

BRAHMANISM JAINISM AND BUDDHISM IN ĀNDHRA DĒŚA

P. ARUNDHATI



Study of the growth of religion is a very alluring and fascinating subject. A detailed study of all religions of Āndhra upto 1000 A.D. basing on literary and archaeological sources made in this work with rendering from scriptures, with a special thrust on Brahmanical thought in all its dimensions, highlighting its role in shaping the matrix of contemporary social life is highly authentic and impressive. Some of the earliest specimen of iconographic forms of Siva, and the earliest epigraphical references to Gods like Surya and Subrahmanya have been dealt with in depth.

This intensive study of the subject is outcome of the indefiable research of the authoress and the details therein reflects the immaculate scholarship of the authoress. This book is bound to be the standard Indological tome for all time to come. No student of Indology can afford to miss this authoritative book which enshrines mine of information as regards to the Indian Religion thought and culture.

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**BRĀHMANISM, JAINISM AND BUDDHISM
IN ĀNDHRA DĒŚA**

Brāhmanism, Jainism and Buddhism in Āndhra Dēśa

**by
P. ARUNDHATI**



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Dedicated to :
Guru Raghavendra of Mantralaya

Preface

The subject of Religion and Culture always arouse in me an urge to know more and more about and this lead me to take up the topic “Religious life and thought in Āndhra from Satavahanas to 1000 A.D” for my doctrinal thesis submitted to Osmania University, Hyderabad. The present book entitled Brāhmanism, Jainism and Buddhism in Āndhra Dēśa substantially, forms my doctoral thesis.

In this book for the first time an endeavour is made for an extensive study of Brahmanical thought, rites, practices, festivals, beliefs, life of monastic order and house-holder, practices and philosophy of both Jains and Buddhists as gleaned through archaeological and literal sources with a supporting directions from traditional lore.

My deepest gratitude is to my father late Dr. P. Madhava Sarma who initiated me into the field of research and to Late Dr. N. Ramesan, IAS, MA, Ph.D., Commissioner of Vigilence, Government of Āndhra Pradesh, Late Dr. R. Narasimha Rao, Prof. History, Osmania University, Late Dr. R. Subramaniam, Prof. History, Osmania University, who embolden me to shove with the work.

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I am very much indebted to my sister Dr. P. Jhansi Lakshmi

Head, Department of History, Osmania University, my mother Smt. P. Mangathai, my younger brothers Dr. P.V. L.N. Sarma and Dr. P.V. Rama Sarma and my younger sister Smt. I. Vishnupriya, Mr. Mark, Reader, Osmania University and to Shri Sundareswaran Rao, Hyderabad who helped me throughout my work. My deep thanks are due to Dr. V. Rami Reddy, Vice-Chancellor, Indira Gandhi Open University, New Delhi and Prof. Shahny and Prof. B. Rama Raju of Hyderabad and to all staff members of Government Departments and institutions which I visited during the course of my study for all their help and advice.

My last but best thanks are due to my husband Sri C.V. Subba Rao, Additional Government Advocate, Central Agency Section, Supreme Court, New Delhi who has been the source of inspiration and has been giving unfailing support throughout.

I owe special thanks to Mr. Ashish Singhal for bringing out this beautiful publication within a short time.

Note on Pronunciation

CONSONANTS

Gutturals	: k kh g gh ñ
Palatals	: ch chh j jh n y ś
Cerebrals	: ṭ ṭh ḍ ḍh ṇ r ṣ
Labials	: p ph b bh m v
Dentals	: t tha da dha n
Aspirate	: h
Visarga	: ḥ
Anusvara	: ṁ

SIMPLE VOWELS

Gutturals	: a ā
Palatals	: i ī
Labials	: u ū
Cerebrals	: ṛ
Dentals	: i

DIPTHONGS

Palatals	: e ai
Labials	: o au

Note on References

References have been noted at the end chapterwise. While citing the references, the scheme adopted is to refer the names of famous authors, volume, part, page, e.g. Kane VII, Pt. II, p. 560. The title and year of publication are given in the bibliography appended. The English translation of Yaśastilaka which has been taken as the main literary source is indicated as Handique page . . . While referring to the inscriptions published in epigraphical reports, whether in Indian Epigraphy or in Annual Reports or South Indian Epigraphy (1887 to 1951) or in Āndhra Pradesh Government reports on epigraphy from 1964 onwards, only the No. of the inscription and the year of publication is mentioned e.g. 360 of 1976-77 or 350 of 1966. While giving the dates of the inscriptions the Śaka, Gānga and Christian calender eras are cited.

Abbreviations

A.N. Arch.	— Annual Reports of Archaeological Survey of India
A.P. Arch. Seri.	— Āndhra Pradesh Archaeological Series
A.S.W.I.	— Archaeological Survey of Western India
E.A.	— Epigraphia Andhrica
E.C.	— Epigraphia Carnatica
E.I.	— Epigraphia Indica
Hy. Ar. Seri.	— Hyderabad Archaeological Series
I.A.	— Indian Antiquary
I.H.Q.	— Indian Historical Quarterly
In. Arch.	— Indian Archaeology
J.A.H.R.S.	— Journal of the Āndhra Historical Research Society
J.B.O.R.S.	— Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society
J.O.I.H.	— Journal of Indian History
Me. Ar. Seri	— Memoirs of Archaeological Survey of India
N.D.I.	— Nellore District Inscriptions
S.I.I.	— South Indian Inscriptions
T.T.D.I.	— Tirumala Tirupati Devasthanam's Inscriptions

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Introduction

1.1 SCOPE OF THE THESIS

The thesis embodies an effort to present the religious life and thought in Āndhra Dēśa from the Sātavāhanas to 1000 A.D. as gleaned from the literary and archaeological sources. The present work stresses the historical development of religious life and thought comprehending all faiths. The term Āndhra Dēśa is used in this work to denote the present State of Andhra Pradesh.

Books on early history of Āndhra by scholars like B.V. Krishna Rao and Dr. K. Gopalachari contain brief references to religion. The one special work on Religion in Andhra by Dr. B.S.L. Hanumantha Rao is a work on religion in general without going in detail about the life and thought. The works of Dr. K.R. Subramaniam and Dr. Ajay Mitra Sastri deal with only Buddhism, while that of Sri Gopalkrishna Murty deals with the material culture of Jainism in Āndhra. The topics on Brāhmanical rites, practices, festivals, beliefs and philosophical schools are specially dealt with in the present work. Since the study of Āndhra Buddhism has already been done in detail by the previous scholars, it has not been elaborated in this work. Jainism which has not been paid attention to in earlier studies specially with reference to Jaina thought and practices has been elaborately discussed.

Though there is a wealth of prehistoric remains in the State and a rich legacy of tradition from Brāhmaṇas to Purāṇas about Āndhra, sufficient historical material to reconstruct the religious life and thought is available only from the times of the Sātavāhanas and hence the Sātavāhana period has been made the starting point of the study.

The first quarter of the 11th century A.D. marks the ushering in of a new era in the history of Āndhra which witnessed the beginning of Telugu literature, especially the composition of Āndhra Mahābhārata by Nannaya under the patronage of Rājarāja of the Eastern Chālukyan dynasty. The Chālukya-Chōla relations brought in new trends into the life of Āndhra and a change in the nature and character of the source material could be noticed. Therefore, 1000 A.D. has been made the terminal point of the study. During the period under study Āndhra Dēśa passed through many political vicissitudes, turmoils and conflicts. Simultaneously it also witnessed the growth of religious sects and schools and the amalgamation of many streams of thought. The confluence of ideals, customs and practices emanating from the historical currents and cross-currents that flowed through there ligions from various parts of India ultimately gave a distinct personality to the religious culture of the land.

The Principal religions which shaped the life and thought during the period under study, as elsewhere in India, are Brāhmanism with its sects, Buddhism and Jainism with their different schools. Accordingly the thesis has been conceived in three parts, each devoted to one religion and chapterisation has been designed to suit the scheme.

1.2 CHAPTERISATION

The first chapter is the introduction explaining the scope of the thesis, chapterisation, and the classification of source material used. It includes a brief political background of the period under study.

The second chapter deals with the Brāhmanical life and thought. First, the concept of Dharma is explained and its practice in Āndhra is traced. The thought and life following Dharma is dealt with in three sections under Śrauta dharma, Smārta dharma and Sādhāraṇa dharma. The section on Tāntrism follows the section on Popular religious rites, festivals, vratas, tīrthayāthras, Jātara and other beliefs. Then the sects of Brāhmanical religion are separately treated. They include Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism, Śāktism and minor cults. The chapter closes with a reference to Religious thought, Mythology and Institutions of Brahmanical faith.

The third chapter deals with Buddhist life and thought. First a

historical survey of Buddhism in Āndhra is made. This is followed by an account of the schools of Buddhism, its monachism, teachers, canon, and philosophy. Then the life of a Buddhist householder is described.

The fourth chapter dealing with Jainism starts with a historical survey, followed by sections on jaina schools and sects, monachism, teachings, canon and philosophy. Finally the religious life of a Jain house-holder is described.

The conclusions are drawn under the title "Salient features" a separate chapter. Next the References and Bibliography are given.

Appendix containing the important names of the different religious centres in Āndhra Dēśa together with maps is given at the end.

1.3 SOURCES

The sources utilised for writing the thesis can be conveniently divided into two categories viz., archaeological and literary. The former includes the study of the inscriptions, icons, narrative sculptures and religious edifices like temples and maṭhas. The latter comprises literary works in Prākṛt and Sanskr̥t languages.

Epigraphs : The epigraphical sources consisting of copper plates and lithic records form the chief source of the study. The early inscriptions are in the Prākṛt language and the later ones in Sānskṛt and other regional languages like Kannaḍa and Telugu. Most of them are donative in nature, recording gifts made by the rulers, nobles, officials as well as by commoners, to brāhmins, temples and other religious institutions like maṭhas or vihāras or basadis on different occasions. The source material from places like Nāśik, Nāṇeghāt, Hāthigumpha and Kopbal which are today outside Āndhra are cited in the thesis as they have a bearing on the religious life in ancient Āndhra. Inscriptions provide a variety of information on religious aspects. The inscriptions from Nāṇeghat and Nāśik reveal the early phase of religious life and thought in Āndhra, for instance Nāyanika in her Nāṇeghāt inscription enumerates vedic sacrifices offered by early Śātavāhana rulers. Amaravati Pillar inscription of the Pallavas

of the later period and Tummalagudem plates of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin Vikramēndravarma reveal the final stages of Buddhism in Āndhra. The Tandikonda plates of Eastern Chālukyans reflect the influence of Kālāmukhas, while Yuddhamalla's Bezawada inscription unmistakably shows Bezawada as a stronghold of Śaivism. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscription from Kudatini refers to the worship of Kumāra as yogi, the Nala inscription from Vijayanagaram district reveals the highest ideals of Gīta, and the Bāṇa inscriptions from Tirupati give details of Vaiṣṇava festivals. Most of the inscriptions under study are studded with the mythological stories and popular beliefs, through descriptions, similes and metaphors. The Musinikonda grant of Vijayāditya shows revival of Jainism in Āndhra. While Danavulapadu inscription of Śrī Vijaya contains the highest philosophical thought of Jaina faith, inscriptions from Kopbal and Bodhan reveal Jaina practices like Sallekhana, observance of Śrutapanchami and other festivals. The Gaṅgādharam inscription refers to the existence of certain jaina practices like abhiṣēkam with milk and worship of Chakrēśwari etc. Stūpas, temples, basadis, and maṭhas which were the centres of religious congregation form an important source for the study of religious life with their inscriptional, structural and sculptural wealth. The sculptural panels depicting gods, goddesses, semidivine beings, stories from mythology and exploits of heroes supplement the material furnished by the other sources. For example the Śaivaite plaque from Peddamuḍiyam and the panel of Panchavīras from Piduguralla reflect the religious cults that were popular in the 4th and 5th centuries A.D. respectively in Āndhra. The plaque of nagnakabandha or Lajjagouri found in different places like Kondapur, Chityala Alampur, and Kisara show the prevalence of a type of fertility cult in Āndhra especially the Telengana region. Though every icon thus is a reflection of an aspect of religious faith of the period, only a few are noted in the present work.

Literature : Literary works like the Gāthāsaptasāti and the Yaśastilaka belonging to the 1st and 10th centuries A.D., respectively are of immense value for the study of the religious life and thought of the period. The Gāthāsaptasāti, a Prakṛt Muktakakāvya consisting of seven hundred erotic verses was compiled by King Hāla of Sātavāhana

dynasty. These verses composed by different poets and poetesses mainly reflect the folk life. The religious stories and practices and the purāṇic legends of Śiva, Pārvati, Viṣṇu, Lakshmi, Sūrya, Chandra etc., are found in the form of invocation or prayer or narratives or in similes. Some religious stories, practices, and philosophical thoughts are also referred to in this work.

The Yaśastilaka is a Champu kāvya in Sanskrit by Somadēva Sūri a Jain thinker, logician, and the court poet of Vēmūlavāda Chālukyan kings. Baddega II and Arikēsari IV. Jains laid great emphasis on dharma kathas to illustrate noble qualities like renunciation, forbearance, honesty, austerity, self-restraint, truthfulness, piety, chastity and other vows of Jaina religious conduct. The Yaśastilaka is full of such stories. Sōmadēva while upholding the ideal of ahimsa, narrates that the hero Yaśōvarma had to undergo sufferings in several births for having offered a “Piṣṭa paśu”. Thus he highlights the concept of Abhinivēsa—the mental resolve or the notion as more important than the real action. Sōmadēva under section “Samastasamaya-siddhāntavabōdhana” which deals with contemporary religious thought, criticises the other faiths, in order to establish the superiority of his own faith. In this context the six systems of philosophy, different branches of Śaivism, Viṣṇu cult, Śāktism with Tāntric elements, the Vēdic rituals, yōga, popular beliefs, customs, practices and mythology have been discussed in the above work. And these portions have been completely utilised in writing the chapter on Brāhmanical religion.

The Mattavilāsa and the Bhagavadajjuka by Pallava Mahēndra-varman are used since they are taken to reflect the contemporary religious conditions. Mattavilāsa is a prahasana in Sānskṛt exposing the growing unorthodoxy among the contemporary Buddhist monks and dreadful practices among the Śaiva sects. The Bhagavadajjuka another drama which is attributed to him, emphasises the superiority of yoga and the decline of Buddhism. A Yati called Bhagavat and a Prostitute by name Ajjuka are the important characters in this drama. Hence, it is called Bhagavadajjuka.

1.4 POLITICAL BACKGROUND

Āndhra Dēśa like many other parts of India, has been inhabited by the humans from the prehistoric period and this is attested by the stone tools found at innumerable sites spread over the entire land like those of Kurnool, Yeleswaram, Nagarjunakoṇḍa, Dharanikota, Amaravati, Peddabankur, Kotilingala and Kondapur. It is not possible to reconstruct their religious life and thought with the existing material remains. However, the following points can be noted. The megalithic man buried or preserved the dead in urn-burials, cairns or cists along with iron implements, pottery with offerings of animals, grain, food, drink, weapons, and ornaments. The antiquity of the Āndhras seems to be as old as the Aitarēya brāhmaṇa. They are found mentioned in Chāndogya Upaniṣad, Āpastambhagrihya sūtras, Mahābhārata, Harivamśapurāṇa, Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa, the Suttanipāta and the Serivaṇṇija jāta. Foreign writers like Megasthenes refer to Āndhra as a territory comprising many villages, thirty fortified towns, an army of 100,000 infantry 2,000 cavalry and 1,000 elephants and the Aśōkan 13th major rock edict too refers to Āndhras. Though references to Āndhras are found quite early, their history can be fairly reconstructed only from the times of the Sātavāhana dynasty due to the availability of historical source material.

Following the fall of the Maurya, Śuṅga and Kaṇva dynasties, the Sātavāhanas gained ascendancy as the Lords of “Dakṣiṇāpatha” and continued their rule till the first quarter of the 3rd century A.D. Over the ruins of their empire there arose the kingdoms of the Ikṣvākus of Vijayapuri, the early Pallavas and in course of time those of Ānandagotras, Śāṅkāyanas and the Viṣṇukunḍins. The process of political unification again started with the Chālukyas of Bādāmi and with the establishment of the kingdom of Vēṅgi under Kubjavisnuvardhana in 7th century A.D. Chālukyas of Bādāmi, Vēṅgi Chālukyas, Rāṣtrakūtas, Pallavas, Rēnāṭi-Cholas, Vēmulaṇḍa kings and Nōḷambas ruled parts of Āndhra Dēśa. It was the Chālukya-Chōḷa alliance which made a tremendous impact on Āndhra Dēśa in matters of religion and culture. This is the political framework against which religious life and thought flowered in ancient Āndhra Dēśa.

The rulers were the chief patrons of religion and gave an impetus for its development but they did not encourage any one religion or any one sect of a religion against the others.

The present section gives a sketch of the framework of the dynastic history of the period under study, so that in the subsequent chapters of the thesis, dates, succession and order of kings need not be mentioned every time they are referred to. The controversies over the geneology and chronology of the dynasties that ruled are not discussed.

The Sātavāhanas : The Sātavāhanas rose as an independent power after the Mauryans. Thirty rulers of the dynasty ruled for a period of nearly four and a half centuries stretching from 230 B.C. to 225 A.D.

Simuka (230-207 B.C.), the founder of the dynasty conquered the whole of Mahārāṣṭra and Mālwa and a good part of Madhya Pradesh. His brother Kanha ruled for eighteen years and further extended the kingdom, in the west as far as Naśik. His successor was Śrī Sātakarṇi I (189 B.C.) who is said to have performed many sacrifices and paid the priests in thousands of cows, horses, elephants, whole villages and large sums of money. He conquered Magadha and Kaṭiṅga. His coins were found at Ujjain and Vidiśa too. Among all the Sātavāhana rulers, Sātakarṇi II (166 B.C.-110 B.C.) enjoyed the longest reign of fifty-six years. It is quite possible that he was the Sātakarṇi who was confined to the west by Kharavela of Kaṭiṅga. He marched deep into the north to conquer the eastern regions of Madhya Pradesh and wrested Mālwa. The seventieth King Hāla (20-24 A.D.) composed an anthology of seven hundred erotic verses written in Mahārāṣṭri Prākṛt which forms the main literary source of the present work. He is said to have married Leelavati. Next greatest is Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi (80-104 A.D.) mentioned in the inscriptions as the destroyer of 'Śakas, Yavanas, Pallavas and Kshātrapa family' and also as 'The restorer of the glory of the Sātavāhana dynasty'. He recovered the northern Mahārāṣṭra, Konkan and Narbada Valley, invaded Sourāṣṭra, Malwa and Western Rājaputāna and stamped his sign on the coins of the Śakas. He expanded his territories to Vidarbha, Banavāsi and overthrew Nahāpana and restruct a large

number of his coins. He occupied Vijayanti, a famous harbour of ancient Karṇāṭaka. Thus his empire extended from the Bay of Bengal to the Arabian sea, from Mukhalingam to Cuddalore. His coins bearing the figure of the ship illustrate his power on the seas beyond the lands. He was described as Lord of 'Trisadēśa' "Dakṣiṇāpatha-pati" "Ekabrāhmaṇas", "Aparatihatacakra". Queen Bālaśrī, his mother in an inscription at Nāśik describes all his achievements in glowing terms. He was succeeded by Vāsiṣṭiputra 'Śrī Puḷōmāyi (130-158 A.D.) who ruled for twentyeight years. Puḷōmāyi was defeated by Rudradama, the Kṣhātrapa king. The coins and inscriptions of the king are found in Gōdāvari, Guntur districts and southern coastal parts of Āndhra. Śrī Yajñasātakarni (170-199 A.D.), was one of the best known Sātavāhana rulers, perhaps second only to Gautamiputra Sātakarni. Some of his coins bearing the figure of a ship perhaps indicate his interest in naval activities. The Sātavāhana power might have come to an end by Century 220 A.D. Regarding religion the kings followed Brāhmanism though their women patronised Buddhism. A section of society followed Jainism. 'The Sātavāhana empire fell into fragments and the Abhīras in the north-west and the Traikūṭakas in the west, the Ikṣvākus, the Bṛhatphalāyanas and the Śāṅkayanas in the east, the Pallavas in the south-east and the Chūtūs in the south rose to power.

Ikṣvākus : The Ikṣvāku dynasty ruled over the Kṛṣṇa-Guntur region with Vijayapuri as capital during the 3rd century A.D. The founder of the line was Vāsistiputra Śrī Cāntamūla. He performed many Vēdic sacrifices. His son Virapurūṣadatta (Century 275 A.D.) was married into the Śāka family and formed matrimonial alliance with the Chūtūs. The other Ikṣvāku rulers were Ehuṇḍa Cāntamūla and Rudrapurūṣadatta and Ehuṇḍa's son Vāsistiputra Rudrapurūṣadatta. Virapurūṣa II was the last ruler of this line. The remains from Nagarjunakōṇḍa comprising magnificent Buddhist structures, some Hindu temples and aśvamedha ghat reveal the peaceful co-existence of all religions under their able rule. The inscriptions eulogise the generous nature of Cāntamūla, the founder.

Bṛhatphalāyanas : After the Ikṣvākus, the eastern Āndhra region parts of Kṛṣṇa and Guntur districts, passed into the hands of the

Bṛihatphalāyanas in the first quarter of the fourth century A.D. Only one king of the dynasty, Jayavarman, is known to us from a copper plate grant. He was a Śaivite and donated brahmādēyas.

Ānandagōtras : Inscriptions of Ānandagōtra are found in Guntur and a part of Ongole districts. From this it appears that they have risen from the ashes of the Ikṣavāku power in the later part of the fourth century A.D. Kandara, probably the founder of this line, gave his daughter in marriage to a Pallava king. Dāmōdaravarman and Attivarman were the other known members of this dynasty. They were followers of Brāhmanism and Buddhism.

Sālankāyanas : The Sālankāyanas succeeded the kings of Brihatphalāyana gotra and ruled over Kṛṣṇa, Guntur and Tenali regions. Their first king Dēvavarman performed a horsesacrifice. Nandivarman I, Chandavarman, and Nandivarman II followed by Skandavarman are the other kings of this dynasty known to us. This dynasty had Chitrarathaswāmy as tutelary deity. Of these rulers Nandivarman II was a Viṣṇavite while the others were Śaivites. This dynasty was referred to by Ptolemy in his records.

Viṣṇukunḍins : The Viṣṇukunḍin dynasty was founded by Mādhavavarman I, in about 440 A.D. and about seven rulers of this dynasty ruled for 300 years. The founder of the line married a Vākāṭaka princess and performed eleven aśvamēdha sacrifices. His son Dēvavarman was followed by Mādhavavarman II who was succeeded by Vikramēndravarmān I. After him, Vikramēndra Indrabattārka II, Gōvindavarman, Mādhavavarman III, succeeded to the throne. Their rule ended by about 611 A.D. when Pulakēśin II of the Bādāmi Chālukya dynasty put an end to their supremacy. The kings performed several sacrifices, donated brahmādēya and patronised Buddhism. Among the kings of this line there were both Śaivites and Vaiṣṇavites.

The Pallavas : The history of the Pallavas could be broadly divided into two major sections : (1) Those who ruled in the 1st quarter of the fourth century A.D. to 600 A.D., and (2) those who came after 600 A.D. The former could be called the early Pallavas and the later the imperial Pallavas. The early Pallavas could be further divided once again into two : (1) those who issued the Prakṛt charters,

and (2) those who issued the Sanskrit charters. Śivaskandavarman, Vijayaskanda, Simhavarman, Viṣṇugopa, Buddhavarman are some of the important early rulers of this period who performed sacrifices, made dānas and whose inscriptions are found in the Āndhra region only. Mahēndravarma I, the later Pallava king, who was a Jain in the early part of his career (600-630 A.D.), but converted to Śaivism wrote the Sanskrit play “Mattavilāsa”. The work shows that in his time several religions like Buddhism, Jainism, Kālāmukha, and Pāśupata, Śaivism were followed in his kingdom. He was a great warrior, builder of temples and patron of arts. Narsimhavarman I (630-668 A.D.) Paramēśvaravarman I, Rajasimha (Narsimha Varma II), Paramēśvaravarman II (728-731 A.D.) were some of the other important rulers of this dynasty. The next ruler Nandivarman II came to the throne at age of twelve in A.D. 731-32 and ruled for nearly 65 years. This was an important era in Pallava history. He built the Vaikunṭhaperumāl temple at Kanchi. Dantivarman, Nandivarman III, Nṛipatunga and Aparājitavarman are some of the Pallava rulers under whose rule inscriptions were issued from the southern districts of Āndhra. They followed Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism, Brāhmanism and gave lavish donations.

Chālukyas of Bādāmi : The Chālukyas of Bādāmi emerged as an independent political power under Pulakēśin I. His son Kirtivarman I (566-67 to 597-98 A.D.) expanded the kingdom by defeating the Kadambas of Banavasi, the Mauryas of Konkan and the Nalas, and extended the empire upto Gujarat and Malva. Mangalēśa succeeded Kirtivarman I. He was killed by his nephew Pulakēśin II, who occupied the throne. Pulakēśin II defeated the Kadambas, the Ālupas, the Gāṅgas, Harṣha of Thānēśvar, the Lātas, the Gūrjaras, the kings of Berar, Mahārāshtra, Kunthala and Kanchipuram. In the course of his campaigns, Pulakēśin defeated Viṣṇukunḍins on the shores of Colair lake, stormed Piṣṭapura, occupied Kōsala and Kaṭiṅga. He put together all these areas and constituted the Eastern Chālukyan viceroyalty with Vēṅgi as (611 A.D) capital. In 641 A.D. Hiuentasang visited the court of Pulakēśin II. In the Gadval plates issued from Mahaboobnagar district in his 20th reign year (674 A.D.), Pulakēśin declared that the Chālukyan army was encamping on the southern bank of Kaveri.

He was called 'Rajamalla' suggesting that he became sovereign of the Pallavas and as 'Raṇarasika'. His successor Vinayāditya (681 A.D.) ruled for 37 years and assisted by his son Vijayāditya invaded North India. His reign was absolutely peaceful and relatively prosperous, marked by temple building and similar other activities. The inscriptions of Vijayāditya are found in Cuddapah, Kurnool, and other parts of Āndhra. The local rulers Telugu Chōlas and Bāṇas were his feudatories. Vijayāditya's son Vikramāditya II (733 to 745 A.D.) was noted for his repeated invasions of Toṇḍamaṇḍalam. His inscriptions are found in Nellore district. In the time of Kīrtivarman II, his feudatory Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dantidurga grew in power and became independent by 752/753 A.D.

