. O'Flaherty 1976: 185.

30 Tentatively identified by F. L'Hernault (1987: 79) as Laksmi on the basis of posture and proximity to a similar figure of Sarasvati in panel no. 10. See Mevissen 1994: pl. 2.

31 *MBh* 8.34; SP 2.5.9.6-9; *LP* 1.72.30-31; *MP* 136.54-60. Cf. Kramrisch 1981: 408-9. The bull is also present near a cleft in the pedestal of the Tripurantaka sculpture on the eastern *gopura* at Cidambaram; see Krishna Sastri 1916: 142, fig. 90.

32 *SP* 2.5.8.26; *LP* 1.72.24. She and other rivers are also said to constitute the axle pins of the chariot (*MBh* 8.34, tr. O'Flaherty 1975: 131).

33 *MBh* 8.34, tr. O'Flaherty 1975: 135; *PP* 3.15.1-7; *MP* 133.52-53; SP 2.5.8.24; *LP* 1.72.19-20.

34 L'Hernault 1987: 80, ph.ico. 2.

In front of the chariot, towards the west, a procession of ten deities on *vahana*-s is depicted arranged in two registers of five figures each.[35] Though the carving, especially in the upper register, is considerably eroded, the remaining details still allow a secure identification of most of the deities. In the top row we find, from east to west, Skanda on a peacock (?), Gaṇesa on a rat, Indra on an elephant, Agni on a ram and Yama on a buffalo; the lower row has, in the same order, Nirṛti on a man, Varuṇa on makara, Vāyu on *mṛga*, Soma on a horse and Iśāma on a bull (?). The group thus includes Siva's two sons and the eight *dikpāla*-s who, when read registerwise from top to bottom and from right to left, are arranged in *pradakṣiṇa* order: E-SES//SW-W-NW-N-NE.[36] All these deities are frequently mentioned in the myth as taking part in the campaign against the asura-s.[37]

The next panel that seems to be related to the myth is no. 14. Though almost completely eroded the probable division into three registers can still be made out. Remnants of small frolicsome *gaṇa*-s in the two lower registers may suggest that the panel originally contained at least six romping *gaṇa* figures. Numerous *gaṇa*-s are mentioned in the myth as accompanying Siva during the campaign and walking ahead of his chariot.[38]

The standing image of Durga on the adjoining *galapada*[39] no. 15 might be related to the Tripurantaka narrative, since Durga is said to take part in the campaign against the asura-s.[40] However, she is not riding on a lion as mentioned in the text.[41]

In the lower register of the next recessed panel no. 16 is shown a seated figure of Gaṇesa whose head is partly destroyed. A two-armed male figure holding *triśūla* (?) in his left hand stands on the left side. The figure seems to offer some object(s) to (the head of) Gaṇesa with his extended right arm. The scene may be regarded as a representation of Siva's worship of Gaṇesa who, according to the myth, had to be propitiated before the destruction of the *asura*-s could be accomplished.[42] In the upper register a *liṅga* on a high pedestal is carved; it is adored by a seated figure with hands joined in *añjalimudra*. The scene is probably related to and continued in the following recessed panel (no. 18) depicting the destruction of Kāla. The scene

---

35 Mevissen 1994: pl. 4.

36 It is interesting to note that the inclusion of the Moon god - and the exclusion of Kubera - as protector of the northern direction mirrors the arrangement of the *dikpāla*-s at Tañjavur (subshrines in *malika*) where figures of Soma carved against the *grivakostha*-s of the northern *devālaya* indicate his former presence in the *garbhagṛha* below, and at *Gaṅgaikoṇḍacoḷapuram* where a figure of Soma as one of the *dikpala*-s is depicted in the northern second *tala* of the *vimana*.

37 Skanda and Ganesa are also found in two of the Tripurāntaka representations at Tañjavur, viz. in the mural and the *gopura* (see *supra* note 24).

38 SP 2.5.9.34-39 enumerates 38 lords of *gaṇa*-s by name, and LP 1.72.76-84 even gives the names of 50 leaders of *gaṇa*-s who - surrounded by crores and crores of nameless *gaṇa*-s - rallied round Mahādeva.

39 For panels nos. 15-18 see Mevissen 1994: pl. 5.

40 E.g. LP 1.72.70.

41 On the Tañjavur mural (Champakalakshmi 1973: fig. 21) and on the gopura panel (see note 24) she is depicted riding on a lion. The same applies to one of the Tripurāntaka figures in the Kailasanatha temple, Kañcipuram (Rea 1909: pl. LV, 1).

42 *SP* 2.5.10.6-9; *LP* 1.72.42-50. "Lord Rudra ... embraced his son and kissed him on the head. He worshipped and propitiated Gaṇesa with flowers of sweet fragrance and juicy edibles and foodstuffs" (LP, tr. 1973: 351).

in panel no. 16 may represent *Mārkaṇḍeya* peacefully worshipping the *liṅga* while, just on the other side of the *galapāda* (no. 17), the same youthful *saivabhakta* - terrified by the aggressive approach of Kāla - takes refuge in his Lord by embracing the *liṅga*, which has almost the same form and height as the one in panel no. 16.

Further to the west, there is another set of panels that might be related to the myth.[43] Panel no. 26, again divided into two registers, displays two rows of seated deva-s with their bodies (and attention) oriented to their left. The central and the left *deva* in the bottom row can easily be identified as the luminaries Sūrya and Candra because of their haloes and the lotus buds held in their hands. In the upper register, the four-armed figure on the right may represent Indra, judging from the *vajra*-like attribute held in his upper left hand. Taking into account the standing figure of Viṣṇu in *galapāda* no. 25, there are altogether seven *deva*-s carved in the two panels. As the myth - or rather the rendering of the myth at Darasuram - employs seven major gods as main actors, viz. Brahma, Indra, Viṣṇu, Agni, Vāyu, Sūrya and Candra, who are also depicted in the *adhiṣṭhāna* niches above, one could be inclined to identify the three remaining figures in panel no. 26 as Brahma, Vāyu and Agni. The bad state of preservation of the upper register and the obvious absence of secure signs of identification, however, make this assumption rather speculative. Nonetheless, the episode may be recalled when Siva asked the gods to give him lordship over animals and demanded that the *deva*-s declare themselves to be animals *(paśu)* before he would destroy the corrupted demons.[44] After the *deva*-s had agreed to this, Siva became Paśupati, assuming a form which "even in hundreds of years ... is impossible to describe adequately".[45] If the assembly of gods in nos. 26 and 25 were to correspond to this passage, one would expect a large figure of Siva nearby. Panel no. 24 contains the eroded remnants of an unidentifiable four-armed (?), seated figure. Since we have already noticed some instances where panels in the recessed *kaṇṭha* plane refer to the next recessed panel and not to the neighbouring *galapāda* (e.g. nos. 2/4, 9/11, 16/18), it seems appropriate to infer that the attention of the six seated *deva*-s in no. 26 is directed towards the figure in no. 24 and not towards Viṣṇu in no. 25. The deity in no. 24 could thus perhaps have been a representation of Siva having assumed the form of Paśupati or Pāśupatamūrti.[46] while the gods in no. 26 - lined up like cattle in a byre - would represent the *deva*-s having accepted the status of *paśu*-s. However, the poor state of preservation does not allow a definite conclusion.

On *galapāda* no. 30 a remarkable image of Tripurāntaka is depicted (pl. 8). Standing in a flexed pose, the right foot slightly raised, the four-armed figure holds *paraśu* (right) and *mṛga* (left) in his upper hands while his lower hands are joined in

---

43 For panels nos. 24-27 see Mevissen 1994: pl. 6. For the intervening and all other panels not described here, cf. table 1 and L'Hernault 1987: 79-80.

44 *LP* 1.72.34-43; SP 2.5.9.13-24. The gods were reluctant to accept this status, and it was only after Siva assured them that by recognizing him as their lord (Paśupati) and observing the holy *pāśupata vrata*, they would be freed from the fetters *(pāśa)* that bound them to the objects of their desire - and thus would be liberated from the status of animalhood. Cf. *LP* 1.73.10-21, and Kramrisch 1981: 418-420.

45 *SP* 2.5.9.26 (tr. 1970: 845).

46 Cf. Adicéam 1971: *passim*, esp. pp. 32-33, 45 figs. 14-16.

añjalimudra. The remaining two attributes, viz. a bow and an arrow, are held in the crook of his left elbow. The image does not conform to any known iconographic text, nor to any known representation of Tripurāntaka. According to one version of the myth, Siva thought of the demons and looked at them with contempt before discharging the arrow.[47] In another version, he glanced at the three cities which were instantaneously reduced to ashes, and it was only afterwards, at the requests of Soma, Viṣṇu, Kālāgni and Vāyu (who constituted the arrow) that he laughingly discharged the arrow.[48] According to the Tamil tradition "there was the gibe from some quarters about Siva's borrowed strength which ultimately resulted in Siva slackening (by unstringing) and reversing the bow towards his side ... and bringing about the destruction of the triple citadels by a mere laugh in derision".[49] Though most of the Tamil sources state that it was the fiery arrow that set the fortresses in flames, there are at least three references which attribute the annihilation solely to Siva's laughter (*aṭṭahāsa*).[50]

On the neighbouring panel (no. 31) a dramatic scene involving three figures[51] is depicted (pl. 8). The head of the lower figure is covered by the legs of the figures above. The one at the bottom appears - at first sight - to be sitting cross-legged in *padmāsana*. However, the lower right leg is not visible, and the sitting pose differs considerably from that of other seated figures in the present sequence (e.g. nos. 4, 16, 26). The pose has to be interpreted as the *laṅgalaka* ("plough-shaped") attitude which is characteristic of flying figures. The position of the legs of the two figures above also indicates that they are moving in the air, and the staff or blade (?) held by one of them points to the fact that they are engaged in a fight. Their large heads and voluminous hairstyle reveal their demonic nature. The scene may thus be regarded as a depiction of the *tripurāsura*-s - who had been capable of moving about at will for a thousand years when they finally aligned themselves on the auspicious moment of Puṇyayoga[52] and were reduced to ashes by Siva's laughter. Panels nos. 30 and 31, if viewed together, thus show the final annihilation of the three corrupted demons Tārakākṣa, Vidyunmāli and Kamalākṣa.

The next *galapāda* (no. 32) contains an image of Sūrya or Candra.[53] As already mentioned both are assigned prominent functions in the myth since the sun and the moon were made the right and left wheels of Siva's chariot respectively. The last recessed *kaṇṭha* panel (no. 33) on the southern side of the *upapiṭha* is again divided into two registers. The upper part contains a representation of Umāmaheśvara as Vṛṣabhāruḍhamūrti, the only graceful or *saumya* form of Siva appearing in the sculptural program of the *ratha*, except for the centrally placed

47 *SP* 2.5.10.20-21.
48 *LP* 1.72.109-113; *SauP* 35.33-43.
49 Srinivasan 1987: 319.
50 Srinivasan 1987: 319, referring to a passage in *Tiruvācakam* and another in *Kallāḍam*. O'Flaherty 1976: 187, quotes *Kāñcippuraṇam* 30.2-42.
51 Previously identified as the destruction of Daksa's sacrifice (Sivaramamurti 1960: 27-28; L'Hernault 1987: 80, ph.ico. 7). See also Mevissen 1994: note 27.
52 *LP* 1.72.102-105. For an interesting discussion of the astronomical details contained in the myth see Kramrisch 1981: 412-418.
53 For panels nos. 32-33 see Mevissen 1994: pl. 7.

Dakṣiṇāmūrti in panel no. 20. Below are depicted three pot-bellied gaṇa-like figures, the one on the proper right side holding a staff (?) with a circular knob on top in his right hand while the one on the proper left holds an indistinct object *(cāmara?)* in his left hand. After burning the *daitya*-s, Siva left the battlefield along with the goddess, Nandi and his *bhūta-s/gaṇa*-s.[54] Regarding the prevalent symmetry that pervades the arrangement of the panels in the *upapiṭha*[55] as well as the general construction of the *ratha*, one might be tempted to relate panel no. 33 to the corresponding panel no. 7 on the proper left side, which has been tentatively identified as representing three *asura*-s doing penance. The Sanskrit tradition of the myth relates that those *daitya*-s who had remained faithful to Siva attained the chieftainship of the *gaṇa*-s.[56] The Tamil tradition further specifies that three *asura* chiefs, viz. Viruddha, Paramayoga and *Guṇabhara*, had refused to be seduced by Viṣṇu's *māya*. Siva made two of them his *dvarapala*-s while the third became the player of the *kuḍamuḻa* drum during the Lord's dance.[57] Thus, the three *gaṇa*-like figures may represent the three faithful *asura*-s who were saved from annihilation by the grace of Siva.

Proceeding to the western side or the right flank of the chariot, we notice on panel no. 36 an assembly of six standing deva-s arranged in two registers.[58] A four-armed Viṣṇu in the upper row, on the proper left, is the only securely identifiable figure. The other five gods, all two-armed and wearing *karaṇḍamukuṭa*, pay reverence to Viṣṇu with their left hands raised in *vandanamudra*. With regard to the corresponding panel on the opposite side (no. 4), which shows the demons being deluded by the Buddha, the present scene may be interpreted as Viṣṇu, accompanied by the other gods, returning to Kailasa after completing his task of deluding the *daitya*-s.[59]

The figure on the following *galapada* (no. 37) has been identified as Subrahmaṇya,[60] probably on account of *vajra* and a short lance (?) in the upper left and right hand respectively. Skanda (Karttikeya) is frequently mentioned in the myth,[61] in which he is, however, described as a young boy with six faces (Ṣaṇmukha) or riding on his peacock *vahana*.[62] Alternatively, the figure may be identified as Indra, who is represented in the *adhiṣṭhāna* niche (C) with two different kinds of *vajra* in his upper hands. However, as the head-dress is obviously *karaṇḍamukuta*, there is room for doubt about this identification.

---

54 *LP* 1.72.177-178.

55 Symmetrical pairing of panels with regard to the central axis of the *rathamaṇḍapa* can be noticed e.g. in nos. 6//34 (Bhiksatana//*Ṛsipatni*), nos. 13//27 (*[nidhi]//nidhi*), nos. 9//31 (Siva setting out to fight the *asura*-s//final destruction of the *asura*-s) and nos. 8//32 (Laksmi, the goddess who holds two lotuses//Sūrya [or Candra], the god who holds two lotuses).

56 *LP* 1.72.114-121; *SP* 2.5.10.44.

57 See Srinivasan 1987: 319, and Dayalan 1991: 446; both authors give detailed references to *Tevāram* hymns and *Kallāḍam*.

58 For panels nos. 36-39 see Mevissen 1994: pl. 8.

59 *SP* 2.5.6.2-3; *LP* 1.71.92-97.

60 L'Hernault 1987: 80.

61 E.g. *SP* 2.5.7.6; *LP* 1.71.121-130, 1.72.64.

62 *MP* 133.65.

The last recessed *kaṇṭha* panel (no. 38) contains six standing two-armed figures in two registers. Some of them, especially in the upper row, seem to be female. They may represent the wives of the *asura*-s who were also deluded by the heretic doctrines preached by Viṣṇu and Nārada.[63] One or two figures in the lower register appear to be *deva*-s. Though the lack of iconographic details makes it rather difficult to determine the exact meaning of the panel, the fact that it is symmetrically paired with the image of the Buddha on the opposite side (no. 2) implies a similar context, i.e. the delusion of the *asura*-s.

The four-armed figure on the last *galapāda* (no. 39) is difficult to identify. The bowl (*kapāla*?) in the lower left hand may point to Bhairava,[64] but no dog is shown and the figure does not seem to be naked. *Akṣamāla* (?) and a ladle (?) in his left hands as well as his hair style may point to Agni,[65] though the upraised and pointed hair differs from that of the Agni figure depicted in the *adhiṣṭhāna* niche (B) and implies some fierce form of Siva. The hair is very similar to that of the large Virabhadra sculpture in the nearby wall niche.[66] According to the myth two *ugramūrti*-s, viz. Virabhadra and Mahākāla, followed at the western side of the chariot[67] which coincides with the actual position of the panel. However, since the attributes are very eroded, one cannot be certain which form is represented here.

Even if the connection of the last mentioned panels to the Tripurāntaka myth is questionable, there can be no doubt that the majority of scenes is related to that myth (see table 1). Of the Sanskrit sources, both the *Liṅgapurāṇa* and the *Sivapurāṇa* yield the closest parallels, as does the Tamil version of the myth contained in the *Kallāḍam*. The prevalent differences may indicate that neither of these texts served as the sole source upon which the artistic rendering was primarily based. The arrangement of the scenes seems to have been determined by the architectural setting and layout, rather than by an intention to give a full and faithful chronological account of the myth. From table 1 it becomes evident that in the lateral zones I and V the preliminaries are depicted which had to be completed before Siva could go on stage and take up his duty. Zones II and IV show the actual campaign against the *asura*-s divided into an elaborate representation of the chariot drive (zone II; nos. 9, 11) and a rather inconspicuous and peculiarly reduced depiction of the final destruction of the *asura*-s (zone IV; nos. 30, 31). In zone III, the Tripurāntaka theme is confined to the peripheral sections representing events that happened in the course of the campaign (nos. 14-16, 24-26). The central part of this *bhadra* projection of the *rathamaṇḍapa* has large panels vividly depicting other *saṁhāramurti*-s of Siva (nos. 17, 18, 22) grouped around the serene image of

63 *SP* 2.5.5.55-57; *LP* 1.71.89-92. Nārada who is frequently mentioned, both in the Sanskrit and Tamil sources, as taking part in the delusion of the demons and their wives (for references see O'Flaherty 1976: 183-187) does not seem to have been depicted in the present sequence - at least not on the extant panels.

64 L'Hernault 1987: 80.

65 Mevissen 1994: table 1.

66 L'Hernault 1987: 87, ph.ico. 38; Mevissen 1993: 549.

67 *LP* 1.72.61-63 specifies that Virabhadra followed at the south-west and Mahākāla served at the north-western side of the chariot.