Rāṣṭrakūṭas : Dantidurga, the founder of Rāṣṭrakūṭa line was childless. Hence his uncle, Krishna I, (756-775 A.D.) who inherited a small portion of the kingdom from his nephew enlarged it considerably. He is credited with excellent architectural achievements including the Kailasa temple at Ellora. Gōvinda II (772-775 A.D.) and Dhṛuva (780-794 A.D.) are the other rulers of this line. Gōvinda III (792-814 A.D.) has been considered as the ablest of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa rulers, for his military achievement. He brought the whole of Deccan under his rule. He defeated the rebellious Eastern Chālukya Vijayāditya in 802 A.D. and established Bhimasaluki on Vēṅgi throne. Amōghavarṣa I (814 A.D. 880 A.D.) succeeded Gōvinda III at the age of thirteen. He built the city of Manyakhēta and transferred his capital thereto. Amōghavarṣa I suppressed the rebellion at Vēṅgi led by Vijayāditya II in 821 A.D. Sulaiman, the Arab trader who travelled in the Deccan in the 9th century A.D. refers to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa King. Krishna II (830-915 A.D.) is described as having suppressed all neighbourhood and permitted Bhima, the Eastern Chālukyan prince, to rule Vēṅgi as feudatory, and gave one of his daughters, Ilagon Pichchi, in marriage to the Chōla king Āditya I. Indra II, Amōghavarṣa II, Gōvinda IV, Amōghavarṣa III, were the other rulers of this line. Of these, the first and third interfered in Vēṅgi politics and extended their power over Vēṅgi. Krishna III, Akalankavarṣa (939-966 A.D.) marched upto Rāmēśvaram in the South and Ujjain in the North. He interfered in the Eastern Chālukyan rule, expelled Amma II and enthroned

Bādapa in 956 A.D. or 970 A.D. He was succeeded by his younger brother, Khoṭṭiga, who ruled for six years (967-973 A.D.) and was defeated by Siyaka. Thus the Rāṣṭrakūṭa power came to an end. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas mainly patronised Jainism, though they followed Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism.

Chōlas : In the middle of the 9th century A.D. a Choḷa Chief called Vijayalāya ruling over a small territory to the north of the Kāvēri quietly expanded his kingdom with Tanjore as his capital. Āditya, I, Parāntaka I, (907-955 A.D.) Gandarāditya (950-951) Arinjaya, Sundara Chōḷa (956-73 A.D.) Āditya II, (956-969 A.D.), Uttamachōḷa (973 A.D.) and Rājarāja I (985-1014 A.D.) are some of the kings of his line. The inscriptions of Rājarāja and his successors are found in the temples of Tirupati and other centres in the Chittor district of Andhra Pradesh.

Eastern Chālukyas : Viṣṇuvardhana, who was appointed as viceroy at Vēṅgi by Pulakēśi I became an independent ruler between Century 621 and 624 A.D. and started the Eastern Chālukyan dynasty. He ruled over the region extending from Nellore to Visakapatnam till 641 A.D. assuming the title of Viśamasiddhi. His son Jayasimha I. (641-673 A.D.), had great naval strength. Viṣṇuvardhana II, (673-682 A.D.) Mangi Yuvarāja, Jayasimha II, (706-718 A.D.) Kokkili Viṣṇuvardhana III (719-755 A.D.) and Vijayāditya I, (755 A.D.) are some of the kings of the dynasty. The last two rulers were crushed down by the Pallavas and Rāṣṭrakūṭas respectively.

At this point, the Pallavaṣ of Kanchi, and the Western Chālukyas of Bādāmi were defeated by the Chōlas and Rāṣṭrakūṭas respectively. When Bādāmi was taken over by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, hostility between the rulers of Western Deccan and the Eastern Chālukyans became marked. Viṣṇuvardhana IV of Eastern Chālukyans, (772 to 808 A.D.) became subordinate to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Krishna I, entered into matrimonial alliance with Dhruva and supported Gōvinda III. Thus he had been a subordinate to a number of Rāṣṭrakūṭa rulers. But his son and successor Vijayāditya II, Narēndramṅgarāja (799 to 843 A.D.) rebelled against Rāṣṭrakūṭa powers. He was constantly engaged in fighting Gōvinda and Amōghavarṣa I during 802 to 821 A.D. Between 817-821 A.D. the

Vēṅgi throne passed under Bhimasaluki. Finally Vijayāditya II defeated his enemies and assumed the titles like Mahārājādhirāja and Paramēśvara and is noted as a builder of 108 Śiva temples. Kaliviṣṇu V and his sons were also great warriors. Guṇaga Vijayāditya III was the most well known king of this dynasty (849 to 892 A.D.). He brought back Pālikētana symbols, suppressed Bōyas, Gāṅgas, Pallavas, Vaidumbas, and Dahalas too. Chālukya Bhima I (892 to 921 A.D.) who like the early kings purchased peace from the Rāṣṭrakūṭas was firm on the seat, though his dāyādi, Yuddamalla I in alliance with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas tried to cause some disturbance for some time. Bhīma built temples at Pañchārāmas. His son Vijayāditya IV ruled for six months and was succeeded by Amma I, whose death was followed by a civil war and an interference by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. Bhima II, the brother of Amma I, ascended the throne of Vēṅgi and well-proved a glorious and good ruler. In the time of Yuddamalla II, (927-934 A.D.) Tēlugu language appears in the epigraphs. Amma II came to the throne at the age of 12 years (945-970 A.D.) and there was again effective interference from the Rāṣṭrakūṭas who drove him from Vēṅgi to Kaliṅga and anointed Bāḍapa, the son of Malla on the Eastern Chālukyan throne in 956 A.D. However Amma II regained the throne. Dānārṇava, another son of Malla II, killed Amma II in a battle in 973 A.D. who in his turn was slain by Jaṭacholabhīma who enjoyed kingship for 20 years. After Dānārṇava there was an interregnum in the history of Vēṅgi during which Bāḍapa and Taila II of the collateral line ruled. Finding their position in Vēṅgi difficult, Śaktivarman and Vimalāditya, sons of Dānārṇava, took refuge in the Chōḷa court at Tanjore. Bāḍapa invaded Tondaimaṇḍalam to show his protest against Chōḷa presumption in entertaining the princes, but Rājarāja I who was the chōḷa emperor then, drove him back, secured the Vēṅgi throne for the legitimate Śaktivarman I (1000-1011 A.D.) and gave his daughter Kundavai in marriage to Vimalāditya, the younger prince. The Eastern Chālukyan kings were mostly Śaivites, built many Śiva temples, patronised Brāhmanism by donating lands to the brāhmins. Jainism also flourished during this period.

Western Chalukyas of Kalyana : Taila II (973-997 A.D.) rebelled against the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler Karka II who ruled over western

Deccan with Kaḷyana as his capital. His inscriptions are found in Anantapur and Bellary districts of Andhra Pradesh. He was succeeded by his son Satyāśraya (997 to 1008 A.D.). He gave his daughter Mahādēvi in marriage to a chieftain of the Nōlamba family. Patancheru in Medak district was their second capital and inscriptions of this dynasty are found mainly in Telangana region in Andhra Pradesh.

Minor dynasties : After Aśoka, Khāravēla (Century 173-160 B.C.) of the Chōdi dynasty established an independent kingdom in Kaḷiṅga as mentioned in Hāthigumpha inscription. He was followed by minor dynasties like Pitrubhaktas, Māṭaras and Vāsistas successively. After them the southern part of Kaḷiṅga was ruled by the Viṣṇukuṇḍins while the northern parts were ruled by the Gāṅgas for about a thousand years. The early Gāṅgas established the era of their own and (397 G). They are called Varmans for 500 years i.e. upto the times of Vajrahasta (938 A.D.). The early Gāṅgas were Śaivitas and patronised the study of the Vēdic lore. The Jaina and the Buddhist vestiges are also found in Kaḷiṅga dēśa.

Besides these many minor dynasties like Bāṇas, Nōḷamba Pallavas, Telugu chōlas, ruled over modern Chittoor, Anantapur and Cuddapah areas respectively. King Arikēsari of Vemulawāda Chāḷukyans in the Karimnagar district, and Prithvimūla in Vizag district are come of the rulers who contributed their handsome share to the growth of religious life and thought in Āndhra Dēśa. While the former was a patron of Jaina and Śaiva religions, the latter was the patron of Buddhism and Brāhmanism. The Bāṇas patronized Śaivism, and Vaiṣṇvism, the Nōḷambas followed Jainism and Brāhmanism and the Telugu Chōḷa rulers followed pure Brāhmanical religion.

Political history pertaining to the dynasties that ruled over Āndhra Dēśa is brought out in broad relief to serve as a backdrop for the thesis proper.

Brāhmanism

2.1 DHARMA

India has been traditionally called Āryavarta or Bharata varṣa. Later, under the influence of Greek culture, it was called Hindusthan after the river Sindhu: Ārya dharma or Vaidika dharma has thus been termed Hinduism. Dharma is the kernel of Hindu thought. It is the principlē that sustains the Universe and the basis of Cosmos “Dharme Viśvam Pratiṣṭhitam”. It is the motive force behind all human action. Dharma is found frequently mentioned in the various inscriptions as the primary duty of the rulers. The Sātvāhanas called themselves protectors of “Varṇāśrama dharma”. The Nāṇeghat inscription issued by queen Nāyanika opens with an invocation to Dharma. The gift made by another queen is described as “Dharma Sētu”. An inscription of the 3rd century A.D. from Kodavali Vizag district calls the gift as “Dharma sthāpitam”.¹ The Ikṣvākus eulogised the gift as “Dharmaphalam”. The Pallavas described themselves as Paramabrāhmaṇyas, as the protectors of Dharma from the evils of Kali age, and took Śruti and Smṛti as authority for Dharma.² Their successors, namely, the kings of Ānanda gotra and the Viṣṇukunḍins seem to have strictly adhered to the maintenance of Dharma. King Mādhavarma is described as “Chaturvarṇāśrama dharma karmanirata”. Almost all the kings of the Eastern Chāḷukyan dynasty are praised for their eagerness to protect Dharma. Viṣṇuvardhana is described as having strived to uphold Dharma.³ Vijayāditya II was like Dharmarāja in the practice of Dharma,⁴ while Viṣṇuvardhana I was like Manu.⁵ Vijaya II is described as devoted to religion⁶ and Vijyāditya III as having achieved his ambition in the world and turned his attention to

Dharma.⁷ Chervumadhavavaram plates of Kali Viṣṇuvardhana open with an invocation for the happiness of all beings, the kine, the cows, the brāhmins, kings and Dharma. Bhīma I was “Paramabahrāhmaṇya” and most devoted to religious issues.⁸ Respect for Dharma is noted in the inscriptions of Eastern Gāṅgas also. A verse in eulogy of Dharma engraved in the temple of Agstyēśvara at Chidiparla Cuddapah district, states “Money is not permanent, body is temporary, life is not for ever, believing it, do Dharma like Peggada happily and be happy”.⁹

The concept of Dharma has a wide application and its connotation varied from time to time. In the Vēdic times it is believed that Ṛtam is the principle that regulate the course of events. Ṛtam has been identified with Tapas, the heat generated by penance and austerity, and also with Satyam. By following these principles, the gods attained their divinity and became immortals and Indra became their chief. So also, by practising Dharma man could attain immortality and divinity. The Brāhmaṇas ordain the correct mode of sacrifice as Ṛtam. In the Upaniṣads, Ṛtam the called Dharma, is identified with Satyam, Ahimsa, Dāna and Ārjana.¹⁰ The Taittirēya Upaniṣad¹¹ speaks of Dharma as the performance of duties of the four stages of life, in addition to the spiritual duties. According to the Upaniṣads, Dharma comprises the moral qualities and it is a way of spiritual life. The Gṛihya sūtras while giving higher authority to Vēdas, considered siṣṭācāra as source of Dharma, laid while stressing on the performance of the domestic rites, gave importance to moral qualities like right conduct, kindness, charity, hospitality, and cleanliness. Upto this period Dharma had been broadly divided into Śrauta, Smārta and Sadhāraṇa.¹² The Smṛitikāras evolved the four values of life dharma, artha, kāma and mōkṣa in order to realise the spiritual realities through worldly experiences, thus considering life a continuing process of the practice of Dharma. Taking into account times, place, need, circumstance, sex, age, vocation etc., the meaning of dharma developed into kāla dharma, dēśa dharma, āpaddharma, strīdharmā, kuladharmā, guṇa dharma, vyavahāra dharma etc. The Smṛiti considered the follower of the duties prescribed by Śruti and Sāstra as the true follower of dharma. Dharma as defined by various Smṛitikāras comprises ahimsa,

satya, astēya, śoucha, indriyanigraha, daya and kshānti, ārjana, dāna, guruśuṣruṣa, obedience to elders, adoration for gods and brāhmins and tīrthayātra also.¹³

Stressing the same, the epics discuss the difficulties that are faced while practising Dharma. They repeatedly narrate the stories that explain what Dharma and Adharma are. According to Rāma, truth, righteousness, prowess, kindness, straight-forwardness, worship of gods, brāhmins and guests lead to heaven. Early rising, bath, cleanliness, performance of Saṁdhyā, meditation, recitation of mantras, performance of satkarmas, visiting to holy places, company of holy men, practice of tapas, yoga, service to parents are considered streams of the mighty river of Dharma. The Mahābhārata considers Śruti and Smṛiti the sources of Dharma. At several places the ten highest qualities which form the root of Dharma, the Sādhāraṇa dharma, ten-fold varṇa dharma, and the thirteen virtues of a man are given in connection with Dharma. The epic emphasizes the practice of svadharma, performance of duties of one's own caste, non-attachment or asangatva, dedication of all actions to God, sthitaprajnatva and such other qualities.¹⁴ The Bhāgavata purāṇa divides Dharma into Vaidika, Tāntrika and Mīśra. In course of time, Dharma was made even more flexible as the aim was to explain the significance of Vēdas to common folk. Dharma, with special reference to ahimsa was given importance in the Purāṇas. The Mātya, Brahmāṇḍa, and Padma-purāṇas consider ahimsa as sanātana dharma. Dēva, guru, atithi—ārādhana, observance of vratas like ēkādaśī or kārtika, worship of Śiva or Kēśava, chanting and praising the glory of god or nāma-japa, and fast on sacred days are important features of Purāṇic dharma. The Bhāgavata Purāṇa says that tapas in Satya yuga, Jnana in Trēta yuga, yajna in Dvāpara yuga, bhajan of Hari or dāna in Kali yuga are the means of practising Dharma. The Purāṇas speak of Dharma as divided into different categories like iṣṭa-pūrta, brahmadēya, pratiṣṭa, thīrthayatra and so on. Annadāna to the cripple, the blind, the old, and the diseased is praised in the Vēdic period. It was given same importance in the Padma, Brahmāṇḍa, and Kūrma Purāṇas. The Vēdic concept of iṣṭa pūrta is also given the highest place in the

Purāṇas. In other words, social service, or works of public utility such as digging of tanks, wells, building of temples, satras. The feeding and resting houses, watersheds, dwellings to ascetics and to the poor, distribution of religious literature, planting of trees, gardens are some important features of Dharma as taught in Mārkaṇḍēya, Skanda, Agni and Padma purāṇas. The Varāha and the other purāṇas give more importance to Pūrta Dāna. Thus Dharma means on the whole the law, practice, customary observance, prescribed conduct, duty, morality, goodwork, religion, duties of caste, āśrama, sacrifice, devotion, one's own nature, and the practice of these were supposed to bestow qualities like simplicity, fearlessness, detachment, equanimity and realisation of God. It is the art and science of living. The Hindu Dharma is called sanātana not only because it is abiding but because it makes man eternal.^{14a}

The practice of Śrauta dharma which was highly esteemed and practised during the Sātavāhana, Pallava, Ikṣvāku and Viṣṇukuṇḍin periods slowly declined and from the Eastern Chālukyan period onwards more emphasis was laid on charity or dāna, pilgrimage, pratiṣṭha and Vēdic studies. The same is found during the period of Chālukyas of Bādāmi and Gāṅgas. During the times of the Rāṣṭra-kūṭas, Nolamba Pallavas, and Chōlas, much importance was given to pratiṣṭha. The transition from Śrauta dharma to Smārta dharma, and Sādhāraṇa dharma and from Partiṣṭa to uṣṭharga could be observed since then.

In Āndhra Dēśa information about the practice of Dharma can be collected from the praśastis in royal grants as well as from the nature of the donations made. The Sātavāhanas followed Vaidika dharma, performed innumerable sacrifices and made gifts to the brāhmins.¹⁵ The Ikṣvākus also were followers of Vaidika dharma, though no donative record to a brāhmin has been found so far. They built temples and made donations for their upkeep. Pallava King Virakūrchavarman is described as having ruled his kingdom as ordained by the Dharmaśāstras and other scriptures.¹⁶ Skanda Varman II is referred to as having understood the essence of all śāstras. Viṣṇugōpa and Kūmara Viṣṇu III are described as protectors of Dharma. Usually these kings are described as having increased their religious merit by

donating gifts of cows, gold, land and as having performed numerous kratus and as being devoted to god, brāhmins, the elders, teachers etc.¹⁷ Some of the Pallava inscriptions like Hirahadgalli contain verses either in praise of or for the welfare of cows, brāhmins and kings.¹⁸ They built dēvāyatanas also. The Mattavilāsa concludes with a verse desiring welfare of all and with a blessing that always there should be sacred fire and sacrifices, recitation of Vēdas by the brāhmins, plenty of kine and kings, observance and practice of Dharma for the welfare of all. King Attivarma of the Ānandagōtra was described as intent upon maintaining uninterrupted practice of religion. The kings who ruled from the 3rd century A.D. invariably followed the injunctions of Śruti because almost all the charters issued since then refer to Manu in their concluding portions. From the time of the Pallavas the Vyāsagiti as concluding portion of the inscription is found more. The Viṣṇukunḍins call themselves brahmakṣhatriyas. Mādhavavarma I and III are described as having washed the stains by ablutions after performing several sacrifices. They donated gifts as ordained by Manu. Mādhavavarma III is described as having been endowed with incomparable strength, charity, modesty, piety, valour, and as the refuge of the wise, the twice-born, the teachers, the old and the hermits.¹⁹ The Eastern Chālukyans called themselves brāhmaṇyas and as those who strove to uphold Dharma. Viṣṇuvardhana I is described as Kāmadhēnu to the poor, the helpless and was kind to the brāhmins.²⁰ Chālukya Bhīma I is referred to as worshipping gods, saints, brāhmins, and distributed wealth for religious purposes. Amma II followed the tradition and strove for protection and maintenance of varṇāśramadharma. The records of Kaliviṣṇu, Yuddhamalla, Jayasimha and others reveal the determination of the rulers to protect and look after the welfare of the people, protection to brāhmins and to their property which is Dharma. Welfare of cows and brāhmins is specifically mentioned in the Eastern Chālukyan inscriptions.²¹ As such almost all the charts of these kings record donation of either agrahāra or pratiṣṭhas. The Western Chālukyan kings were also described as paramabrāhmaṇyas, Pulakēśin II is described as having honoured gods, brāhmins, gurus and the aged. So also Kīrtivarma, Vikramāditya and Vinayāditya are described as having restored the

properties of temples, and brāhmins taken away by the other kings or lapsed in course of time.²² The welfare of cows, brāhmins, kings and people, is also found in the inscriptions of this dynasty.²³ Most of the records of Bādāmi Chālukyas contain references to brahmādēyas. The same spirit is found in the inscriptions of Gāṅga kings of Kalinga Dēśa. The belief that donation of land is a religious duty and that no one should cause an obstacle to it out of respect of Dharma is found mention in their inscriptions.²⁴ King Anantavarma is described as endowed with noble qualities like wisdom, refinement, truthfulness, good conduct, liberality, and courtsey, while Indravarma is described as having conquered the vices by his knowledge and reached perfection.²⁵ Almost all the Gāṅga records refer to agrahāras only and rarely to pratiṣṭha. The inscriptions belonging to the rulers of minor dynasties also contain some references to the determination to protect Varṇadharma, welfare of cows and brāhmins, ustarga and pratiṣṭha and such noble ideals, as Dharma.²⁶

2.2 ŚRAUTA DHARMA

Dharma taught in Śruti is called Śrauta dharma. It comprises the performance of yajnas. Yaj means to worship, a characteristic made of adoration that forms an inmost core of the Vēdic religion. Yajna is an eternal principle, a continuous law and a divine truth. It also means abandonment of dravya into the fire intended for a deity. It is not a mere ritual but is charged with magical, symbolical and mystical elements too. The term yāga and kratu are used as synonyms of the term yajna.¹

The practice of Vaidika dharma by the rulers of Āndhra is widely seen from the inscriptions of the period under study. The Sātavāhanas performed various types of sacrifices, and gave dakṣhiṇas of hundreds and thousands of cows, elephants, horses, chariots, dresses, silver gifts, milch cows, carts, ornaments, maidens and villages. They even gave many lavish gifts to the spectators and menials. Queen Nāyanika is described as “Yāna huta dhūpanāsu-gandhāyaniya”.² The name of the kings as Yajnaśrī, Vēdaśrī attests to the fact. The Vēdic tradition of the Sātavāhanas was followed by

their successors, Ikṣhvākus. Śrī Chāntamūla, the founder is described as having performed Agnihotra, Agniṣṭoma, Vājapēya, Bahusuvarṇaka and Aśvamēdha sacrifices. The excavations at Nagarjunakonda, their capital, which unearth a sacrificial site bear testimony to this statement.³ The Pallavas who followed Ikṣhvākus also upheld Vēdism. Simhavarman performed many yajas and kratus in accordance with established rule.⁴ The Viṣṇukuṇḍins who ruled over the Āndhra for about 150 years stand next to the Sātavāhanas in offering several excellent sacrifices and thousands of other minor sacrifices. The kings were endowed with epithets like Paramēṣṭhi, Dēvādīdēva and Sārva-bhauma.⁵ The solitary inscription from the North-eastern side of Āndhra which refers to the vedic rituals is that of King Prithvimūla wherein the donee Dēvaśarma is described as one who performed sacrifice and satisfied ritviks and sadasyas by his liberal gifts. His son Bhavaśarma is described as having his body purified by the sacred waters of ablutions.⁶ Somadēva in his Yaśastilaka refers to the great priest craft Pingala, Mataṅga, Marichi and Gautama chanting the Sāmans. He quotes verses from Manu, Vyāsa, Vaisiṣṭha and the Vēdic authorities. The mention of Vēdic literature like the four Vēdas, Brahmanas, Yajna ritual and Kalpa studied by the donees mentioned in records of the period indicate the prevalence of the practice of Śrauta dharma among the brāhmins. (see under Adhyāyana in the Chapter on Smārta Dharma). Two brāhmins, Hariśarma and Kotiśarma, are specifically described as proficient in yajna rituals.⁷ The temple sculptures from Mukhalingam and other places depicting Rishis as performing sacrifices attest the fact.

The popular faith in the efficacy of the sacrifices can be understood from the references to Aśvamedha in the benedictory and imprecatory verses of the inscriptions issued during the period under study.⁸

The practice of offering sacrifices by the rulers in Āndhra Dēśa is not seen from 6th century A.D. onwards, except by some brāhmins. The Gāṅgas and rulers of the minor dynasties promoted Vaidika dharma by helping the brāhmins and thus preserved the Vēdic tradition. Though the practice of offering sacrifices by the kings seem to have declined still they were held in esteem as seen from the invocative

verses of the Western Chāḷukyans, wherein horse sacrifice is referred to as performed by the kings.

The Vēdas and the Brāhmaṇas repeatedly glorify yajna as the divine act. It is stated that Prajāpati brought forth the creation by performing yajna at the altar of which he himself was the victim and by sacrificing himself he became the leader of gods. Thus yajna is a voluntary unconditional surrender or offering of the self to the Divine. Indra and the other gods who were originally mortals are stated to have attained immortality by offering sacrifices. With the help of the sacrifices alone, gods defeated the asuras. Thus yajna is a ladder by which gods ascended to immortality. Manu, the first father of the men is also described as having brought forth the creation by offering sacrifice.⁹ Like Prajāpati, man also should offer himself at the sacrifices. Since redemption of the old body is not possible for human beings one it is sacrificed, an ox, a goat or grain is used as a substitute. By sacrificing any of these objects, which is himself, to the gods man gets in return a new divine life.

Yajna is the universal principle of life. Gods and piṭr live on the libations offered by men in the fire. Men also sustain on yajna as sacrificial remains give them new life. Thus both gods and men live on sacrifice.¹⁰ It is stated that by doing sacrifice, the sacrificer gets the company of the strider, he could travel with Rudra, Varuṇa and Āditya, attain immortality, know the Navel of the Universe, the earth, the atmosphere, the origin of the Sun and the Moon, the present, the past and the future.¹¹ Though immortality is the aim of the sacrifice in the long run, wordly things of many types are also prayed for. The yajnas are offered for obtaining long life, happy life, cattle, offspring, health, wealth, etc. Thus they are means of paying homage, thanking the unseen deities, means to appease or deprecate the angry gods as well and to receive their blessings. Thus, yajna, a cosmic principle, the wheel of generation of power, is essential for the sustenance of human society.¹² Several factors like purity of the spirit, faith in the rite, belief in the truth that the gods receive the offerings and bestow benediction, honesty both in the sacrificer and the priest, greatness of the priest, correct mode of the offering, knowledge of sacrifice, pitch of chanting of the Riks, formulae, prayer etc. are demanded in a good

and successful sacrifice. The payment of the sacrificial fees is also equally important. In a perfect sacrifice, gods are even forced to descend to the earth and yield to the devotees. When the priest is satisfied with the fee, he could even place the sacrificer in Heaven.¹³ The three Vēdas eulogise the essential connotation of Yajna,¹⁴ as “Yajnēna Yajanām ayajnta dēvastāni dharmāni prathamanyāsm”. The Mīmāṃsa school of philosophy justifies the Vēdic ritualism, by giving philosophical support. The Rāmayaṇa says that the king could reach high position by performing sacrifices. However, Lakshmana is described as being against animal slaughter. In the Mahābhārata, yajna is described as a divine act, however, importance is given to non-violence. In the story of Vasu Uparicara, grain is substituted for the animal and sacrifices were considered inferior to virtue, dāna, and tapas etc.¹⁵

The Śrauta dharma as observed by the commoners, specially by the dvijas, during period under study in Āndhra is noted below. Kumaramanda Śarma and other donees of Pallavas were Sōmayājis.¹⁶ The donees of the Eastern Chālukyan kings were more devoted to the Vēdic religion. Swāmiyaśas and Viṣṇuyaśas, the donees of Jayasimha I, performed Agniṣṭōma, while the ajnāpati of the record performed Vajapēya.¹⁷ Two brāhmins Biraśarma and Viṣṇuśarma are described as having performed Sōmayāga and Agniṣṭoma respectively.¹⁸ The Penukupoṛṇu plates of Jayasimha II describe one Erravaśarma as having performed Sarvakratu. This Vēdic tradition continued till the time of Bhīma II, whose donee Mādhava performed Sōmayāga.¹⁹ The Guḍimallam inscription of Bāṇas speaks of the donee whose draughts of Sōma were uninterrupted and who was endowed with the title Paramēṣṭhi.²⁰ Some brāhmins who performed sacrifices without break are also referred to in other inscription of the period.²¹ The names of the brāhmins like, Yajna śarma, Sōmayāji, Sōma śarma, Agniśarma and Dikṣhita indicate their dedication to Vēdic dharma.