Dakṣiṇāmūrti (no. 20).[68] The stone blocks separating the different zones (nos. 5-6//34-35, 12-13//27-28) contain corresponding figures which are not related to the myth, but which are linked to each other, thus serving as a frame for the intervening panels. It is obvious that the whole arrangement follows a masterly executed concept, well integrated into the general architectural layout of the *rathamaṇḍapa* which was itself conceived as Tripurāntaka's cosmic chariot rendered in stone.[69]

If we compare the frieze at Darasuram with the one flanking the southern *sopānamārga* at Tañjavur, the only other known frieze depicting the myth that has been completed, we notice hardly any similarities but a number of differences. At Tañjavur, Tripurāntaka is depicted twice, standing *behind* and in the chariot,[70] while the Darasuram frieze has three representations of the god. The chariot is depicted once at Tañjavur and twice at Darasuram. There are two Buddha images at Tañjavur (standing and sitting)[71] but only one (sitting) at Darasuram. Moreover, the Buddha figures at Tañjavur are placed prominently at the southern end of the frieze, completely exposed to the sunlight and catching the eye of every visitor of the temple. At Darasuram, on the other hand, the Buddha figure is hidden in the shadow below the rearing stone horse (pl. 3) and visible only to the informed visitor. The main differences concern the other figures. At Tañjavur, crowds of *asura*-s[72] populate the panels and not a single *deva* is shown. At Darasuram, in contrast, the *deva* figures by far outnumber the *asura*-s. Thus, at Tañjavur, Siva is emphasized as the main and sole actor who independently carries out his task with ease.[73] At Darasuram, the presence of numerous *deva*-s functioning as Siva's assistants and playing major or minor roles in the constitution of his equipment gives the impression that the designer of the frieze wanted to assure the success of the campaign against the *asura*-s.

Since a certain political implication of the worship of Tripurāntaka can be deduced from the *Mayamata*, a work of the Coḷa period, it may be interesting to cast a quick glance at the historical background. Fundamental differences regarding the general political situation are revealed when examining the times in which both friezes were carved. In the early years of his reign, Rajaraja I (A.D. 985-1014) had successfully conquered a vast empire and subdued all his neighbours, especially the three kingdoms in the south, the Ceras, the Paṇḍyas and the Sinhalas. Of these, the Sinhalas were Buddhists, and the prominently shown figure of the Buddha acting on behalf of Siva in the myth may perhaps allude to the subjugation of the Sinhalas. When the *rathamaṇḍapa* at Darasuram was conceived by the *sthapati*-s of Rajaraja II some 150 years later, the political situation had completely changed. Large parts of the Coḷa empire of Rajaraja I had been lost in the meantime,

---

68 Complete symmetry seems to have been deliberately avoided by the artists as they set one of the *saṁhāramūrti*-s, viz. Andhakāsuravadhamūrti (no. 29), "out of place" in zone IV.

69 Cf. Mevissen 1993: 547-559.

70 Srinivasan 1987: pl. 1.

71 *Ibid.*: pl. 3.

72 *Ibid.*: pls. 2, 3.

73 Siva's role as the sole actor is further emphasized by the 32 life-size sculptures of Tripurāntaka in the second *tala* of the Tañjavur temple.

including Sri Lańka which "in the reign of Kulottuṅga I [A.D. 1070-1122] ... faded from Chola consciousness as a major source of profit, but not as a source of trouble".[74] The secluded position and hardly noticeable presence of the Buddha figure at Darasuram may again allude to the Sinhalese issue. During the early years of Rajaraja II's generally peaceful reign this issue must have been regarded as a minor problem, though it was only temporarily withdrawn from the political agenda. The trouble arose again in the later years of Rajaraja II when a civil war convulsed the Paṇḍya country, and he and his heir-apparent Rajadhiraja II were compelled to check the growing influence of the Sinhalas in the south. The war soon resolved itself into a continuation of the old struggle between the Coḷa and Sinhalese kingdoms. This ultimately led to the emergence of the Paṇḍyas as the dominant power in the south which in its renewed strength soon swallowed up both the kingdoms.[75]

It has been suggested elsewhere[76] that the erection of the *rathamaṇḍapa* at Darasuram in the form of Tripurantaka's chariot was perhaps a last great effort to regain control over the three southern enemies by invoking help from the Destroyer of the Three Cities who was to be worshipped "in order to bring about the death of an enemy".[77] "The inscriptions give clear indications of the increasing helplessness of the king [Rajaraja II] in the face of growing turbulence of his vassals ..."[78] The absence of any combat scenes in the Tripurantaka panels of the frieze, the peculiarly reduced and inconspicuous depiction of the final destruction of the *asura*-s, and the overemphasized representation of the chariot drive would thus further corroborate the assumption that the monument was erected to serve as the stage for the great warrior god whose future arrival was so eagerly awaited; from this stage he would take the offensive against the southern enemies. However, history tells us that the great Mahādeva obviously refused to mount this marvellous chariot, and none of the later *rathamaṇḍapa*-s shows any trace that hints at a similar conception as the chariot of Tripurāntaka. This outstanding structure at Darasuram, ingeniously merging mythological symbolism with architecture, thus bears witness to the imaginativeness of the *sthapati*-s employed at the court of Rajaraja II who even dared to pit their skills against Visvakarma himself.

Bibliography

ADICÉAM, Marguerite E. 1971 Les Images de Siva dans l'Inde du Sud: XI. - Pasupatamurti. *Arts Asiatiques* XXIV: 23-50.

BALASUBRAHMANYAM, S.R. 1979 *Later Chola Temples. Kulottunga I to Rajendra III (A.D. 1070-1280).* New Delhi.

BHP THE BHAGAVATA PURANA 1976 Part III. Translated by Ganesh Vasudeo Tagare. J.L. Shastri (ed.), Ancient Indian Tradition & Mythology 9. Delhi.

CHAMPAKALAKSHMI, R. 1973 New Light on the Cola Frescoes of Tanjore. *Journal of Indian History.* Golden Jubilee Volume. Trivandrum: 349-359.

74 Spencer 1983: 65.
75 Nilakanta Sastri 1955: 354, 366.
76 Mevissen 1993: 558.
77 *Mayamata* 36.67a; tr. Dagens 1985: 348.
78 Nilakanta Sastri, 1955: 352.

DAYALAN, D. 1991 Hymns of Nayanmars and the Tripurantaka Episode in Big Temple, Thanjavur. C. Marghabandhu, K.S. Ramachandran, A.P. Sagar & D.K. Sinha (eds.), *Indian Archaeological Heritage* (Shri K.V. Soundara Rajan Festschrift), Vol. I. Delhi: 443-447.

EKAMBARANATHAN, A. 1985 The Concept of Tripurantaka and Rajaraja I. *Tamil Civilization* 3, 2&3. Thanjavur: 112-115.

GOPINATHA RAO, T.A. 1914-16 *Elements of Hindu Iconography.* 2 vols. in 4 pts. Madras. Repr. New York 1968.

KRAMRISCH, Stella 1946 *The Hindu Temple.* 2 Vols. Calcutta. Reprint Delhi 1976. 1981 The Presence of Siva. Princeton.

KRISHNA SASTRI, H. 1916 *South-Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses.* Madras. Reprint New Delhi 1986.

L'HERNAULT, Francoise, avec des collaborations de P.R. Srinivasan et de Jacques Dumarcay 1987 *Darasuram: Epigraphical Study, Étude Architecturale, Étude Iconographique.* Paris.

LP THE LIṄGA PURANA 1973 Part I. Translated by A Board of Scholars. Ancient Indian Tradition & Mythology 5. Delhi.

MAYAMATA 1985 Bruno Dagens (transl.), *Mayamata (an Indian treatise on housing, architecture and iconography).* New Delhi.

MBh THE MAHABHARATA 1927-32 Translated into English prose by Pratap Chandra Roy. 11 vols. Calcutta.

MEVISSEN, GERD J.R. 1993 Mythology Meets Architecture: The Stone Chariot at Darasuram. A.J. Gail & G.J.R. Mevissen (eds.), *South Asian Archaeology 1991.* Stuttgart: 539-560.

1994 An Interesting Frieze at Darasuram. N. Balbir & J.K. Bautze (eds.), *Prof. Dr. Klaus Bruhn Felicitation Volume. (Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik* 19). Reinbek. in press The Suggestion of Movement - A Contribution to the Study of Chariot-shaped Structures in Indian Temple Architecture. Debala Mitra & Gouriswar Bhattacharya (eds.), *N.G. Majumdar Commemoration Volume.*

MP THE MATSYAMAHAPURANAM 1983 Text in Devanagari, Translation & Notes in English. Arranged by Nag Sharan Singh. 2 Parts. Delhi.

MUKHOPADHYAYA, Kumari Bhakti Sudha 1951 The Tripura Episode in Sanskrit Literature. *Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute* VIII, 4: 371-395.

NILAKANTA SASTRI, K.A. 1955 *The Colas.* Second Edition, Madras. O'FLAHERTY, Wendy Doniger 1975 *Hindu Myths.* Harmondsworth. Wendy Doniger 1976 *The Origin of Evil in Hindu Mythology.* Berkeley-Los Angeles-London.

PP THE PADMA PURANA 1990 Part IV. Translated by N.A. Deshpande. Ancient Indian Tradition & Mythology 42. Delhi. Rea, Alexander 1909 *Pallava Architecture.* Archaeological Survey of India, New Imperial Series 34, Southern India 11. Reprint Varanasi 1970.

SAUP SAURAPURANA 1908 Wilhelm Jahn, *Das Saurapuranam - Ein Kompendium spaetindischer Kulturgeschichte und des Sivaismus.* Strassburg. Sircar, D.C. 1965 *Indian Epigraphy.* Delhi.

SIVARAMAMURTI, C. 1960 *The Chola Temples: Thañjavur, Gaṅgaikondacholapuram & Darasuram.* 1st edition. New Delhi.

SMITH, DAVID 1993 Chidambaram. George Michell (ed.), *Temple Towns of Tamil Nadu.* Marg Publications. Bombay: 58-75.

SP THE SIVA PURANA 1970 Part II. Translated by A Board of Scholars. Ancient Indian Tradition & Mythology 2. Delhi.

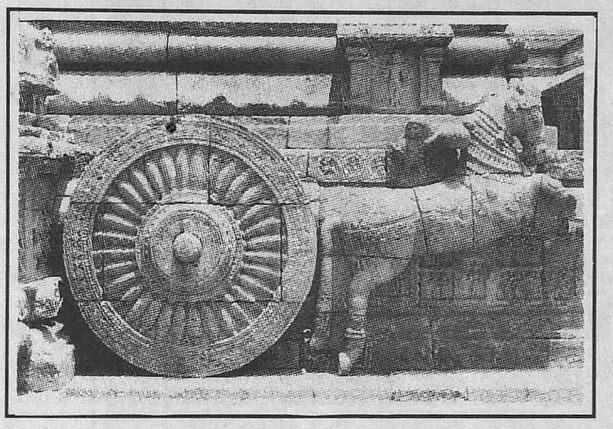
SPENCER, George W. 1983 *The Politics of Expansion: The Chola Conquest of Sri Lanka and Sri Vijaya.* Madras.

SRINIVASAN, K.R. 1948 The Last of the Great Cola Temples. *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art* XVI: 11-33. 1983 Colas of Tañjavur: Phase II, III. M.W. Meister (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Indian*

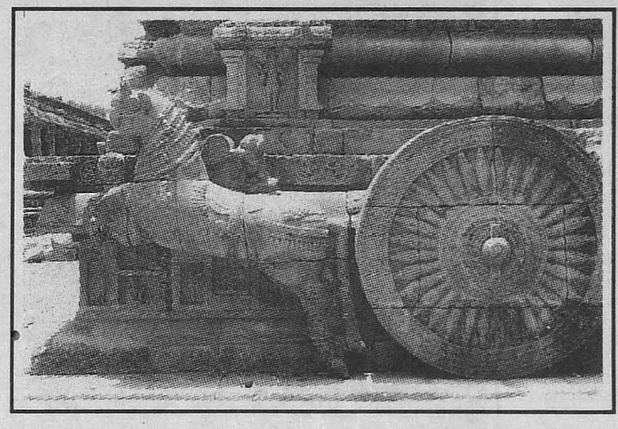
Temple Architecture. Vol. I: South India, Part 1: Lower Dravidadesa. Delhi: 222-260, 288-329. 1987 An Interesting Sculpture In Tanjavur. M.S. Nagaraja Rao (ed.), *Kusumañjali New Interpretation of Indian Art & Culture* (Sh. C. Sivaramamurti Commemoration Volume). Vol. II. Delhi: 315-321.

STUTLEY, Margaret and James 1977 *A Dictionary of Hinduism.* London and Henley.

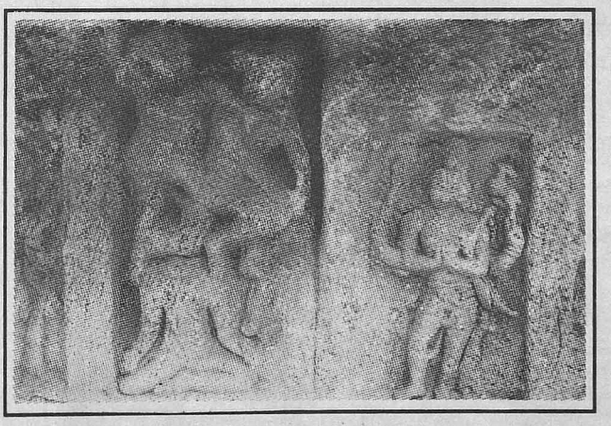
TRIPATHI, Gaya Charan 1984 The Legend of the Destruction of Tripura and its Vedic Origin. S.D. Joshi (ed.), *Amrtadhara - Prof. R.N. Dandekar Felicitation Volume.* Delhi: 445-455.



Darasuram, rathamandapa (west), niche (G) with Sūrya (above); panels nos. 35-39 (below). Photo: Author.



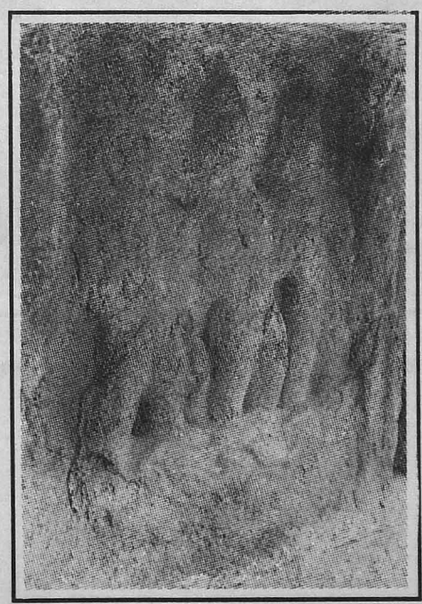
Darasuram, rathamandapa (east), niche (A) with Candra (above); panels nos. 1-5 (below). Photo: Author.



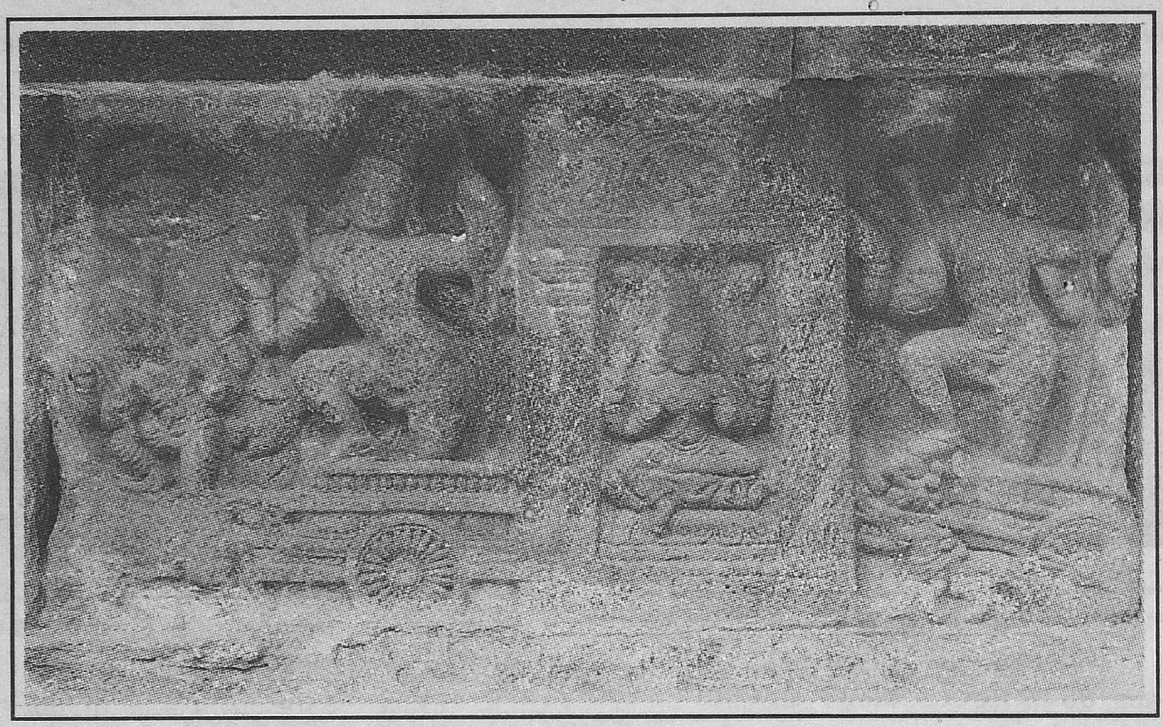
Darasuram, rathamandapa, panels no. 31 (Defeated Asuras) and no. 30 (Tripurantaka). Photo: Author.



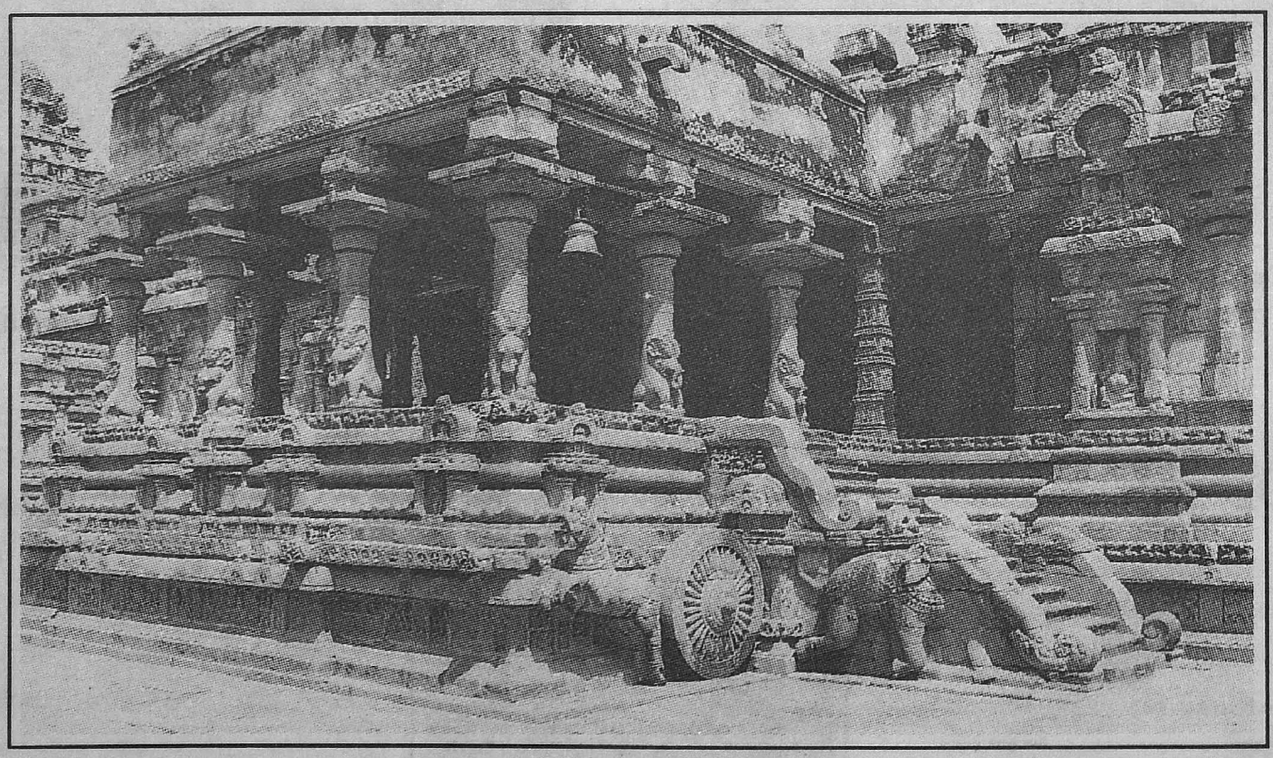
Darasuram, rathamandapa, panels no. 2 (Buddha) and no. 1 (Brahma). Photo: Author.



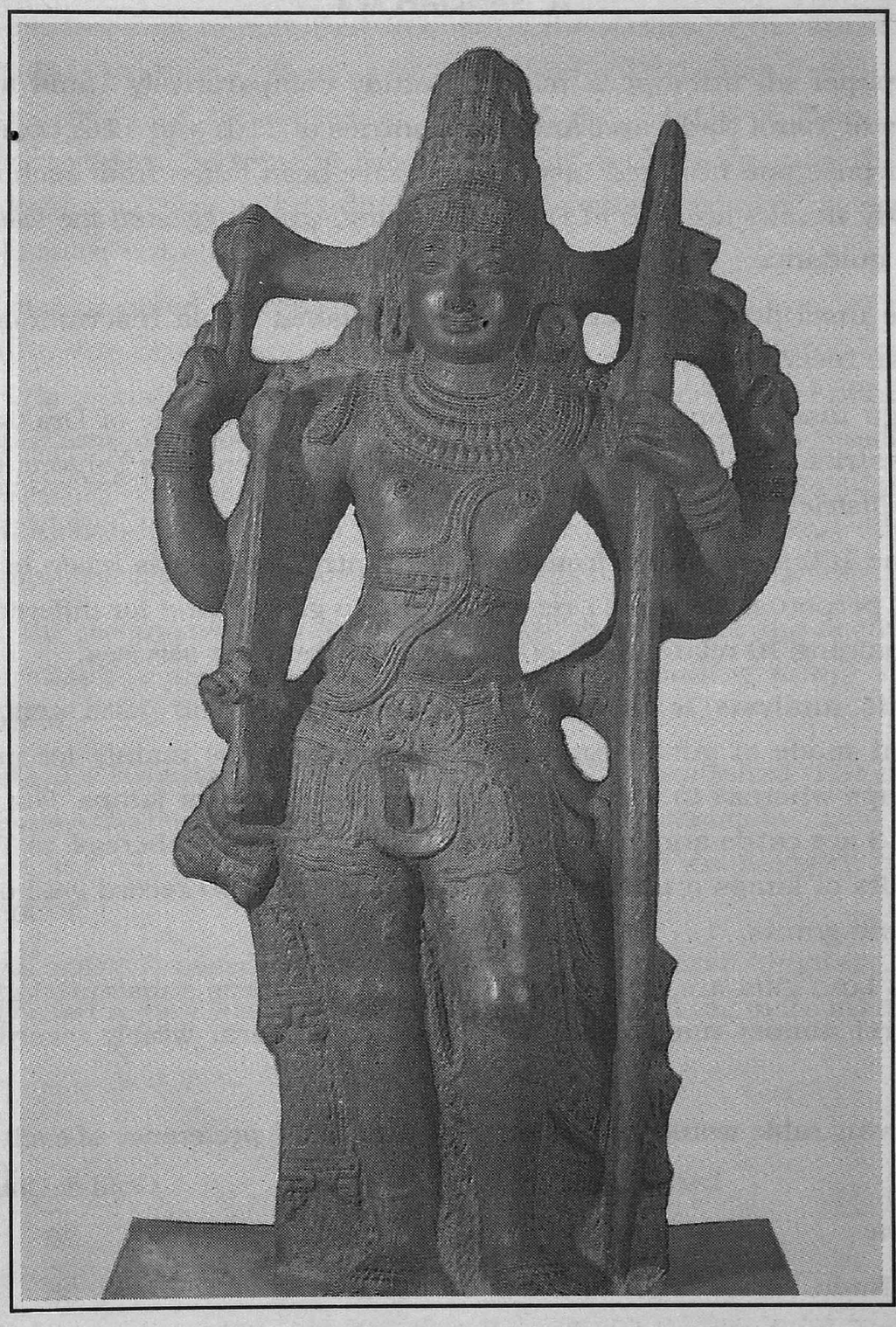
Darasuram, rathamandapa, panel no. 7 (Asuras doing penance). Photo: Author.



Darasuram, rathamandapa, panels no. 11 (Tripurantaka), no. 10 (Sarasvati) and no. 9 (Tripurantaka). Photo: Author.



Darasuram, rathamandapa, general view from south-est. Photo: Author.



Tripurāntaka, from Airavatesvara temple, Darasuram, now in the Tanjore Art Gallery
Photo: R. Nagaswamy

Land Gifts In Andhra and Tamil Countries A Comparative Study

A. Seshadri M.A.,

In this paper an attempt is made to study comparatively Tamil and Telugu inscriptions of Tamil Nadu and Andhra countries of 11th and 12th centuries. A.D. For this purpose one hundred inscriptions have been taken from each region and language. My thanks are due to Dr. Nagaswamy, who suggested me this topic and also for his guidance.

All these inscriptions under study are published Chola Inscriptions found in South Indian Inscriptions vols. 4, 5, and 6.

All Telugu inscriptions come from the Bhimeswara temple of Draksharama in Godavari District. The Tamil inscriptions have been taken from Tanjore, Chingleput & Madurai Districts.

Out of the 100 inscriptions from Telugu country, 69 records relate to gifts made for burning perpetual lamps, 21 records relate to gift of land for different services, and the remaining 10 relate to gift of gold or coins for other services.

From this analysis it is seen that in the 11th and 12th centuries, the predominant mode of gift in Andhra country was (69%) mainly for purposes of burning lamps whereas in the Tamil country (33%) were for lamps. Out of 69 gifts for lamps, 43 are cattle and 26 are gold or coins in Andhra whereas, in Tamil Nadu out of 33 gifts of lamps a total of 8 relate to cattle and 20 record gold or coin and the rest 5 land grants.

So far as land gifts are concerned, Tamil Nadu records substantial gifts of land (57 numbers) almost more than twice that of Andhra, which records only 21 numbers.

The following table would give a better picture of the preference of each region.

	Land Gifts	Cattle Gifts	Gold & Coins
Andhra	21	43	36
Tamil Nadu	57	8	35

From this it is abundantly clear, that Andhra had more cattle, but Tamil Nadu had more cultivable land gifted to the temples. So far as gold or currency is concerned, both the regions are almost equal, 36 in Andhra and 35 in Tamil Nadu. Does this mean, that Andhra was very rich in cattle wealth and that Tamil Nadu had brought under cultivation a vast area?

The other point of enquiry is the detailed way in which the boundaries of the gifted lands are recorded in Tamil Nadu and Andhra. We have seen that land grants were far less in Andhra than in Tamil Nadu. Out of 21 gifts, boundaries are

mentioned only in five records. In Tamil Nadu, a total of 57 land grants are recorded and as many as 32 records detail the boundaries which reveals a highly organized and efficient land survey with an emphasis on cultivable lands and also accurate documentation in village records. It also seems that more lands were under cultivation in Tamil Nadu at that period, on the other hand Tamil Nadu seems to be poor in cattle wealth.

It is also interesting to note that frequently the names of the sub-divisions are also changed, indicating a resurvey in Tamil Nadu. There has been vigorous and frequent resurveys of territories in Tamil Nadu, which is found lacking in Andhradesa. Incidentally some of the Tamil Nadu records mention the division of fields into *kannaru, caturam* and different canals which reveal a systematic layout of cultivable lands not noticed in Andhra.

It must also be noted that the Tamil Nadu records mention over 20 different tax levied both by the central and village authorities such as *antarayam, kadamai, kudimai, vetti, amanci, vacalviniyokam* and the like, whereas in Andhra, only one tax namely *antarayam* - local levy, is noticed and that too only in 3 records. It may mean, that, tax burden on Tamil people was more than Andhras or there was more surplus production in Tamil Nadu than in Andhra. May be the large administrative machinery and the efficiency of administration called for greater levies?

Further, the records of Tamil Nadu region exhibit a mature and accurate drafting in deeds probably a sign of greater experience in handling public revenue and administration.

Regarding the language of the records, it may be mentioned that in Telugu 36 records mention the gift both in Sanskrit and Telugu, whereas in Tamil Nadu, Tamil takes the leading role, which shows that the influence of the Sanskrit language was more in Andhra.

The above study is based on 100 inscriptions only in each language. The picture we get, may slightly vary when we enlarge the study by taking more inscriptions.

Tamil Literary Genre and Nāyaka Political Dynamics

Prof. T.V. Kuppuswami

The 'State' is a central concept in historical interpretation, particularly Marxist. 'State' had traditionally been regarded as an institution or set of institutions. Can the 'State' once established be taken to have 'interests and purposes' independent of those of any socio-economic Class?'[1] As an institution the 'State' is separate from the dominant class, theoretically. The 'State's' interest is often found to be identical with its 'Clan interest' and to that extent subordinate to 'External forces'. the 'State' though separate from society also ignores that possibility. Tamilakam has a few instances to offer in the context. This Paper seeks to present them on the strength of literary evidences. (Tamil)

The major Nāyak states of Tamiḷakam with their focal centres at Ceṇji, Tanjāvūr and Madurai (Tirucciṟāpaḷḷi) had differing life-spans, developmental patterns, geo-ecological environments etc. Consequently they shared distinct forms of historical experience. Yet, they shared common cultural-dynamics. The period A.D. 1565 to 1761 had not been much in favour with the earlier historians. Later historians, however had made gallant efforts to bring to light the latent history.[2]

Source materials for constructing a legitimate history of the period are available in plenty. Their perusal demands mastery over Tamil, Telugu, Sanskrit, Portuguese

---

1 K. Marx : *The eighteenth Brumaire of Louis-Bonaparte* Marx and Engels. Pp 94, 179, Ref. 169 ff.

2 Susan Bayly : *Saints, Goddesses and Kings: Muslims and Christians in South-Indian Society 1700 to 1900* (Cambridge. 1989) Arjun Appadorai and Carol Appadorai Brecken-ridge *The South-Indian temple Authority, honour and Re-distribution,* (CIS (N.s)10 1976 Pp 187-211) Nocholas B. Dirks: *The pasts of a Pālayakkārar Ethno-history of a South-Indian little king.* (J.A.S. 41. 1982). Pp 655 - 83, — *Political authority and structural change in early South-Indian history* (IESHR. 13 (1976) Pp 127 - 157. Noboru Karashima : *Vijayanagar rule in the lower-Kāvēri valley during the 15th and 16th century. Its changing aspect as seen in Srirengam-inscriptions.* (Paper, 32nd Meeting of the International Congress of Asian and North African Studies. Hamburg. 1986) — *Nāyaka rule in North and South-Arcot districts in South-India during the Sixteenth century.* (Acta Asiatica. Tokyo. 48. (1985) p 1 to 25. David Ludden : *Peasant history in South-India* (Princeton. 1985). — *Agrarian organisation in Tinnevélly-District. 800 to 1900 A.D.* (Ph.D, dissertation, University of Pennsylvania. 1978) George Michell : *"Courtly architecture under the Nayāks"* (South Asian 'Studies 7, 1991) Pp 143 - 160. R, Nagaswamy : *Tamil Coins - a study* (Madras, 1981) Pamela Price : *Competition and conflict in Hindu Polity.c. 1550 - 1750. The integration and fragmentation of Tamil and Andhra kingdoms.* (Paper presented at the 8th European Conference on Modern South-Asian Studies. 1983). Burton Stein : *Vijayanagara* (The new Cambridge - History of India. 12. Cambridge, 1989). — *Peasant-state and society in Medivel South-India.* (Delhi 1980) — *'Circulation and Historical - geography of the Tamil Country! (J.A.S. 19 (1960)* Pp 163 - 176). T.V. Kuppuswami ; *Carnatic music and the Tamils* (Kalinga Publications, New Delhi. 1992) Chapters. T.V. Kuppuswami and T.K. Venkata subramanian : *Rhythm in Historical Cognition.* Kalinga Publications, New-Delhi.1993. T.K. Venkatasubramanian: *History of Tinnevelly* PhD. Thesis. University of, Madras. 1977. Unpublished

and Italian. The rich diversity of Source-materials in Indian and European languages pose a methodological problem. This difficulty is perhaps the reason for a variety of view-points that flood the field. This Paper presents few literary sources in Tamil. These do not seem to have been made much use of; either they have not been consulted or utilised in a restricted way. There is much received wisdom in the domain and the information now presented is by way of supplement — The need and quest for additional information justify the attempt. The reconstruction of the 'Inner world' pertaining to the Nāyak yet remains a pioneering effort.

II

Maṇavai Tiruveṅkatamutatyān mega Viḍu Tūtu' is a Dūta-Kāvya in Tamil. A lady sends love message to God Tiruvéṅkatanāta of Maṇavai. Name of the author is not known though the Text is complete.[1] The 'Cloud Messenger' is fully qualified for undertaking the job and the Poem makes references to Vaishṇavite shrines Srirangam, Anbil, Kuṭantai, Tenpuliyūr, Vaikuṇta Viṇṇagaram, Veḷḷārai, Nāgai (all in the Cōḷa zone); Anantapuri, Vāṭṭāṟu, Puḷiyaṅkuḍi, Tānka, Kuṟunkuti, (all in Pāṇḍya and Cēra zones) ; and Tiruvéṅkatam of Toṇḍainādu. Festivals are also described in which Aḷakar Nambi and Tirumālirumcōlai Āḷvān along with their Nāyaka ruler of southern territory (?) participated. Evidently, the author must be a Sanskrit scholar (Vaishṇava) well versed in sacred lore. The author admires Āṇḍāḷ (Tiruppāvai) and Nammāḷār. Considering the clues provided by expressions like *'Tiruvéṅkatamutaiyān teerā vinai teertān eḷuttu'* and *'Periya Nambi Ayyengar tiruvatikaḷé caraṇam'*, Palaniappa Pillai the editor, infers that the author is to be identified with the Vaishṇava Āçāryar cited in another Tamil work *'Mukkūdar Aḷakar Palḷu Prabandam'* [2]. The contemporaneity of Tūtu with Mukkūdar Aḷakar Palḷu Prabandam is incidentally established.

Compared with Dūta-Kāvyas (Sanskrit), Tūṭu-Prabandams in the Tamil language like Vaṇdu-Viṭu-tūṭu, Nārai Viṭu tūṭu, ḳilḷai viṭu tūṭu, Méga viṭu tūtu etc., have the theme *'Vipralamba'* — lovers pining in separation attempt to send animate and inanimate messengers to their beloved. Such works are amorous in texture since they recall past experiences. Necessarily, they are secular and aim at mundane pleasure.

To seekers of historical truth (wisdom) Maṇavai-Tūtu supplies enough information. Maṇavai is easily located as a settlement within the bounds of the Tirunelvéli district, Tamilnadu.[3] The Talapurāṇam of Tirunelvéli informs that

---

1 *A Triennial catalogue of Mss* (1922 - 23 to 1924 - 25) Vol. V. Part II Tamil) P. 1403. Transcribed in 1923 - 24 from a manuscript of Vānamāmalai Sri Reṅgarāmānujeswāmi (Jeer) Vānamāmalai mutt of Nāṅgunēri. Tinnevelly district. Tamilnadu. Text edited by T.P. Palaniappa Pillai. (S.V.O. Institute, Tiruppati).

2 *"Karutieṇ eḷuttuṇmai Periyanambiyaikkélāttuttar śevi Puṟṟenevé kōttāl vettuvān (V. Mukkūdaṟ Aḷakar Palḷu) "Arulperum tarumanīti Śattūr* in Periya nambi Aiyyengār *Vāḷavé kūvoi kuyilé'* (Ibid. V. 30)

3 *"Potiyavaraiyinan Porunai ārṟināna Śeevalava nāttunān Maṅavai puriyān" (Prabanda nāyakan. Daśāṅkam)*

Tirunelvéli proper itself was earlier known as Maṇavai.[1] Tirunelvéli proper has no imposing Vaishṇava shrine. Tirunelvéli is located in 'Nimba-nādu' and the shrine referred in the Tūtu is in 'Śeevalava nādu. Phonetic similarity between Seevalava nādu and 'Śeevalappéri' made some scholars identify Maṇavai with Śeevalappéri. But this conjecture, later on had been proved to be erroneous.