Under the patronage of the later Western Chālukyans also brāhmins performed Somayāgas.²² The Yaśastilaka describes the contemporary belief that the Vēdas are ineffable and one has to follow²³ them without reasoning; a brāhmin killing an animal on such an occasion ensures for himself as well as the victim a state of bliss

after death, since killing is not a killing at all, and as in the sacrifice the killing is done for the good of all Śomadēva elaborately discussed the Jaiminiya philosophy according to which Vēda is the highest authority and sacrifice is the means to salvation.²⁴ He gives different types of yajnikas iike dikṣita, one who killed goat, Sōtriya one who is pure, hota who kindles fire and pañchāgnisādhaka, one who performs austerities amidst five fires. However, the Upaniṣadic and Epic thought that the slaughter of animals is not necessary either to reach salvation or to enjoy bliss is also expressed in the Yaśastilaka. The story of Vasu uparichara found in Mahābhārata which teaches the ideal of ahimsa is also mentioned by Sōmadēva.²⁵

The following sacrifices have been mentioned in the epigraphs and literature of the period as performed mostly by the ruling dynasties of Āndhra : (1) Agyadhēya, (2) Anvarambaniya, (3) Agnihōtra, (4) Aptōryāma, (5) Āngirasāmayana, (6) Āngirasatrirātra, (7) Gārga-trirātra, (8) Trayōdasarātra, (9) Daśarātra, (10) Gavāmayana (11) Bhagalādaśarātra, (12) Rājasūya, (13) Aśvamēdha, (14) Agni-ṣṭōma, (15) Vājapēya, (16) Bahusuvārṇaka, (17) Puṇḍarika, (18) Ukhya, (19) Ṣoḍaśin (20) Prādhirājya, (21) Puruṣmēdha, (22) Sarvamēdha, (23) Brahmāṇḍa kratu, (24) Sōmayāga, (25) Sarva-kratu, (26) Gōsava, (27) Śata-trirātra, (28) Chāndōgapavamān trirātra, (29) Anyārāsāmayama, and (30) Sautrāmaṇi.

The above Śrauta Yajnas are broadly divided into three classes depending upon the material used in them : (a) Havir yajnas, (b) Pākayajnas, and (c) Sōma yajnas. Yajnas are divided further as Nitya or Kāmya or Naimittika. The sacrifice like Agnihotra which is performed every day is called Nitya. Kāmya like Kāmēṣṭi is performed with a desire. Naimittika, like Sitayajna, Indrayajna etc., are performed occasionally or at fixed seasons and special occasion.²⁶

Usually each yajna consists of a principal part proper to it and some auxiliary rites which are common to many other sacrifices. It may be noted here that though the Paśuyajna is different from the Somayajna, animal slaughter is common to both. The number of priest required differs from one yajna to another. Though Agnihōtra is recommended to the three upper classes of society, some sacrifices are confined to the ruling classes only.

Cātvala, vihāra, vēdi, maṇḍapa tatched sheds are some of the places in the sacrificial area. Every sacrifice commences with bathing, cutting off the hair, nails, fasting, observances of dikṣa, explicatory rites like lying down on kuśa, spending the time, listening to music, vigilance etc., are common to all sacrifices. Always the sacrificial fire²⁷ is produced by rubbing two sticks called aranis and is maintained by the samidhi, kuśa grass. Pots, wooden cups, ladles, yūpa grinding stones, carts, wheel, yolk, curds, ghee, milk, grain and etc. are the prerequisites of sacrificial session. Sastra, stōtra, tricha, stōma, pragatha are some of the types of prayers offered in the sacrifice, the offerings are called caru, sōma, purōḍasa etc.

The Agnihōtra, the simplest of the Śrauta rites requires only one priest the Adhvarya, while the Agnādhēya, Darśapūrṇamāsa and other iṣṭis require four priests, viz., the Adhvaryu, Āgnīdhra, Hotṛ and Brahman. The Chāturmāsya requires one more the Pratipasthātr, while the Paśubandha requires two more Maitrāvaruṇa and Sadaya. Finally, the Sōma sacrifice demands sixteen priests. Beside the above mentioned ones the Achachhvāka, Gravastūt, Nēṣṭi, Unnēṭr, Udgāṭr, Prastōṭr, Pratihotr, Subrahmaṇya, Brahmanāchamsin, Poṭri and Agnīdhra are included. The priests officiating at the Sōmayajna, their functions and assistants are shown in the following table :

<i>Initiator</i>	<i>Superintendent</i>	<i>Singer</i>	<i>Reciter</i>
1. Adhvaryu (Yajurveda assisted by)	Brahmā (And- harva Veda) assisted by)	Udgāṭr (Sama veda assisted by)	Hotṛ (Rgveda) assisted by)
2. Pratipraṣṭhar	Brahmanāchch- amsin	Prastōṭr	Maitrāva- ruṇa
3. Nēṣṭar	Āgnīdhra	Pratihārtr	Achchavāka
4. Unnēṭr	Poṭr	Subrahmaṇya	Gravastūt

The following haviryajanas in which uncooked food is offered were preferred in Āndhra :

Agnyādhēya : The Agnyādhēya is found mentioned as performed by the Sātavāhana king.²⁸ The establishment of the sacred fire in the house by the house-holder is called Agnyādhēya. By doing so, he becomes an ahitāgni. This rite commences with the construction of a round hearth for the gārhyāpatya fire, a square hearth for the āhavanīya and a crescent shaped hearth for the dakṣiṇāgni. These two latter ones are on the East and South of gārhyāpatya. Two more round hearths sabhya and avasathya are also built to the east of the gārhyāpatya. The fire is lit in these hearths either with the help of āraṇis or from the fire borrowed from a rich house-holder. The gārhyāpatya fire which has come down from the ancient domestic hearth is kept perpetually burning. The fire from this is taken to lighten the other two and it is used mainly to cook the offerings, which are poured into the āhavanīya fire. The offerings for the ṛṣis, spirits and man are made into the dakṣiṇa fire. The whole rite of agnyādhēya is done in the presence of horse which symbolises the Sun.²⁹

Agnihōtra : Agnihōtra, another ahiryajna was offered by king Śrī Chāntamūla of Ikṣvāku dynasty.³⁰

The agnihōtra is performed with the help of adhvaryu into the fire which is kept burning perpetually, just before or just after sun rise and the appearance of the star in the evening. The fire-place is cleaned and a cow with a calf is brought and milked. The milk is heated on the gārhyāpatya and poured with ladles into the āhavanīya and gārhyāpatya fires, libations are offered to the gods, the pitṛ, the seven seers and other deities. At the end, the sacrificer names his successor for continuing this rite. In case the house-holder makes a journey, he should take leave from the fire and on return should approach it with wood and a word of welcome. In his absence the eldest son or wife should maintain the fire. When the sacrificer leaves the house for good, he has to offer libation to Vāstupati and when the house-holder becomes a wandering mendicant ablutions are offered to Agnihōtra. The Sōmayajna is a sacrifice in which sōma is offered. A sōma sacrifice done in a day is called Ēkāha and the following Ēkas were performed in Āndhra.

Sautrāmaṇi : The Sautrāmaṇi³¹ sacrifice is offered to Indra. Here the offering contains Sōma mixed with milk. The hair of a lion, tiger, and wolf are added before it is offered to the deity by the sacrificer who has been purged by excess dinking or too much sōma. Offerings are made to Aśvins, Saraswati and also to the spirits of the dead. The sacrificer sits with his left foot on a plate of silver and his right foot on that of gold and offers oblations. He calls the servants ritually who then will raise him up and place him on a tiger's skin. At the end the sacrificer declares himself "Steady fast" in royal power. Sautrāmaṇi was referred to by Sōmadēva.

Agniṣṭōma : Agniṣṭōma was first performed by Śrī Chāntamūla of Ikṣhvāku dynasty subsequently by Viṣṇukunḍin Mādhava Varma and Pallava Śriskandavarma.³² The Agniṣṭōma is a typical and simple one-day sōma sacrifice in praise of Agni performed on the full moon or new moon day of spring. It is to be performed by one who has already performed the Darśapūrṇamāsa, the Chāturmāśya and paśu sacrifices. The sacrifice commences with the choice of priests, selection of the sacrificial ground and entering the dikṣa. After the prayaniya iṣṭi, some purchased in a monk battle with the Gandharvas is brought forward in a cart with guest honour and Indra is invited to drink it. The sacrificer undertakes the avāntara dikṣa and drinks warm milk only. The pravārgya and upasad rites are performed which will provide the sacrificer with a new celestial body. Then mahāvēdi is constructed and the carts with sōma are placed on it, huts are erected for the sadas, for hearths and for agnīdhriya fires. While a goat is offered to Agni and Sōma, the sons, grandsons and relatives of the sacrificer are invited to assist him in the act. The whole group goes in a procession to the agnīdhra shed while the priests recite the verses; then the sacrificer spends the night awake guarding the sōma. The crushing, pressing and purification of the sōma is accompanied by the chanting of Bahiṣpavamāna stōtra by the priests. Then the Aśvin cup and the goblets are offered to the priests. Several offerings were made in the day.

The evening pressing accompanied by the chanting of the hymn in the highest pitch is supposed to produce some magic effects and hence is done in the hut where the sōma cart is kept with both the

doors closed. The argrayana is performed and the Arbhavapavamāna stōtra and some more sastras are recited. In connection with the offering of Patnīvata cup, the agnidhara sits on the lap of the nestr and takes the remnants of the cup. The athvaryu starts the yajnayājāniya stōtra the principal stōtra of the Agniṣtōma. All the priests who chant the stōtra and the chorists cover their heads and ears. When the Udgātṛ makes the hinkara of the saman he looks at the sacrificer's wife who is brought there by the nestr and pours water along her thigh. While the chanting goes on the sacrificer repeats the saptahoṭṛ mantra. It is followed by the recitation of the Agnimarutśastra. Finally, in avabṛtha ceremony the utensils are thrown into the water and the sacrificer and his wife take bath and put on new clothes. Then the Udvāsaniya isti offering sacrifice of a barren cow to Mitra and Varuṇa and some more rites and offerings take place.³³

Vājapēya : Vājapēya was offered by Śrī Chantamūla, Mādhavarma, Śivaskandavarma and by a donee of an Eastern Chālukyan king. Vājapēya is a form of sōma sacrifice which confers permanent sovereignty, status of the most learned and prosperity in cases when the performer is a kṣatriya, brāhmin and vaiśya respectively. The Vājapēya consists of one pressing day, at least thirteen consecrations and three open days. Numbea seventeen plays an important part in this sacrifice since, there are seventeen objects as fees, seventeen pieces of cloth to cover the yūpa, seventeen dikṣhas lasting for seventeen days' a seventeen cups of wine, seventeen of sōma, seventeen chariots and seventeen drums. Another attractive feature of this sacrifice is chariot race made by the sacrificer. The sacrificer, his wife and all the priests wear gold chains. Sōma purchased from a long-haired man in exchange for lead is boiled on the dakshina fire, a ram to Indra, a barren cow to the Maruts, cow for Saraswati, youthful and virile goats of one colour to Prajāpati are sacrificed. The special feature of this sacrifice is that, it commences with midday pressing at which a warrior with seventeen arrows measures out a course for the race marking the place where the last arrow falls with a twig of uḍumbara. The area should be in between the Chātvala and the Utkara. The Chariot of the sacrificer is yoked with three horses while those of the others have four horses each. The

rathas are made to stand to the east of the āhavanīya with their yokes to the east or north east.

The brahma priest fixes a wheel of a chariot with 16 spokes between the Chātvala and Utkara and climbs on it. When the wheel is turned from left to right the brahma recites the Vaji Sāman. The athvaryu also occupies the chariot with the yajamāna, the owner and chants mantras and directs him. Seventeen drums are between when the race commences and the horses are made to smell "nīvara charu" cooked in seventeen pots. The chariot of the sacrificer leads the race and he utters the formula of victory i.e. "Agnirēkākṣarēṇa". After reaching the goal the chariot returns to the sacrificial ground and the horses are again made to smell the charu a homa is offered for discharging the drums. The Adhavaryu initiates the sōma drinking and he is followed by the other priests and the riders of the chariots.

After the chanting of the "Mahēndra stōtra" the sacrificer and his wife solemnly mount the yūpa with the help of a ladder. Then the sacrificer says to his wife 'let us ascend to heaven' and his wife repeats "let us ascend". While standing at the top of the post thus, he is touched by the priest and others. Then he says "we reached the heaven, the gods. May we stay along with our children". After that he comes down and various animals are offered to various gods and nīvara charu to Bṛihaspati for the strength of the steeds.

During the midday pressing ceremony, animals are offered to Prajāpati. A mixture of seventeen kinds of grains, except the one which the sacrificer will not touch in future is put in a pot containing milk and water and seventeen offerings called 'Vajaprasaviya' are made. The remaining mixture is sprinkled on the sacrificer while the "adhavaryu announces that the sacrificer acquired the status of a "Śāmrāṭ" and is entitled to use a white parasol. Thence onwards the sacrificer should not sit on the same seat with one who has not performed this sacrifice. He should behave like a kṣatriya i.e. should not accept gifts, and should not bow. If the sacrificer is a Brāhmin he should not teach afterwards. After performing Vājapēya one should perform Rājasūya.

The adhvaryu gets the chariot occupied by the sacrificer as part

of his dakṣiṇa and the festival concludes with seventeen benedictions (Ujjitis).³⁴

Ukthya and Sōḍaśin : These two sacrifices Ukthya and Sōḍaśin were performed by the Viṣṇukuṇḍin Mādhavavarma. Ukthya is a form of the sōma sacrifice. There are three more stōtras to be chanted and recited in the evening pressing. An additional animal is killed for Agni and Indra.³⁵

Sōḍaśin : In the ṣōḍaśin, in addition to the fifteen stōtras and sastras of the Ukthyas, there is one more stōtra and sastra called Ṣōḍaśin. This sixteenth stōtra is chanted at sun-set. Purchase of sōma is done in exchange for a short-sized cow with red ears; an additional animal a ram is sacrificed to Indra. The dakṣiṇa in this rite is either a reddish brown horse or a female mule.

The Ukthya and the Ṣōḍaśin are performed to obtain cattle, vigour, progeny etc. Both these are only modifications of the agniṣṭoma.³⁶

Atyāgniṣṭoma : In this sacrifice one more ṣōḍaśistōtra and an additional victim for Indra—than an agniṣṭoma are offered. It was offered by the Śātavāhana kings.³⁷

Atirātra : This sacrifice was performed by the Śātavāhana kings. Since this sacrifice could not be finished, in one day, but only after passing a day and night is called atirātra. Twenty nine stōtras and twenty nine sastras are repeated at night. Aśvinistōtra and sandhistōtra in rathāntara melody are recited in this rite.³⁸

Aprōtyāma : The aprōtyāma sacrifice is similar to atirātra but for an increase in the number of cups and stōtras, this was offered by the Śātavāhana king, The hero of Nāṇeghāt inscription. Ap : means to obtain. Hence it is believed that by doing this yajna the sacrificer can secure whatever he desires. This is also performed by one whose cattle is not living or one who wants to get a good birth.

Gārga Trirātra : The Nāṇeghāt inscription refers to this sacrifice which is a form of Agniṣṭoma giving a thousand dakṣiṇas.³⁹

Bahusuvarṇakas : Bahusuvarṇakas is one day ěkaha of agniṣṭoma the reward being the conquests of regions of luminous, “Jyotiṣṭōma lokēna Jayati”, This was offered by Ishvākus and the Viṣṇukuṇḍin kings.⁴⁰

Gōsava : Gōsava is a peculiar sōma sacrifice performed in a day in which the sacrificer behaves like a cow—grazes, and copulates with his sister and mother. This peculiar sacrifice is referred to as performed by Sātavāhana kings and after 1000 years is referred to by Sōmadēva in Yaśastilaka.⁴¹

The Āndhra kings appear to have performed the following Ahina and Sōmayajnas which extend over a period of two to twelve days.

Pouṇḍarīka : Pouṇḍarīka is an ahina, the reward being svārājya. The fees consists of 10,000 cows and 1,000 horses. This sacrifice was performed by the kings of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin dynasty.⁴²

Sabalihōma : In the Sabalihōma sacrifice, the sacrificer after taking a special dikṣa makes a libation of honey and sour milk to sabali and then proceeds to the forest, where he shouts three times, "Sabali". The rite is done for the good of cattle and animals.⁴³

Gavāmayāna : Gavāmayāna is a samvatsarika sattara (session), extending to two periods of six months each, according to the solar movement of Zoodiac groups. This could be performed by the brahmins only; and the yajamāna himself being the priest. This rite, done for progeny, prosperity and plenty concludes with a mahāvratā and a bath in the river Sarasvatī. The Satavahana kings are described as having performed the above two sacrifices.⁴⁴

Kratusahaśra : Kratusahaśra may be a modified sōma sacrifice which is called Sahaśrakratu or Sahaśra dakṣina kratu, where dakṣina is given a thousand times. The Viṣṇukuṇḍins are described as having offered "Kratusahśras".⁴⁵ They might have performed them in a modified form to suit the changing times.

A sacrificial session which extends over a period of more than 12 days is called sattara. The following sattaras are found mentioned in the source material under study.

Rājasūya : Rājasūya and Aśvamēdha were offered, specially the latter, by the rulers who intended to expand their dominions. The Sātavāhanas and the Viṣṇukuṇḍins are the only two dynasties that are described as having performed Rājasūya. The Rājasūya an elaborate and complex royal sacrifice extending over a long period, should be performed only by a kṣatriya so as to obtain the title "Rājan". On

the first day of the bright half of Phalguṇa the sacrificer undergoes dīkṣa for a sōma sacrifice called Pavitra following which five sacrifices are performed, one on each day. On the full moon day an isti to Anumati takes place in which the purōḍasa is prepared. The Chāturmāsya are performed beginning on the full moon day of Phalguṇa. Between the parvans of the Chāturmāsya, the monthly full moon and the newmoon sacrifices are performed for one year, which is followed by the twelve offerings, called "Ratninam havimsi", made by the king, crowned queen, army commander, priest, charioteer, head of a village, chamberlain, treasurer, superintendent of gambling, hunter, courier and discarded queen in their respective treasure-houses one on each day.

It follows several offerings which end with abhiṣechaniya rite, the specific ceremony of the Rājasūya. This rite lasts for five days with one dīkṣa, three upasads and one sūtya day. Simultaneously, the daśapēya too is performed on the northern part of the sacrificial ground. The sōma is brought for the abhiṣechaniya and half of it is kept in the house of the brahma for the daśapēya. Then "cherus" called "Devasu-havimsi" are offered to Savitr, Agni, Gṛihaspati, Sōmavanapati, Bṛihaspati, Indra, Rudra, Mitra and Varuṇa. Then brahma proclaims to the "Rathins" that the sacrificer is their king and mentions the tribes occupying the country. The priest brings waters of seventeen kinds, water of Sarasvati, flowing water of river, water from ripples produced by the entrance of a man, water from a river drawn against the current, water of the sea, ocean waves, whirlpool, deep reservoirs always exposed to the sun, rain water in sunshine before it falls on the ground, water of the lake, of a well, of the forest etc., and pours them into a vessel made of Udumbara wood kept near the seat of maitrāvaruṇa. The water is then cleaned with kuśa blades tied with a piece of gold. This procedure is called the "Utpavana." This water is distributed into four vessels made of palāsa, udumbara, nyagrōdha and āśvatha. The adhvaryu gives a strong bow and three arrows to the king who wears a silken garment, white turban and a mantle. Then the king is sprinkled with the waters from the four jars by the four main priests standing in the four quarters. In addition, a relative, a friendly kṣatriya, a vaiśya and a

representative of the common people also can sprinkle the water. This probably symbolises the consent of all the people to the anointing of the king.

The hotṛ, sitting on a golden seat, sings the story of Sunḥsepha for the benefit of the sacrificer. The adhvaryu also seated on a golden seat, utters "Om" at the end of each Rik and "Thatha" at the end of each gātha. At the end of the recitation, the sacrificer donates a hundred or thousand cows along with the golden seats occupied by them to the hotṛ and adhavyu. Then the king takes three strides on a tiger hide and gives the remnants of the water to his son with the words "May my son continue this, my work and my prowess".

Then two hōmas called "Mamvyatisanjaniya" are offered. The king takes a symbolic march for the plunder of cows, marches to the North of āhavanīya on a chariot drawn by four horses into the midst of a number of cows belonging to his kinsmen, touches one of them with the string of his bow and says "I seize these" and restores them to their owners. He then returns to the sacrificial ground and makes four offerings called "Rathavimōchaniya". The king symbolically defeats his kinsmen and takes their wealth. One third of this is given to the priests, one third to the worthy brāhmins at daśapēya and one third to the kinsmen who thereupon become "Rājanyas". Before getting down from the chariot he bows to the earth says "O mother earth, do not injure me, nor may I injure Thee". Then he sits on a seat of khadira wood in front of the agnīdhriya shed in the company of the ratnins and the priests. The brahma, the ādvaryu and other purōhita hands over a sphya to the king from whom it passes on to his brother, suta, stapati, village headmand, and kinsman. Next, a game of dice takes place between the king and his kinsmen. Five dice are given to the king. The best throw goes to the king and the worst to his kinsmen.

After offering the anubandhya and udvāsiniyaīṣṭis, the abhiṣechaniya offerings called samarpam hamimsi are made to Savitṛ, Sarasvatī Tvastṛ, Pūsan, Indra, Bṛihaspati, Varuṇa, Agni, Sōma and Viṣṇu. On each of the ten days the king offers ordinary or golden flowers and on the tenth day he wears a garland made of these flowers. With this act he commences his dīkṣa for the next rite, viz. daśapēya.

The daśapēya sacrifice is so named because in it ten cups of sōma are partaken by the brāhmins. Usually the ten ritviks take part in it. In addition, ninety brāhmins called “anuprasarpakas” possessing special qualifications also take part in it. For one year after the avabr̥tha bath in daśapēya the king should observe dēvavratas i.e. he should not plunge in water for the daily bath, should always brush his teeth, prepare his sacrificial fire sleep on a tiger skin and should not walk on the ground without shoes. At the end of a year after the daśapēya, a rite called kēśavapaniya in which the hair grown is cut off, takes place. After that a rite called vyuṣṭi-dvirātra is performed twice. On month after the second Vyūṣṭi-dvirātra another rite called kaṣṭrādhrti is performed for the stability of the material power. At the end, the ‘Traidhatavi’ iṣṭi, the soutrāmaṇi iṣṭi are performed. With this concludes the Rājasūya.

The dakṣiṇa of the abhiṣechniya consists of 32,000 cows to each one of the four principal priests, 1600 to each one of the first assistants, 800 to each one of the second assistants and 400 to each one of the third assistants. In the daśapēya the dakṣiṇa consists of 1000 cows and a special gift to each one of the 16 priests.

Thus performance of the Rājasūya requires a period of more than two years.⁴⁶

Aśvamēdha : The Aśvamēdha is to be performed by a king who desires to become a ‘Sārvabhauma’ or win all victories and attain all prosperity. This sacrifice is frequently referred to in the inscriptions. Śrī Sātakarṇi I king of Sātavāhana dynasty, king Chāntamūla of Ikṣvāku dynasty, two kings Paramēśwara Varma and Kumāraviṣṇu of Pallava dynasty proclaimed their sovereignty by performing this sacrifice. The Viṣṇukunḍin Madhavavarma, who maintained relations with Vākātakas and defeated the Gāṅgas in several fights, boasted of having performed II aśvamēdhas. Besides the Sālankāyanas, the Chālukya kings of both the houses and Gāṅga king Āditya Varma praised themselves as having performed ten Aśvamēdhas—Dasāśvamēdhas’.

The Aśvamēdha commences on the 8th or 9th day of the bright half of Phālguna, Jyēṣṭha or Āṣadha, or on the full moon day of Chaitra. The sacrifice commences with the ‘Brahmoudana’ a

ceremony in which four anjalis of rice taken from four vessels are cooked and smeared with ghee and are given to the four priests along with thousand cows and hundred berries of gold to each. Then the king cuts off his hair, pares his nails, brushes his teeth, bathes, puts on new clothes wears golden ornaments and observes silence. Accompanied by his well-decked four wives he enters the fire hall and sits to the west of garhapatya; facing the north.

The following day the sacrificial horse is brought for sanctification. Various rules are laid down regarding the selection of the horse. It must be of high speed, white in colour with dark spots or with dark front and white back or with a tuft of dark blue hair. It is bound and sprinkled with holy water by the four priests standing in the four quarters surrounded by a hundred princesses, hundred ugras, sūtas, village headmen, chamberlains, and samgrahitrs. The horse is made to enter water then the corpse of a dog with four eyes (two additional eyes āre two depressions above the eyes) is killed by a man of the ayōgava caste, and is made to float on a mat beneath the horse. Soon after this the king says "he who kills the horse attacks Varuṇa. Away the man, away the horse". The horse is then brought near the fire and offerings are made till the water ceases to drip down from the body of the horse. A girdle made of munja grass and smeared with ghee invokved with a mantra is bound round the horse and water is sprinkled. The several appellations of a horse are whispread into the right ear of the horse. Then, as the mantra is being chanted, the horse is set free to roam all over the country. It is accompanied by 400 youths of different ranks. The horse is not allowed to turn back, plunge into water or associate with a mare.

Everyday, during the absence of the horse, iṣṭis are performed in the morning, midday, and evening to Savitṛ addressed as 'satya-prasava', 'Prasavṛ' and 'Asavṛ' respectively. When the Prayāja offerings are made, a brāhmin with a veeṇa recites three laudatory gathas composed by himself in honour of the king. This singing takes place thrice a day after the iṣṭi to Savitṛ. A kṣatriya lute-player also sings three laudatory songs, describing the battles fought and the victories won by the king. Everyday, after this the hotṛ, sitting on a golden cushion to the south of the 'āhavaniya' recites the narrative

called 'Pāriplava' to the king who is surrounded by his sons and ministers, bands of singers holding lutes sing the good deeds of the king and his ancestors. While the king is thus engaged in listening to the 'Pāriplava and to other recitations during the entire period of the sacrifice, the adhvaryu discharges the functions of the king as the king has already declared "O brāhmins and nobles, this adhvaryu is your king."

The recitation of the Pāriplava is followed by the offering of libations by the adhvaryu in the dakṣiṇāgni for the safe progress of the horse. Four oblations are also offered in the āhavanīya in the evening for the success of the sacrifice. This rite is called Dhṛti. At the end of the year, when the horse is brought back, the king undertakes 'dikṣa' for twelve days, 'aupasad' for twelve days and 'sutya' for three days. After the dikṣa, the king is praised as on par with the gods, and on the pressing days, at the time of 'avabṛitha', the 'udayaniya iṣṭi', the 'anubandhāya' and the 'Udvasaniya' rite he is spoken of as par with *Prajāpati*.

There are 21 yupas for 21 victims to be sacrificed, to Agni and Sōma. On the second day of pressing, the horse to be sacrificed is yoked to a chariot along with three other horses and is made to enter a lake by the king and the adhvaryu. When the horse is brought to the sacrificial ground the chief queen, the favourite queen and the discarded queen anoint with clarified butter in the front, middle and hind parts of the horse and put 101 golden beads on the head, mane and tail with bhuh, 'bhuvah and svaḥ respectively. Then the remains of the offerings of the previous night are given to the horse. A brahmōdya riddle takes place between the brahma and hotr and the horse is praised repeatedly. A piece of cloth is spread over grass, thereon a mantle is spread and on it a piece of gold is placed and the horse is killed. Then the chief queen is made to lie with the dead horse and both are covered with a mantle. Some abusive dialogues take place between the queen and the chief priest. Then the attendant princesses raise the queen from the side of the horse with 'dadhi-kraṇṇo'. The horse is pricked with golden, silver and iron needles by the crowned, favourite, and discarded queen respectively, and its fat is taken out. The blood of the horse is cooked and offered, at the

end, to Svistakṛt. Before presenting the fat to Prajāpati another brahmodya takes place between the priests and the sadas. Then the four priests come to the king and say "I ask you the farthest limit of the earth". The king replies "This Vedi is the farthest limit". Thereafter, the king sits on the skin of lion or tiger and is sprinkled with the remnants of the offerings called 'mahiman'. Offerings are also made to the twelve months and six seasons. Several offerings are made on the third crushing day and then the king performs the purificatory bath. After that, offerings are made to a man having yellowish brown eyeballs, bold head and suffering from white leprosy uttering "jumbākaya svaḥa" while he is in water. The other victims—from bee to wild elephants—tied to the posts are set free. The water in which the yajamāna takes his avabhṛta is considered as the purest and even persons guilty of grave sins become purified by taking a dip in it. On the first and the last days of the sūchya the sacrificer should donate thousands of cows to the brāhmins. The eastern, southern, the western and the northern parts of his realm to the hotṛ, brahma, athvāryu and Udgatṛ respectively. The daughter and even the wife of the sacrificer are demanded at times by the Chief priest. The sacrificer listening to the pariplava, the athvāryu becoming the king and the chief queen's relation with a dead horse are the three peculiar features of the horse sacrifice.⁴⁷

Puruṣamēdha : Puruṣamēdha the most difficult sacrifice is said to be performed by Mādhavavarma of Viṣṇukuṇḍin dynasty. He is the only king who claimed this. It is again referred to in Yaśastilaka. The Puruṣamēdha is performed for obtaining the status called 'Virāt', for surpassing all beings and for exceeding others in political supremacy. This is variant of the sōma sacrifice to be performed by a brāhmin or kṣatriya. It comprises two dikṣas, twelve upasads and five ukthya. On the first, second and third days the agniṣṭōma, the ukthya and the atrirātra are performed respectively and on the fourth and fifth days once again the ukthya and the agniṣṭōma are performed respectively. A human being is sacrificed on the third day. The human victim should be either a brāhmin or a kṣatriya purchased for a thousand cows or a hundred horses, yet he may be an enemy. It is

from this sacrifices of a human being that this rite derives the name *Puruṣamedha*.

The general procedure of the *Puruṣamedha* is analogous to that of the *aśvamēdha*. The rite commences with offerings to *agnikāma* (desire), *Agnidātri* (giver) and *Agnipathikṛit* (pathmaker). The victim is bathed adorned and is set free for one year during which he is not supposed to commit any breach of chastity. Throughout this period, offerings to *Anumati*, *Pathyasti* and *Aditi*, and ablutions to *Savitṛ* are made. At the end of the year an animal is sacrificed to *Indrapūsan*.

The religious texts differ regarding the number of the *yūpas* and the victims, the total number generally accepted being 166. Fire is carried round the human victim slaughtered on *kuśa* grass and covered with a red silk garment, while the *Saman* addressed to *Yama* is chanted by the *Udgatṛ* and that addressed to *Puruṣanārāyaṇa* by the *hotṛ*. The chief consort of the sacrificer lies with the dead body of the Victim and both are covered with a garment. The *brahmōdya* takes place in the *sadas*. Eleven barren cows are sacrificed to *Mitra*, *Varuṇa* and *Bṛihaspati* and some victims are offered to the seasons also. The *dakṣiṇa* for this sacrifice is similar to that of the *aśvamēdha* and in case of *brāhmin* sacrificer his property should be abandoned. At the end, the sacrificer inhales two fires and worships the sun with *Uttaranārāyaṇa* hymn and proceeds to the forest to roam as mendicant.⁴⁸

*Sarvamēdha*⁴⁹ : The *Sarvamēdha* sacrifice like *puruṣamēdha* demands the human being as victim. This also was performed only by the *Viṣṇukuṇḍins* in the entire history of ancient Āndhra. The *Sarvamēdha* modelled after the sacrifice made by *Brahma savayamhu*, is the highest form sacrifice to be performed by one who has cut off all mundane relations, and is to be performed after completing all the other sacrifices. The procedure for this sacrifice is similar to that of the *puruṣamēdha*. On the first four days *Agni*, *Indra*, *Vaiśavadēva* and *Sūrya* are worshipped respectively. On the fourth day a horse and on the fifth day a human being are sacrificed. On the sixth and seventh days the *vājapēya* and *aptōryāma* respectively are performed. On the seventh day all kinds of victims are sacrificed. The entire property of the sacrificer is given as *dakṣiṇa*. The Sacrificer either

enters a forest and walk forward without turning back or dives into the ocean.

The above account of the practice of Śrauta Dharma by rulers and the commoners gives an idea of how the vēdic concepts and thoughts deeply struck roots in the life of ancient Āndhra.

2.3 SMĀRTA DHARMA

The Dharma, duties enjoined upon the house-holder by the Smṛtis is called Smārta dharma or āhnika.

The Puruṣa sūkta of Ṛgvēda clearly describes the duties of the dwijas.¹ The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa advises the householder to perform the pañchamahāyajnas. The Aiterēya Brāhmaṇa (VII. 29) adds two more duties, they are the receipt of gifts and performing the sacrifices. The Sūtra literature lays down the performance of Gāyatri, daily and periodical offerings to Agni and the study of Vēda as the duties of the upper three classes of the society. Later the brāhmins were given the privilege of adhyāpāna, yajana and pratigraha.² Other forms of domestic rites like japa, yōgas, meditation, tapas and penance were added to the rites to be performed by an individual by time of Paṇiṇi and Patanjali.³ A clear picture of āhnika is given in both the epics. The Rāmāyaṇa describes men, women, rākṣasas and vānaras alike as having performed samdhya, viśvadeva, pañchamahāyajnas, puja, bali, śrāddha, svādhyāyana, hōma and meditation.⁴ The picture of domestic rites is given in Drōṇa, Vana, Aśvamēdhaka, and Anusāsanaparvas of Mahābhārata. The Smṛtis such as Parāśara, Āpastamba, Manu, Viṣṇu, Goutama and Purāṇas such as Mārkaṇḍeya, Kūrma, Maṣṭya, Varāha describe at great length the duties of a house-holder. The Purāṇas regard Śruti and Smṛti as authoritative on Dharma, which comprise the daily performance of five sacrifices, worship of the cow, sectarian deities, and doing good to brāhmin. The texts like Āhinikatatva, Gārhaṣṭharatnākara, Smṛtyarthasāra, etc., of the medieval time deal with the daily duties and domestic rites of a house-holder.⁵

The epigraphical sources found in Āndhra during the period under show that the Smārta dharma was observed by the house-holder. An inscription of Ānanda gotra king Attivarama refers to the Āpastambha sūtras, and the practices of major and minor rites.⁶ The

Eastern Chālukyan donee Dāriyabhaṭṭa is described as a performer of Smārtakarmas.⁷ The donees of Vijayāditya III observed the rites ordained by the Vēdas. While Paṇḍiya, a brāhmin, followed the religion that is inculcated by the sacred texts and followed domestic rituals of Yajñavalkya smṛti. Another donee Viddamayya, followed Manu's guidance.⁹ Viṣṇukuṇḍin donee is described as discharging his own religious rites.¹⁰ Some donees are described as devoted days and nights in worshipping gods, pitṛ and mankind.¹¹ Western Gāṅga donee Ayyevam is devoted to gods brāhmin and guests.¹² The donees of Gāṅga kings observed dharma as prescribed in Śruti and Smṛti.¹³ Thus, it appears as though the smārta dharma as ordained by different ancient religious digests was followed by the house-holders in ancient Āndhra.

The āhnikā performed by a dvija comprises of early rising observance of śoucha,¹⁴ snāna,¹⁵ performance of sandhya,¹⁶ japa,¹⁷ hōma,¹⁸ tarpaṇa,¹⁹ prayer,²⁰ vaiśvadeva,²¹ pañchamahāyajnas,²² svādhyāyana,²³ adhyāpāna,²⁴ dāna,²⁵ pratigraha,²⁶ and performance of evening sandhya²⁷ and hōma.²⁸

Śoucha : There are some references to śoucha in the epigraphs under review. The Gathāsaptśati refers to a traveller doing achamana in his journey even in dread winter.²⁹ Mausiya, the donee of Amma II is described as pure in mind, word and deed. Viddamayya, a brāhmin, is described as one who got his body purified by reading the Vēdas and by following religious observances. Another teacher Varuṇa Śiva is described as devoted to śoucha.³⁰ The Yaśastilaka composed during the same period³¹ mentions this. The efficacy of the śoucha in its different forms as given above, is explained in the scripts as follows. The Ṛg Vēda emphasises on the śuchitva the cleanliness. Harita considers śoucha as the first path to Dharma, resting place of Brahma, means of realisation of the supreme and awakener of intelligence. Atri and Bṛihaspati state that śoucha as constituting the avoiding of what ought not to be taken. The Yōgasūtras consider soucha as one of the five niyamas.³² Śoucha is divided into bāhya and antara. It also may be mental, physical and vocal, and it is further divided into kāmya, naimittika and nitya. The people of the upper three classes are supposed to take bath with Vēdic mantras as it is believed

that the vedic mantras induce an unseen physical and spiritual effect on the body, after the body dirt and secretions that come out are removed.³⁴ Strength, beauty, clear voice, prosperity, delicacy etc. are the ten good consequences of śoucha mentioned in Mahābhāratha.³⁵ The offerings of samdhya, āchamana, tarpaṇa, marking of religious marks on the body are some of the important items that can be included in this part of āhnikā.³⁶

Samdhya : In the Gāthāsaptāśati, God Śiva is described in three verses as adoring Samdhya with flowers and water.³⁷ Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscription and the Yaśastilaka also refer to the performance of samdhya by the brāhmins.³⁸

The earliest mention of Samdhya is found in the Taittīyā Āraṇyaka (II. 2) as rite to be performed by the three upper classes thrice a day from the time of upanayana for inducing intelligence. The rite consists of āchamana, prāṇāyāma, mārjana, arghya to the sun, japa of Gāyatri and Upasthāṇa. The Purāṇas teach that the recitation of Gāyatri with prāṇāyāma purifies one from pātakas.³⁹

Japa : King Hāla described God Śiva as muttering Gāyatri-mantra (v. 100). The Eastern Chālukyan donee Viddamayya is referred to as not weary of repeating the Vēdas and syllable 'OM'.⁴⁰ In the Rāṣṭrakūṭa records two brāhmins Varuṇaśiva and Gajādharayya are described as engaged in doing japa.⁴¹ The Yaśastilaka also refers to the utterance of mantra.⁴²

The recitation of important texts such as Gāyatri, Pavamāni Aghamāsa etc., is called japa. It is meant for the strengthening of mind, purifying the soul and for the realisation of the Supreme.⁴³ The Upaniṣads and the Purāṇas deal in great length with japa and meditation. Japa may be vāchika or Upamsu or mānasa.⁴⁴ The Viṣṇudharma sūtras (55. 10-12) state that the performance of japa is ten times more efficacious than the sacrifices and that the Pākayajnas together with the Pañcha Mahāyajnas do not come up to even the sixteenth part of the japa.⁴⁵

Hōma : Homa is next to japa, in importance among āhnikā rites from the early times. Kings of the Sātavāhana, Iksavāku, Viṣṇukunḍin dynasties are referred to as the performers of aganihōtra.⁴⁶ The donees of the Śalankāyana Rāṣṭrakūṭa times were also devoted to

hōma.⁴⁷ The Yāśastilaka refers to the worship of the Agni by the brāhmins of the period.⁴⁸ In the Agnihōtra Agni or Pra)āpati is adored thrice a day by a grihasta by offering clarified butter, boiled rice, barley, mesa, milk, curds etc. This fire is called aupāsana or smārta Vaivāhika or āvasathya or Sālāgni. In case he could not maintain a fire, he should at least offer in the fire laukika in which he cooks his food.⁴⁹ Thus altogether 5 fires three śruata fires (referred under Śruata Dharma) one aupāsika and one laukika fire, are to be maintained in the house. The house-holder who maintains all the five or the first three is called Pañchāgni or trētāgni respectively. The sixth fire, oblations thrown into the fire are believed to reach the Sun who sends rain from which springs corn which sustains all the beings. Hence giving up ugnihōtro is considered as pātaka.⁵⁰ The recitation of japa and offering of hōma are followed by looking at auspicious things like cow, fire, brāhmin, gold, sun, king, banner, kalaśa. parasol and decorating oneself.⁵¹

Manu says “To brāhmans, he (Brahma) assigned teaching and studying the Vēda, sacrificing for their benefit and for others and giving and accepting of alms”, Thus the śatkarmas—adhyāpana and adhyāyana; Yajna and yājana; dāna and pratigraha are the important religious duties assigned by the Smṛtis to the house-holders. Study, sacrifice and dāna these three are duties while the other three are privileges or means of a livelihood.⁵² The epigraphical and the literary sources found in Āndhra refer to the brāhmins as having performed śatkarmas and the pañchamahāyajnas. The smārtha dharma is found mentioned from the times of the early Pallavas up to 1000 A.D.⁵³

The pañchamahāyajnas are recommended by the Vedic and Smṛti literature to the house-holder to be performed from the time of kindling the wedding fire. The pañchamahāyajnas dēva, pitṛ, brāhmnā, bhūta, and manuṣyayajnas, are advised to be performed in order to get rid of the sin committed by the house-holder in the five slaughter houses namely the hearth, grinding stone, the broom, the pestle, the mortar, and the water vessels in everyday life. According to the other tradition these are supposed to be performed to pay off the debts to gods, pitṛ, sage, bhūta, and the guests. The house-holder who does not

perform the five sacrifices is supposed to be equivalent to a corpse though he is alive, since by doing five sacrifices he supports both movable and immovable creation. So the performance of the five yajnas is considered to be superior to that of the Śrouta sacrifices.⁵⁴

Yajna and yojana, adhyāyana and adhyāpana, dāna and parti-graha of the śatkarmas correspond to dēva, brāhma and manuṣya yajna of the pañchamahāyajnas. Of these, brahma yajna, adhyāpana and adhyāyana, pitṛyajna and bhūtajajna alone are discussed here.⁵⁵

Brahmayajna : The study of Vēdas and other scriptures constitutes Brahmanavidya. The brahmanavidya studied by the brāhmins in ancient Āndhra is as follows. The Pallava charters mention Itihāsa, Purāṇa, Vēdānta and sarvaśāstras.⁵⁶ Kōṭiśarma, the donee of Attivarma knows the Ṛg Yajur and Sāmavēdas.⁵⁷ Radhakāra Chaturvēdi of the Sālankāyana dynasty constantly engaged himself in the study of the Vēdas for various gōtṛas and charaṇas.⁵⁸ The sixty donees of the same period were described as engaged in the study of Vēda, Vēdāṅga, Itihāsa, Purāṇa, Niroga, Chandōvichita and Pravachana.⁵⁹ Viṣṇukunḍin Mādhavavarma III's donee, Śiva śarma, was well versed in the recital of the four Vēdas.⁶⁰ The Eastern Chalukyans seem to have patronised brahmanavidya more. Viṣṇu I's donees, Viṣṇu Śarma and Mādhava Śarma, knew the meaning of the Vēdas and Vēdāṅgas, the Epics, the Purāṇas, the law-books and many other sacred books. The father, Brahma Śarma, studied and mastered the Vēdas and Vēdāṅgas.⁶¹ One Vidu Śarma, the donee of Viṣṇu II was well versed in the Brāhmaṇas, Sūtras, Mantras, Tantras and Upaniṣads and his father knew all the Āgamas.⁶² Vijayāditya I's donee was proficient in the Vēdas, the Vēdāṅgas, the Itihāsa, the Purāṇas and the sixty four kaṇas.⁶³ The donees of Jayasimha I were versed in different śāstras, Śvāmiyas and Viṣṇuśāstras, studied the Vēdas the Vēdāṅgas, the Itihāsas, the Purāṇas, the Mīmamsa and many other śāstras. They were also proficient in trisahasra vidya.⁶⁴ Kaṭi Śarma, another brāhmin, was well read in the Yajna ritual, the Upaniṣads, the mantras, the Itihāsas the Purāṇas and the Dharmaśāstras, while his grandfather not only studied the Vēdas with pada, krama, and anukramaṇas but also was well versed in kalpa, the Upaniṣads the Itihāsa and the Dharma śāstras.⁶⁵ Viṣṇuvardhan III's donees were well versed in Bhārgava,

Amgīrasa, Sukra and Bṛhaspati Nītisāstras.⁶⁶ One Paṇḍiya donee of Āmma II, having undisturbed mind, was versed in three Vēdas, while another one studied Vēdas and Bhaṭṭasāstra, yet another one Dāriyabhaṭṭa, was versed in Vēdas, Vēdāṅgas, Ardhaśāstra, and Dharmaśāstra⁶⁷ Viddamayya, the donee of Bhima II, the student of Krama patha was likened to a ray of Sun to the water lilies of learned men.⁶⁸ The Western Chāḷukyans who ruled over Āndhra also promoted brahmavidya. One Bhavaśarma studied “Trisahaśra Vidya” and wrote commentaries on Vēdāṅgas, tarka, yoga, sacrificial rituals, twenty four books and other śāstras.⁶⁹ Likewise one Ādityaśarma studied well the Tarkaśāstra another one studied Vēda vēdāṅgas, Itihāsa, Purāṇas, sixty four kaḷas and tarka.⁷⁰

The inscriptions found in the north eastern part of Āndhra are rich in material dealing with brahmavidya. Patanga Śivachārya, the guru of king Dēvēndravarma of the Eastern Gāṅga dynasty, studied Vēda, Vēdāṅga, Itihāsa, and Purāṇas.⁷¹ In the epigraph found at Tandivada, the donee is described as having studied the Vēdas, Vēdāṅgas, commented on twenty books, and as having got purified by knowledge of Yōga, Vēdānta, Nyāya, Upaniṣads, Purāṇas, Rāmāyaṇa and other scriptures. His father expounded “Trisahaśra vidya” and mastered Śruti and Smṛti.⁷² The Gudimallam inscription of the Bāṇas from the southern part of Āndhra also refers to brahmavidya. The donee is described as having his mouth resounding with recitation of the Vēdas.⁷³

The above given information regarding the Vēdic lore studied by the brahmins gathered from the epigraphs of the period under study constitutes the Vēdas with different types of readings, Vēdāṅgas, Brāhmaṇas, Kalpa, Upaniṣads, Sūtras, Itihās, Purāṇas, Dharmaśāstras, Mantras, Tantra, Nyāya, Sankhya, Yōga, Mīmāṃsa, Tark, Vēdānta, Āgamas, Rājanīti, Ardhaśāstra, Chandas, Vyākaraṇa, Vaidya, Nītisāstra, Bhaṭṭasāstra three thousand other vidyas, sixtyfour kaḷas, Rāmāyaṇa and other texts. The religious scriptures advise the reader to study everyday according to his ability, the vākōvakya, Purāṇa, narasamsis, Gāthas, Itihāsas, vaidya etc.⁷⁴ In the Chāndyoga upaniṣad, Nārada tells Sanatkumara that the seeker of Brahma should read the four Vēdas, Itihāsas, Purāṇas, Grammar, Piṭr, Rāsi, Nidhi, vakōvakya,

chandās, kṣtriyavidya, nakṣhtra vidya, sarpa vidya etc. Rīṣi Angiras in the Maṇḍuka upaniṣad tells Saunka to read the four Vēdas with six Aṅgas.

The Taithreya upaniṣad speaks of svādhyāya, pravachana as tapas and equal to ṛita, satya, dāna, and agnihotra, etc.⁷⁵ Thus the adhyāyana is not only curricular activity but has got a religious background. The Śatapatha brāhmaṇa says that whoever studies day by day the vedas reaches Brahman and that the study of Ṛg, Yajus and the Atarvavēda is like the offering of milk, ghee, honey, soma and fat to the gods, so that they are delighted, and satisfied and bestow on the reader affluence, security, longevity, vigour and all auspicious streams of ghee and honey.⁷⁶ The recitation of Brāhmaṇas, Itihāsas, the Purāṇas, the Kalpa and the Gāthas is like fat offerings and the gods bestow on the reader lustre, prosperity, glory, food and spiritual eminence.⁷⁷ Yājñavalkya says that just reading or hearing of the Vēdas is not sufficient but understanding is more important. Śābara states that the real purpose of the study of the Vēda is to understand the knowledge about the religious action it conveys.⁷⁸ According to Manu “Of the brāhmins, those who are learned in the Vēda, of the learned those who recognised the prescribed duties, of those who possess their knowledge, and of those the performer knows the Brahma”. The Smṛti laid down that one should study the śākha of the Vēda which his ancestors studied and should perform religious rites with mantras derived from that śākha.⁷⁹ The brāhmins mentioned in the records during the period strictly followed the rules given above. Some brāhmins are specifically mentioned along with their specialised śākhās. They are also described as performing rites according to their own śākhās.^{79a} They did not just read the sacred lore without any devotion or understanding. Radhakāra Chaturvedi of the Sāṅkayana times, studied, meditated and gained power to curse as well as give boons. Durgāśarma of the Viṣṇukunḍin times performed what he studied.⁸⁰ Svāmīyaśas and Viṣṇuyaśas are praised as “Anēka śāstra-ardha,-tathva,-śāila-prakāśh”.⁸¹ Some scholars reached perfection. In the times of Eastern Chāḷukyas one Dāriyabhaṭṭa was praised as equivalent to Brahma.⁸² Paṇḍiya was an excellent chief of the ascetics and was renowned as worthy example of perfect manhood.⁸³ The

Eastern Gāṅga donees conquered the celestial beings by means of constant practice of Dharma. The donees of Western Gāṅga kings were also described as having obtained power to curse or to give boons by their constant reading of scriptures and religious practices.⁸⁴

Adhyāpana : The teaching of Vēdas is considered as great as its study. It is believed that the person who does not teach his knowledge to one who requests him destroys his own good acts. But one is not supposed to teach Vēdas for the sake of money only.⁸⁵ The inscriptions found in Āndhra refer to adhyāpana as one of the ṣatkarmas in general. Besides, there are some references to adhyāpana as means of livelihood. This is born out by the Bāṇa inscription which states that the donees lived on brahmavidya for several generations.^{86a} Besides these, the heads of various institutions and ghaṭikas also appear to have been engaged in Adhyāpāna. Among such Satyarāśi Gajādharayya and Varuṇa Śivabhaṭṭara are mentioned in the inscriptions.⁸⁷

After completing the brahmyajna the house-holder should perform piṭṛyajna by offering food, water, milk, root, or fruit. He should feed at least one brāhmin in honour of the manes.⁸⁸

The piṭṛyajna is followed by bhūtajna. The bali is offered with the sacrificial food in all the four directions proceeding from the east to Indra, Yama, Varuṇa and Sōma, and also to their servants. Offerings to Maruths is scattered into the air. Offerings are made near threshold, in water, on pestal and near a tree. Offerings for Śri and Bhadrakālī are made near the head and feet of the house-holder's bed. In the Centre of the house bali is offered for Brahma and Vaṣṭōspati, in the upper storey of the building to Sarvatamahiuti. Bali is thrown into the air for all gods, dogs, crows, insects, chaṇḍālaas and for the diseased food is offered on the ground. He who offers bali is believed to go to Brahma with a shining body.^{88a}

Having performed bali, the house-holder should feed a guest, give alms to an ascetic or to a student. The brāhmins who knew the true meaning of the Vēdas must be honoured, because hospitable reception to a guest is believed to procure wealth, fame, long life, heaven and bliss. Then the house-holder should offer the evening bali without the

mantras.⁸⁹ On account of belief in the efficacy, the rites were observed by the people of Āndhra.

The practice of bali offering by women is found in the Gāthāsaptśati. The Eastern Chālukyan inscription refers to atidhiārādhana and nityaśrāddha. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa records refer to the feeding of atithi and adhyāgati, students and ascetics.⁹⁰ The Eastern Chālukyan and the Western Chālukyan donees are described as having engaged in the worship of god piṭr brāhmins and guests.⁹¹ Viddamayya, another donee, is described as having purified his family to seven generations by his hospitality.⁹²

Tapas : The practice of tapas was very popular in Āndhra from the early times. The Sātavāhana queens Nāyanika and Bālaśrī are described as devoted to tapas. The former found delight in truth, charity, patience, self control, restraint, abstinence and was fully working as an ideal wife of a rājariṣi, The latter was like an ascetic even at home.⁹³ Pallava Simhavarma is described as “Rājarṣiguṇaśan-dōha”.⁹⁴ Svādhyāya as tapas is found in the Śālikāyana Plates as explained in Gautama dharmasūtras.⁹⁵ The sixty brāhmins in the Penugonda plate are mentioned as devoted to tapas.⁹⁶ Similarly the donees of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa and Western Gāṅgas are described as devoted to tapas.⁹⁷ One Gōla Śarma was like the very Brahman, “Sakṣhāt Brahman”.^{97a}

The Rg. Vēda described that the universe arose from Tapas, by the power of tapas Indra attained his position, Gods attained immortality, and Rishi achieved the power to bless or curse. The term has been interpreted variously in different texts, The Taittirīya Upaniṣad speaks of svādhyāya as tapas. The Gautama dharmaśāstra says that celibacy, truthfulness, bathing thrice daily, wearing clothes, sleeping on ground and fasting constitutes tapas. Baudāyana adds ahimsa, asthēya, guru sīrūṣa to these.⁹⁸ The Sāntiparva of the Mahābhārata praising tapas states that it consists of ahimsa, truthfulness, freedom from cruelty, restraint and compassion. The miraculous power of tapas and stories illustrating it are described in various places in epics and purāṇas.⁹⁹

Vratas : The practice of observing vrata could be found in Āndhra from a very early date. The Sātavāhana queen Nāyanika is

described as “Dikavratasumdaya”.¹⁰⁰

The term Vrata is used to denote a customary activity, a religious duty, a rite, a worship, an observance of a sacred work, a sum total of ethical or religious duties and practices, the worship of the deity or a religious undertaking observed on certain thithi or a day, or a month, or a period for securing some desired objects. Vratas consist of observance of certain restrictions about food or one's general behaviour also. The early literature used the term vrata in the sense of pure spiritual, moral and austere duty. Slowly it became a religious practice or customary rite to gain material objects.¹⁰¹ The Purāṇas like Bhaviṣya, Padma, Skanda, give innumerable vratas. The first one eulogises vrata “by doing vratas, fasts, restricted rules of conduct and . . ., one can reach God”. The Skanda purāṇa describes that “Gods attained their position, by strict observance of vratas”. In one way vrata is considered superior to other types of religious practices as poor and rich, young and old, male and female, married and unmarried, widows and vēsyas too could perform it.¹⁰² At times some vratas are meant either for men or women, or kings or vaiśyas alone depending upon the purpose. The individual who desires to undertake a vrata after completing the bath and japa should take saṅkalpa, to pūja and hōma of the deity in whose honour it is undertaken. Then he should observe upavāsa, feed brāhmins and women, give dānas and distribute the mōdakas, the best naivēdya and then feed the poor and the blind.¹⁰³ Other instances of practice of vratas are found in Sāṅkāyana¹⁰⁴ and Rāṣṭrakūṭa¹⁰⁵ records. One Domayya, of Eastern Chāḷukyan times, is referred to as having observed karpāṭivrata, which consists of early bath, brahmacharya, wearing of rags etc. everyday.¹⁰⁶

Upavāsa : Strictly speaking Upavāsa means total abstinence from food and drink. But usually, light diet or specific type of food is taken. The sutras referred to upavasa as early eating of light food prepared from corn, used in the sacrifices without vegetables, salt, meat etc. Manu considered upavāsa as the penance for omitting duties ordained by the Vedas and also as a means of removing the sin. Sāntiparva of Mahābhārata says that “Just as dirty garment shines after cleaning by water, so to those who are heated in the fire of fasting,

inexhaustible happiness for a time comes".^{106a} Several types of vratas regulating the food had been given by the Smṛitikāras some of which are considered penances for committing certain mistakes or sins. Queen Nāyanika is known for the Upavāsa practice. She is described "māsopavāsayniya", one who fasted one full month.