A reference to Śeevalava-nādu (Śeevalava-nannādu) in the Tamil prabandam *Mukkūdaṛ Paḷḷu* commands more attention. This Work refers to the northern area adjacent to river Tāmiraparṇi (Poruṇai) as 'Āśūr - Vaḷanādu' and the southern area as 'Śeevalamaṅkai tenkarai nādu'.[2] Epigraphical records supply the place name 'Śeevallaba maṅgalam'. is in Śeevalanādu.[3] On the basis of such evidences 'Maṇavai' had been identified with 'Krishṇāpuram' in Tirunelvéli Taluk, Tirunelvéli district, Tamilnadu.[4]

Indian Antiquary (XLV of 1916) indicates the existence of two 'Krishṇāpurams'; one on the west (Kadayam Krishṇāpuram) and another on the east. (Maṇavai). Maṇavai (Krishṇāpuram) referred to in the Tūtu is situated on the Tiruccendūr road, eight kilometers from Pāḷyamkōṭṭai where a striking temple stands unto this day almost isolated in a dreary waste if red soil and palmyras. As H.R. Pate (1917) rightly remarks "Closer inspection reveals a small village for which 'deserted' is the obvious epithet and it is impossible to believe that it was for this scanty band of inhabitants that Krishṇappa Nāyakan of Madurai founded this great temple."[5]

Mégavidu Tūtu Prabanda praises the sacredness of the Lord of the shrine and places the shrine on a par with the temple of Tiruppati (Tiruvéṅkatam)[6] Krishṇappa Nāyaka of madurai (A.D. 1564 to 1572) could have changed the original name 'Maṇavai' to 'Krishṇāpuram' to gain immortal fame. One of the inscriptions in the Sanctom sanctorum of the temple of Maṇavai refers to the reign period of Srireṅgadéva Mahārāya, the Vijayanagar king as Śaka 1499 Éśvara Āṇdu.[7] Other

---

1 *"Tuṇaiviyōdu Kailaivarai idam polintattūya tamiḻ Nelvéli yemakkēmenru ... ... Maṇavai nakar muḻutukaṇda, Rāmaneti vaḻutiyiru tāḻinaiyai vaṇakkam śeyvōm" (Tirunelvéli Talapurānam. 1625)* (Kadavuḻ vāḻtu pahuti)
"Kavuritanai maṇam purinta kalyāṇapatiyiranda" (Nakara Śarukkam. Stanza. 7)

2 Mukkūdar Paḷḷu. (A.D. 1676 - 1682)
Śeevalappéri = Mukkūdal.
"Kāvalaran dévarai mun kaitolutu pinnarumen
āvalihālé yalakarāśūr vaḷanādum
Śeevalanannādumiśai témturaikkappannaittamiḻ
yévelarum paḷḷiyavar vantaḍiyatu śolvéné" (Mukkūdaṛ Paḷḷu. 5)

3 Inscription at Maṇappataivīdu, Munteeśvaram udaiyār temple: 442 of 1909, 449 of 1909, 451 of 1909 Karumāṇickam\téval temple Inscription 422 of 1906.

4 T.P. Palaniappa Pillai :Maṇavai Tiruvéṅkatamutaiyān ... Op., cit. P. 17

5 The presiding deity at the temple of Krishṇāpuram is Tiruvéṅkatamutaiyān. (Epigraphia Indica IX. 52) pp 329 - 344. Also (Indian Antiquary XLV of May 1916) Pp 89-90.

6 H.R. Pate : *Madras District Gazatteers. Tinnevelly.* Vol I (Madras 1917) p. 474

7 *"Niṛṛum iruntum kitantunilai pérāki*
eṇṛum payilum iyaltakappōṛkuṇṛil
varu Véṅkataṭṭūraiyumaya - vitu - ten
Tiruvéṅkatamena ṭṭérntu, teruvōṅka etc.
(Maṇavai Tiruvénkatamutaiyan Mégavitu tūtu) Ll 72-74.

inscriptions of the series refer to Krishṇappa Nāyaka and his son Vīrappa.[1] The inscription reads "During the reign of Vīra-Śadāsiva Rāya, Krishṇappa Nāyaka of Kāśyapa gōtra gifts the following to the shrine of Tiruvéṇkatanāta — Ariyakuḷam, Tiruvéṇkatanallūr alias Puṭṭanéri, Poṭṭaikkulam, Kōtikkuḷam, Kūṭṭukkāl, Śirāmāṅkuḷam and some land at Āḷikkudi — all acquired by him in battle in Tiruvadi déśam"[2] Tiruvadidéśa in which these villages are situated had been received by Viswanāta Nāyaka as *amaranāyakam* from Rāmarājar Ayyan.[3] R. Sathyanātha Iyer feels that the Town should have been in existence earlier. Perhaps Krishṇappa Nāyaka improved it (Maṇavai) and christened it as Krishṇāpuram.[4]

The Krishṇāpuram plates of Śadāśiva dated 1567 praises Krishṇappa Nāyaka and describes him as 'One who knew the truth about duty'.[5] An inscription of Śadāśiva dated 1571 is a gift for the merit of the Nāyak.[6] An inscription of 1570 refers to Ariyanāta as the agent of Viśwanāta Nāyaka, Krishṇappa Nāyaka and Vīrappa Nāyaka.[7] Judged from the evidences Krishṇappa Nāyaka's relationship with Vijayanagar must have been cordial. Vīrappa Nāyaka too must have continued the policy of loyalty and submission.[8] The Śérmādevi inscription of Srireṅga mentions Vīrappa as a feudetory.[9] Probably, the central control had not been tight and even then the loyalty of Vīrappa to the parent power is patent.

The nature of early Nāyak settlements are well brought out by Karashima and David Ludden.[10] The unsettled character of the early migrant Nāyaks and the

---

1 16 of 1912 (Right-side wall)

17 of 1912 (Left-side wall)

2 17 of 1912 refers to gifts to the temple by Vīrappa Nāyaka son of Krishnappa Nāyaka. Krishṇappa Nāyaka (1564 to 1572) Vīrappa Nāyaka. (1572 to 1595)

3 Cf : Krishṇāpuram Plates. (epigraphia Indica)

4 *M.E.R.* 17 of 1912. p. 76

5 R. Sathyanatha Iyer : *History of the Nāyakas of Madura.* (University of Madras. 1980) Pp 52-53 Pages 31, 38, 57, 64, 89 furnish information about Tiruvadi country. Travancore Archaeological Series : 27

6 E.I. IX P. 328 - 42 Dated 1567 - Sanskrit in Nagari - granted at the request of Krishṇappa Nāyaka. Records number of gifts to the Tiruvéṅkatanāta temple.

7 403 of 1912 Tamil S.S. 1493. Kshaya (1566) Dévikāpuram - Śadāśiva Mahārāya - A damaged and incomplete record of a gift for the merit of Krishṇappa Nāyaka and others.

8 478 of 1916 : Tamil. S.S. 1492. Kali Āndu 745 Āni 30, Pāppāṅkuti (Ambāsamudram, Tinnevelly) Ariyānayanār Mudaliar and Srikāryam Rāmappa- Nāyaka; the agents of Viswanāta Nāyaka, Krishnappa Nāyaka and Vīrappa Nāyaka who were themselves *the agents of Mahāmandaléśvara Rāmarāja Tirumāl raja* appointed a certain Karumukiḷān Kéralāditya déva as the hereditary accountant in the temple of Pāppāṅkuti alias Ādittavanman caturvédi maṅgalam. The Mrtyūnjeya manuscripts do mention that Ariyaṅāta was Daḷavōi and Pradāni during successive reigns till A.D. 1600. This is not admitted by many scholars. Cf : *Indian Antiguary* (1916) P. 85 J.H. Nelson : *The Madura Country* (1868)

9 Daḷavōi Agrahāram Plates (Véṅkata I) *E.I. XII* Pp 159 - 87.

10 E.I. A II 187 of 1895. Inscriptions dated 1594 Granta and Tamiḷ - Śérmādévi (Ambāsamudram Taluk Tinnevélly Dt.) Srireṅgan Magādéva - rāya mentions viswanāta, Krishṇappa and Vīrappa as feudatories. Krishṇāpuram Inscription (16 of 1912) mentions Srireṅga. In Śérmādévi inscription Vīrappa calls himself as Srireṅga's agent. (663 of 1916).

skirmishes for grasping resources amongst them and other military groups have been highlighted by them. In the early phase few Nāyak lineages appear associated with a specific place over an exthe ea defining niches for each lineage begins. Evidences suggest that they hav existed before the Śaṅgama dynasty gains re-birth in the fourteenth century. The vijayanagar rulers define their relationships with the Vaḍugas of the Tirunelvéli district.[1]

Attempts have also been madrended period of time. It is only from the early sixteenth century, theces pros ofe for defining the relationships of the Nāyaks with their overlords. the Kākatīya ruler Pratāparudra "summoned the Padmanāyakas, greeted them, declarede their worthiness for leadership and assigned one man to each strong-hold and gave them wealth, gold, vehicles, palanquins and silk cloth. In addition, he gave them umbrellas, flywhisks, processional banners and 'birudas' for their heroic deeds."[2] Taking these facts into consideration Nicholas Dirks observes that the Nāyaka inscriptions in Tamiḷakam commence and express what has been termed the Nāyaks' 'Worshipful submission' in the face of Vijayanagar rulers, is to be seen as 'at least in part derived from Kākatīya political vocabulary.'[3] Therefore, he commends a reappraisal of the knowledge about the relationships between the Nāyaks and the Rāyas of Vijayanagar.

The transition from the fifteenth to the early sixteenth century marks further development of Nāyaka establishment in Tamilnadu. Madurai Nāyaks survive from 1530's to 1730's. Nāgama Nāyaka is an adventurer who succeeds through the political shrewdness of his son Viśwanāta. The division of the kingdom into seventy-two Pāḷayams reminds us of the Kākatīya model of Pratāparudra.[4] R. Sathyanatha Iyer writes that Viśwanāta's presence at Madurai during the 1530's had been more frequent than in 1540's.[5] During the interval the structure of power must have been derived from Vijayanagara state. What is surprising is that the 'inducted structure' is distinct from the structure at the source.[6] Nāyaka Kingship seems to have departed from the parent political form.

This comparison is more a descriptive exercise, and has no claims to a 'Structural analysis' of the State. They pertain to relationships which account for the forms and development of trajectory of different social and political institutions. Descriptions enable us to guage the effects of the processes. It helps the historian to look for and locate the relationships underlying the political and cultural evolution

---

1 Noboru Karashima : *Nāyaka rule in north and south Arcot districts in South-India during the sixteenth century* (1985) Pp 5 - 6. Venkata Rahottam : *Temples, Kings and warriors Role of warrior chieftains in the Medieval Tamil country.* (1987) David Ludden : *Peasant history in South-India.* (1985) p. 51

2 Cynthia Talbot : *Master and Servant : Bonds of allegiance in Medieval Andhra* (1986) Pp 38-39. Talbot cites Pratāparudraçaritam. (déva çaritamu)

3 Ibid

4 Nicholas B. Dirks : *The pasts of a Pālyakkārar* Op., cit. p. 678.

5 Pratāparudra had divided his kingdom among seventy-seven Padmanāyakas. (Supra. Fn 25)

6 R. Sathyanatha Iyer : *History of the Nāyaks of Madura* op., cit Ch. II

of a given social - formation. Description provides an analytical and functional model. The political economy of any given set of relations is often masked by forms of cultural praxies specific to each individual cultural area. In the present context, for instance (Kākatīya-Nāyak relationships) the 'Kākatīya political vocabulary' implies 'Puṇyam' (merit) stemming from an endowment.

The *'Mégaviṭu tūtu'* provides instance of cultural praxis. The annual Brahmōtśavam to the Lord at Maṇavai is a replica to what is observed at Tiruppati in honour of Lord Veṅkatéśvara. Vaikānaśa Āgama injunctions govern the ritualistic aspect of the festival. The love-lorn lady who sends the message refers to the procession of the Lord on the fifth day of the Festival (in the Tamil month Purṭṭāśi) The Icon is taken round the streets with all pomp and grandeur, (mounted on Eagle - Garudā) Enjoying the splendour, the love-lorn lady confesses that she fell in love with the Lord.[1] The poem also describes in detail the processions of the Lord mounted on horse, elephant and other divine vehicles. (Vāhana)

India is a land of saints and shrines, festivals (Utśavas) and rituals. (Āgamas). Religion is the very frame-work of life which inspires, and a keen observer like Sylvain Levi never hesitated to record the impression "In India humanity is steeped in divinity and by whatever name he worships Him, each man sees God every minute of his life; even the humblest are not cut off." Creation of Indian temple is the result of man's urge to express himself or give expression to his 'divine self.' Even when the human body (Temple) is fully endowed, one has to search for the imperciptible soul — the God or the presiding deity whose abode is in the interior of the temple. A casual visitor to a temple derives spectacular gratification *(Sahṛidayānanda)* while a select few visualise God *(Brahmānanda).*

Grouping on classifying cults which believe in a bewildering diversity of Gods of the Hindu pentheon is possible. They accept the theoretical norms of the Vēdas as the absolute authority. The Hindu temple expresses the individual character of the Védic rites. The presiding deity (God) dwells in it in human fashion in an image or symbol. The priest is an intermediary between god and the devotee. He provides God with the needs of daily life by *'Upaçāras'*. Great temples have been built with an eye on temple amenities such as bathing-tanks, kitchen, rest-halls (maṇtapas), vāhanas (Vehicles) etc. The sequence of dynasties that ruled South-India) expanded the structural formation of the temple to suit the growth of the temple ritual. Mortals are associated with celestial Gods and Goddesses whose glories are rooted

---

1 *"Tenmarai Véntan sentu ḷōippuntaman*
Munmāl valamkaṇda mūtaṛivōr nanmaitaru
Nambi vaiṇavarkaḷ Nambi alakiya
namikulattoṇdan nayantétta .....
..... "Śivikaiyum ponnunértirukkurapaṇitta .....
..... Meyyuntu Mérwaippōl mannuṇittirakūta monṛu
Śeyyuntalamarintu śeyṭuhantōn Vaikuṇtanāyan
aruḷ pōṛ ṛumatiyān nāpālan
tūya caraṇam to ḷutu iraiṇça śeṇṛān"
(Maṇavai Tiruvéṇkatamutaiyān Tiru Ulā)

in their 'Leelas' (divine sports) and Purāṇic stories and thus 'far from man ran a godly race.'

Hindu cosmology is organised through transformations that are continuous and flowing. Deities of black-stone in Tamilnadu are housed in Garbagraha (Sanctum sanctorum). Irrespective of the size and wealth of the temple, the popularity of the deity encompases the cosmos. It suggests that the deity simultaneously exists everywhere. The thickness, solidarity, impermeability and seamlessness of stone approximates the 'density of the cosmos'. Density of holistic encampassment is the epistemic index of cosmic hierarchy. "The emphasis on the thickness and multiplexity in the constitution of the cosmos echoes the importance of density and quality in human relationships of the every day."[1] People and deities share the profound transactionalism. David Shulman comments "In any Hindu context movement along the axis mundi is also an internal process within consciousness."[2]

Evidently philosophical formulations are as old as the Védas and popular with all religions of India. Identification and location of political-relationships can not be undertaken on such premises. 'Ritual practices' and 'Āgamic injunctions' show variety and exhibit patent differences. As such they provide valuable clues for determining political and cultural relationships. The Maṇavai deity as evidenced by the poem enjoys 'Upaçārās' similar to those enjoyed at the by the Lord of the Véṅkatam hills. Most of the Vaishṇavite temples of Tamilnadu seem to have adopted the ritual pattern of Tiruppati.[3]

Medieval Tamil literature however presents a conspicuous departure from conventions. *Nenju-Vitu-tūtu* a rare variety of Dūta-Kāvyas had found a place in

---

1 Daniels E. Valentine: *Fluid signs : Being a person the Tamil way* (Berkeley University of California Press. 1990)

2 David Shulman : *Ambivalence and longing for the sacred Vyāsa's curse on kāsi* (Princeton. 1980).

3 A rare Tamil prabandam *Tiruvéṅkata Ulā* (author anonymous)is replete with references to such customs. The Ulā seems to have been composed by a person who had long resided in and about Tiruvéṅkatam. His statements clearly indicate his intimate touch with the Tirumalai temple affairs and traditions. One of the inscriptions in the temple wall of Tirumalai makes mention of the existence of this Ulā. (T.T. Dévastānam Inscriptions Vol. II Pp 324 -25 No. 136 (No. 336. T.T.) The inscription belongs to the time of Śaḷuva Narasimha, the king of Vijayanagar. The Ulā is perhaps the longest of the species. (1214 lines or 607 couplets)

The Ulā refers to the fitting of the chariot for the Lord's procession.

" Kōmétakamarutan kōlamellām poṛkaliṅga
Māmérulōtta manittérur rāmé
Tirumār piriyāṭa deviyutanéṛi
iruté viyarkkōruté rintu"

The Lord took his seat in the chariot like Mahāméru with his inseparable consort Lakshmi in his chest and gave another chariot for the other two consorts Būmi dévi and Neelā dévi. We learn that during the Purattāśi festival two chariots are employed. (Cf. The Maṇavai festival) The procession passes through the streets. Spectators, particularly the damsels of the *Gaṇikā* Community are struck with wonder and enjoy the divine beauty. This experience finds open expression in the most telling felicitous language of love. Since the work is mentioned in inscription assigned to Śaluva Narasimha's reign, it is to be placed in the middle of the fifteenth century A.D.

religious literature of the Vaishṇavites.[1] *Emperumānār Nenju Viṭu tūtu* is a specimen that illustrates the departure from convention.[2] Such Kāvyas are rare, and the scanty availability of such literature suggests the corroding influence of Telugu and Sanskrit literature over the indigenous.[3] This observation could not be extended unreservedly since Tamil continues to be a major medium of poetry. The devotee in the Tamil tradition is to open himself imaginatively and sensually to the God of his choice.[4] Early Tamil Bakthi generally leaves the initiative with the deity. When the theme changes as God searching for the beloved, there is a patent departure.[5] Early Tamil Bakthi poetry having love themes speak of the frustration of the devotee and they include complaints to the Almighty.

The lover, whose persons the author of *Méga Viṭu Tūtu* adopts displays a dominant model of devotion. The lady desires to acquire knowledge of the divine through personal union. (body) this literary genre overshadows the poetic precedent. Probably this change is due to Vijayanagar imperial expansion. (Political-structure of the Golden age) The change is a reformulation in accordance with the values and needs of the changed social context.