Mauna or silence : The Sūtras, Smṛtis, Epics and the Purāṇas considered mauna as efficacious. Two brāhmins Varunaśiva and Ayyavarma are described as devoted to upavāsa and mauna in the epigraphs of the period.¹⁰⁷

Prāyaścitta : Penance like tapas and Upavāsa as a form of religious exercise was explained variously. The Smṛtis differ in naming the penance or the method of doing it and the sins or mistakes for which they are ordained. At times even an ascetic exercise is called penance.^{107a}

The custom of observing penance is found in Āndhra from the time of the Śatavāhanas. Queen Bālaśrī is described as bent upon penances.¹⁰⁸ King Mādhavavarma is referred to as performer of Prājāpatya.¹⁰⁹ Prājāpatya penance is performed by a number of brāhmins including women in the times of Western Chālukyans for whom the ruling king made some gifts.¹¹⁰ Nandi Śarma is described as having obtained an excellence of supreme knowledge of vēdanta by means of his manifold penances like Kṛichchara. Atikṛichchara, Chāndrāyaṇa and other ascetic exercises.¹¹¹ The Yaśastilaka also refers to the practice of doing penances.¹¹²

Prājāpatya : Prājāpatya is a penance observed, for twelve days. In this distinct rules are observed in regard to taking of food. In the first three successive days food is taken at night, next three days during day time, the succeeding three days food is taken without asking for and on fasting on the last three days. This type of prājāpatya is called anulōma prājāpatya. If the sequence is reversed, it is called pratilōma prājāpatya.¹¹³

Kṛichchara : Krichchara is a general word used for several penances. There are numerous penances which end with suffix "kṛichchara". The Sāmabrahmaṇa, Gautama, Āpasthamba dharma sūtras explained the kṛichchara as a penance in which one should eat

sacrificial food for three days by day time only; for three days at night only; three days without asking and observing complete fast last three days. On the thirteenth day of a month oblations are offered to Agni, Sōma, Indra, Viśvadeva, Brahma, Prajāpati. During the period the observer should bathe thrice a day, sing Sāmans, feed brāhmins and do such other things.¹¹⁶

Atikṛichchara : Yajnavalkya describes atikṛichchara as eating of just as much food as would fill the hand of the observer. Manu describes the atikṛichchara as eating only one morsel of food for three days in the morning, three days in the evening, three days taking food secured without asking and observing fast and the last three days observing complete fast.¹¹⁷

Chāndrāyaṇa : Chāndrāyaṇa like Kṛichchara is a generic name used as suffix for a number of penances. It is a penance in which there is decrease or increase of taking of food in imitation of the course of the moon, Manu, Gautama, Jābali and Yajnavalkya say that Chāndrāyaṇa vrata accumulates merit, purifies the body and the soul and that the performer goes to the world of the moon.¹¹⁸ Chāndrāyaṇa is of various types viz. Yavana madhya, Pipilikā madhya, Yati, Śīśu, Sarvatōmukha and many other types.

Gōja Dikṣa : A solitary inscription of the Gāngas describes some brāhmins hailing from Bengal as observers of Gōja dikṣa; a practice which perhaps might have been observed by the ancient Bengalis.¹¹⁹

Smārta dharma thus practised by a house-holder had a deep impact on the society. It is this that laid the foundations for Brāhmanic thought and way of life in the Āndhra society. It also established the values of life with reference to which individual's excellence and life's goals were judged.

2.4 SĀDHĀRANA DHARMA

The brāhmins who are expected to lead humble life and engage in intellectual and religious pursuits were maintained by the kings by giving Dānas. In the Brāhmanical religion dāna the gift-making or charity has been extolled by all the religions as one of the virtues to be cultivated by man as the chief mode of religious life.

The R̥gvēda eulogies dāna in general and refers to various types of gifts like cows, horses, camels, chariots, servants, young maiden, garments, gold, ornaments, food, etc. It also refers to great donors like Puruniālla, Taranta, Rothavitri, Sudās etc.¹ The Śatapatha brāhmaṇa and the Aitarēya brāhmaṇa direct the king to give gifts to the brāhmin, the earthly God. The Chāndōgya upaniṣad praises the gift of shelter for feeding all people that come from all quarters at all times. The Upaniṣads glorify dāna as tapas when a man makes gifts of what he owns.² By the time of Sūtras, the gift-making gained more importance and the grihasta has to make the charity of food to the guest, old, sick, relatives, and to one belonging to low caste. Donation for medicine, travel, marriage, sacrifice, flower garden, digging of a well and such activities which are useful for public are also found mentioned in the sūtra literature.³

Besides the term dāna, the term iṣṭapūrta is also used in the Vēdas, Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads to mean a pious deed, an object given to a brāhmin or to a sacrificial offering and any act that has a cumulative religious or spiritual effect.⁴

The Rāmāyaṇa mentions charity as conducive to one's own welfare here and hereafter and refers to donation of land and cow as Pūrta.⁵

Upto this stage the terms iṣṭa-pūrta and dāna are used for gifts or offering in general. The Mahābhārata, for the first time, distinguishes the terms iṣṭa and pūrta. Accordingly offering made into the śrouta sacrifice or into a single fire is called iṣṭa while the dedication of food, garden etc., is called pūrta.⁶ The Mahābhārata refers to the establishment of cities, guest houses sheds, planting of trees and charitable deeds. The Anuśāsana parva, like the Upaniṣads deals with various types of gifts and also the rewards for donating them. According to the epic dānadharma develops positive attitude, self-control and refulgence in the donee. The epics give greater importance to the pūrta dānas than to iṣṭa dānas. The Dharmaśāstras enjoin the duty of giving a gift on the house-holder, or the grihasta since the people of the other three stages or asramas of life depend on him. The Agni, Mātṛya, Liṅga, Skanda, Bhaviṣya and other purāṇas extol dāna as the chief aspect of religious life in Kali age. These texts

preach that dāna could even avert the guilt of murder of not only of this birth but even that of the previous ones and that dāna made to brāhmin is nothing but the treasure preserved in the next world. The religious digests explained that iṣṭa dāna is like a vaidika rite, could be performed by the dvijas only where as the pūrta dānas constitute donations made for the public welfare as well as the donations made to the brāhmin on an occasion like an eclipse which could be performed by sūdras, women, widows and even by prostitutes.⁷ In course of time istadāna faded and pūrtadāna gained some importance and was explained further. The dāna given to a brāhmin is called brahmādēya or agrahāra or vṛitti or brahmapuri, and that made for public utility is called uṣṣarga or dhṛuvadāna, Permanent gift.⁸ Brahmādēya is referred to in the sources found in Āndhra from the times of the Pallavas only.

Dāna has been defined as cessation of one's ownership over a thing and creation of ownership of another over the same. While the latter accepts the thing mentally, vocally and physically. A dāna is given with the Vēdic mantras and rites, to a fit person who accepts it wishing the donor the unseen spiritual benefits. Further dāna is an object given to a person over which the donor loses all his rights including utilisation. Dedication or establishment for public use is called pratiṣṭāpana but this term is used in case of temples and idols only.⁹

Charity making is referred to historically in Āndhra for the first time in the edicts of Aśōka. Dānas are of three types viz., (1) Nitya, (2) Naimittika, and (3) Kāmya. The dāna that is given everyday like food to Vaiśvadēvas is called nitya dāna that is given at certain specified times like eclipse is called naimittika and dāna given with a desire for victory, prosperity etc. is called Kāmya.¹⁰

Many inscriptions that are found in Āndhra were issued either as naimittika or kāmya. For instance Pallava Śiva Skandavarma's Hirahadagalli plates state that he made gift "for the increase of merit, longevity, power and fame of his family and race" Kanukollu plates of Śalankāyana Nandivarman I clearly mention that he made gifts desiring the rise of dharma, fame, longevity of life, strength, rise of fame and happiness of Bālaka Maharaja Khaṇḍapota". At times,

Dānas are made for the increase of rewards of one's own good deeds", "the desire of conquering", "to acquire merit in after-life", with the hope of one's self and parents acquiring religious merit, when a person is in his victorious camp, and after subduing the enemies.¹¹ Besides these Kāmya dānās, dānas made as naimittikas are also found in plenty in the source material. Usually these are made on lunar and solar eclipses, on full moon days of Vaiśākha, Kārtika, Āṣāḍa and Māgha, Uttarāyaṇa samkrānti, and special occasions like Mahākārtika pūrṇima and termination of dikṣha ceremony, Makara samkrānti, and Dakṣiṇāyana.¹²

Again dānas are divided into three types depending upon the mental attitude of the donor with which he makes the donation : (1) sāttvika; (2) rājasa; and (3) tāmasa. Of the three types, sāttvika dāna is the best one. Since it is given to a worthy person without desire for the effects of that gift, but is given with the idea of doing one's duty".¹³

Most of the gifts mentioned in the records may be treated as falling under the rājasa category, since they were usually made with a view to securing merit, or some personal benefit.

Pallava Vijayaskandavarma II has been described as having, donated the village Ongodu as "Sāttvika-gift" to Gōla Śarman of Kāśyapa gōtra.¹⁴

The Dharmaśāstras give six important features of dāna viz. the donor, the donee, the object of gift, place, time and the mental attitude with which the donation is made.¹⁵

Mental Attitude : Faith and purity of mind of the donor at the time of the dana are more important than the quantity and quality of the gift. The donor should be free from hunger, need, ill-will or irritation at the time of doing the dāna. He should give the donation with honour and the donee should accept it with honour.

The Donor : The donor should be free from incurable or disgusting diseases, free from vices, should follow a blameless profession, should be pure, religious and charitable.¹⁶ Inscriptions registering gifts show that most of the donors generally satisfied the above injunctions. A few examples are given below. Ikṣvāku Chāntamūla is described as donor of crores of gold, hundred thousands of kin and

ploughs. Pallava Vijayaskandavarman II is described as true to his word, day by day increased the store of religious merit by giving gifts, as desirous of serving gods and brāhmins and as one who understood the essence of all śāstras completely. Vijayasimhavarman is described as “Rājarṣiguṇasandōha”. Viṣṇukuṇḍin king Mādhavavarma III is described as endowed with peerless strength, charity, modesty and as enjoying prestige acquired through piety and valour, as a refuge of the wise, twice-born, teachers, old and hermits.¹⁷ Viṣṇuvardhana and Indravarma I of the Eastern Chālukya family are described as Kāmādhēnu to the poor and helpless, and extremely kind to the brāhmins. Bhīma and Yudhamalla are described as helping the distressed, helpless, wanderers, needy, downfallen, sick, beggars and the blind; as associated with the best, twice-born, learned, ascetics; surrounded by actors, dancers, singers, poets, orators who come from various countries. The Gāṅga king Anantavarman is endowed with wisdom, refinement, truthfulness, good conduct, liberality, courtesy¹⁸ etc. Thus the noble qualities of the rulers of Āndhra tally with those prescribed in the scriptures.

The Donee : The donee also should be a person of high intellectual power or of special excellence and should be either a guru, ahitāgni, sōtriya, sadācāri, grīhastha, Vēdapāraṅga, kuṭumbini or a daridra. Robbers, Wrestlers, gamblers, the diseased, discarded and the sudras are not considered fit to be donees.¹⁹

That the above exhortation did not go unheeded is evident from the qualifications and qualities of the donees figuring in the records of the time. The following are some of the examples :

Koṭi Śarma, the donee in the inscription of Attivarman of the Ānandagōtra was familiar with Āpstambhasūtras, the practices of major and minor rites and with the R̥gvēda, the Yajurvēda and the Sāmavēda. Caturvēdi, the donee in the Kānukollu plates of the Sālankāyana king Nandivarman I, was endowed with the capacity of cursing and conferring boons. He was engaged in meditation and the study of the Vēdas. The donees of the Eastern Chālukyan king Viṣṇuvardhana I knew the meaning of the Vēdas, the Vēdāṅgas, the Purāṇas, the Itihāsas, the law books and many other sacred works. The donees in the Sisali plates of Vijayāditya II were well-versed in

the political science of Bhārgava and Agnīrasa, ethics of Sukra and Brihaspati and in grammar; they were engaged in performing vēdic rites and observing the ṣatkarmas and were free from the fetters of "Ariṣadvargas". Nandi Śarma, the donee of the plates of Vikramāditya I of the Western Chālukyan dynasty, possessed the excellent knowledge of the whole Vēdānta by means of penances like kṛichchara, atikṛichchra, chāndrāyaṇa etc. The Gāṅga plates record donation of villages to the guru of the king Dēvendravarma.²⁰ Gifts made to poets, musicians, and loyal servants are also found in the epigraphs. However, these cannot be regarded as danas in the strict sense, since they are not made according to the śāstric or cannonical procedure.²¹

Object of gift : The most commonly mentioned objects of gift in the records of the period under study are gold, cows, villages, lands, house-sites, flower-gardens, water tanks, oil mill, house-hold articles etc. Elephants, horses, coaches, seat, garments, and ornaments are also mentioned but rarely. Besides the dwellings, wollen carpets, umbrellas, shoes, education, Kāvya, and Kanyas are also given by the kings. Chariots, and carts were also offered to the donees.²²

Every object of gift is believed to have its own presiding deity :

Gold	—	Agni
Cow	—	Agni or Rudra
Horse	—	Varuṇa
Clothes	—	Sōma
Human beings	—	Prajāpati
Specific rewards for donating particular objects are also given :		
Armour	—	Life
Gold	—	Immortality
Cow	—	Place in heaven
Horse	—	Place in the world of Sūrya
Clothes	—	Longevity
Maidens	—	Merit of Agniṣṭōma

The merits of gifts are given to atone any types of sin.²³

The objects donated by the rulers show that they followed the numerous rules laid down about the desirability of the object to be

gifted. There are different views about the best *dēya* or the object. The Vēdas considered cows as the most desirable object of gift. Horses, camels, maidens and gold are also considered as worthy of being gifted. The brāhmaṇas and the Upaniṣads increased the number of the objects and included food, fields, garments, villages, utensils etc. During the Sūtra period, land came to be regarded unanimously as the best object of gift. Yajñavalkya says that land yielding crops, money for settling a person as a married man, water, garments, lamp, gold etc., are of the highest value, and Umbrella, shoes, flower as of secondary importance. The Vasiṣṭha dharmasūtras state that cows, land and education are *atidanas* while Manu recommends *vidya* as the best *dēya*. The Viṣṇudharma sūtras preach protection from danger as the noblest *dāna*. The Anuśāsanika parva of the Mahābhārata considered land as the best of all the gifts, because it is believed that the king could wipe off the sin committed during the wars.²⁴

Certain things like the kuśa grass, milk, fruits, curd, water, gems and fragrant substances should be offered as a matter of course by the donor and should not be refused by the donee. Certain things like liquor, iron, etc., should not be accepted by a brāhmin as a gift. While emphasising the importance of *dāna*, the Dharmaśāstras place certain restrictions on the house-holder regarding the extent to which he could gift away. A house-holder who has wife, children and other dependents should first meet the needs of his family like food, shelter and clothing and then only think of *dāna*. Any *dāna* made by him which causes suffering to his family is only a false *dāna* and acts as poison. Others' property, borrowed and mortgaged should not be donated. The merit of the gift also depends on the manner in which the donor acquired the object of the gift.²⁵ Hence particulars about the objects of donation were clearly written down in the royal orders of ancient period.

Time of donation : Though *dānas* could be made at any time, those made on certain occasions are supposed to be more meritorious. The gifts made on the first day of each 'āyana' during the solar and lunar eclipses, the first and last days of each fortnight and on certain other days are considered to be of inexhaustible merit. The Mahābhārata and the Dharmaśāstras lay special emphasis on the

donations made on such occasions since the reward for them is the liberation of the soul. Donations made on the occasion of śrāddha are recommended by Manu as they are productive of inexhaustible merit.²⁶

Donations made on occasions like Uttarāyaṇa, Dakṣināyaṇa, Lunar and Solar eclipses, on Amāvasya, Pūrṇamāsi or the first tithis of the Pakṣas, Mahākārttiki Ekādaśi, Mahāpourṇamāsi, Śrāddha are found in the records. Gifts made on certain occasions like coronation, child birth, marriage, victory, initiation, which are recommended by dharmaśāstras to express pleasure, gratitude, affection and spiritual purposes are also found mentioned in the inscription of the period.²⁷

Place of donation : Donations made at sacred places, in the temple premises, on the banks of holy rivers, on the mountains, and in the presence of cow, sages and gurus are believed to yield more merit than those made in one's own house.²⁸ The evidence of contemporary records clearly indicate that the theory was put in practice. For example, Manchikallu plates of Pallava Simhavarma record that the king made some donations at the feet of god in the temple.²⁹ Śāṅkayana Hastivarma gifted a village to sixty brāhmins in the temple of Nārāyaṇa.³⁰ Mādhavavarma III of the Viṣṇukunḍin dynasty granted a village to Śivaśarma on the banks of the river Godavari.³¹ Gaṅga Dēvendravarma is stated to have gifted the village Tamara-chervu, to 300 brāhmins before God Gokaṇḍabhaṭṭāra on the summit of mount Mahēndra.³² The Western Chāḷukyan kings Vijayāditya I and Vinayāditya made donations to Kanka Śarma and to several brāhmins on the banks of Kaveri and Tagara respectively.³³ Vinayāditya restored the property to gods and brāhmins as the lands were taken away by the previous rulers on the bank of river Malahārīturunda.³⁴ Taila II of the Rāṣtrakūṭa dynasty made a donation to God Bhairvadēva in the presence of two teachers, Gajadhara brahmachāri and Hampana bhāṭṭopadhyāya.³⁵ Krishna III of the same family made some donation in the temple of Harihara, when he visited Jyoti, a centre of pilgrimage and at another time donated lands on the banks of Pampa river. Eastern Chāḷukyan king Mangi made donations in the temple of Śiva.³⁶

Procedure of donation : Another important aspect of the dāna is

the procedure to be observed while making the gift. Before making the gift, the donor and the donee should bathe, put on white clothes and upavitas, do āchamana and sit facing each other. The donor should then mention the object of gift, the presiding deity, the purpose of donation and finally announce "I make gift to you" and pour water in donee's hand. Then the donee should say "Give me". The gift is then placed in the hands of the donee. This procedure was adopted by the donors of the period whose records state that they made the gifts with libation of water.³⁷ In case the gift is a cow, the donee should touch its tail. In the case of a horse and an elephant the mane and the tusk respectively are to be touched. If the gift is a house or land it is either entered or walked round as the case may be. If the gift is a field or garden its product is tasted. In case of a maiden, the donee touches her hand. Every dāna invariably is followed by a dakṣhiṇa.³⁸ It is interesting to note in this connection, that Nandivarma of the Śāṅkāyana dynasty is described in his Kanukollu plates as having donated the village, Piḍiha to Agrahārarathakāra Chaturvēdi with "the prescribed rites and formalities pertaining to the "Agrahārarathakāra".³⁹ The Dharmaśāstras further state that the gift thus given by the kings and nobles should be recorded on copper plates or rocks or cloth etc., stamped with the seal. The grants thus issued should contain the date and place of issue, the genealogy of the donor and the details of the gift. The record should be addressed to the royal officials and the public and should contain the conditions governing the gift. If the object is purchased from anybody the fact should be mentioned. If the gift is a village the grants already made out of it should also be mentioned. At the end there should be an appeal to future kings and public to protect and maintain the gift. The record should conclude with laudatory, imprecatory and benedictory verses.⁴⁰

The Gāṅga inscription describes that "Rājna-sva-hasta-likhitam śāsanam pāpa-nāsanam".^{40a} An investigation of the epigraphical records of the period clearly indicates that the above mentioned injunctions were faithfully followed. All the inscriptions of the period registering gifts to the brāhmins have been engraved on copper plates bearing the royal seal, the date and the place. It was the usual practice to include at the end of a donative record the laudatory verse called

‘Vyāsagīti’ in eulogy of dāna. It is as follows : “Land has been given by many, has been continued by many; he who, for the time being, possesses land enjoys the fruits of it. Both appropriation of land and preservation of it forms part of religious duty, but preservation is more worthy than giving”. While recording the greatness of dāna, its protection, rewards for protection are also mentioned. In the early records the benedictory verse is simple. “Out of respect for Dharma one should not cause obstacle to it “Or Preserve the agarhāra considering it to have religious merit”. In the records of the later period the rewards for protecting a dāna are clearly mentioned as— “The protector lives in heaven for a thousand years”. “The protector of the gift enjoys the happiness in heaven with hundred thousand billion hordes in Rudralōka, “Those who protect the charity will acquire the merit of performing horse sacrifice not one but a thousand” merit of performing Hiraṇyagarbha, Tulāpuruṣa”, and “The protector of the grant will get the merit of serving food to thousand ascetics and brāhmins on the banks of the river Ganga”. Some later Pallava inscriptions state “The feet of one who protects the charity shall be on my head”. At times the inscriptions conclude with prayer for the welfare of the people and progress of religion. The inscription of Guṇaga and Amma I contain verses in praise of the welfare of people, world, cows, brāhmins, kings and progress of religion. Since the protection of the gift is more difficult than granting it, every inscription concluded with a lengthy imprecatory verse, threatening the transgressor vigorously.⁴¹

Mahā Dānas : In addition to the dānas described above, certain other mahādānas are also mentioned by the Dharma śāstras. The number of the Mahādānas and the objects of donation changed in course of time. Some of the mahādānas are known even in pre-Christian era. The Dharmaśāstras differ regarding the number and names of the mahādānas, however the following sixteen mahadanas are generally accepted:

1. Tulāpuruṣa, 2. Hiraṇyagarbha, 3. Brahmāṇḍa, 4. Kalpa-
vṛikṣha, 5. Gōsahaśra, 6. Kāmadhēnu, 7. Hiraṇyāśva, 8. Hiraṇyāś-
varatha, 9. Hēmahasthiratha, 10. Pañchalāṅgala, 11. Dhradāna,

12. Viśvachakra, 13. Kalpalata, 14. Saptasāgara, 15. Ratnadhēnu and 16. Mahābhtaghata.⁴²

King Kharavēla gifted kalpa-pādōpamahādāna.⁴³ The Eastern Chālukyan kings Viṣṇuvardhana III, Vijayāditya I, Vijayāditya III and king Prithvimūla described themselves as having purified their body by removing sins by getting weighed their body against gold or as having given 'Suvarṇas' weighed along with armour and sword in several scales.⁴⁴ Though the mahādānas are considered as sixteen in number, it appears that in the time of Amma, ten danas only were popular.⁴⁵ King Attivarma of the Ānandagōtra and Mādhava Varma III of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin dynasty are described as the performers of the Hiranyagarbha mahādāna.⁴⁶ King Sri Chāntamūla of the Ikṣvāku dynasty is described as the giver of many crores worth of gold, hundred thousands of kine and hundred thousands of ploughs.⁴⁷ Similarly Pallava Śivaskanda varma described his father as the giver of many crores of gold and one hundred ox-ploughs.⁴⁸ The donations of crores of gold and thousands of ploughs made by these kings may be identified with tulāpuruṣa and Pāñchalāṅgala respectively of later times.

Inscriptions of the time mention only four Mahādānas which description is given below.

Gōsahasra : The early ruler like the Sātavāhans, Ikṣhvākus, Pallavas donated thousands of cows. This ceremony commences with the fasting of the donor for one day or three days sustained on milk only. Then the preliminary rites like invocation of the lōkapālas and offering of hōmas are gone through. Then a bull is selected and fragrant substances are applied to its body, and it is made to stand on the altar. Then cows with their bodies covered with clothes and their horns and hoofs covered with gold and silver tips respectively, are brought into the pandal. A golden image of Nandiśvara fully decorated is placed in the midst of ten cows. Then the donor takes bath and with flowers in his hands, invokes the cows. The image of Nandiśvara which is identified with Dharma is donated to the guru along with two cows. The remaining cows are distributed among the eight priests and other brāhmins. For one more day the donor subsists on milk.⁴⁹

Pañchalāṅgalaka : In this mahādāna, the donor donates five plough shares made on wood, five plough shares made of gold along with oxen decorated with gold on their horns, pearls on their tails and silver on their hoofs. Villages and lands are donated to brāhmins as dakṣiṇa.⁵⁰

Hiraṇyagarbha : Kings Attivarma and Mādhavavarma performed the hiraṇyagarbha mahādāna. A pandal is erected, gods are invoked and hōmas are offered as in the case of the tulāpuruṣa. Then the donor brings forward a golden vessel having the shape of a 'Muraja' but looking like the interior surface of a lotus. The vessel is called Hiraṇyagarbha and is identified with Brahma (Hiraṇyagarbha). It is placed on a heap of sesame along with other articles like ghee and milk etc. The donor then enters it, and sits facing the north with his head between his knees and holding the golden images of Brahma and Dharmarāja in his hands. Then the purohīts chant the mantras of garbhādāna, Pumsavan and simantōstava all suggesting a symbolic rebirth. The donor then comes out of the golden vessel to the accompaniment of auspicious music. The remaining saṃskāras are then performed symbolically. Then addressing the vessel the donor says "formerly I was born from my mother but only as a mortal; now being born of you I shall assume a divine body". After taking the avabrita bath, the donor distributes the golden vessel to priests and gurus.⁵¹

Tulāpuruṣa : Tulāpuruṣa is the mahādāna, most mentioned in the inscriptions under study reveal its popularity. In the case of the tulāpuruṣa. The platform or the vedi is decorated with a balance, the tula. The hōmas are offered to Gaṇēśa, Navagrhas, Lōkapālas, Śiva, Viṣṇu, Brahma, Sūrya and the herbs; gods like Indra, Agni, Yama, Varuṇa, Vāyu, Sōma, Isāna, Ananta etc., are invoked and the Donor gives different gold ornaments and clothes to the priests and preceptors. The brāhmins then recite Vēdic hymns of śānti for averting evil. The donor takes bath and puts on white clothes and garlands, invokes the 'Tula' supposed to be Gōvinda and steps into one pan. The brāhmins place gold in the other pan and invoke the earth. When the scales are balanced, the donor leaves the pan, half of the gold is given to the gurus and the remaining half distributed to the brāhmins.