III

Attempts have been made to define 'State' (theory and formation) as simple reflections of economic and social relations. This survey of Tamil literary evidences suggests that ideological systems can structure cultural response. Several questions pertaining to the results of the Political-ideological process come to the forefront: *(a)* What is the nature of interaction between the incoming Telugu speaking elite and the indigenous Tamil cultural forms? *(b)* How the Political dynamics of the Nāyaka expressed itself in crystallizing a new social order? These are challenging questions. To what extent can a historian depend on literary sources for answering such questions is an ever present controversy.

Every piece of literature is a 'document' to the historian. "The hard worked historian, in his excusable pre-occupation with the truth is inclined to be impatient

---

1 Among Saivites this variety is popular. Umāpati Śivācārya, Śivaprakāśa Swāmikal and others have authored such literature. This type is religious in out-look. Disciples seek from their preceptors ultra mundane happiness, convert their feelings as envoys and philosophy is the theme. They are loftier and more elevating.

2 Palaniappa Pillai, the editor reports that "'Only a single incomplete cudjan manuscript copy is available in the Government Oriental manuscript Library, Madras." Since the manuscript is incomplete we are unable to fix the date and the author. Internal evidences suggest that the work belongs to the sixteenth century A.D.

3 Nāyaka Political structures and their colourful evocations in courtly poetry and Drama seem to be infused with the implicit, still crystallising self and the world. Velcheru Narayana Rao *Symbols of Substance Court and State.* David Shulman and Sanjay Subrahmanyam : *in Nāyaka - period. Tamilnadu* (O.U.P., Delhi. 1992) P. 168

4 God to be visualised as the 'True One Who knows the truth of feeling in the body" Śundaramūrti Nāyanār : Tévāram. 60.5 (618) *'Meyyil ninré unarvu'* Pun on the word Mei = Body as well as Truth.

5 Kṣétrayya Padamulu (tr) A.K. Ramanujan 'Symbols of Substance' (Op. cit.) Ch IV.

of events when they are concerned about a race."[1] The calibre of the literature that had been analysed in this Paper can be admitted as 'Quasi-historical' in character. Evidences provided by them are to be carefully sifted.

For instance *'Vamśāvaḷis'* (literary in character) like *'Vēlugōtivāri vamśāvaḷi'* critically studied and published by N. Venkataramanayya has unusual historical value. The quantum of history that had been culled out of it is certainly more than from the study of many other works on Vijayanagar history. Since editing the work 'Further sources of Vijayanagar' K.A. Nilakanta Sastri and Venkataramanayya admit that they realised the value of a particular verse (Habuhāvibudé. etc) in 'Kālajnānas' (Chronicles on Vijayanagar history) after reading it over again and again. Working merely on the light of epigraphy with out the aid of the clue given by this verse, scholars have erred in drafting the history of the 'First — Dynasty' of Vijayanagar. They could have avoided it (of course realisation was late) if this verse had been taken into account. The Verse referred to strings together the first letters of the names of monarchs that came in succession. Following this clue, the epigraphic evidence was utilised better. Thus even the most apparently unpromising material can be made to serve our needs if we are lucky enough to discover how. Colonel Colin Mackanzie seems to have realised this quite early. He can well be regarded as the British pioneer to kindle the lamp of historical and antiquarian research in the South-Indian mind. He is the founder of peripatetic parties for the search of manuscripts and his collections now serve as potential tools of historians.

No doubt the 'Literary historian' looks longingly towards the hard analytical data of the 'Economic-historian'. The Nāyaka hegemony over Tamiḻakam brings about a profound shift in the conceptual and institutional bases of Tamil civilization. The immense wealth of sources (indigenous in particular) call for exploration. Inscriptions and travel accounts continue to provide the historians staple fare. Literary evidences are not debased currencies. Unitary themes can be structured using them as tools. What has been attempted here is a foray into a still emerging field.

I heartly acknowledge the assistance rendered by Prof. T.K.Venkatasubramanian, Department of History, Delhi University, in Data collection and discussions on Data interpretation.

---

1 George Gordon : *The Trojans in Britain* (members of the English Association, Vol IX. 1924) p. 27

Garments for Royalty — The Karuppur Tradition

Dr. Lotika Varadarajan

The dominant fibre in Indian tradition has been cotton.[1] Unlike silk, wool and linen, in which texture and light reflection properties of the fibre used have played a role in ornamentation, in cotton, patterning and ornamentation have relied to a greater extent on variation in colour. The chemistry involved in the coloration of cotton, a cellulose fibre, has been understood since early times as demonstrated in the find of a fragment of mordant dyed cotton fibre at Mohenjodaro.

Panini (circa B.C. 500), in his work, *Astadhyayi*, 4.2.1 and 4.2.3, refers to the practice of dyeing (Ganguly, 1962, 97), whereas Susruta, early centuries of the Christian era, avers to the existance of copperas or Iron Sulphate. (Ray, 1904, 146,) Varaharamihira in the *Brihat Samhita*, circa 6th century A.D., alluded to the preparation of fast dyes for textile fabrics through the utilization of cowdung, alum and *manjistha*. madder, (Ray, 1956, 103.)

The Deccan has a profusion of dye yielding plants of which two have played a crucial role: indigo and *chay* root,[2] *indigofera tinctoria* yielding indigo, a blue dye, is to be found growing in a wild state in erstwhile Bombay Presidency and in the basin of the river Indus. The Dutch botanist, H.A. von Rheede noted in his work *Hortus Indicus Malabaricus*, published in Amsterdam in 1686, that *I. tinctoria*, Linn., was better suited to the moister climate of the Deccan than to the drier Indus basin belt. Indigo, which required no process of mordanting, appears to have been utilised in cotton dyeing since an early period. [3] It is curious that whereas in the North indigo dyers enjoyed low status, in the south there was no equivalent social stigma attached to the practice of this profession. Indeed, in the case of Tamil Nadu the weavers themselves carried out the operations of dyeing. There is, however, a reference in the *koil Olugu*, a 12th century text, to Irankolli, washermen, who dyed cloths to be used to decorate the *mantapam* of Srirangam Temple. (*koil Olugu*, 98. Cf. Francis *et al*, 1988, 143.)

---

1 For a survey of the early history of cotton see Watson, 1977, 355-368.

2 Ghosh, 1943, 489, Northwestern India had another variety, akin to the Egyptian plant, which was better suited to the local climatic and soil conditions. Egyptian indigo was derived from *I. articulata* Gouan, also called *I. argentea*, Smith. *I houer*, Forsk., also called *I. caerulea*, Roxb and *I. argentea* Linn., analagous to the Egyptian *I. articulata*, Gouan, flourished in the region extending between Arabia and Sind. *I. argentea*, Linn was the species commercially developed in Gujarat. Prain. 1902, 141.

3 There are references to the dye properties of indigo-*nila* in Panini, circa B.C. 500 and in the 3rd to 1st century B.C. Pali compilation, *Samutta Nikaya*. Ray. 1956, 103; Agarwala, 1953, 230; Winternitz. II, 1972, 14n. The resist used in indigo dyeing in the Coromandel has traditionally been beeswax. Indeed, as early as the second century A.D. there is a reference to the use of beeswax in the Tamil classic, *Nedunal-Vadai*. See Varadarajan, 1982, 17.

Turning now to the second source of dye, a range of shades were secured from *chay* root, *Oldenlandia Umbellata* which was extensively used in the South. When combined with *Ventiligo madraspatana*, it provided a chocolate colour, and if gall nuts, *Quercus infectoria*, were added it produced black. (*Madras Exhibition*, 1858, 36-63 - 36-68.) In Madurai different processes were used for dyeing of woven cloth as compared yarn dyeing particularly for madder. For cloth dyeing the materials used included *Umiri*, *Salicornia indica*, the root of Tinbura, a shrub growing near the bank of the river Vaigai, leaf of *Kaya*, *Memecylon edule*, Roxb, and gingelly oil. (Havell, 1889, 12.) The yarn dyeing process, was a time tested Indian procedure. However, this is erroneously known through the appellation, *Turkey red dyeing*, given to it by European nomenclature. This process involved a long and tedious procedure of repeated soaking and drying of the yarn in solutions made in different proportions of oil, ashes of milk bush hedge, *Euphorbia tiruculli*, sheep dung, spring water, chay root and *M. edule*, Roxb.[1]

The range and stability of colours developed through such procedures led to the vending of these dye patterned textiles over a large area. This included Southeast Asia predominantly although smaller quantities found their way to West Asia and East Africa. In Southeast Asia these items were called *sarassa* while in Iran the term *kalamkari* was coined. With European entry into these spheres in the early colonial period, a market was developed in Europe. Dye patterned textiles made for the European market and those vended by Europeans in other markets were called *chintz*, a blanket term which included both Gujarat mud resist printed were as well as South Indian painted textiles. The procedure by which the south Indian dye patterned painted ware was prepared has been extensively documented. (Irwin, Brett, 1970; Varadarajan, 1982.) The pen/*kalam* used for application of mordant and resist and the transfer technique of pouncing the outline of the pattern with charcoal onto the cloth have also been well depicted. (Varadarajan, 1982, 16, 56, 76, 82.) This outline subsequently formed the basis for application by pen of either mordant or resist according to the requisites of the pattern adopted. The aspect of community background of craftsman involved, however, needs some coverage as it is the chintz repertoire which is to be later transposed in its subsequent manifestation in Karpuppur fabrics made for royalty.

Although there is a strong case for locating the initial development kalamkari with the Tamil Nadu region (Varadarajan 1982, 13), during the 16th and 17th centuries it proved to be the Masulipatam craft area which was acclaimed by European traders as constituting the best centre for high quality Kalamkari fabrics. Undoubtedly, this shift is to be associated with the dynamics of Vijayanagar rule and the community of the craftsman involved would, therefore, be of considerable interest. In tracing this, the factor which has to be kept in mind is that in artisanal activities, occupational groups appeared to be anchored to a greater extent on

---

1 For the full process see *Madras Exhibition*, 1858, 36-69 - 36-70.

social formations such as class rather than caste.[1] Moreover, as has been pointed out by Burnouf, Sudras in the South not only constituted the peasantry but also functioned as soldiers and merchants (Burnouf, 1828, 360). Artisans involved in the manufacture of cloth in the South were divided since the time of Raja Raja Chola I, A.D. 982 - 1016, into the two groups of Idangai, left hand and Valangai, right hand. (Srinivasachari, 1929; 83; Maclean 1982, 1036-1037; Appadorai, 1974, 217; Beck, 1972, 31, 47, 101, 192; Kearns, 1876, 353 - 354.)

Among Telugu, weaving groups, Devanga, Balija and Velama could be mentioned. Devangas, a left hand caste, were also called Jadaru/Jada, great men, Dendra/Devara/Dera and Sedan. Their myth of origin was to be found in the *Devanga-purana*. The Tamil rendering is dated circa 17th century. (Baramahal Records 179-180.) The usual title of the Devanga was Chetti. (Thurston, II 1909, 154-156, 165; Raghavan, 1960, 241.)

Among the *Sale* community in Andhra Pradesh the Padmasaliyas constituted a significant unit practicing the vocation of weaving. They were also nominated as *sale, salewar, channewar, julaha* and *tantu-nayakadu*. According to one myth of origin, the sale progenitor was a goldsmith while the female one was a potter. According to another, the origin was ascribed to Markandeya Rishi and Padmasaliyas were dedicated to cotton weaving. This myth suggests that in the beginning Padmasaliyas did not wish to teach outsiders and this resulted in a confrontation with the *rakshasas*, the giants. Finally, a compromise was reached. The *rakshasas* appear to have been given a monopoly over silk while the others clung to their fibre of choice, cotton. Their primary vocation is demonstrated by the fact that on Ganesh Chaturthi day, the loom, shuttle and other weaving implements are worshipped.[2] Yet another section of the Sale was constituted by the group, Karna Sale. In Madurai and Thanjavur they were called Seniyan. Seniyan usually wove coarse quality cloth but, on occasion, could also turn to silk. (Thurston, III, 1909, 252-253.)

Turning now to another Telugu group, the Balijas, also called Kavarai, it appears that although this was a trading caste, members could also take to textile manufacture. When Balijas practiced occupations such as spinning, painting and

---

1 The way in which the Sale community of Andhra Pradesh is subdivided illustrates this fact very well. Syed Siraj ul Hassan has divided this community into twelve constituents. Out of this, five sections have origins outside the state but members have been absorbed into Sale category. The Sukul or Sukla Sale were of Gujarat origin claiming Kshatriya status. The Ahir Sale were drawn from Gujarat Ahirs. The Lakul or Nakul Sale were bastard children having a Sale father and a mother drawn from another caste. Are Sale were of Maharashtrian origin while the Sukul Sale hailed from the Konkan. There were also the jain Sales, Jains who had taken to weaving. Moreover, ritual standing was also given recognition as was shown by the conferment of right hand status on Saurashtra and Gujarati weavers. Siraj ul Hassan, 1990, 577, 581; Srinivasachari, 1929, 83.

2 Siraj ul Hassan, 1990, 536-537, 542-543; *Baramahal Records*, 174. Resulting from the context between the giants and the proteges of Bhavana Rishi, the compromise solution reached was that those among the giants who possessed the necessary skills were to be taught *sallataka kittaga guna vidya. Guntur Taluk Kaifiyat*, 386-392. The term *Kittaga* meaning *worm*, suggests a connotation with silk weaving. Since silk was a luxury item, practitioners must at all times have been significantly fewer in numbers than cotton weavers.

dyeing they took the title of Nayakkan. (Thurston, III, 1909, 263, 265.) The Velamas are another community connected with textile manufacture. They seem to have been non-Dravidian having their initial home north of the river Narbada. They migrated into Andhra Pradesh circa A.D. 1162 during the reign of King Pratab Rudra and appear, like the Tamil Kaikkolas, to have initially served as soldiers. Having married Kapu women, they were absorbed among the Kapus but retained a distinct identity. Those who adopted the profession of weaving and dyeing were called *Gune Velama*, the dyeing vat being called *Gune*. During the Vijayanagar period, the Velamas migrated into Tamil country adopting the title of Naidu.[1] The significant feature about communities involved in textile manufacture in Andhra Pradesh is that there is explicit reference to the occupation of dyeing as distinct from weaving. This is absent in the Tamilian area.

With regard to traditions in Tamil Nadu. R. Champakalakshmi has pointed out that the cotton industry was an important one under the Cholas with Kanchipuram and Madurai serving as centres of cotton production. There was a special guild for the marketing of cotton textiles, the *saliya nagarattar*. (Champakalakshmi, 1986, 30, 41, 61; Abraham, 1988, 163.)

The major Tamil group among the weaving community is that of the Kaikkola Mudaliars. Initially serving as soldiers in the Chola army, they later turned to weaving and by the 13th century were well established in this vocation. (Thurston, 1909, III, 31; Beck, 1972, 31, 47, 101, 137; Abraham, 1988, 37.) In common with the weaving section of the Paraiyan, the Nesavu Paraiyan, the Kaikkola claimed descent from the mythological hero, Virabahu. As followers of Kartikeya, they were distinguished by the *kuntam*/ javelin. This earned them a second name. Senguntar, red/blood tipped javelin wielders. They were subdivided into sections comprising Coliyar, Rāttar, Cirutāli, Peruntāli, Cīrppaṭam and Cevakāvritti. Other derivations of Kaikkola were from *kaikol*/precious dagger of Subramanya or from *kai*/hand, *kol*/shuttle.[2] Weavers could also be identified among the Vellalas who called themselves Pillais. Additionally, there were the Pallis, drawn from among the agriculturists, who assumed the title of Mudaliar. (Beteille, 1969, 86; Chicherov, 1971, 34 n.) Circa 1670, the French cleric, Abbe Carre, noted that Pallis were associated with the designing and preparation of transfers and tracing outlines of

---

1 Siraj ul Hassan, 1990, 306-307, 635-637; Thurston, VII, 336-337, 339. During my field investigations into the practice of Kalamkari in Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu between 1975 and 1980, I found that all practitioners called themselves Naidu. According to an oral communication of Sri Anamkonda Nanchariah, Masulipatam, Kalamkari practitioners in Krishna district comprised Kapus; in the Godavery delta, Vishakhapatnam and Chicacole, Telagas performed the task while the Balijas carried on this occupation in Nellore. All these groups assumed the title of naidu. The term Naidu, therefore, can be taken as an occupational title rather than a *jāti* appellation. Thurston (1909, VI 218), provides some additional information relating to dyeing traditions among Telugu communities. *Bestha*, a sub-division of the Balijas, were dyers while another sub-caste was called *maddi*, as they dyed cotton with the bark of the *maddi*, tree, *Morinda citrifolia*.

2 Thurston, III, 1909, 31, 33; Thurston, VI, 1909, 83; *Abhidanacintamani, kaikkolar, g.v.* I am grateful to Ms. Vijayalakshmi, Librarian, Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi for her kindness in translating the Tamil text of the relevant section in *Abhidanacintamani*.

patterning in Kalamkari (Irwin, 1959, 20, n. 3). This is suggestive of specialisation of labour, a necessary adjunct to commercial production, but no additional details are available. Circa 1868 Tamil weavers appear to have regressed to the weaving of coarse quality cloth. Apart from the Kaikkolas who wove coarse white cloth, there were the Saliyan who were a little more skilled, and the Saluppan who only wove material of the coarsest of fabrics such as those used for making sacks. (Nelson, 1989, 70; Thurston, VI, 1909, 277-278).

Another group, in this case, of non-Tamil weavers and dyers who deserve mention in the context of Tamil Nadu are the Saurashtras. This community had migrated from Gujarat into Maharashtra circa 11th century A.D. From Maharashtra a further diffusion had occurred towards Vijayanagar from where another dispersion took place after 1530 A.D. (Venkatarama Sastriar, 1971, 18.) During the 17th century they were invited to settle in Madurai and in Thanjavur they were offered quarters in the locality of Manambuchavady. (Oral communication, Raja Ram Raja, Senior Prince, Palace, Thanjavur.) They were highly regarded because of their superior skill and finesse particularly in relation to silk weaving.

It is against this background that the unique creation of the Karuppur painted unstitched garments are to be assessed. While block printing, introduced to the South from Masulipatam, was being practiced in several centres in Tamil Nadu circa 1899, painting tradition enjoyed primacy at Nagore, Negapatam and Permagudi that the designs appeared akin to embroidered motifs. (Havell, 1917, 9-10, 19; Thurston, 1982, 37-38; Varadarajan, 1982, 37.) Notice was also taken of the village of Kodali Karuppur, district Trichinopoly, 20 miles distant from Kumbakonam, where elaborately painted textiles were being made, the practitioners being descendants of the cotton painters who had earlier served the kings of Thanjavur. (Hadaway. 1917, 20, figs 8-10, 12A, 14A, 15A.)

According to documentation undertaken by Sanchita Das Gupta, circa 1982 (Das Gupta, 1982) the earlier name of the village now called Kodali Karuppur, was Neela Meghapuram. Located in the Odaiyarpallayam taluk of district Trichnopoly at a distance of one kilometer from the river Kolliadam, M.S. Hadaway noted that circa 1917, at least one craftsman existed at this centre who could achieve the most elaborate patterning on cloth with scarecely any guidelines previously traced out on the fabric to aid him. (Hadaway, 1917, 9.) Further, Hadaway explicity stated that all available samples had been fashioned exclusively by pen. (Hadaway, 1917, 10.) Sanchita Das gupta interviewed two Devanga craftsmen, Muthukrishna Chettiar, aged 71 and S. Sundaraj, aged 64 The last painted cloths had been fashioned circa 1940. Both lived on a street called Ezuthukara/Painters' Street. Among the cotton painting communities present in the village, there was a representation of Telugu groups such as Kavarai, Devanga and Seniyan.

The origin of the fabric is ascribed to Raja Serfoji of Thanjavur, A.D. 1798-1832 who announced that a contest would take place to choose the best entrant which would be given as present to his queen on the occasion of her birthday. The date is significant as by this time the existing chintz repertoire of the region had been

enriched by the addition of the expertise and patterning drawn from the high quality fabrics specifically made for export to the Thai Court. (See Varadarajan, 1994.) (Figs. 1a, 1b.) The contest was won by a Kavarai Chettiar who created a Karuppur prototype with his pen. (Fig. 2.) The specific characteristic of this form of patterning was that the kalamkari technique was provided with a shimmering textural quality because the cotton fibres interspaced with the jari/metallic yarn in the jamdani figured portions absorbed the dye and formed a continuity in pattern with the rest of the painted cotton surface. The king was so pleased that the whole village was granted to the winner as his reward. After this, Karrupur painted fabrics were to be worn by royalty for all religious ceremonies including marriages when the bride would cover her hair with this fabric when she entered the groom's house for the first time. The *veshtis*/dhotis made for men and the saris for wear by widows had an off-white ground with patterning reserved only for the border areas.

There is a difference of opinion with regard to the identity of weavers and the colour palette of the original samples. According to Sarnath Chettiar (oral communication, Rukmini Silks, Kumbakonam), the ground fabric with *jari* motifs woven in *jamdani* weave, were executed by Tamil Padayachi Pillais, an agricultural community which had taken to weaving circa 1870. Because of a discrepancy in dates this information would not be valid for the initial prototypes. According to K.V. Chandramauli, Bangalore, (oral communication to Sanchita Das gupta), the ground material was woven by Tamil Sengunda Mudaliyars. The view of Muthukrishna Chettiar, Karuppur (oral communication to Sanchita Sen Gupta), was that the weavers were Saurashtras.[1] This latter opinion has greater strength as the Saurashtras of Madurai are credited with the weaving of a similar kind of ground fabric which was transformed in Gujarat with the addition of *bandhani* motifs into the *gharchola,* the sari of opulance in Western India, (Fig. 3.).

With regard to the colour palette, according to oral information given by Muthukrishna Chettiar, Kodali Karuppur, to Sanchita Das Gupta, indigo dyeing was not done locally. After resisting, the item would be sent to Kumbakonam to be dyed blue by the Saurashtras. (Das Gupta, 1982, 89.) Hadaway, circa 1917, noted that the colours in Karuppur painted fabrics were predominantly in shades of red comprising deep purplish and two shades of red. (Hadaway, 1917, 9.) According to K. V. Chandramauli, oral communication to Lotika Varadarajan, colours like indigo blue and yellow were later entrants into the Karuppur repertoire.

The best category of Karuppur fabrics declined with the declining fortunes of the royal house at Thanjavur. Contrary to popular belief, however, it did not disappear. (figs. 4a, 4b, 4c.) As noted by Jagada Rajappa *et. al.* even as late as 1991, the pouncing practiced in the deep south of Tamil Nadu. (Jagada Rajappa, *et. al.,* 1991,

---

1 In fact, the Calico Museum, Ahmedabad, which had purchased items from the royal Thanjavur collection, has a sample in which *bandhani* has been combined with painting in a typical Karrupur fabric. According to the oral communication of Mahadik Rao of the Thanjavur royal family to Sanchuta Das Gupta, the *bandhani* section in such samples would probably have been executed by Saurashtras, while the painting would have been done by others.

11-12, 17.) The story of Karrupur fabrics made for the Thanjavur royal family thus demonstrates, once again, the extraordinary synergistic trend in Indian textile tradition which carries many aspects of the past into a living ethnographic present.

Citations

Figures

1a Indo-Thai textile, Painted Coromandel fabric made according to sample sent by the Thai court. *Kra-nok* pattern. Courtesy National Museum, Bangkok. Note similarity with fig. 4b below.

1b Cross border in Indo-Thai textile, Courtesy, National Museum, Bangkok. Note similarity with fig. 4c below.

2. Karuppur fabric. The jari motif in jamdani weave presents a cotton surface which absorbs colour and provides a shimmering quality to the kalamkari patterning over the rest of the fabric.

3. Sample of silken *ghar chola*. Courtesy, Gujarat Hastha Kala, Ahmedabad. In the original cotton prototype there would be a small *buti*, usually woven in jamdani, in the centre of each square. The motif in *bandhani* would be centred around this jari buti.

4a. Sample of painted cloth, Thanjavur. Note resemblance with 4b and 1a.

4b. Sample of painted cloth of an inferior quality. Thanjavur region. Book cover. Courtesy, Saraswati Mahal Library, Thanjavur.

4c. As in 4b above. Note similarly in patterning with 1b.

Abbreviations

Abhidanacintamani	:	*Abhidanacintamani*, New Delhi, 1981, reprint, 2nd ed., 1937
Baramahal Records	:	Records of Fort St. George. *The Baramahal Records*, Section III, Madras, 1907.
Guntur Taluk Kaifiyat	:	*Guntur Taluk Kaifiyat*, Selections from the Mackenzie Collection, Serial No. Kaifiyat 46, unpublished.
Koil Olugu	:	V.N. Hari Rao, ed., *Koil Olugu* Madras, circa 1961.
Madras Exhibition 1858	:	*Madras Exhibition of Raw Products, Arts and Manufacturers of Southern India, 1857*, Madras.

Bibliography

M. Abraham 1988 : Two Medieval Merchant Guilds of South India, New Delhi

V.S. Agrawala 1953 : India as known to Panini, London.

B.E.F. Beck 1972 : Peasant Society in Konku. A Study of Right and Left Sub-Castes in South India, Vancouver.

A. Beteille 1966 : *Caste, Class and Power*, Bombay.

E. Burnouf 1828 : Seconde lettre a M. le Redacteur du Journal Asiatique sur quelques denominations geographiques du Dravida ou pays des Tamouls, *Journal Asiatique*. 11.

R, Champakalakshmi 1986 : Urbanization in Medieval Tamil Nadu, in S. Bhattacharya, R. Thapar, ed., *Situating Indian History, for Sarvepalli Gopal*. Delhi, 34-76.

A.I. chicherov 1971 : *India, Economic Development in the 16th - 18th Centuries*, Moscow.

W. Francis, F. Nicholson : *Gazeteer of South India*, II, New Delhi, reprint, date of earlier edition not cited.

C.S. Middlemiss, C.A. Barber 1988

A.B. Ganguly 1962 : *Sixty-four Kalas in Ancient India*, New Delhi.

A.K. Ghosh : June 1944 Rise and decay of the indigo industry in India, *Science and culture*, IX, 11.
July 1943

Sanchita Das Gupta 1982 : *Design Development for S.D.R.S.I. (Society for Development of Rural Sericulture Industry. Tirupati.* Diploma Project, National Institute of Design, Ahemdabad, unpublished.

W.S. Hadaway 1917 : *Cotton Painting and Printing in the Madras Presidency* Madras.

Syed Siraj ul Hassan 1990 : *Castes and Tribes of the Nizam's Dominions. II, Gurgaon*, reprint 1920 ed.

E.B. Havell 1889 : The Industries of Madras, *the Journal of Indian Art*, III, 27, July, 9-16.

J. Irwin 1959 : Golkonda Cotton Paintings of the early Seventeenth Century, *Lalit Kala*. 5, April.

J. Irwin K.B. Brett 1970 : *Origins of Chintz*. London.

J. F. Kearns 1876 : The Right hand and Left hand Castes, *The Indian Antiquary*, IV, 353-354.

C.D. Maclean 1982 : ed., *Glossary of the Madras Presidency*, New Delhi, reprint, 1893.

J.H. Nelson 1989 : *The Madura Country, A Manual* New Delhi, reprint Madras, 1868.

D. Prain 1902 : Notes on *Indigofera*, *The Journal of Botany*, XL.

V. Raghavan 1960 : Tamil Versions of the Puranas, *Purana*, II.

Jagada Rajappa, Mohana Aiyangar, K.V. Chandramauli 1991 : *Documentation of Amma Salai*, sponsored by Crafts Council of India, Madras, unpublished.

P. Ray : ed. *History of Chemistry in Ancient and Medieval India incorporating the History of Hindu Chemistry by Acharya Prafulla chandra Ray*, Calcutta.

P.C. Ray 1904 : *A History of Hindu Chemistry from earliest times to the middle of the 16th century A.D.*, I, Calcutta.

J. S. Venkatarama Sastriar 1971 : *A Short History of Saurashtra*, Madura, 2nd ed.

C.S. Srinivasachari 1929 : The Origin of the Right and Left Hand Caste Division, *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, IV, 77-85.

E. Thurston 1909 : *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, II, III, VI, VII, Madras.

E. Thurston 1982 : Monograph on the Cotton Fabric Industry of the Madras Presidency, (1897), in *Art in Industry through the Ages*, III, Monograph Series on Madras Presidency/Southern India, New Delhi 1982, 27-41.

Lotika Varadarajan 1982 : *South Indian Traditions of Kalamkari*, Ahmedabad.

Lotika Varadarajan 1994 : Syncretism in Textiles-Indo-Thai Expressions, paper presented at International Seminar, *Bay of Bengal in the Asian Maritime Trade and Cultural Network, 1500-1800*, Nehru Memorial Library, New Delhi, 16-20 December, unpublished.

A.M. Watson 1977 : The Rise and Spread of Old World Cotton, in V. Gervers, ed., *Studies in Textile History, In Memorium of Herold B. Burnham*, Toronto, 355-368.

M. Winternitz 1972 : *A History of Indian Literature* II, New Delhi, reprint Calcutta, 1933.

Tamil Bhakti, Communities and Justice claims

Prof. Burton Stein

I

In a time when religion has become a major destabilizing element of politics as different as India and the USA, what society, polity or religious tradition can be said to have proven immunity from pressures in the direction of what has generally come to be called 'fundamentalism'? We are also bound to ask why there has been this universal retreat from socially progressive forms of religious orientation, or from secularism, and whether there might be something in the closing decade of the millennium that can be said to explain it? Efforts to discover the springs of this up thrusting religious politics are being made everywhere in the world, and certainly here in India, and the present discussion is offered as a modest and very partial contribution to this very important line of inquiry. The religion of devotion—bhakti—came as an historic contribution of Tamils to India in post-classical historical times and extended into the rich middle past of the subcontinent. Preliminary to Tamil bhakti there had been the re-affirmation of the primacy of vedic gods by the Guptas and following them the elaboration by the Chalukyas of Badami of a nexus formed by the conceptions of monarchy and deity. What remained was the construction by Tamils of a different form of worship, one based upon devotion, and it was the work of Tamil worshippers to transform that from a theoretical possibility prefigured in the Gita into a cultural achievement. Beginning in the sixth century, hymns to Siva and Vishnu issued from pious devotees from all strata of Tamil society, including the very lowest, or panchamas.

Their songs were not alone about passionate devotion to a god. Infusing the corpus of hymns were justice claims for an extension beyond places of worship of equality among worshippers. Because bhakti insisted upon the equality of all worshippers as worshippers, it never lost its implied inscribed concern for the moral claims of all sorts of communities comprising Tamil society and ultimately Indian societies elsewhere. In order to be clear about the term 'community', I mean to be understood as referring to the diverse localities—people in the territories they inhabited—of which Tamil society then (and most others as well) consisted; I do not mean religious or caste groups. Moreover, I believe that it is proper to refer to 'communalism' as an ideology of places and peoples, one which took many forms of expression besides what we now usually denote as religious or caste ideologies. Hymns of the Periyapuranam reflect this social-placeness by associating a Siva with all of the places celebrated in that work; the satakam works of a century later do the same and in that sense these and other works are 'communalist' expressions in that they present the self-conscious sentiments held by various peoples—Tamils and other—about where and with whom they shared local pride, including those as

widely different as Brahman and panchama nayanmar or alvar. Bhakti proclaimed the justice of equality among worshippers from the outset. This was manifested in the theology of later times, but it was evident in the distribution of statuses amongst the saintly hymnists who laid the foundation of bhakti. The traditional 63 Nayanmars included some twenty of probable Brahman birth, if the poet and minister Manikkavachakar is included. The balance were spread among chiefs and war commanders (14),merchants (6), agriculturists, or Vellalar (13), various artisanal and service groups, including the untouchable Nandanar (101) and a few whose status is impossible to determine still. Of these 63 or 64 Saiva saints there were three women as well. Most of the Tamil Vishnu hymnists, or Alvar, were Brahmans according to the hagiography of the age. But others of the Alvars were two chieftains, an untouchable singer, and the great Nammalvar, possibly of farmer origins, whose career and honour among Vaishnavas as a hymnist is matched by his recognition as a teacher and theologian, or acharya.

These founders of Tamil bhakti are hagiographised, of course, in the manner of *vamsavali,* only more so, for lists of Nayanmars and Alvars were intended to maintain and convey a sense of appropriate origin of the Saiva and Vaishnava traditions, not objective history. Therefore, the inclusion of those of middling social standing possesses a significance that has always been regarded as important. In medieval times when Srivaishnavas divided bitterly into *Vadagalai* and *Tengalai,* an element of their division turned on whether Tamil was a language of adequate sacredness, on the place of the Tamil hymns whose composers were often non-Brahman and on the access of non-Brahmans to ritual roles. This last was explicitly raised in the reforms introduced at the major Vishnu shrine of Srirangam by the twelfth-century acharya Ramanuja. In the centuries that followed, the liberal code of participation by non-Brahman Srivaishnavas bequeathed by Ramanujacharya was attenuated.

Saiva sampradayas were also beset by similar participatory claims of middle caste worshippers against the exclusivity claimed by Brahmans. The reform movement amongst Tamil Saivas which came to be *Saiva Siddhanta* during the thirteenth century proclaimed a rigorous monotheism against the prevailing Smarta conception of an elaborate (through ranked) pantheon and also preached an intense devotionalism. Early teachers included Vellalars as well as Brahmans, and the first expounder of doctrine was the Vellalar Meykandar; other Siddhanta acharyas were also non-Brahmans. Doctrinal differences with Smartas assumed serious institutional conflict in connection with the rise of Saiva matham under the leadership of Sivayogin and Maheshvara non-Brahman, living saints *(santana).* The support these teachers enjoyed can be glimpsed in records of endowments from powerful chiefs and from territorial organizations; the Saiva seminary at Rajarajapuram in Thanjavur which was known as the 48,000 *matham* presumably because it was supported by Vellalars of Tondaimandalam who used this '48,000' designation of their collective identity. Claims to equal ritual standing within bhakti by Tamil non-Brahmans and the legitimacy of competing institutions were

contested as we know from occasional reports of disturbances (kalagam), such as the one at Tirutturaipundi around 1200 A.D. over attempts by Brahmans to assert control over non-Brahman matham seminarians. (Stein, 1980)

Temples were the arenas for the enactment of bhakti devotionalism and the arenas, too, for competition among corporate bodies of bhaktas, each striving to authenticate claims of standing in their communities by the fullest participation in temple ritual. (Appadurai and Breckenridge) This included the right to offer worship through recognized *kattalai* donor groups as well as to take part in the actual worship of deities : the justice claims for equality of all worshippers promised by bhakti principles. Here it is important to be clear about the egalitarianism claimed. Under bhakti there was no serious challenge to caste-hierarchical ideas nor to the entire structure of inequality predicated upon caste. Egalitarian participation was not meant to pertain to individuals; there was none of the enlightenment conception of a civil society based upon individual 'natural' rights. Equality was claimed for recognized ranked groups within Tamil society to be eligible for full ritual participation as groups, whether this was in one of the premier temples, such as the Ranganatha shrine at Srirangam or more modest shrines where such groups comprised parts of communities. This corporate claim was similar to those which were to become more widespread and better known during the later nineteenth century in connection with colonial census operations, when groups often challenged protested positions they were assigned by census enumerators; they contested this as groups through associations formed for that political purpose.

In earlier times, there were two foci of ideological contention within bhakti; both involved temples and also involved moral and justice claims, as ideological propositions inevitably do. We know these claims not from explicit argument as much as from trace epigraphical and statistical evidence; these were outcomes of thousands of decision taken in numerous diverse communities of Tamils over several centuries. One of these ideologically significant foci pertained to changes in the divine affiliations of new temples, that is to which gods temples were being dedicated. Decisions were made in favour of Amman worship over shrines to be dedicated to Siva between the fourteenth and the eighteenth centuries. In those four and half centuries there was a relative decline in the number of shrines consecrated to one of the forms of Siva and a symmetrical and proportionate increase of new shrines of independent goddesses. Whether this was a displacement or a complement of older Siva worship is a question for historians to answer, as I have tried. (Stein, 1978) The shift from Siva temple development to that of Amman shrines may have represented an emphasis upon local territoriality and cult organizations in which a wide section of groups of a place could find more participation in contrast to the universality of Brahman dominated shrines.

Temples and the prevailing ideology of bhakti also figured in the relationship with political authority. Thanks to the formulation by Arjun Appadurai and the similar analysis of Venkata Raghotham of Vijaynagara times, we have an idea of the ways that temples and kings worked to achieve ends vital to both institutions.