Some other grants also are made on the occasion, to the poor and helpless, priests.⁵²

Utsarga : Divesting oneself of ownership over a thing and the dedication of it for the benefit of the public i.e. Sarvabhūtebyā, is called utsarga. In this case, the donor though loses his right over the object of donation, could make use of it as a member of the public. All the religious texts Dharmasūtras, Mahābhārata, Kālika and Padma Purāṇas etc., give superior position to Utsarga, even over that of sacrifices.⁵³

The earliest mention in Āndhra to a gift connected with Utsarga is found in an inscription from Adoni, dated eight regnal year of Puṣyamāvi II of the Sātavāhana dynasty recording the excavation of a tank by a house-holder.⁵⁴ An inscription from Nagarjunakonda records that some noble men planted palmyrah grove, caused a tank to be dug and another repaired.⁵⁵ The Viṣṇukūṇḍins also were devoted to the public welfare by establishing water sheds, assembly halls, chaoultries, buildings, vihāras halls, ārāmas, gardens, wells, tanks and such works.⁵⁶ An inscription of 6th century A.D. from Bhuttapur, Barhamapur taluq records the provision for drinking water both for travellers and horses.⁵⁷ The lamp was another object of public utility donated to a village found in the epigraphs under study.⁵⁸ A Telugu Chōḷa inscription records gift of land for the maintenance of the beggars. The Kālīṅga Dēśa numerous epigraphs record digging of tanks and donation of land made to brāhmins on such occasions.⁵⁹

Most of the gifts of Utsarga type for water were made by the Nōḷamba Pallavas who ruled over Anantapur district and the surroundings. These gifts deal with fields for tanks, digging, and maintenance of tanks, deepening the tank, plots for depositing the silt, digging pits in the tanks, and with repairs of the tanks. To fulfil these purposes, lands were donated and people were appointed to supervise for whom again land along with the paddy was donated.⁶⁰

Donations were also made for the construction of Chāvaḍi, racha, maṇḍapa, choultry and student home besides maṭha shelters and watersheds.⁶¹ A close observation of the inscription show that the majority of the gifts of public utility consisted of donations for water resources which is the primary requisite of life.

The Gṛhya sūtras, the Mastyā and Agni purāṇas and other religious literature give the procedure of the dedication of well or tank for public use. On an auspicious day, charu is cooked for Varuṇa and offered with mantras and oblation. The food is offered to Agni, Sōma, Yajnya, Ugra, Bhīma, Indra Svarga etc. Standing in the tank, the donor repeats mantras for purity of the holiness of water. The remains of food is scattered into the tank for aquatic animals. After taking bath, brāhmins are honoured with clothes, cows and food.⁶² In case the dāna is a garden. Fire is consecrated in the garden, food is cooked and offered to Viṣṇu, Indra, and Viśvakarma along with the recitation of the mantra “Vanaspatē Satavalos Viroḥ”.⁶³

Dāna was the instrument through which the social and economic life was regulated and balanced. Apart from the religious aspect and merit of Dāna, it was the means by which economic sources for individuals and institutions got provided for their maintenance. The above account shows the scientific thinking that went behind Sādhāraṇa Dharma.

2.5 TĀNTRISM

The kings in ancient Āndhra while making dānas for the protection of vaidika dharma followed the tāntric mode of worship for protecting the kingship, land, and common people from droughts and evil. Elements of tāntric rites could be distinctly traced in the Ṛg-Vēda, and to the Saubhāgya kanda of the Atharvavēda. The Atharvavēda gives a list of sacrifices to be performed to achieve divine powers, heroism to overcome rivals, to get omnipotent weapons, splendour, long life and other benefits. It refers to curse, a special force to the word as a power of the purohita, rites to obtain gain in trade, prosperity, riches, favours and to increase herds of horses, elephants, cattle; to avert misfortunes, to get long life and glory. The Kauśika sūtras list rites to be performed by the kings to win the battles and to dethrone the enemy. The epics and purāṇas frequently refer to tāntric mode of rites in connection with the battles.² The king performed rites for his own health, wealth, longevity, valour, prowess etc. For all these things, kings sought the help of purohita or rājaguru, the master of tāntric powers.³

Starting from times of Ikṣvākus to that Eastern Chālukyas including the Kalingas and Telugu Choḷas almost all the kings of Āndhra issued gifts for obtaining longevity, victory, power, fame, wealth, strength, and happiness. The Bṛihatpalāyana records clearly show that the king made donations to eight brāhmins, who in their turn gave him, victory, fortune, wealth and progress.⁴ The popularity of the tāntic practices in Āndhra Dēśa are confirmed from the Vēdic lore and Atharva Vēda. Especially, Vēda Vēdaṅgas, upāṅgas tāntras, mantras etc. are studied by the brāhmins of the period under study.⁵ The tāntic practices are explicitly spoken of in the Yaśastilaka which opens with the tāntic worship of Dēvi in order to obtain miraculous sword with which the hero could conquer even the realm of Vidyādharas. The author refers to Pippalapāda, the author of Atharva Vēda as the founder of black magic and to the practice of the recitation of the Vēdic charms and mystic formulae by purohita for the victory of the king in a battle.⁷

The six achievements of tāntic sādhana viz. māraṇa, uchhāṭana vaśikarṇa, sthambhana, vidvēṣaṇa and mōhana can be used both for evil and good purposes as referred to by all the purāṇas, besides the bulk of tāntic literature. Some tāntic rites which are mentioned in the sources are described here. The term “śānti” is derived from the root ‘Som’ which means to stop, to appease or to kill. The śānti sūtras of auspicious nature are found in the Ṛg Vēda. The Atharva Vēda refers to śānti verses for averting calamities, to appease the deities, to confer happiness and welfare, to be free from fear to avert evil and inauspicious events, for uprooting magic rites and for abhichāra śānti. The other religious texts describe numerous santi rites to be performed when a king is desirous to conquer a country or when he is attacked by enemy or when he desires to uproot enemy or when he is apprehensive of danger.⁸

The Manchikallu plates of Pallava Shimbhavarma record the performance of Śānti and śvastyāna—a rite performed for the welfare, victory, prowess and merit.⁹ King Achandavarma of the Śalankāyana gōtra dynasty made donations for his longevity, and for army, animal, crop, and such other things. Vijayādithya III donated a village to five brāhmins for śānti.¹⁰ Śānti rites for the aversion of ill-health,

epidemic among the cattle, famine, drought, floods disobedience among the people loss of wealth, and crop etc., are also given in the scriptures.¹¹ Accordingly Amma II who was constantly faced with threats from the enemies, seems to have given preference for the welfare of his people, instead of his personal welfare.¹² Another grant of this king registers gift of land to a temple at the request of his guru for his prosperity, longevity and for his people to be free from diseases.¹³ According to the scriptures, on occasions such as coronation of the king, or invasion, Mahāśānti is to be performed. Brāhmins are to be fed and gifts are to be given. Many such occasions are noted during the period under study.¹⁴ Other rites like māraṇa, uchchāṭana can only be presumed to have been practised in Āndhra. Mahāśānti is done to chase or to kill the enemy or to create panic in the opponent's army.¹⁵ Such incidents could be found even from the times of early Pallavas.¹⁶ The Pulumbur plates of Viṣṇukuṇḍin Mādhava III clearly speak that the king, after crossing the river Godavari, donated land to brāhmins with a desire to conquer the eastern region.¹⁷ It is believed that a tāntric mantra or rite when performed on eclipse day, at nights and in far away lands gives more effective results.¹⁸ Some charters issued on lunar eclipse days may indicate that the king on campaign got performed the tāntric rites during night on an eclipse day. Viṣṇukuṇḍin Mādhavavarma III on one such occasion donated land to Agniśarma.¹⁹ The Eastern Chālukyan kings whose power was constantly disturbed by the outsiders were compelled to seek the help of their gurus. The Pulmbur plates of Jayasimha I, the early ruler of this dynasty, record a grant from the Skandavara the battle field at the request of his guru.²⁰ Viṣṇu III and Amma II also issued such grants from their chief camps. Such practice in Kalinga is shown only in one epigraph of the Eastern Gāṅgas.²¹

The practice of tāntric rites are found more in the Kurnool district under the Western Chālukyan kings. Pulakēśin I after his conquest into the heart of Āndhra donated land to his guru with Śiva maṇḍala dikṣha, perhaps a vow which he might have taken while starting the campaign.²² The Chief queen Gaṅgamahādēvi requested him to donate lands to brāhmins, when he encamped at Urāgapura on the banks of Kaveri and extended into Chōḷa territory. This may

be to protect himself from the evil influence of the enemy. Vinayāditya I made such donations twice from his royal camps once on the banks of river Tagara and another on Pampa. The first grant was however made at the request of his son.²⁴ The Agni Purāṇa gives penance like Krichchara also to gain victory in the war, to get good crop, and rain and for the aversion of diseases.

The practice of undertaking dikṣha also is described as granting victory and kingdom to the King.^{24a} The worship of Vināyaka before the commencement of war to avert evil is found in the Vēlpur inscription of Viṣṇukunḍin Mādhava I,²⁵ as prescribed by the Agni Purāṇa and other scriptures.²⁶ Krishna III of Rāṣṭrakūṭas was known for his proficiency in the Nāgārjunamantra. On the basis of the Yaśastilaka and epigraphs, which refer to elephant strength of the Rāshtrakūṭas, it may be surmised that the Nāgārjuna-mantra is related to elephant control.^{26a}

The tāntric doctrine, mantravāda deals with mystic diagrams, yantra, formulae, the six chakras, nyāsa, mystic rites, and yōgic postures. Sōmadēva who gives the complete picture of tāntric practices refers to the achievement of the six cruel rites and super sensuous knowledge.²⁷ King Yasōdhara's spy is described as wearing garland of magic roots, amulets, talismen etc.,²⁸ as knowing mystic formulae, rites, enchantment and drugs to unite or separate people who are dear. The ability of stopping of an air car by a sage by his mystic power described by Sōmadēva may be the sthambhana one of the six cruel acts. Yet another tāntric practice, namely counteracting by offering substances into hōma is also recorded in Yaśastilaka. The māraṇa the last cruel rite is described in the story when a tāntric teacher, Pataliputra, recommends sacrifice of the princess to cure the illness of the king.²⁹ The Yaśastilaka describes performance of śānti for a bad dream and nīrājana, another rite to men, elephants and horses for protection against evil spirits.³⁰ Nīrājana is considered a mode of performing śānti, specially when the king is on the march.³¹ Various tāntric practices like assumptions of different forms, creation of illusory scenes as flying in the sky, mystic cars, knowledge of far-away things, cutting off the arrows fixed in the earth with up-turned points into pieces with one stroke while mounted on a swing suspended

from a banyan tree, muttering magic formulae are described by the author of the book.³² The danger of the t̄āntric practices are illustrated in another story where one's own power in the form of huge snake swallows the s̄ādhaka.³³ Kṛtya, the evil spirit destroys the very devotee. Kṛtya is a form of magic invoked in the form of a nude doll, the hands and feet of which are separately fixed. In case the enemy is stronger than the s̄ādhaka, Kṛtya revolts and causes harm to the S̄ādhaka only.³⁴

Thus the t̄āntric mode of worship was practised by the kings for the protection of the kingdom and as a means of achieving victory. The commoners used for the fulfilment of wordly desires or to get supernatural things. In cases of greed and ignorance bitter fruits resulted.

2.6. POPULAR RELIGIOUS RITES, FESTIVALS AND OTHER BELIEFS

The different sacrifices offered in the V̄edic period may be divided into many categories of which four are given below. The first one consisting of Sravaṇa and Langala yajna is performed in the rainy season to ward off fear from snake bite and to obtain good crop. The second one consisting of Aśvīyuji and Kārtiki is performed in autumn for the welfare of the cattle. The third one Sulgava is performed in winter to be free from diseases. The fourth one aghrayani is performed for good harvest. In all these rites the procedure is followed on the pattern of the śrouta sacrifice. All the members of the family take part wearing new garments, flowers, ornaments and celebrate the occasion.¹ These rites performed fortnightly, monthly, seasonally and yearly with specific needs and purposes in the v̄edic times, probably developed into the religious festivals, ceremonies and vratas in the post-v̄edic period. The Padma purāna states that the V̄edic rites prescribed by Manu cannot be performed in Kaliyuga, and that an alternate method of worship, such as fasts, and vratas has to be adopted.² While some of the V̄edic rites, remained the same, some are modified to suit the changing times. Thus these vratas, fasts, festivals, thirthayātras and other practices have developed as a mode of worship. The following religious rites are found mentioned in the source material under study.

Vrata : Women in Āndhra have been practising “Vrata” from the early Śātavāhana era. The Gāthāsaptasati refers to a vaiśya woman distributing the vāyanas after completing the vrata,³ and to a lady going from house to house distributing—vāyana offered to the deity. The vrata was also performed by a girl in faith that she could obtain the desired husband in the next birth.⁴ Some vratas were performed, by men and women together.⁵ A woman is described as doing Śyāmasabala vrata by entering water and fire alternately.⁶ One who wants to take up vrata, after performing usual śoucha and other rites, has to take up sankalpa of that vrata, do puja and hōma of that particular deity, observe upavasa, feed brāhmins married women and give donations to the poor and the helpless. The vrata became a popular mode of worship in the later period under review since it could be performed by all, men and women, old and young, and people of all castes including widows and prostitutes.⁷

Samkrānti : The samkrānti day as connected with planetary movement and the sacred time is found in the inscriptions of the period and donations made on that day are referred to. The Yaśastilaka also refers to the practice of making danas on the samkrānti day.⁸

Dāna made on the samkrānti day is considered more efficacious. The sun, the visible god, is an object of veneration in this rite. The Śātapatha brāhmaṇa, the Chāndogya upaniṣad and the Gṛihya sūtras speak of the passage of the sun towards the north as auspicious. The term samkrānti means the passage of the sun from one rasi to another in the Zodiac. There are 12 rasis, so are 12 samkrāntis, and they are meṣa, vṛṣabha, mithuna, karkāṭaka, simha, kanya, tula, vṛschika, dhanus, makara, kumbha and mīna. These twelve samkrāntis of the sun are grouped into two āyana samkrāntis and two viṣṇva samkrāntis.⁹ Inscriptions of the period refer to danas made on uttarāyana and dakṣhināyana puṇyakālas as seen under dānas. The observer on the samkrānti day should take bath in water mixed with sesame offer three vessels of edibles, cows and other gifts to brāhmins, and poor, and offer śrāddha to the pītr.¹⁰

Grahaṇa : Both the scientific and traditional accounts of the cause of the grahaṇa are known to the Āndhras in the ancient period.

In Gāthāsaptaśati, poet Nikalanka compares the reflection of goddess Lakshmi in the kausthubha to the moon which shines on account of the sun's light.¹¹ In another verse the myth of Rāhu swallowing moon is described.¹² The Yaśastilaka refers to this myth and to the custom of bathing in the river on the eclipse day.¹³ The tradition explains formation of the grahaṇas in the following methods. The Ṛg. Vēda mentions the eclipse of the Sun and dispelling of the darkness by sage Atri. The Purāṇas give the scientific cause of grahaṇa, according to which the lunar eclipse is caused by the entrance of moon into the shadow of the earth and that of sun by the entrance of the moon into the shadow of the sun. To the common man this is explained as Rāhu, a demon, swallowing the sun and the moon. Thus this astronomical phenomenon, is sanctified as a special occasion when taking bath in the sacred waters, making a gift, taking dikṣa, doing japa performing śrādhā are recommended.¹⁴

Festivals : On the festival days women used to take special bath in groups and prepare delicious dishes.¹⁵ The villagers used to gather in a special area and play on pipes and drums.¹⁶ The following festivals are mentioned specifically in the source material.

The Mahānavami Festival : The mahānavami festival is referred to both in literature and epigraphs. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscription from Alampur refers to the gift made for feeding of thousands of brāhmins on the occasion.¹⁷ Somadēva described it as a public festival touched with military power and human sacrifice.¹⁸

The worship of Durga commences of the first day of Aśvin first tithi, continues for nine days. The animal sacrifice and other details of dēvipūja are elaborately described in Kālikapurāṇa. After the pūja hundredes of brāhmins are to be fed. It is believed that by doing pūja on Navami or Aṣṭami tithi in autumn and in spring, troubles are removed and victory could be achieved in the battle, all enemies could be vanquished. So the kṣatriya should perform Durga worship for the protection of people and each caste should do it for the fulfilment of its respective needs. Thus, Durga pūja is not only a religious function, but has social and military significance. The Purāṇas consider the Navami Pūja as equivalent to horse-sacrifice and its efficacy is exaggerated that even the Vēdic sacrifices with lavish dakṣiṇas are

not equal to 1/1,000th of Dēvi pūja.¹⁹ On the 10th tithi of Aśvin, Goddess Aparājita is worshipped for the welfare and victory. One who desires victory should march out for battle on daśami day when the Śravaṇa nakṣhatra comes out. On that day, nīrājana is given to the people, horses, elephants, soldiers and to other symbols of royal power.²⁰

Dīpōtsava : The Yaśastilaka describes dīpōtsava which is now called divālī, as the festival which is celebrated with white-washing the palaces, decorating the terraces and edifices with flags and rows of lights. On that day, charming courtesans were engaged in sweet notes of music and women were excited in gambling.²¹ The festival of lights takes place on Kārtika amāvasya. Purāṇas like Padma and Skandha give different legends in connection with this festival. While some people worship Lakshmi, lit lamps and observe vigil to drive away the alakshmi, the others celebrate the victory of Kṛṣṇa over Narakāśura; yet others celebrate the victory of Viṣṇu over Bali. According to another tradition, lamps are lit in order to illuminate the pitṛ loka and naraka. On divali day people take oil bath early in the morning, enjoy life with eatables and get together and play dice and music. The most important item of the festival is the decoration of temples, halls, chaityas, maṭhas, rivers, shops, principal roads, houses, stacks of cows, horses etc. with lights.²²

Koumudi Mahōtsava : The Yaśastilaka refers to the celebration of koumudi festival by women without describing it in detail.²³ According to Padma purāṇa, the festival is to be celebrated on the fourteenth day of Aśvin-Kārtika. It is meant to enjoy the moon light, may be in honour of the rasalila played by Kṛṣṇa and gopikas.²⁴

Phālguṇōtsava : The Gāthāsaptāśati gives a colourful picture of phālguṇōtsava as a popular festival enjoyed by the people of Āndhra. On that day men and women wear red garments, decorate themselves with flowers instead of ornaments, enjoy drinking and spray or sprinkle coloured powder and water on each other.²⁵ This may be identified with the persent Holy festival or Kāmuni punnami and the spring festival mentioned in the Yaśastilaka. It is said that Makarad-vaja is worshipped in the temple of thousand spires situated in the

garden on the full moon day of Phālguna at the commencement of the spring season. On that occasion people gather and arrange coloured tents and rows of pavilions are erected and women and men are fully engaged in enjoyment and entertainment.²⁶ The kathakagriha-sūtras state it as a special rite offered to Raka by women for sou-bhāgya. Vāṭṣāyana in the Kāma sūtras refers to it as a festival in which coloured water is sprinkled by men and women on each other. This festival has been performed in different ways in different parts of India. Usually, the worship of Kāma and the lighting of fire takes place on the day.²⁷

Sitayajna : The periodic vedic sacrifices like Sitayajna and Indra yajna continued to be performed in ancient Āndhra. The Gāthāsaptasati refers to the worship of plough in the rainy season at the commencement of the work in the farms. According to it, on that occasion the kuḍums are offered by the farmer's wife.²⁸

Indrōtsava : The Indradhavaja festival which is of great antiquity was continued to be performed till 1,000 A.D., as remembered in the Chōḷa inscription from Tondamanad temple.²⁹ The Parsiṣṭa parva, Kauśika sūtras, Atharva Vēda, Mahābhārata and Harivaṃśa describe the Indra Mahōtsava to be performed in Āṣadha or in Āśvīyujā. The Nāṭyaśāstra refers to Indra dhvaja festival as celebrated on the occasion of the victory of the Dēvas over the Asuras. Indra is represented by bamboo staff which is decorated with garlands, parasol, bell, fruits, mirror, ornaments, sugarcane flags etc. Food, perfumes and flowers etc., are offered. Śiva is also worshipped in this connection. People wear silk dress, jewels, garlands and engage themselves in eating drinking and music competitions.³⁰ Paitāmaha Hiranyagarbha Mahōtsava; This is performed on Kārtikapaurṇima as mentioned in an inscription from Kurnool district.^{30a}

Tīrthayātra : There are some inscriptions referring to the practice of tīrthayātras in Āndhra. Krishna III of the Rāṣtrakūṭa dynasty is described as having visited Jyōti situated on the banks of Penna.³¹ Vikramāditya I's inscription refers to the gift made on the occasion of saṅgama mahāyātra on full moon day.³² Another inscription of the same king refers to the sacred place of Pampatīrtha visited on the full moon day of Kārtika.³³ Apart from undertaking tīrthayātra

lending help to those undertaking tīrthayātra is also believed to be meritorious. This born out by records of the Chāḷukyan times; Amma I is stated as having donated a village to one Pandya in order to carry on the pilgrimage.³⁴ The practice of planting trees, digging tanks, constructing maṭhas and feeding houses in the sacred places, as well as the belief in the sacredness of Gaṅga, Prayāga, Kāsi, Śrī Parvata, Yamuna and Kanyākumārī are only testified in the imprecatory or benedictory verses of the inscriptions of the contemporary times.³⁵

The Vēdas refer to the term tīrthayātra in the sense of water and a sacred dip in it. The Brāhmaṇas and Sūtra literature also recommend visits to Gaṅga, great mountains, rivers, lakes, and dwelling places of rishis and cow pens. Temples and places like Kurukṣhētra are also included in the list of sacred places. The epics and the purāṇas increased their number and efficacy, and made them even superior to the sacrifices and worship of God.³⁶ The adhikāri who undertakes the pilgrimage should pay off debts, provide for the maintenance of children and complete all his duties as grihastha. Before and after his pilgrimage he should restrain the sense, observe fast, worship Ganesa and offer hōma to God. The person who enables others to perform the pilgrimage by providing facilities, like constructing dharmasāla etc., in sacred places also is supposed to get the merit. Another interesting point is that one can get the merit of the pilgrimage by sending a proxy.³⁷

Jātara or Religious Procession : On festive occasions, people used to congregate at one place, or visit a holy place or takes the image of God in procession from one place to another. Such scenes are depicted in art and literature. The religious procession consists of elephants and horses passing through ornamental arched gate-ways, men, women, old and young carrying umbrellas, flags, lamps, trays of offerings like fruits and flowers, incense, chauries, palanquins. The procession is accompanied by dancers and musicians playing on mṛidanga, pipe, flute, lyre, veena, conch etc.³⁸ The Gāthāsaptasati describes a yātra where an idol is taken, may be in procession to the outskirts of the village and left there with all its decorations.³⁹ Yuddha Malla's Bēzawada inscription refers to the jātara of Kumāraśwāmy from Chebrole to Bezwada.⁴⁰ The Yaśastilaka gives a

picturesque account of religious procession which as already stated consists of horses, elephants, cars, chariots passing through gates and pillars. The procession consists of people carrying flags, banners, canopies, mirrors, white parasols, golden jars, different materials of worship, charming women carrying lights, perfumes, flowers and ladies singing to the accompaniment of various instruments. It also includes merry-making dwarfs, hunchbacks, dancers, bards and panegyrists. The religious festival used to take place for several days.⁴¹

The occasions for coronation, marriage etc., are also celebrated similarly. On such occasions, palaces are decorated with colourful paintings, flower-garlands, auspicious utterances. Songs were sung by punyastris. The golden vessels with Kusablades, various roots and flowers, elephants, horses, white umbrella, fly whisks, sword royal throne and ornaments are invoked in the worship.⁴²

Thus the common people also participated in different ceremonies in Ancient Āndhra. While kings and dvijas performed yajnas, dānas and āhnika, the commoners celebrated the festivals, jātaras etc., which were collective in nature and gave an opportunity to carry on the above type in the modified form.

Temple services and festivals : The Vēdas and epics which mainly deal with sacrificial religion incidentally refer to the method of idol worship. The Purāṇas describe the method of constructing a temple and making an image while giving some items of worship and festivals. The Pancharatra and Vaikhānasa literature give an elaborate and systematic method of temple worship and festivals. The sixteen upacharas of domestic worship along with hōma and five balis are performed in temple worship also, but emphasising some aspects like bali, dhūpa, dīpa and naivēdya. The daily services in the temple commence with waking, offering bath to the deity, and doing pūja, dhūpa, dīpa, bhōga, naivēdya etc., and conclude with sleeping ceremony. The inscriptions of the period under study reveal most of the items though not in detail as practised in the temples yet in a way that brings out significant practices.

The inscription of queen Sōmāvi from Tirupati refers to the ceremony of 'tirumañjanam-ablutions' the most important item of daily worship for Lord Venkatēśwara and to the ustavamūrtis,⁴³ According

to tradition, the early morning worship ensures welfare, mid-day worship good administration, that of the evening foodgrains, good population, and more cattle. Bali is a daily offering of uncooked rice, flowers and fruits to God while Cheru is offering of cooked food to dikpalas and others. Offerings of Bali and Cheru are made for all deities and universal creatures in the daily temple worship. The Pallava, Rāṣtrakūṭa and Choḷa inscriptions describe that during Śribali ceremony, the image of the deity is taken round the temple in procession accompanied by musical troupes, and on festival days more processions were taken.⁴⁵ The offerings were made more than once in a day. Of all the items, bhōga, dhūpa, dīpa, naivēdya, śayana are the most mentioned items of worship in the inscriptions. Usually, the donation was made for permanent dīpa and offerings in everyday worship.⁴⁶ But there were instances wherein donations for special dīpa offered on special occasions and offerings were made on festive days. The inscriptions sometimes even record the quantity of food to be cooked, for example, Sōmāvi record refers to four māli of cooked rice to Lord Venkatēśwara⁴⁷ which is practised even today. It is the only offering made in the Garbhagriha.⁴⁸ Bāṇa inscriptions refer to special offering and two offerings a day.⁴⁹ The item bhōga is mentioned in the inscriptions⁵⁰ without elaborating other constituents i.e. anulēpana, puṣpa, chatra, gīta, vājdyā, nṛtya. The devotees with the desire of gaining greater merit, increased the items of worship and the number of bhōgas in a day.⁵¹

The rituals as tradition were fully observed in the ancient Āndhra. The inscription from Tirupati specifically mentions the celebrations of obligatory, customary and annual festivals with sowing of the seeds and hoisting of the flag.⁵² The same inscription of Sōmāvi refers to mukkōṭi-dvādaśi and performance of some special rites, as she extended the performance of mukkōṭidvādaśi for seven days and made donations for the expenditure. She increased the number of processions too to be taken by the image. This tradition is still followed.

Two inscriptions one belonging to Pallava dynasty and the other to that of Rāstrakūṭa refer to special celebrations on full and new moon days and the month of Kārtika in the temple of Śiva.⁵³ a well

known tradition which is still practised in Āndhra. Thus the temple festivals which are found from ninth century are followed even today in Āndhra.

Other beliefs : Some beliefs like dreams, throbbing of different parts of the body, sakunas—movements and cries of birds or animals, omens—good or bad events, auspicious or inauspicious sings, and evil eye etc., that defy rational explanation are discussed in the on going pages.