According to both formulations, there were systematic exchanges in which the intermediary role of *matham* leaders was crucial. Bhakti sectarian leaders represented the cusp in an articulation of the exchanges of resources of land and treasure for temple honours, and they exercised this strategic function because their followerships consisted of political constituencies as well as communities of worshippers. Such constituencies could strengthen the credentials of a chief or a king by affiliation just as weakness could follow the withdrawal from relations by religious leaders.

This feature of Vijayanagara times was actually a development of the earlier Chola pattern of relations between kings, rulers of local societies of Tamil country and religious institutions. Then, the significant nexus for religion and politics was not temples so much as the *brahmadeyas* of the age. The founding of these settlements was as often a local as a royal initiative, and in any case always depended upon the allocation of substantial local resources. The reward to leaders of communities in which these numerous households of learned Brahman were settled and by whose wealth they were sustained, was the recognition of their appropriate rule as expressed by their manifest piety. This was an aspect of the political culture of the political class of the time, non-Brahman chiefs. It was this model with some changes in the structure of institutions—and the rise of the temple to replace the brahmadeya villages—that became the keystone of political authority in Vijayanagara times, now fully devotionalized through the bhakti temple.

Temple devotion was one of the strongest markings of the Vijayanagara era and was centrally inscribed in the model of state which the Vijaynagara kings provided to the Nayaka regimes that supplanted them. If we are to judge particular dynasties by the manner and the extent to which they served as a model for successors—as the Gupta monarchy did for centuries of successors in North India and the Deccan—then the Telugu/Kannadiga Rayas of Vijayanagara must be rated among the most influential of dynasties. Such a designation cannot be in any obvious way be accorded to the Tamil Cholas. But, if the Vijayanagara pattern of authority placed the temple at centre, then it must be admitted that Tamil bhakti, transmitted through the Chola state and era continued to dominate the ideology of later medieval times.

II

South India in post-medieval times saw no important changes in the content and context of religious thought and praxis until the later nineteenth century. At that later time religion formed a focus of reform activities undertaken usually by Western educated men. Their projects were shaped by the perceived assault of Christian missionaries and extant practices attacked. In response to such criticism and offensive modernity, a number of the sects whose early history had been founded upon the ideology of bhakti participation and a broad egalitarian ethos (if not reality) began to change. In most cases there was a defense of the high, brahmanical credentials of the sects and a disinclination to publicize egalitarian

and popular aspects of religion. A marked domination by Brahmans was evident as well.

Later nineteenth century followers of the modified vedantic teachings of the 13th century Madhavacharya sought to propagate the doctrines of the sect by convening annual conferences and publishing modern commentaries on its teachings and its social accomplishments; this was a work of Kannadiga Brahmans, but also of Telugus and Tamils. Ramanuja's Srivaishnava successors were mostly Brahmans and they could claim control of some the foremost centres of temple bhakti in the peninsula, including Tirumalai and Tirupati. Division between Vadagalai and Tengalai sectarians persisted from medieval times and this probably delayed the pace of modernization of Srivaishnavas. The modern press was utilized as with Madhavas and a modern association was formed in Mysore with annual meetings for encouraging the study of its vedantic texts and their publication for propagation against among other things Christian propaganda. Tamil Smartas, followers of Sankaracharya, began a sabha in 1895 at the urging Brahman pundits of Thanjavur. Annual assemblies were convened in Kumbakonam in order to conduct examinations of candidate pundits as well as to provide popular lectures, again emphasizing the prominence of Brahmans and a brahmanical outlook sustained the entire enterprise which was to defend brahmanical ritual against the criticisms from bhakti enthusiasts.

All of this was but an aspect of the phenomenon of later nineteenth century India in which orthopraxy measures were taken by all sorts of groups. Brahmanical practices were adopted throughout India by ruling princes as a way of polishing or of asserting claims of kshatriya standing expected by imperial officials; meanwhile commercial groups and professional embraced the same sort of ritual orthopraxy along with an emphasis upon moderate and frugal behaviour to be inculcated among all of any group. Such status pretensions may not have impressed British colonial officials, but colonial officials were pleased to encourage moderation and frugality among a people they were trying to control in the late nineteenth century; it worked best for control.

Not surprisingly this embrace of brahmanical culture failed to take root among most Tamils, nor among Maharashtrians at the same time. And for the same reason: the hated domination of Brahmans in the best of public employment open to Indians and the increasing arrogance of Brahman calls for the maintenance of strict social distance among castes, in accordance with *varnashramadharma*. Still, the way in which bhakti faded from the political aspirations of Tamils is remarkable, not just in the light of the prior saliency of devotionalism, but also because of the ways that bhakti was to take a new and dynamic role among depressed political groups in northern India.

Nandini Gooptu recently reported the emergence of a movement calling itself 'adi-Hinduism' among oppressed classes—dalits—in four major cities of the UP—Kanpur, Allahabad, Lucknow and Banaras—during the 1920s and 30s. Untouchables there reclaimed bhakti as their ideology (1993, 1994). This bhakti

revivalism began to be framed in the inter-war decades and was deployed by urban dalits to oppose the validity of increasing caste and class oppression. Bhakti provided a moral basis upon which to challenge the disabilities to which they were subject in cities as they had been in the countryside. They claimed bhakti as the historic faith of adi-Hindus, as they began to call themselves (perhaps in imitation of the adi-Dravidas of Tamil country), and they asserted that the morality of bhakti denied that the menial occupations to which they had long been improperly restricted by upper castes was proper. There was they claimed no link between low status in society and occupation except that which was imposed by high castes for their material advantages; the true history of adi-Hindus was a glorious one in pre-aryan times, a time of high culture and great kingdoms. These accomplishments were dashed by aryans, who imposed caste as an institution of subjugation.

Gooptu's analyses pays particular attention to changing conditions under which dalits existed in these north Indian cities during the 1920s and 30s, when militant Hinduism arose there. At root, she found an unprecedented population increase in the cities caused by the immigration of lower cultivating groups who were driven from a countryside suffering the economic depression of the time. These migrants sought better opportunities in towns, and their influx encountered urban occupational patterns that exacerbated social tensions. Dalits from the countryside found most lower industrial and commercial jobs in the hands of Sudras, a poor, shifting workforce that had long been scorned, feared and exploited by the Indian middle class of the towns as well as by police officials. This floating population of principally Sudra workers discovered that their precarious employment being put at risk by yet poorer new migrants and their general welfare made worse by the middle class of these cities. During the 1920s, the commercial and manufacturing middle class found it convenient to shift their tax burdens to Sudra as well as Muslim workmen and women; as members of town councils dominant Hindi commercial groups also removed these older, poor urban residents from slum areas they had long occupied in central parts of the cities to peripheral colonies so that new development could take place.

The older urban workforce of Sudras and Muslims adopted defensive measures. The former took as their own the legend of having been kshatriyas previously as other castes were then asserting, and a part of the ideology of this purported origin was the claim of having defended Hinduism from Muslim domination in the past and of a readiness to continue this anti-Muslim mission through communal violence. Out of this emerged a 'martial Hinduism', one notably different from a bhakti of quietism as might have existed in former times and one that was constantly stoked by Arya Samaj and RSS propaganda. Sudra militants joined menacingly in religious processions and during the Ramlila celebrations they displayed weapons and issuing threats and insults against older Muslims residents and against the newer untouchable poor migrants.

Hindu untouchables and Muslim urbanites were the major competitors for the urban employment of Sudras who felt their economic hold over old occupations

slipping. At the same time Hindu local traders and small-scale manufacturers, erstwhile exploiters of the Sudras, now allied with them in.

An attempt to preserve their former hold against the inroads of larger capital from without. The common cause forged between the petty bourgeoisie and Sudra workers of these several Gangetic cities during the 1930s sustained a muscular Hinduism and communal violence from that time forward into the time of Hindutva.

III

Political bhakti remained a northern phenomenon, where it laid the foundation for contemporary communalism. In peninsular India for the most part this did not occur. Exceptions there are such as Lingayats of Karnataka. Lingayats formed as a bhakti sect of Siva worshippers in the twelfth century and became politicised in later medieval times when several poligars and kings of Karnataka professed Vira Saivism; in 1831 Lingayats were the core of a rebellion launched against the Wodiyar house of Mysore and their British patrons, then in more recent times Lingayats had attained enough of a rural political base to drive the Congress from power in 1961.

There was little of this in other parts of the peninsula. In Maharashtra as well as in Tamil country another kind of religious affiliation was espoused and that precisely because it was opposed to brahmanical cultural and political hegemony, as it was seen. Buddhism in both regions articulated the political aspirations of oppressed peoples. Among Maharashtrians this occurred famously in the career of B.R, Ambedkar when he embraced Buddhism in 1956 as the focus for Mahar mobilization; among Tamils the embrace of Buddhism came earlier and was more transitory. In both peninsular regions, however, the driving core of ideology was anti-Brahman.

Recently V. Geetha and S.V. Rajadurai published a study on a set of pioneer Tamil intellectuals who were framing an ideology of anti-Brahmanism shortly after Mahatma Jotirao Phule was doing the same in Maharashtra. (O'Hanlon). The panchama Ayothidas Pandithar remarkably not only studied bhakti and advaita, Islam and Christianity, but also Jainism and Buddhism, and he translated these studies into organizations devoted to the propagation of their doctrines. In 1881 he founded class-based Dravida Mahajana Sangam setting out a manifesto and programme for the amelioration of the condition of depressed Tamils based upon access to education, government employment and political office. His Chakya Buddhist Sangam came later and provided a discursive context for attacking Brahman domination over Tamils. Other low caste intellectuals joined in this achievement of educating themselves and giving eloquent voice to extending the Buddhist alternative identity for panchamas, one that repudiated ritual Brahmanism and the hegemony of Brahmans. These Tamil intellectuals of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century anticipated in detail and fervour of near-contemporary ideologues of the modern Dravidian movement, including 'Periyar', E.V. Ramasamy Naicker.

Between 1927 and 1934 his Self-Respect Movement set out the crucial lines of what would remain part the rhetorical core of Dravidian politics : anti-brahmanisim, anti-religion and a commitment to the alleviation of the depressed state of the impoverished of Madras Presidency. These programmatic objectives were forged in a political world defined by the hammer of the Congress and the anvil of the Justice Party. Periyar was a sometime member of both of organizations and had sought within their ranks to shift the dominance of the Brahman leadership of the Congress and that of high ranking and wealthy leadership of Justicites. (E.Sa. Visswanathan, ch 3). In all of this there was small scope for the idiom and meaning of bhakti. However small, a version bhakti not only survived within the Dravidian movement, but ultimately triumphed in the era of MGR when a kind of personal, political, militant bhakti became the dominating political practice.

While he was active in Tamil cinema, M.G. Ramachandran was a member of the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK), and for twenty years his films reflected central tenets of Dravidian political values—atheism, anti-brahmanism and social justice for lower castes. After forming his ADMK in 1972 (to become AIADMK), he went on win political office and to rule Tamilnadu from 1977 to 1987 with unprecedented popularity, borne of his reputation as a film idol more than for his policies. The class dimension of the Dravidian inheritance from the time of EVR was addressed in no obvious programmatic nor even rhetorical terms, notwithstanding that the same historic conditions obtained among Tamils as among the poor, low class/caste people of the cities of the Ganges studied by Gooptu. Infact, during MGR's leadership in Tamilnadu class differences widened and sharpened as the wealthier stratum of the Indian population enjoyed a decade of intensive growth—their embourgeoisement on a vast scale. This happened in India generally.

In 1990, there were two income classes being talked about in India. One consisted of some 60 per cent of households whose annual incomes was low, notionally below Rs. 12,500, and numbering some 490 million persons; the other was called a 'middle income group' and numbered 283 million, (Indian National Council of Applied Economic Research INCAER) and may comprise what was increasingly being spoken of as 'the new Indian middle class'. The consumerist appetites and spending of the 'Indian middle class' have been viewed enviously by the rest of the capitalist world as a gigantic internal market which was being supplied very largely from indigenous industrial production and therefore not likely to be supplied by the first world. There was in fact no unified 'middle class'; those whose household incomes exceeded Rs. 12,500 comprised a lower middle group of 28 per cent of households with annual incomes to about Rs. 25,000, and numbering 192 million in 1990. Was this 28 per cent of households India's petty bourgeoisie? Possibly, because the rest of the 'middle' section of income groups were perhaps 101 million persons and 14 per cent of households to the middle and upper middle ranges of the wealth class, whose top of 1 per cent of all households were the great wealthy, the crorepati, multi-millionaires.

The point of this diversion into income classes is to attempt to account for the strange late career of Tamil bhakti, to explore how the structure of contemporary Tamil society might conceivably have generated a transformed notion of bhakti ideology that spoke the idiom of justice, as bhakti ever had, but contented itself with that speech and did not engage the causes of injustice among contemporary Tamils.

For there is a sense in which bhakti principles continue to inform and that is in the militant, personal, political form of politics which was raised to an high art by the artist MGR to serve the politician MGR. There would seem to be four aspects of the new bhakti Tamil-style. One is the powerful imaging of the sentiments of devotion and of deliverance. Anciently that was the iconographic element of temples, the presentation of vast tableau of bhakti passion, its compassionate gods and its saintly poets. Now TV and movies have replaced and recharged this imagery, offering glittering surfaces on which to project divine personalities that close the distance between signified saviour and the signifying actor. A second conjunctural feature of the present muscular bhakti is the context generated by class and consumerism in which all Tamils are invited to consume, but only a few are able to, an alienation from benefit that must be explained and the disruptive consequences of which redirected into the streets as mass mourners when MGR dies or as occurs in the Ramlila of Gangetic cities. Thirdly and simultaneously, there is the growing fear and therefore danger in the large Indian petty bourgeoisie that such gains as they have made in recent decades will not be transmittable to their children and the willingness of the Tamil lower-middle-class, like that of the same class in the middle East, Europe and the US, to accept that the causes of fear is from others more poor than they, not more wealthy. And finally, it is not only in cities that antagonistic classes rub against and irritate, but also in the countryside. We are told that MGR's films always played better in the mofussil than in the cities of Tamilnadu, and one reason for that may be the way that rural society has changed over the last century. From being peasant communities tied, however uneasily, in to locality unites as a necessity of the continuity of community, rural classes were slowly transformed by the deeper penetration of market relations of the last century to which was added the development of an agricultural entrepreneurial class under the Green Revolution. And with that went the major entitlements interdependent though ranked groups who before constituted parts of communities; the benefits they enjoyed were to be replaced by class dependencies that knew neither community boundaries or obligations.

Medieval bhakti strengthened communities of Tamils by its temple worship that added shared participation of most groups of localities, all seeking the divine grace of a divine agent's conferral of a boons—*moksha*, a child, a military victory. What might have been the boon that MGR and his imitators in other places conferred? It was not transformation from poverty to riches, for that was not promised nor did it occur. Rather the opposite—deepening poverty of the poor. What then? Perhaps it was exultant fellowship, that is a sense of belonging to and with the transcendent

saviour? In upanishadic and vedantic terms this was unity with the godhead; in the modern politics of personal, political bhakti it an identity with the divine figure enlarged and illuminated on the cinema screen and made to thunder in thronging street demonstrations and perhaps apotheosized in suicide as so many did when MGR died?

Selected References

Appadurai, A and Breckenridge, Carol A, 1976. 'The South Indian Temples : Authority, Honor and Redistribution Contributions to Indian Sociology, ns, 10, No. 2 (Delhi), 187-211.

Baskaran, S. Theodore, 1981. The Message Bearers; The Nationalist Politics and the Entertainment Media in South India, 1880-1945. Madras : Cre-A Geetha, V and S.V.Rajadurai, 1993. 'Dalits and Non-Brahman Consciousness in Colonial Tamil Nadu' Economic and Political Weekly, September 25, 2091-2098.

Gooptu, Nandini 1993. 'Caste, Deprivation and Politics : the Untouchables in U.P. Towns in the Early Twentieth Century' in Peter Robb, ed. Dalit Movements and the Meanings of Labour in India. Delhi : OUP.

....., 1994. 'The urban poor and militant Hinduism in early twentieth-century Uttar Pradesh'. Ms to be submitted for publication.

O' Hanlon, Rosalind, 1985. Caste, Conflict, and Ideology; Mahatma Jotirao Phule and Low Caste Protest in Nineteenth-Century Western India. Cambridge : CUP.

Pandian, M.S.S, 1992. The Image Trap; M.G. Ramachandran in Film and Politics. New Delhi : Sage.

Stein, Burton, 1978. 'Temples in Tamil Country, 1300-1750 A.D., ' in B. Stein (ed), South Indian Temples. Delhi : Vikas.

....., 1980. Peasant State and Society in Medieval South India. Delhi : OUP.

Visswanathan, E Sa, 1983. The Political Career of E.V. Ramasami Naicker. Madras : Ravi & Vasanth.

[This thought provoking article by Prof. Burton Stein on Tamil Bhakti, was sent at my invitation, for inclusion in a special volume, I was editing then. It could not be included in that volume, due to causes beyond my control. Prof. Stein died before this could come out in print. I have included it in this volume, so that his thoughts are available for scholars.]

Editor]

The Origin and Distribution of Graffiti in the Ancient World

Dr. S. Gurumurthy

It will be interesting to study the origin and evolution of the various archaic scripts in the ancient world and their relevance to Indian graffiti. Let us now examine the distribution of graffiti in the various countries which served not only cradles of human civilisation but also pioneers in the field of graffiti tradition. The graffiti from select countries like China, Greece, Egypt, Ceylon and Japan have been chosen for understanding their true characters and significance. Further, it was felt that a comparative study of the graffiti from the above mentioned countries with these from India will be of some use to explain the meaning of such graffiti in India. With this in view a comparative chart has been prepared and given in Figs. (1-4). The chart carrys the common graffiti among these countries including India.

Chinese Graffiti

The Neolithic period in China is represented by the following cultures :

1. Yang Shao Culture (4800 - 4000 B.C.)

2. Ma Chia Yas Culture (2700 - 2000 B.C.) and Liang Chu Culture (3rd Millennium B.C.) The principal sites excavated and intensively studied are Pan 'O' Village, Panshan, Ma Chang, Linwan, Lethusian and Lang Chu. All these neolithic sites yielded typical neolithic pottery. The graffiti or pot marks on the neolithic pottery have been also categorised according to their chronology. The principal neolithic sites and their chronology and the graffiti collections are given below:

Culture	*Sites*	*Chronology*	*No. of Graffiti*
a. Yang Shao Culture	Pan P.O. Village	4800 - 4000 B.C.,	13
b. Ma Chia Yas Culture	Pan Shan Machang	2700 - 2000 B.C.,	19
c. Ma Chia Yas Culture	Liuwan & Letuhsien	2400 - 2000 B.C.,	11
d. Liang Chu Culture	Liang Chu	3rd millennium	9

There are more than 50 graffiti reported from these sites which are very similar to our Indian Graffiti.