The epigraphical and literary sources under study throw some light on some such beliefs prevalent in ancient Āndhra. Almost all the inscriptions open with auspicious words like “Siddham”, “Om”, “Namo” or “Jitam” and bear the figure of swastika or flower or some such sign. The Gāthāsaptasati which mainly reflects the life of common folk furnishes a number of superstitions. Pūrṇakalāśa with fresh leaves, flowers, mango flowers and lotus is considered an auspicious sign. It is used in welcoming and seeing off the beloved.⁵⁴ The Swastika is used at the beginning of a letter.⁵⁵ The twitching of the left eye for ladies was considered a lucky sign. People never left home on a journey on Maṅgalavār and in gurudhōṣa, when Kriṣṇā-sāra crossed the path from right to left. The Charms to drive away the devil, against the bite of scorpion are also referred to.⁵⁶

Yaśastilaka refers to one Asuri, a professional augur, auspicious utterances made on the occasion of coronation, marriage and auspicious rites. Some bad omes mentioned are like moon on the 4th day, trumpeting of female elephant at the beginning of the journey, braying of donkey from behind, shower of crested toadpoles and dove on a house.⁵⁷ The practice of going to a Dēvi temple offering sacrifice and receiving blessings from brāhmanis in order to prevent the evil effects of bad dream is the nucleus of the story of Yaśastilaka. The other practices followed are looking into the clarified butter, ‘Ājya Vikṣaṇa’, offering nīrajāna in the evening, throwing of salt whirled around a person into the fire and offering of rites to goblins on road-side to save the king from the influence of the evil eye. References are made to birds which talk, possess mysterious powers and could bring fortune and luck to its possessor. Prabodha and expert in getting

the vision of hidden treasure, snake charmer, jugglers, magic gardens are mentioned in the Yaśastilaka.⁵⁸ The Ṛg-veda and the Atharva-vēda, Kauśikasūtras, Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata, Matsya-purāṇa and other texts contain various types of beliefs noted above and give rites to avert their evil effects, Practices like oath-taking, swearing, cursing and boon-giving and belief in purifiers, witnesses and the study of the body marks were followed by the people in ancient India.⁵⁹

The above-mentioned practices could be studied in the source material of Āndhra also. The Gāthāsaptāśati refers to the oath taking or swearing. In one verse God Śiva is described as taking 'Kośapāna' oath to appease his spouse Pārvati who is angry with him for worshipping Samdhya.⁶⁰ Similarly, the laudatory verses of the donative record may be stated as a form of swearing or oath-taking. Two inscriptions of the period refer to the ascetic people who could curse or give boons.⁶¹ Two verses in Gāthāsaptāśati refer to curse.⁶² In one way the imprecatory verses of the inscriptions may be stated as a form of curse, while the benedictory verses that of a boon. In the Amarāvati art while narrating the Vassētara jātaka water is sculptured as a witness at the time of giving the dāna.⁶³ The Gāthāsaptāśati refers to one's conscience manssākṣi as a witness to a deed or act.⁶⁴ While narrating various stories the Yaśastilaka refers to the practice of oath taking, witnessing curse⁶⁵ and etc. The practice of the study the bodymarks is referred to in Nagarjunakonda record.⁶⁶

Object worship : The deification of objects, weapons like armour, bow, arrow, drum, had been continued from the prehistoric period to the age of the vēdas, the sūtras and epics. The grīhya sūtras prescribed rites for mounting a chariot, boat, for safe journey. Epics too contain innumerable beliefs and practices.⁶⁷

The practice of worship of a deified stone or object could be found in Āndhra Dēśa from the early period under study. The symbols of svastika, nandipada, lotus, shell and fish found on the Sātavāhana coins⁶⁸ may indicate their worship. The Gāthāsaptāśati describes that a kalaśa is placed while inviting a guest or sending off the dear ones and while initiating a ritual.⁶⁹ The Pañchamahāśabdas like drum, pipe etc., are usually found mentioned in the epigraphs as

boons conferred on a subordinate rulers as an honour by the ruling King.⁷⁰ The Yaśastilaka describes that bow, royal throne, white umbrella, and fly whisks, the symbols of royal power as honoured and invoked at the time of coronation as noticed in the traditional literature. The practice of worshipping jewels, conveyances, weapons and earth also is mentioned by Sōmādeva.⁷¹ Belief in Maṇi or jewel associated with good-luck, prosperity and welfare also is noted here. The Atharva Vēda refers to a jewel of thousand potency. Every king is advised to keep such maṇi like Kubēra, Maṇibhadra and Yudhiṣṭara. The Purāṇas describe that Chintāmaṇi gem arose during the churning of the milk ocean along with many objects and that it fulfill all desires. The kings of Eastern Chālukyans are always compared to Chintāmaṇi gem as they are generous to singers, the poor, etc.⁷² Thus the concept of worshipping certain objects influenced the people to a great extent in ancient Āndhra.

Mountain worship : The Sātavāhana coins bear the symbol of mountain Mēru. In the Nāśik inscription, the cave donated to Buddhists is compared to Kailasa. The Gāthāsaptasati compares the Vindhyas covered with clouds to Viṣṇu, bathed with the spray of milk ocean.⁷⁴ Karikāḷa, the ancestor of the Telugu Chōḷas is compared to mountain Mandara.⁷⁵ The Yaśastilaka refers to worship of mountain during the tenth century A.D.⁷⁶ Thus the sanctity of the mountain was upheld in Ancient Āndhra. The same is mentioned in traditional accounts discussed as below.

In the Vēdas, the mountain is conceived as divine and is invoked along with water, Savitr, Indra and other gods, and even described anthropomorphically. The sūtras and epics give special rites for their worship and legends connected with it. The Mahābhārata, and Rāmāyaṇa refer to many sacred mountains like Himālaya, Vindhya, Mahendra and Mālyavant as the abode of religious people, Gods and demi-Gods. The mountains are held sacred for their firmness and for being the abode of Oṣadhies, plants, gold, gems, metals and such treasurers. The Viṣṇu and Harivamśa purāṇas describe the girimaha festival wherein Kriṣṇa says that mountains and forests where, the Yādavas live and move are their deities and so are to be worshipped.⁷⁷

Water worship : Water, the vital need of human existence had

been revered in ancient Āndhra, the land which is fertile by the flow of the rivers Krishna and Godavari and many more small rivers, tributaries, streams etc. The sculptures of Gaṅga and Yamuna the symbols of sovereignty were brought from Mānyakhēta the Rāṣtrakūṭa capital by the Eastern Chāḷukyans king Guṇagavijayāditya on the occasion of commemorating his victory.⁷⁸ The practice of installing Gaṅga and Yamuna at the door jamb of a temple can be seen at Samarlakota, Pratakota, Alampur, Mukhalingam and Hemavati also.⁷⁹ In all donative records Dāna is given with water as witness—‘Udaka-pūrvaśya’. Water used for taking vow or accepting guilt is described in Gāthāsaptaśati. The sea with lofty qualities and depth has been praised and described by Sōmadēva. He refers to sacred dip in the sea too.⁸⁰ Apaḥ, the water is lauded as Goddess in the Ṛg-vēda. The rivers are compared to mothers and also to the young beloved. The water is prayed to remove the sin of violence, guilt, cursing and to bestow wealth, boon, strength and immortality, on worshipper. Besides Apaḥ, river Sarasvati is highly praised in the Ṛg-vēda. Sūtras also prescribe sacrifices connected with sacred dips and rites for crossing a river. The epics glorify waters as divinities at several places, describe anthropomorphically and give many legends. Since water is mentioned as divine, it is used while taking on oath, or accepting gift or guilt.⁸¹

Tree worship : In the early historic times, the leaf motifs are found on the pottery from Peddabankur, Dhulikatta in Telegana region.⁸² The coins of Śātavāhanas are usually marked with fenced tree which might be the object of veneration.⁸³ The Gāthāsaptaśati refers to Puṇḍrakalaśa with fesh leaves, flowers and lotus and to the flower garlands used as an auspicious sign. This is described in epics and purāṇas also. The concept that Kalpavṛkṣa or taru gives desired objects had been cherished by the people. The Eastern Chāḷukyan kings Viṣṇu I, and Vijaya IV, are described as Kalpavṛkṣa to the poor, beggars, poets and sages.⁸⁴ Yuddhamalla and Amma I are described as Kalpataru to brāhmins and ‘kavigāyakas’ respectively. The worship of neem tree as representation of Surya is found in the inscription of 10 A.D.⁸⁵ The kalaśa with young shoots, flower garlands are used on happy occasions and on auspicious rites like coronation and marriage according to Yaśastilaka. A story where the Vanadēvata

assumes the human form is also mentioned therein.⁸⁶ Both Gāthā-saptaśati and Yaśastilaka describe the spring festival wherein the nature is enjoyed by the people.⁸⁷ The garlands, lotus medallions, creepers, lotus leaves, were profusely used by the Āndhras in their art. Similarly the door-jambs of hindu temples are decorated with creepers and foliage which pulsate with life sap. This can be witnessed in the temples at Mukhalingam, Hemavati and Alampur.⁸⁸

The Ṛg-vēda refers to plants as Oṣadhi, large trees Vanaspati, the Lord of forests. Sometimes, the forest is conceived as Goddess Aranyāni, the mother of beasts, Sōma, the moon is considered lord of vegetation. The Vedic literature gives the worship of kṣētrapathi deity of field, Sita, Deity of furrow, festivals like Agrāyana and Longala yajna. The Adiparva of Mahābhārata says that any tree which is loaded with dense foliage and bunches of fruits is worthy of worship and it is to be regarded as the Chaitya tree of that area. The trees are considered holy for their association either with Gods or demigods, spirits or saints hence festivals, vratas and Chaitya worship are introduced, Pārijātha, mandara, Santanakar, Jumbu and Kalpa vṛikṣa are described as the five divine trees of the Paradise which grant all wishes. Of these kalpavṛikṣa is the most praised. The leaves and flowers are also considered auspicious symbols, while the lotus is supposed to represent the Goddess of prosperity, fertility, purity and nerve centres in Yōga Philosophy. So the Kalaśa with branches of five trees, creepers, garlands, and foliage of lotus are used in decorating religious functions and other happy occasions.⁸⁹

Animal and bird worship : The Cāthāsaptaśati refers to the birth of divine cow from the ocean of milk.⁹⁰ The Eastern Chālukyan king Bhima I was always compared to Kāmadhēnu and Airāvata in the inscriptions, and Amma II was like Surabhi to dvija, muni, poor, blind, and relatives.⁹¹ The belief in the divine cow, horse, elephant, is found in the story of churning of the Ocean. It is depicted both in sculpture and literature in Āndhra. The Yaśastilaka too refers to the worship of cow, bowing at the tail of cow, drinking the cow's urine, and to the singing of auspicious songs by sumangali women at the nuptials of bull and cow.⁹² The belief that killing of cow as one of the great sins, is found in the imprecatory verses of the inscriptions, and

special attention for the welfare of the cow was expressed in many places. Similarly the representation of cow and calf is found everywhere. Inscriptions, seals and temples are adorned with figures of divine animals and birds.⁹³

The Vēdas, Sūtras, Epics and Purāṇas describe the divine origin of animals and birds and have innumerable legends, each teaching the lesson of the significance of prakṛiti.⁹⁴ Hence, divinity in every living thing was accepted by the Ancient Āndhras.

The above account shows two interesting points. These are the Miśra Dharma intend to make Dharma understandable by the commoners and the modifications in the rituals intended to simplify them. During the course of these changes vedic gods like Śiva, Viṣṇu and Śakti along with others assumed new dimensions, amassed legendary and emerged as sectarian gods.

2.7 ŚAIVISM

The present form of Śaivism, a bundle of cults, is the result of a combination of incompatible qualities of the male god of Mohenjodaro, Rudra—Śiva of Vēdas and many local and village deities with composite character, astonishing mythology and supreme philosophy woven round the deities.

In the Vēdas, Śiva is prayed for wealth, strength, welfare protection of cattle, sons and progeny. He is described as the dweller of the mountain Munjavat. However, there are verses in which Rudra is described as a ferocious, and malevolent deity implored by the worshipper not to injure men and cattle, not to cause havoc and diseases among children, cattle and horses. When praised and lauded thus, Rudra spares the devotees from his ill-will. Rudra when he becomes gracious is called Śiva.¹ However, the destructive nature of Rudra has been interpreted differently. Sri Nārāyaṇa Ayyar says that the destructive nature of Rudra is not his true nature but it is a way to chastise the evil-doers.² The Śatarudrīya of Vājasaneyā-saṃhita glorifies Śiva in different verses. Rudra abides in the heart of devotee and is knowable by faith, love and by pure heart. The Atharvasiras Upaniṣad goes a step further by identifying Rudra with many gods and gives a particular way of devotion to Rudra, called Pāśupatavṛata. This consists of

giving up greed, anger, practice of kshama, dhyāna, besmearing of the body with ashes.³ Epic Rāmāyaṇa while describing Śiva as kapardin, kṛittivāsa, mahākāla and girīsa, emphasises more on the other aspects of his personality as yogi, gaṇagādhara, vṛṣabhavāhana and so on. The same theme is expanded in the Mahābhārata. According to this Śiva is naked, dances at the end of each yuga, teacher, maker of books, śāstras, and grammar. He is also said to be fond of dance and music. He taught sixtyfour kaṣas to Gārga. He is described as half male and half female. He is All. The Purāṇas, the Āgamas the Tēvāram and the Tantras elaborate the above vedic and epic ideals giving different stories. They gave importance to aspects like Naṭarāja, Dakṣiṇāmūrthy, Ardhanārī and Lakulīsa. The concept of Līṅga a special feature of Saivism, is described in the epic and purāṇic literature directly.

The exact date by which time Śaivism was followed in Āndhra cannot be determined Śaivism was a very popular religious cult followed both by the ruled and ruler in the times of the Sātavāhanas. However, no inscription of the period directly refers to the cult. The earliest śaiva structure and form of Śiva from the South India is dated 2nd century B.C. which is found at Gudimallam, Chittoor District. Here the icon is five feet in height, and dark brown in colour. It is represented as a monolithic icon containing both the Phallic and anthropomorphic forms of the God Śiva. He is depicted as standing on the shoulders of a Yakṣa instead of arghya, wearing a short loin cloth and holding a ram and a kamaṇḍala. According to Dr. I.K. Sharma this image represents the Vēdic features of Śiva as youth, kapardin, hunter, and as associated with yōga, and Agni etc.⁵ The Śrīsailam project submerging areas revealed Sātavāhana and pre-sātavāhana brick temples, which were superimposed with stone structures during the Bādāmi Chālukyan and Rāṣtrakūṭa period.

The Gāthāsaptasati refers aspects of śaiva mythology as mentioned in epics and purāṇas. King Hāla favoured the concept of ardhanārīśvara and praises the deity in three verses. In one verse, Śiva is described as taking the Kośapāna. This may be compared to the myth of Śiva swallowing halaḥala.⁶ Śiva and Pārvati are considered as the eternal parents and ideal couple, who are ready to listen to the

prayers of the devotees and bestow boons on them.⁷ The marriage of Pārvati with Śiva who is adorned with snake, and their mutual love had been the cherished theme of a poet.⁸ The terms Bhūtādhipa, Pramadādhipa, Paśupati, Rudra, Śiva used in different verses show the association of Śiva with bhūtas, cattle, and his ferocious actions as known to contemporary poets. The forms of Śiva as depicted in epic age assumed popularity in the Sātavāhana times. The names of Śiva in association with the moon, Rālāhala and destruction were very common for instance a number of poets in Gāthāsaptāśati bear names like Śēkhar, Saśirāyuḍu Rīṣavadatta, Viṣamarāya and Kāla. The names of Sātavāhanas kings like Śiva-svāti, Śivaśrī, Sivaskanda, and the names of the poets who composed the verses of Gāthāsaptāśati like Īśvara, Bhīma, dēva. Śiva Pālita, Śivadatta show the popularity of Śaivism.⁹ The līṅga form mentioned in traditional literature of post-vēdic times is not found directly in the literature of the Sātavāhana period, however it is represented as Mukhalinga at Gudimallam and Amaravati. The excavations conducted so far have not revealed anything in this regard.

Archaeological and literary sources reveal strong evidences and references to the growing practice of Śaivism, building of temples and installation of images. The study of śaivite sects and their development are also referred to. Evidence speaks of uniform spread of Śaivism throughout Āndhra Dēśa and the establishment of Śaivite centres, along the river banks and Nallamala and other mountain ranges.

The earliest epigraphical evidence found in Āndhra referring to the temple of Śiva dated to the first half of the second century A.D. is from Vēlupūru. It records the construction of a maṇḍapa for the Lord Bhūtagrahaka by a female torch bearer of King Mānasada.¹⁰

On the basis of the inscription which says “Sidham namō bhagavatōmaha dēvasyah puppā bhadra svāmināḥ dēvakulam karitam dvaja stambhō cha pratistat pitagramas cha pudokadam akṣyanividdatāḥ”.¹¹ It is clear that king Ehuvala and his queen Kūpanasēna of Ikṣvāku dynasty constructed a shrine of Śiva, erected a flag-staff, appointed a priest and created permanent endowment. It is an apsidal structure with mukhamāṇḍapa. In the time of Ehuvala, one talavara

Eliśrī built a supremely glorious temple, “Savadēvādhivāsa”.¹² This is of three stories. Another inscription engraved on a pillar from burning ghat opens with an invocation to Śiva “Namō Bhagavato Sarvalōka Mahitasa Nōdagirisasamisa” and records the construction of a shrine and creation of endowments by some ladies.¹³ There is another shrine containing four bāṇaliṅgas, fixed in four corners; numerous other lingas were also discovered in that area.¹⁴ Some coins found at Nagarjunakonda bear the figure of trident and human head, which strengthen the above given royal support to Śaivism. The names of Iksavāku period like Rudrabattārika Śivanāga, Nandi, Īśvara show the popularity of Śaiva cult in Āndhra during that period.

The Bṛihatphālāyanas who succeeded the Ikṣvākus are described as favoured by the feet of Mahēśvara. The seal of the inscription bears the figure of the trident.¹⁵ King Attivarma of the Ānanda gōtra also seems to be devoted to śiva since saint Ānanda, his ancestor is mentioned as purified by the pollen of the lotus feet of Sambhu who created the three worlds and resides in the temple of Vākēśvara.¹⁶ This seal also bears a figure of a God sitting cross-legged. An epigraph from Chejarla states that Kandara II of the same dynasty re-built many ruined temples of which the Kapōtēśvara was one.¹⁷ The present Kapōtēśvara temple may be dated back to Śātavāhana period which might have been called Pinḍēśvara then. The Śalankāyanas were also devoted to Śiva as indicated by the names Śiva Chandra, Śivayya, Nandiverma in their charts. King Nandiverma styled himself as “Parama māheśvara”.^{18a}

The Pallavas were great patrons of Śaivism. The stone temples at Brahmanapalli and Manchakallu and the Chandiśa figure are assigned to the Pallavas.¹⁸ An early inscription from Manchanapally records that Pallava Simhaverma worshipped Śiva under the name Jivasiva-svāmi.¹⁹ The later Pallava kings who ruled the southern parts of Āndhra promoted the growth of Śaivism by building temples and by giving donations. Paramēśwara Varman I, is described as “Parama-bhattāraka” and the inscription concludes with an imprecatory verse that he who destroys the grant would be guilty of sin of destroying Śripārvata.²⁰ The temple at Gudimallam built in gajapriṣṭha shape was

renovated and reconstructed by Nandivarman and Dantivarman about 795 A.D. To the original brick temple, the apsidal form was added by the later Pallavas. Inscriptions of the times of Nripatuṅga, Nandipottayar, Ko-Rājaśekhara Varman, Vijayadantivikramar are also found at Gudimallam.²¹ During the same period Triguṇēśvara temple yet another popular centre, was developed and special worship and festivals were conducted.²² This temple was repaired in the times of Vayūramēgha Varma and enjoyed the popular.²³ The temple at Tripurāntakam in Kurnool district bears some evidence of Pallavas' support in its construction and up-keep.²⁴

The excavations conducted at Yēlēśvaram on the bank of Krishna revealed monolithic temples, huge mandapas with bana liṅgas of the period of Viṣṇukuṇḍins. Mādavavarman II is described as the Lord of "Trikuṭāmalaya", which has been identified by some scholars with Koṭappakonda, another famous śaivite centre in Āndhra.²⁵ Other kings Indravarma and Vikramēndraverman II are described as devout worshippers of Mahēśvara. The Chikkulla plates of the same dynasty record grant of village to the temple of Sōmagrinādha of Triyambaka, the Lord of three worlds, whose crown of matted hair is whitened and reddened by the rays of the young moon. This chart concludes with a benedictory verse of Śaivite faith, that whoever obeys the order would enjoy the happiness in heaven with the thousand billions of divine hosts in Rudra's world.²⁶ The earliest representation of Śiva both anthropomorphically and symbolically is assigned to this period. This representation of Śiva in rupa and arupa forms is a clear deviation from the Mukhalinga and Bāna forms of Satavahana and Ikṣvāku times.

A complete picture of epic, Purāṇic, and āgamic śaivism with different aspects could be studied during the period of the Eastern Chāḷukyans who were staunch followers of Śaivism and were responsible for the construction of many existing temples. The kings called themselves as "Parmamāhēśvaras" and "Parama bhaṭṭārakas". Both Amma I and II are described as the very bees of the lotus feet of Hara and as always contemplating at the feet of Mahēśvara.²⁷ Among others Vijayaditya III who took part in ferocious battles and won victory was described on "Tripuramaratva-Māhēśvara i.e., Śiva who

destroyed the Asuras of the tripuras. While Indravarma was described as 'Purārātirava bhūtagaṇapriya',²⁸ Bhīma II and his wife were always compared to Mahākālā or Mahēśvara, and Ambika.²⁹ The Commanders also called themselves "Paramabhaṭṭārakas" and Paramamahēśvaras,³⁰ during this period and expressed their devotion to Śiva.

Siddeśvara temple at Terala, Śiva temple at Brahmanapalli Dharmaliṅgēśvara temple at Goapalapatnam are assigned to the early Chālukyan period. Maṅgi Yuvarāja of this dynasty is referred to as having donated land to Śiva temple which might have been built by the earlier kings.³¹ Vijyāditya II, the most powerful ruler of this dynasty constantly engaged in 108 battles over a period of 12 years in order to put down the enemies after establishing peace in the country, constructed 108 Śiva temples in commemoration of his triumphs as well as to expiate the sin committed in the battles. This is born out by the record which states "Astottara-satanarēndra dēvālayanām kattam dvādaśa varṣān yuddan Chatī".³² But in the present state of knowledge, it is not possible to identify or locate all of them. But the epigraphical evidence indicates the construction of one temple called 'Samastha bhuvanāśraya' by this king.

In Kalivisnu's reign Śaivism enjoyed royal and popular support equally. His Cheruvumadhavarm plates state that in association with the merchant community of Vijayawada he installed Śiva under the name Nāgarēśvara bhaṭṭāra and donated some land to it. This inscription, unlike the others mentioned hitherto specifically refers to the Linga form of Śiva. It is clear in the statement "Nagarasamhitēna Liṅga Pratiṣṭamkṛitva".³⁴ Yet another inscription states that the inhabitants of village Prīthvivallabha installed God Śiva and called it after title of Kali Viṣṇu as "Karigaḷḷa" and the king remitted the taxes on some lands in that village and donated to the temple. The inscription concludes with śaivite imprecatory verse that the transgressor would incur the anger of Śiva.³⁵ Another Śiva temple called Chillukāsibhaṭṭāraka was built at Gundlapalli village. Guṇaga Vijayaditya, the most powerful of this family built a siva temple at Bikkavolu where in he planted the Pālikētana symbols brought back by him from the Rāṣtrakūṭas. The same king constructed a maṭha

and *prākāra* to a Śiva temple at Dharmavaram, Guntur district and named Bajjevēśvara after his title.³⁶

Bhima I of this dynasty is yet another king who promoted Śaivism in Āndhra by developing centres in different parts. The foundation of the famous Pañchārāmas at Samarlakota, Palakol, Chebrol, Amaravati and Draksharama, and temples at Nakkalagudi and its surroundings are assigned to him.³⁷ As in the times of Viṣṇuvadhana V, in the times of Bhima also merchants constructed Śiva temple, named after the name of the king and obtained grants for it. Chālukya Bhīmēśvara is one such temple constructed by one Pōlaya, a noted merchant.³⁸ Another inscription of the same king from Indrakila at Vijayawada states that certain Chātṭapa built a temple of Śiva with the help of the king and consecrated the God as Pārthēśvara. The inscription states that the place was associated with the penance of Arjuna for the Pāśupata weapon.³⁹ Another inscription bearing the legend of Kirātārjuniya states that it was planted by Trikuṭabōya who was a gandharva in the previous birth and directed Arjuna to that spot to perform tapas.⁴⁰ Bhima I was not only the builder of the temple, but an exclusive supporter of Saivite philosophers and teachers. Thus Vijayawada and its surroundings were strong holds of Śaiva pīṭhas. Bezawada pillar inscription of Bhima II states that the maṭha was exclusively for the use of Śaivites and the temple authorities were expected to expel the non-saivites from the maṭhas.⁴¹ The Tandikonda plates of Amma II strengthen these strong sectarian feelings. This chart which opens with an invocation to Śiva, registers a grant of a village made by the king to the kālāmukha teacher of Simhapariṣad attached to the temple of Umāmahēśvara at Vijayawada for the offerings of naivēdya music etc.⁴² Not only the kings and nobles, even ordinary individuals also built temples. One Kūpamayya is described as builder of a temple of Śiva during the Eastern Chālukyan period.⁴³ On the basis of the style of architecture the temples at Terala are assigned to the Eastern Chālukyans. The boundless devotion which resulted in the erection of temples in honour of their beloved God was observed, by Yuan Chwong the Chinese pilgrim who states that there were 300 temples in Āndhra, 100 temples in Dharaṇikōṭa (Dhaya Taluk) itself, besides 100

temples in Kaliṅga and 70 in South Kōsala.

The coastal land lying between the rivers Mahānadi and Godavari called Kaliṅga Dēśa was ruled by the Gāṅgas from 5th to 10th century and after. The Eastern Gāṅga dynasty founded by Indravarma ruled with Mukhaliṅgam as capital. They worshipped Śiva under the name of Gōkarṇeśvara. The modern Mukhalingam situated on the bank of Vamsadhāra is also called Madhukēśvara as the Liṅga is carved out of the trunk of madhūka tree.⁴⁴ Almost all the Gāṅga inscriptions open with an invocation to Śiva, reflecting the influence of Śaivite purāṇas specially the Kailāsa Samhita of Śiva purāṇa. Gōkarṇeśvara is described variously—‘He is the crest jewel of summit of Mahēndragiri, cause of creation, preservation and destruction, the sole architect of all the worlds the Lord and protector of things movable and immovable the Lord of Dēvas and Asuras, and bedecked with the moon as crest jewel which has been clothed in the coils of great serpents.’⁴⁵ The kings showed their ardent devotion by stating that they had the stains of kali age removed and acquired the store of virtue and religious merit by worshipping the lotus feet of God i.e. “Bhagavatō Gōkarṇaswāmins—Charaṇa kmaḷayugaḷa praṇāma dapagata kali kaliāmkō vinaya naya sampada”. Rajēndravarma, Bhūpēndravarma, Anantavarma, Sāmanthavarma and other kings, called themselves as “paramamāhēśvara” and “Parama bhaṭṭāraka”.⁴⁶ The Santabobbili plates of Indravarma II refer to gifts made to Ramēśvarabhaṭṭāra while the Galavalli of Manujendravarma describe siva under the name Kuṇḍukaguṇḍēśvara.⁴⁷ King Dēvēndravarma, even took the initiation for Śiva maṇḍal dīksha from Patanga Śivāchārya.⁴⁸ The name of the individuals such as Saṅkara Śarma, Rudra Śarma, Śivāchārya, Esaśarma, Svayambukēśvara, Sōmēśvara, and Yōgātma, show the popularity of the cult among the dvijas. The group of temples of Mukhaliṅgam built in pañchāyatana contains many sculptures representing Śiva mythology and religion.

The Ēkapada murty sculptured in various fashions shows the influence of the north India on Kaliṅga. The Mahēśamurty found at Mukhaliṅgam is one of the earliest forms of the type. The name of the locality “Omkārabhōga” found in Gāṅga plates shows a particular sanctity attached to the particular piece of land.