The Graffiti include vertical and horizontal lines, plus, cross, marks, two and three pronged arrows, Swastika, comb, triangle, circles, square, wheel, mountain and damaru. A few resemble brahmi like letter such as Ka, u, o, pa, ta, na, ha, ru, etc.

The comparative study of Indian and Chinese graffiti indicate that there are a large number of similar graffiti in both traditions. Fig. 1-4.

Egyptian Graffiti (Archaic Period)

Excavations conducted by various scholars and agencies have brought to light abundant material to understand and appreciate the culture of the people of the Ancient Egypt, who lived during 3000 B.C., and 1000 B.C.,

Massive structures, magnificient artefacts, mysterious grave tombs and their rich collection of typical Egyptian antiques, exquisite pottery, wonderful paintings on the walls, informative inscriptions on the clay seals and walls make Egyptology as the richest branch of World Archaeology.

Among the Egyptian artefacts, pottery have special significance not only because of their deep antiquity, date and excellence in making but also for their possession of great varieties of pot marks and graffiti which throw a flood of light on the early palaeography or origin of writing in the Ancient Egypt.

Excavations

Excavations at various places especially at Sakkara have yielded large number of graffiti bearing pot sherds. Further the excavations at the tombs Nos. 35033, 35044, 35055, 35066, 35077 have produced large number of pottery with marks. The marks are mostly inscribed on the exterior of the large Jars. They are marked either singly or in groups. Some of the pot marks are similar to the graffiti found on the ancient Indian pottery. Besides the common linear and geometric signs, the Egyptian graffiti include a few rare symbols.

These have their parallels in India. There are many ligatured Graffiti similar to those found in India. Hence, the above said similarities cannot be taken lightly and need detailed examination. The Egyptian graffiti also come closer to the South Indian Iron age graffiti (Fig. 1-4).

The similarity in graffiti lends proof to the existence of contacts between these two countries right from the very beginning of the Dynastic rule in Egypt as early as 4th Millennium B.C. These contacts seem to have been a continuous process down to the Pre-Iron-age in South India, as evidenced from the Kilvalai and Dharmapuri paintings.

In the foregoing discussion only some select sites have been chosen from among the prominent sites excavated in Egypt to focus the attention of the archaeologists on the need for further probing in the subject of comparative Graffitology.

Egyptian pot marks and Graffiti are voluminous in quantity and therefore it is very difficult for Indian archaeologists to dive deep into the ocean of the Egyptian Graffitology.

Greek Graffiti

Excavations conducted at various places by the classical archaeologists yielded rich collection of antiquities which bear testimony to the deep antiquity of the Greek Civilisation. The excavations at Olynthus have yielded few earthenware

vessels bearing graffiti potsherds with archaic Greek inscriptions too have been reported from many sites. There are morphological similarities between the graffiti on Indian pottery and the Greek graffiti Figs. 1-4. The graffiti have been found either singly or in groups. They include symbols like the boar, comb, mango fruit like designs besides Brahmi letter like signs such as ra, ta, da, etc.

Srilankan Graffiti

Srilanka, our neighbouring country has a vast collection of archaeological materials which attest to the past glory of the island. There are evidences to show that both countries were culturally tied up in the past. It is reflected very rightly on their pottery recovered from the various excavations in Srilanka belonging to the Iron age habitation sites and burials.

The burials excavated in Srilanka especially in and around Anuradhapura have brought to light numerous pot sherds carrying graffiti.

Majority of the graffiti are very similar to the Indian graffiti Fig. 1-4. Ligatured graffiti also occur on the Srilankan pottery.

Majority of the graffiti are very similar to the Indian Graffiti Figs. 1-4. Ligatured graffiti also occur on the Srilankan pottery. The chronology of the Srilankan graffiti may be fixed between 4th or 3rd century R.C., and 1st or 2nd Century A.D., They are coeval with our South Indian Iron age graffiti.

They occur on the black-and-red ware, black ware and red slipped ware of the megalithic culture.

The individual graffiti represent mostly linear and geometrical designs; The stylised human figures also occur in considerable number and they recall similar figures on the Harappah wares and seals. The South Indian graffiti very rarely exhibit such stylised human figures. The fish symbol has been repeatedly seen. But the popular tree motifs, sun symbol, animal figures make their appearance sporadically. It is yet another feature peculiar to the Srilankan Graffiti. As in South Indian graffiti the jar symbol seldom occurs.

There are a few ligatured graffiti consisting of two to four signs. The symbols in such ligatured graffiti resemble Brahmi or Brahmi like letters such as ya, ma, ta, va, etc. This feature brings the graffiti closer to the Brahmi script as noticed in South India. Both graffiti and the Brahmi script existed side by side in Srilanka during the Iron age. The simultaneous occurrence of both tends to suggest that the graffiti would have played the key role as some sort of writing in Srilanka even before and after the invention or introduction of the Brahmi script. This fact may drive home the point that the Brahmi script in Srilanka may be dated slightly earlier than the 3rd or 2nd century B.C. More or less, the same phenomenon has been observed in South India also.

This is attested by the find of an interesting Bronze seal in the excavation of an Iron age burial site at Anaikotta in Srilanka. The seal carries six signs in two rows one below another. The upper and the lower rows contain three signs each (fig. 5). There are various readings offered to these signs. According to I. Mahadevan, the

seal carries the Brahmi letters and they have to be read from right to left as the seal bears the negative impression of the signs, he has identified the lower row letters running from right to left as *ko, ve, ta* and the last sign in the left extreme of the top row as *na*. But the two other signs in the top row are left unread by him Accordingly to him it reads as *Ko, Ve, Ta, Na (Kovendan)* meaning "the great ruler or Emperor," He is of the view that the other two signs in the upper row do not seem to be Brahmi letters. Further, these two signs are alike in shape. If they are not Brahmi letters, then they may have to be taken as graffiti. Even the sign on the left extreme on the top row does not look like a Brahmi letters and it may also be taken as graffiti. Therefore, it may be suggested that the upper row signs are graffiti and they may probably be substitute for the corresponding three Brahmi letters of the lower row. Then it may come closer to a bilingual script.

Even then, the pair of similar graffiti on the upper row could not be satisfactorily identified as the same sign occurs twice for corresponding two different letters of the lower row.

If we believe that if a sign has more than one meaning, then the pair of graffiti may be considered as substitutes for the two letters *Ko, Ve* of the lower row. That means the same graffiti has to be read both as *Ko* and *Ve*. The third graffiti may be the substitute for *ta* of the lower row.

Thus, the signs on the seal may be said to carry both the brahmi letters and graffiti as their substitutes. This identification of the three graffiti has to be considered only to the composition of the script on the Ceylon seal only. The same value of each of these graffiti occuring either individually or in the ligatured graffiti in other sites either in Ceylon or India has to be applied with great caution, because the above said pair of graffiti has been reported from Harappah sites and Kodumanal also. There is another possibility to identify all the six signs as Brahmi letters and accordingly the legend may be read. If so, they may be read as follows:

Upper row from right to left	*Ya Ya Ma (m)*
Lower row from right to left	*Ko Ve ta (nta)*

Here, the letters are read from right to left as Mahadevan and other scholars have done earlier; but left extreme sign has been taken for *na* by I. Mahadevan. It looks like Brahmi *ma* rather than *na*. The ma has Bhattiprolu Brahmi ma character.

The letters may be read from top to bottom row. In ancient writing system there are instances where the scribe has incised the letters in rows starting from top portion. This feature has been also noticed particularly in a few cave inscriptions from Tamil Nadu. Since the excavation on rock surface always will begin from the top portion the scribe would have initially attempted in incise the letters from top portion. But this is not a common or usual procedure, adopted everywhere; it is really noticeable. Likewise, there are also instances where the letters have been incised upside down or in the reverse order. The best example the Brahmi Inscriptions from Kilvalavu and Kunnakkudi respectively.

In the light of the foregoing discussion it may not be far wrong if we proceed to read the legend on the Ceylonese seal from top to bottom. There is one more point to be observed while reading the letters i.e., the problem of reading the two *Ya* letters. Here the two may be read as long Ya (Ya) as this is not uncommon in the early Brahmi script of Tamil Nadu. Therefore, the final reading and translation of the letters of the top row from right to left is *Yam* meaning *I* or *'Me'* and the bottom row i.e., *Ko Ve ta* - "the Ruler or Great Emperor" (Maharaja).

Putting the two rows together the meaning becomes "I, the great emperor or ruler" or "I am the great emperor". Even today the Srilankan Tamils use *Ya m* for 'I' or 'me' and therefore the reading sounds meaningful. Even if the letter in the top is taken for *na* as Mahadevan does, the reading becomes *Ya n* - it also has the same meaning as *Ya m* in Singalese Tamil.

Japanese Graffiti

Recent excavations of Yoyoi, Nara Prefectare in Japan have yielded pot sherds bearing graffiti. It is an Iron age burial site. The chronology of the site is fixed between 300 B.C., and 300 A.D. The Japanese graffiti show similarities in their morphology with the graffiti on Indian pottery Fig. 1-4.

An interesting incised design (probably be taken as a graffiti) on a clay vessel depicting a pair of men on a boat reported from Karako belonging to the early middle period deserves special mention. The boats play a rather prominent role as a subject matter in the incisions of several tombs. Boats are incised on the walls the rock-out tombs at Onizuika. Midorikawa kunnamoto etc. Details of incised men and boats on the walls of rock-cut tomb at Takaida, Kashiwara, Osaka are also available. It was believed in those days that they were associated with transporting of the soul of the deceased to another world. All boats are of usual gondola type.

It is interesting to observe that most of the Japanese graffiti represent the two and three pronged arrows, stylised birds, animal figures, trees and leaf patterns, horizontal wavy lines etc. These graffiti are very similar to those of South India Early Iron Age graffiti Fig. 1-4.



ANNAIKOTTAI, SRILANKA, BRONZE SEAL

What is the significance of the similarity between the graffiti of these two countries? The similarity is not accidental but is due to some contacts established between the Early Iron age people of South Indian and of Japan. However, there are not many graffiti yielding Iron age burials and habitation sites excavated in Japan which could alone offer substantial material to explain in depth relationship. Further excavations could alone render meaningful explanation for existence of similarity between the graffiti of these two great countries.

References

1. William G. Boltz. Op. cit. p. 430, Fig. 3.
2. Walter Emery. Excavations at Sakkara, Great Tombs of the first Dynasty. Vol. II and III. London. 1954-57.
3. Ibid. Vol. II. p. 164, Fig. 223.
4. Ibid. Figs. 100, 101 and 102, p 1.01.
5. Ibid. Vol. III, p. 19, p 1.33.
6. Ibid, p. 56, pp. 76.
7. Ibid, p. 88, pp. III.
8. Walter Emery, Archaic Egypt, p. 125, Fig. 14.
9. David Robinson - Exavations at Olynthus (1934-38) Vol. 6. (pottery) plates : 80-B, 89.67, 92.73, 124.9, 127.4, 210.645, 220.770, 225.847, 228.865, 235.911, 918, 919, 920 & 921; 254.1060 and 264.
10. Ancient Ceylon, No. 2 (1972), p. 123, Fig. 17.
11. Indrapala, Op. Cit. The Hindu, 26th April, 1981, Prof. Indrapala, of Jaffna University, Srilanka, first discovered the seal and he has been kind enough to send me a photo copy of the same.

11*a*. According to the methodology of the present author, the reading of the three graffiti marks is to be done as follows :

= Iru Vel : = Min; ie = n; putting together it becomes Iru Velan, the name of a person. Since comes as an end determinative it is given the value n. In this case the graffiti may not appear as substitutes for Brahmi letters of the lower row, but seem to have been used in a different script is, the pictographic or the Proto Brahmi. This means two different scripts are employed in the same legend and the real sense of which is yet to be realised.

12. T.V. Mahalingam, Early South Indian Palaeography. Pp.60-61.
13. Ibid.
14. J. Edward Kidder, Japan, Pp. 164-166, P1.59 (1959).
16. Ibid., Fig. 42.
17. Ibid., Pp. 164-166.

Gandhi

SERIAL NO.	INDIAN GRAFFITI	CHINESE	EGYPTIAN	NEAREAST	GREEK	SRILANKAN	JAPANESE
1		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
2		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
3		✓	✓			✓	✓
4		✓					✓
5		✓	✓			✓	✓
6		✓				✓	✓
7		✓				✓	✓
8		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
9			✓	✓			✓
10				✓			✓
11		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
12			✓				
13		✓	✓		✓	✓	
14			✓		✓	✓	
15			✓				✓
16			✓				
17			✓				
18			✓				✓

SERIAL NO.	INDIAN GRAFFITI	CHINESE	EGYPTIAN	NEAR EAST	GREEK	SRILANKAN	JAPANESE
19			✓			✓	
20		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
21			✓			✓	
22		✓					
23			✓			✓	
24			✓			✓	✓
25		✓	✓				
26		✓					
27		✓	✓	✓			
28				✓	✓		
29					✓		
30		✓	✓		✓		✓
31		✓	✓		✓		✓
32			✓		✓		
33			✓		✓		
34			✓		✓		
35		✓			✓		
36					✓		

SERIAL NO.	INDIAN GRAFFITI	CHINESE	EGYPTIAN	NEAREAST	GREEK	SRILANKAN	JAPANESE
37		✓			✓	✓	
38			✓			✓	
39						✓	
40			✓			✓	
41			✓				
42			✓			✓	
43			✓				
44						✓	
45			✓				
46			✓			✓	
47		✓	✓		✓	✓	
48		✓	✓		✓		
49		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
50			✓		✓		
51			✓		✓	✓	
52			✓				
53			✓				
54			✓				✓

SERIAL NO.	INDIAN GRAFFITI	CHINESE	EGYPTIAN	NEAR EAST	GREEK	SRILANKAN	JAPANESE
55		✓	✓		✓	✓	✓
56		✓		✓		✓	✓
57			✓				
58		✓					
59		✓				✓	
60					✓		
61			✓	✓	✓		✓
62			✓	✓			✓
63			✓	✓			✓
64			✓				
65				✓			
66			✓	✓			
67			✓	✓			
68			✓	✓			
69			✓				✓
70			✓				✓
71			✓				✓
72			✓			✓	

SERIAL NO.	INDIAN GRAFFITI	CHINESE	EGYPTIAN	NEAREAST	GREEK	SRILANKAN	JAPANESE
73			✓				
74			✓		✓	✓	
75			✓			✓	
76			✓				
77			✓			✓	
78			✓	✓		✓	
79			✓			✓	
80			✓			✓	
81			✓			✓	
82			✓		✓	✓	
83			✓		✓	✓	
84				✓			
85		✓				✓	
86						✓	✓
87						✓	
88		✓				✓	
89		✓				✓	
90						✓	

SERIAL NO.	INDIAN GRAFFITI	CHINESE	EGYPTIAN	NEAR EAST	GREEK	SRILANKAN	JAPANESE
91		✓	✓		✓	✓	✓
92			✓				✓
93			✓				
94		✓	✓		✓	✓	
95			✓				
96		✓	✓		✓		
97		✓	✓		✓		
98			✓			✓	
99			✓			✓	
100			✓				
101			✓				
102			✓				
103			✓			✓	
104			✓			✓	✓
105			✓				
106		✓			✓	✓	
107					✓	✓	
108						✓	

SERIAL NO	INDIAN GRAFFITI	CHINESE	EGYPTIAN	NEAREAST	GREEK	SRILANKAN	JAPANESE
109						✓	
110			✓		✓		
111		✓					
112		✓					
113			✓			✓	
114			✓			✓	✓
115			✓				
116			✓				
117			✓				✓
118			✓	✓		✓	
119			✓			✓	
120			✓				
121						✓	✓
122			✓				
123		✓	✓		✓	✓	
124		✓	✓		✓		
125			✓				
126			✓		✓		

SERIAL NO	GRAFFITI	CHINESE	EGYPTIAN	NEAR EAST	GREEK	SRILANKAN	JAPANESE
127		✓			✓		
128					✓		
129							
130						✓	
131						✓	
132			✓			✓	
133						✓	
134						✓	
135						✓	
136						✓	
137					✓	✓	
138							
139		✓				✓	
140			✓			✓	
141		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
142			✓				
143			✓				
144							✓



V.R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR

Professor of Indian History and Archeology, University of Madras

Born in April 16, 1896 at Vishnampet near Tirukattupalli, Tanjore District in an orthodox vedic brahmin family.

Education: Read upto S.S.L.C. at Sir P.S. Sivaswamy Iyer High School, Tirukattupalli.

1917 His Holiness Jagadguru Sri Sankaracharya of Kanchi was pleased to award him with Silver Medal for his brilliant sanskrit essay.

1920 Graduated from St. Joseph College, Tiruchirapalli.
1920 First appointment at the Postal Audit Office, Commander in Chief Road, Madras.
1923 Passed M.A. History
1923 – 27 Research Scholar, Madras University
1927 – 28 Lecturer St. Joseph College, Bangalore
1928 – 46 Lecturer and then Reader in Indian History & Archaeology, Madras University.
1945 – 47 Honorary Reader in the Department of Politics and Public Administration.
1947 – 53 Professor, Department of Indian History & Archaeology, Madras University.
1953 Demise

Books written by Prof. V.R. Ramachandra Dikshitar

1. Hindu Administrative Institutions
2. Studies in Tamil Literature and History
3. Mauryan Polity
4. Some Aspects of Vayu Purana
5. The Matsya Purana – A Study
6. The Lalitha Cult
7. Kulottunga Chola III (in Tamil)
8. War in Ancient India
9. Origin and the spread of the Tamils
10. Southern India and China
11. Pre Historic South India
12. Gupta Polity
13. Purana Index in III volumes

Books edited by the author

1. India Varalarru Churukkam (History of India)
2. Karnataka Rajakkal Savistara Charitram
3. Select South Indian Inscriptions

Books translated by the author

1. Silappadikaram (English Translation)
2. Tirukkural of Tiruvalluvar – English Translation & Transliteration
3. Nag Kalidas 'Les Theories Diplomatiques in Ancient India'