Besides these, Kāmēśvara temple at Puruṣōttamapuram Haṭakēśvara temple at Singupuram, Dharmaliṅgēśvara temple at Goopalapatnam existed during 8th-10th centuries A.D. under these rulers.⁴⁹ In this connection, a few inscriptions issued by different kings also may be noted here. The Peddadurgam plates at Satrudamana of 5th century A.D. describe the king as devoted to God Śiva,⁵⁰ while the Mādhavavaramas cuttack plates open with an invocation with Śiva and Pārvati and refer to one Pulindasēna as worshipper of God Sambu. The Sarabhavaram plates describe one Lord of Chikura as a great devotee of Mahēśvara who obtained place in heaven by the grace of God.⁵¹

The Western borders of Āndhra Dēśa like Kurnool, Mahaboonagar, Anantapur districts happened to be under the control of the Western Chālukyans of Bādāmi and Kaḷyāṇi who ruled from 543-753 A.D. and 973-1300 A.D. Pulakēśin II of the Western Chālukyan branch of Bādāmi is supposed to be the founder of early structural temples at Kadamalakalva, Satyovol, Mahanandi, etc., thus giving support to popular Śaivism.⁵² King Vikramāditya I who called himself Paramamāhēśvara was a staunch follower of śaivism and took Śivamaṇḍala dikṣa from his guru Sudarśnāchārya.⁵³ He is responsible for the installation of Śiva at Alampur.⁵⁴ Temple at Tirunella, Sangamēśvara, Papavinasana swāmy, Puṣpēśvara were developed during his period only.⁵⁵ His successor Vinayāditya was also a śaivite. He erected the temple of Svargabrahma at Alampur in honour of his wife Mahādevi and donated lands to the temple of Pañchaliṅgadeva at Rāmēśvara thirtha in Kamdurnadu.⁵⁶ With the construction of the nine temples of Śiva called Navabrahma during 6th to 10th centuries A.D. Alampur has come to be called the Western gate of Śrīsailam.⁵⁷ These temples are adorned with beautiful sculptures depicting different stories and aspects of śaivism. In the times of Western Chālukyans, śaivism flourished at different centres⁵⁸ like Satyavol, Mahanandi, Narnur, Mukgullu, and Pitakayagullu. At Pattikonda, in the 10th century A.D. a temple was built by a certain Mādhavayya with gōpuram, Tōraṇa and prākāra which was called Mahādēvēśvara Bhaṭṭara after the name of the donor himself.⁵⁹

The Western Chālukyans of Kaḷyāṇi also promoted the growth

of śaivism and are responsible for building most beautiful temples which are still surviving. Three inscriptions of Taila II's reign are found in Bellary, Nizamabad and Cuddapah districts. The first one records gift of land made to god Śiva worshipped as Bhairvadēva, while the second and third ones refer to the Śaiva devotees and gift to a Śiva temple respectively.⁶⁰ It is about 900 A.D. Bibbēśvara constructed a Śiva temple at Koraprolu, Mahaboobnagar district. It was called after his name. During the 11th century, Śiva temples at Kunkunur, Devipuram in Kurnool district at Gangapuram, Jataprole, Kudavalli, Nandikandi, Patancheru, Kolanpak in the Telangana region enjoyed wide popularity.⁶¹ The Rāstrakūṭas while developing the centres built by the Western Chāḷukyans established new centres in Anantapur and Cuddapah districts. The Alampur inscription of Rāstrakūṭa Dhāravarṣa records the construction of Śrīvāgila and donations for some religious functions. This shows that the constructive activity--which was begun by the Bādāmi Chāḷukyans was carried on and completed by the Rāstrakūṭas.⁶² Akalanka is stated to have visited a sacred place Jyōti and donated lands to the temples of Nāgēśvara and Puṣhapēśvara at Puṣhapagiri.⁶³ Still Puṣhapagiri is popular as Dakṣhinadvāra of Śrīparvata. He also developed the Śiva temple at Chennur, Adilabad district. Akalanka donated land to god Mallikārjūna of the village Mimmikallu.⁶⁴ Krishna III in his southern campaign encamped at the temple of Harihara in Cuddapah district and donated lands, villages and house-sites to the temple of Mūlasthāna Kālīdēva including other Śaiva temples.⁶⁵ He visited Puṣhapagiri too and gifted lands to it⁶⁶ and patronised the Śiva temple at Bagali in Bellary district. Buddega kēsari his subordinate who ruled over Sabbinadu donated lands to the temple of Agasthēśvara at Chennur in Adilabad district. The Rāstrakūṭas' encouragement to their subordinates and others for expressing their devotion to śaivism, could be studied from some of the inscriptions found at Kalēśvaram and Vemulavada. A subordinate of Indra renovated the main entrance and maṇḍapa of Parthēśvara temple at Kamalapuram, Guddapah district.⁶⁷ Krishna, a subordinate of Govinda III constructed 'three cloud-touching Śiva temples' Ramēśvara, Masiyaṅkadhaval and Kātēśvara 'which became an ornament to the valley of river Pennar at Māhēśvaram', the present

Rāmēśvaram, in Cuddapah district. He also obtained the village and pieces of lands from the ruling king for the maintenance of temples and priests.⁶⁸ A sāmantha of king Niṭyavarṣa constructed the doorway, maṇḍapa and shrines of the eight parivāradēvatas of god Mulkumtīśvara.⁶⁹ Two other records also register gifts to god Śiva by two chiefs, Vallabha Salukula and Triveppachoreser.⁷⁰ Bhōgēśvara temple seems to be associated with Amōghavarṣa.⁷¹ In the times of Govinda IV, one Kāgaseṭṭi donated lands to the temple of Kāmēśvara.⁷² Rāchamalla, another subordinate also donated land to Nāgēśvara of Candagondla, Kurnool District.⁷³ The reign of Akalanka I witnessed support of the masses to śaivism in different parts of Āndhra. While the kings and the rich donated villages and lands to maintain the temples and the priests, the commoners contributed their might in kind and commodity. The Virabalanja's of Naravadu gifted turmeric, arecanut, and such other things to god Gōravaēśvara of Nayakellu, while the inhabitants of Vyāsapura donated sheep to the temple of Vyāsapura. During Rāṣṭrakūṭa times, temples of Arundinakkār, Patalēśwara, Kāmēśvara and Sundarēśvara temples were also patronised.⁷⁴ It is noteworthy that both Śiva and Viṣṇu centres are founded on one premises at Jyoti and Puṣhpagiri in Cuddapah district by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. The proper names like Rudra Śarma, Gāyatriśiva, Paramaśiva, Īśvara, Gaṅga Mahādēvi, Nandi swāmy, Bhīma Śarma, Mahākāla Śarma, Sankara Śarma, Mallayya, Sarva Śarma, and Isānāchārya are found in the Western Chāḷukyan inscriptions. Proper names like Bhairava dēva, Nāgarāsi, Sankaradās, Sōmēśvara, Mukteśvara, Rāmēśvara, and Rudrarāsi are found in Rāṣṭrakūṭa plates. They reflect the popularity of śaivism among the higher classes.

Pragatur in Kurnool district Rāmalingēśvara temple in Cumbam and Markapuram taluqs in the same district and Papēśvara temple at Basar in Adilabad district attracted a number of pilgrims during the period under study.⁷⁵

The Chōḷas who dethroned the Pallavas in the South were strong supporters of Śaivism. They patronised the temples built by the earlier rulers, they themselves erected many centres and encouraged their subordinates to do so. The temples of Kailāsanadha at Ichambali, of

Mahadēva at Mavalimangalam, and temples at places like Gudimallam, Tondamanda and Kottamanchi bear out this.⁷⁶ Rajaraja I is the greatest of all the rulers of Chola dynasty was a great builder of temples of Śiva. He constructed a Śiva temple at Melapadi and called the God after his name Cholendrasimhēśvara and made donations to it.⁷⁷ He constructed the central shrine of Kalahasti, where the worship was initiated by Tirukkalalotti, one of the Nayanars.⁷⁸ In the period of the same king, Yadava Raya donated village to the temple of Nilagrivēśvara. Certain Suniyandevan gifted to the temple of Tirumulēśvara and one Sirrambalattukiol gave money for another Śiva temple.⁷⁹ The Trigunēśvara temple which was developed under the Pallavas was also patronised during this time.⁸⁰

The Nōlamba Pallavas too patronised Śaivism by building and maintaining temples in their capital Hemavathi. King Mahendra developed the temples of Doddappa, Nannēśvara and Mahendrāśvara⁸¹ and Siva temple at Bargur.⁸² To the last temple Ayyamahādēvi made some gifts.⁸³ In the times of Nōlambādi Rāja Mahādēva a temple was built at Kambadur and Dhāraḷadēvi erected pinnacle over it for the welfare of Singapōta Ponnera. The temple was repaired and was endowed with some gift by Iṟōngula dēva.⁸⁴ Dhāraḷadēvi, queen of Vira Nōlamba revived the grants made to the temple of Kanchagara Belgali and made some gifts to the temple of Kālapriya Dēva too.⁸⁵

The above mentioned points reveal that during the times of Nōlambas, Śiva temples existed at Hemavati, Kanchangra Belgali, Kambadur and also at Gollapuram, Manepalli, Amidala and Madakasira, Konakondla, some and had even satras and maṭhas.⁸⁶

Like the Nōlamba Pallavas Bāṇas, another minor dynasty also followed Śaivism. Their inscriptions open with an invocation in praise of Śiva as 'the Lord of gods and demons, worshipped in all three worlds'. The Paraśurāmēśvara temple at Gudimallam was fully developed under these rulers.^{86a} In the times of Vijayāditya Mahāvali vanarāya the Śiva temples at Punganur and Senagapanduru were patronised. Temples of Agastyēśvara and Kulatngiśvara were built and donations were made in the times of Vanavidhayādhara.⁸⁷ The latter was built at the request of the head-man of Kavanur and named it after his father

as Kulataṅgiya perumānar.⁸⁸ In the reign of Nandipottasar certain Vallava salukula donated gift to God Bhōgēśvara at Velamakuru.⁸⁹ Śiva temples at Sanegalagudur in Anantpur district, Pudupet and Morusupalle in Chittor district, also belong to this dynasty.⁹⁰ The Telugu Chōlas who ruled over Cuddapah and Anantpur districts, for about 200 years were also saivites. Queen Vasantapoṛṇi, wife of Puṇyakumāra built a temple of Śiva in 630 A.D. at Tarumuru and called it after her name as Vasantēśvara and donated lands and garden to it. This is the first instance where God is called after the name of a lady donor.⁹¹ The temples of Śiva as Svētēśvara and Prētēśvara were built before or during the Telugu Chōla times and Śrikanṭha Chōla donated land to the latter for worship.⁹² Some individuals Bikirāju and Salliyarāju donated money, grain and taxes over some villages to the two temples noted above.⁹³ Bhairavakōna caves where Śivaliṅga is enshrined as Bhairava was a popular centre of Śaivism. There are eight more memorial shrines, bearing the figures of liṅga; the temple no. 4 of same place contains in bas-relief the head of Śiva with three faces which evidently is the figure of Mahēśamūrty the earliest sculpture of this type found in South India.⁹⁴ The Agastēyēśvara temple at Chidiparla which is believed to be built by sage Agastya was renovated by Ammanapraggada and patronised by some devotees.⁹⁵ There are many more such śaiva centres.⁹⁶

Śiva temples were built under the names of Rāmēśvara and Nṛitya Lōkēśvara by the Vaidumba at Kolavali and Aritirevulu respectively in Cuddapah district.⁹⁷

The Vemulavada Chālukyans who ruled over Karimnagar, district as feudatores of Rāṣtrakūṭas followed both Śaivism and Jainism. Vemulavada their capital is still a famous Śaiva Centre and the present Kēdārēśvara, Bhīmēśvara, Rājarājēśvara and Nāgarēśvara temples were built by the end of the tenth century.⁹⁸ Yēlēśvaram which developed in the time of the post-Ikṣvāku period continued to be Śaivite centre till tenth century and was popular as the Northern gateway of Śrīsaila.⁹⁹ One inscription from Jainad in Adilabad district opens with adoration to Śiva as the first born individual, who was ready to burn the three cities with arrow and bow which are made of

Viṣṇu's body. The king Jaggadeva is described as devoted to Śiva from his childhood.¹⁰⁰

The Yaśastilaka contains the description of the prevalent form of Śaivism. The Kailāsa or Himalaya is described as the abode of Śiva or Rudra who married Uma or Pārvati, the daughter Himavant and had a son Kārttikēya. Śiva is described as having matted hair, kālakūṭa in throat, dressed in skins, wearing emblems like trident, drum, bow, sword, axe and club, as accompanied by his vehicle riṣabha, attendants called gaṇas—Analōdbhava, Nikumbha, Kumbhōdara, Hēramba, and Bhṛīṅgi etc.^{101a} Śiva as Dakṣiṇāmūrti having rosary, devoted to austerities, meditating on Śakti, muttering prayers and offering oblation is also described. Śiva the eternal teacher, is described on assuming the form of owl and taught Viśeṣika philosophy to sage Kanāḍa^b and fond of dancing in the evening twilight.^c Śiva is further described as begging, as nude, residing at cremation grounds and funeral pyre, laughing ferociously, and reducing the pride of demons.^d Sōmadēva's comparison of the temples to the loud laughter Śiva in the sky has a striking resemblance to the description of Śiva in Satarudriya.^e The Myths of Tripurāntaka that Śiva burnt the three cities when the earth became the chariot, Sūrya and Chandra its wheels, Brahma the Charioteer, and Vasuki the bow string and the story of Gajasura are given by Sōmadēva. He also glorified the legends of Liṅgōdbhava and Kirātārjunīya. Here Śiva is described as adorned with buffalo's horn, garlands of roots, crescent ear rings, armlets of plums, brass anklets and the multicoloured rangs like a kirāta.^g The story of cutting the head of Brahma and carrying of human skull for begging food to expiate the sin is not omitted in Yaśastilaka. The incarnation of Rudra in every age the corporal and incorporal forms of Sadaśiva with five faces are described. Śiva is said to be omniscient, the supreme bliss, the creator of the Universe, primal architect of the Universe and setting in motion the cosmic evolution. He when satisfied with pure devotion grants pleasures, releases the devotees from death and grants salvation. He is the destroyer of the Universe as Mahākāla in the company of Chandika and he is the Kālāgni at the hour of universal destruction.^h The adoration of Śiva both in the forms of Liṅga and icon and by mantra

is described in the Yaśastilaka.

As already stated, Śiva is worshipped both aniconically and anthropomorphically. The Liṅgas the aniconical forms are classified into various types depending upon the material with which they are made daru, sila, mṛt, depending on its power as Jyōtirliṅga or Vāyuliṅga; depending upon the origin as svayambhu or manuṣyaliṅga, depending on the carvings on it, into mukhaliṅgas, sahaśraliṅgas and baṇḍaliṅgas¹⁰² etc. Anthropomorphically Śiva is treated in saumya and raudra forms, with bulging robust chest and as having matted hair adorned with crescent, blue neck, three eyes, two or many hands, dressed in skin, adorned with snakes and surrounded by the gaṇas.^{102a} An account of the various icons and sculptures of Śiva reflecting the different forms and mythologies of the God as found in Āndhra is given below.

Forms of asadharaṇamūrti

Mahēśa: Mahēśa, also called Sadasiva, form of Śiva is represented with three faces representing creation, protection, and destruction. Mahēśa with five faces represents Isana, Tatpuruṣa, Aghōra Vamadeva and Sadyōjata. Representation of Mahēśa with three faces and holding Pāsa, ankusa and fruit is found at Alampur.^b

Forms of Sāntamūrti

Ardhanārīśvara : In this form, Śiva is sculptured as half-man and half-woman adorned with jaṭamakuṭa, crescent, sarpakundala on one side, and tilaka, darpana, karaṇḍakunḍala on the other side. This type of image is found at Alampur, and Mukhalingam.^c

Gaṅgadhara : In the gaṅgadhara form Śiva is sculptured in the pose of appeasing annoyed Parvati, at the same time lifting up the jatas from which the figure of Gaṅga peeps.^d

Vṛṣavāhana : The image of Śiva depicted as seated on the vehicle bull, along with Parvati is called Vṛṣavāhana. He is considered as auspicious and venerated on sacred days as spradōṣamūrti. Umamahēśvara on Nandi also known as Pradōṣamūrti is found at Alampur.^e

Chandraśekhara : Śiva represented in the most pleasant form with Paraśu and deer in the upper hands and abhaya, varada in the lower hands is called Chandraśekhara. This is called kēvala when he is represented alone.

Umāsahita : In this form Parvati is represented nearby Śiva : Śiva and Parvati are found at Pratakota Śiva and Parvati with Brahma and Viṣṇu on either side are found in the Alampur museum; Śiva and Parvati seated are at Mukhalingam. Śiva with Parvati blessing sages is found at Draksharama.^f

Āliṅganamūrti : When Uma is close to Chandraśekhara, it is called aliṅganamūrti. This type is found at Hemavati.^g

Sōmaskanda : When Kumāra is present along with Umāchandraśekhara, the image is called Sōmaskandha.

Kalyāṇasundara : The sculpture of Kalyāṇasundara depicts the marriage of Śiva with Parvati with Brahma as the priest, Viṣṇu as offering the bride and as the scene is witnessed by Dikpālas, Gaṇas, Gandharvas and other demigods Parvati Kalyāṇa or Kalyāṇasundara is found at Pāpanāsi temple.^h

Liṅgodbhavamūrti : Liṅgodbhavamūrti is a sculpture where Śiva is shown as a flaming pillar, Viṣṇu and Brahma are posed as searching either ends of the liṅga or offering worship. It is found at Pratakota and other places.ⁱ

Forms of Anugrahamūrti

Arjunānugraha or Kirātārjuna : In this theme, Śiva is shown in the form of kirāta as fighting with Arjuna and finally presenting Pāśupata weapon to him. Kirātārjuna sculpture is found at Pratakota, at Alampur Museum, at Pāpanāsi temple, at Mukhalingam, and Indrakīla at Vijayawada.^j

Rāvaṇānugraha : This sculpture represents Rāvaṇa as shaking mount Kailāsa, Uma shaken with fear, clings to Śiva who is in supreme bliss. The sculpture Rāvaṇa lifting Kailasa is found at Alampur Museum.^k

Nṛityamūrti : The Nṛityamūrti of Śiva is represented in about nine forms, depending upon number of hands, weapons, eyes, style of jaṭas, poses with or without apasamārapuruṣa or Dēvi. Naṭrāja at

Mūgalrajapuram, is supposed to be the earliest representation in South India. His various forms and poses are found in different temples at different places.¹

Dakṣiṇāmūrti : The supreme master of knowledge is sculptured in three or four ways.^m

The Vyākhyāna Dakṣiṇā-mūrti sits under the banyan tree in a secluded spot facing south usually in Virāsana with akṣamāla, pustaka, kamaṇḍala and Agni or Varada poses. Śiva in this form is pure white in colour, wears skin garments, jaṭas adorned with skull, snakes and crescent. The great seers are represented as eager to learn from him. The apasamara or ignorance is shown as moaning under his feet.

Gnānadakṣiṇāmūrti : The Gnānadakṣiṇāmūrti is sculptured in the same way with Gananamudra in right hand as at Alampur.ⁿ

The Yogadakṣiṇāmūrti : Śiva as Yōgadakṣiṇāmūrti is represented in sitting posture two legs crossed and tied with yogapatta and hands in yōgamudra stretched and kept resting on knees such is found at Satyavole.^o

Viṇāḍharadakṣiṇāmūrti : This form of Śiva is shown with left leg kept in position or seated in arthaparyanka pose and holding vina in the front hands. It is found at Choleswara temple at Melapadi, Siddheswara temple at Hemavati Alampur and other places.^p

Forms of Ugramūrti^q

Kāmantakamūrti : Iconographically this mūrti represents Śiva in Yōgadakṣiṇāmūrti form and Manmadha as having fallen down at the mere glance of God. The flowery arrow, bow, Rati and Vasanta are also represented—Pratakota and Satyavolu.^r

Gajāsurasamhāramūrti : The Āgamas and the purānas differ in giving the Gajāsurasamhāra type of icon. Generally Śiva is represented as planting firmly on the head of the elephant and holding either the skin or the danta of the elephant. Gajāsuramūrti is found at Satyavole, at Makhalingam at Hemavati and some other places.^s

Kālārimūrti : Śiva here is represented as coming out of Liṅga with left foot lifted to the chest of Yama, and Markaṇḍēya embracing the Liṅga. This form is found at Chilamakur.^t

Tripurāntakamūrti : Tripurāntakamūrti is represented with

many heads and hands seated in a chariot, with Brahma driving it. Tirpurāntakamūrti is found at Alampur and at Mukhalingam.^u

Bhikṣātanamūrti : In this form Śiva as naked carries Kapāla in his hand, a Kankāḷa of Viṣṇvakṣēna on the pranks of his trident, and daṇḍa horizontally on the left shoulder. A dagger is tucked up in girdle. He is surrounded by riṣhis, gandharvas, goblins, bhutas carrying on head, large vessels for storing alms given by women. Bhikṣātanamūrti is found at Svargabrahma temple Alampur and at Mukhalingam, Pusphagiri and Hemavati.^v

Brahmaśirschedamūrti : Śiva carrying the skull of Brahma and as observing Kāpālīka vrata is represented in this form.^w

The Aghōra śiva : This form is depicted in terrific appearance, having side tusks, surrounded by demons weapons, snakes, scorpions and goblins.^x

Bhairava : Accompanied by a dog, Bhairava is represented in ugly form, with tusks, fat belly, garlands of skulls and different types of weapons. This form is found at Alampur and at many other places.^y

Virabhadra : Another form of Śiva, Virabhadra is represented in a horrible form, with goat by his side representing Dakṣa.

Nandiśa and Chandiśa : The other forms of Śiva, Nandiśa and Chandiśa are sculptured with bull horns and battle axe. Such are found at Bhairavakond and other temples.^z

In this context mention may be made to the image at Gudimallam which is very near to Srikalahasti. On the basis of the accounts of the previous writers and on the basis of the physiognomy representing a local tribal, may be Kannappa, the great śaiva devotee and a Nāyanār, it may be said that this image is another form of Śiva called Kannappānugrahamūrti similar to that of Chandiśānugrahamūrti of the south.¹⁰³

This account illustrates that Śaivism was patronised from the time of Sātavāhanas to 1000 A.D. by major and minor dynasties alike along with popular support. The popular legends and myths were expressed in the forms of various sculptures and icons.

The Peddamudiyam plaque belonging to the 4th and 5th centuries A.D. deserves special mention. It represents "Ganēśa,

Brahma, Narasima, Śivalingha, Viṣṇu, Dēvi, Umāmahēśvara with Nandi, Lakshmi as Srivatsa symbol and Mahisāsūrmardini¹⁰⁴ and Kumāra.¹⁰⁵ Śiva is represented both in iconical and aniconical forms. An interesting feature of this plaques is the worship of Śiva by Brahma, Viṣṇu and minor deities like Ganeśa and Kumāra along with Dēvi in the form of Mahisāsūrmardini and Lakshmi indicating the predominance of Śaivism.

LAKULIŚA AND ŚAIVA SECTS

Lakuliśa : The direct mention of a religious school of Śaivism or of a Śaiva teacher occurs in Mahābhārata for the first time.¹⁰⁶ In Śāntiparva it is stated that Śiva himself promulgated the pāśupata vrata.¹⁰⁷ The Śivapurāṇa, Liṅga purāṇa, and the Vāyupurāṇa state that in the 28th Yuga, when Kṛṣṇa incarnates as Vāsudēva, Śiva shall enter the dead body thrown in a cemetery without anybody to guard it, by means of yōgic power, bears the name Lakuli, and thence the place would be sacred. Lakuli, the brahmachāri has four disciples—Kouśiki, Gārga, Mitra, are Kaerasya to propagate his teachings. The followers of Pāśupata vrata will go to Rudralōka at the end of their life and will not return.¹⁰⁸ The birth place of Lakuliśa is referred to in the inscriptions and literature. The Madhura pillar inscription shows that Lakuliśa might have flourished sometime during 200 A.D. This account is mentioned in the inscriptions at Ekalingri, Rajasthan; Sōmanādha in Gujarat, popularly known as Chinta Prasasti, Belgaum in Mysore; and at Melapadi in Chittor district during ancient and medieval periods.¹⁰⁹

The above tradition on Lakuliśa is referred to in inscriptions found in Āndhra too. An inscription dated tenth regnal year of Puṇya Kumāra opens with an invocation to Lakūlapāṇi as “Om Svaṣṭi śrīmat jayanati dhṛita chandrarēkhād kham-vipulāmala-taraka subham lōke gaganam iva suprasannam vapur-apratimani Lakula-paṇēh”. The Bhairavakonda cave which had been excavated by the same dynasty contains an inscription referring to the installation of Lakulēśvara and this image is considered to be the earliest representation in the south.¹¹⁰

The traditional account of the birth of Lakuliśa is noted in an

inscription from Hemavati dated 943 A.D. It states that Lakuliśvara fearing that his name and doctrine might be forgotten was born as Muninadhacilluka.¹¹¹ Here it appears as though Baṭṭāraka Cilluka the Sthānāddhipati or trustee is compared to Lakuliśa. The Tandikonda and the Malapadi inscriptions also describe the birth of Lakuliśa. The former states that in every age saints like Lakuli and others look upon themselves as forms of Rudra and become self-incarnated in the world for blessing the righteousness'. It further says that they are self-born of their own free will for the purpose of preaching and setting up of the path of Dharma, and the Śaiva Doctrine.¹¹² An inscription from Pragatur, Mahabobnagar district states that one Mahēśvara-bhṭṭara enshrined God Śiva as Lakuliśvara-dēva at Bhramēśvarajagati, a religious centre.¹¹³ Another one from Jataprole, Mahabobnagar district records land to Lakuliśvara Bhaṭṭāraka of Ramathirtha.¹¹⁴ One Nōḷamba inscription just refers to the name of Loguliśvara as the name of a teacher.¹¹⁵ While discussing the importance of the image of Lakuliśvara Dr. C. Sivaramamurthy states that the position given to the Dakṣiṇāmūrti in the South Indian temple is occupied by Lakulisa in the North Indian temple. However, in Āndhra, the temples at Alampur, Mukhalingam, Biccavole and Bhairavakonda are adorned with the images of both Lakuliśvara and Dakṣiṇāmūrti.¹¹⁶ All the Śiva temples were invariably decorated in various forms with the images of Śiva. The images of Lakuliśa are sculptured as a youth holding club, usually standing,¹¹⁷ or seated in dhyāna mudra as mentioned in the texts.

Śaiva sects : The following Śaiva sects are found mentioned in the inscriptions and literature of the period under study.

Pāśupata : The earliest reference to the Pāśupatas in Āndhra is in Mattavilāsa Prahasana. According to it the Pāśupatas accept the supremacy of Dharma and Vaidika practices.¹¹⁸

The earliest epigraphical reference to the Pāśupata sect is found in the times of the Eastern Chāḷukyas. Kaliviṣṇu's Cheruvumadhavarma plates record that the gift made to a Śiva temple was entrusted to the care of Paśupati bhāgavatpāda. It is stated that the founder of their lineage Balasōmabhāgavata lived in Gaṅgaguha and hailed from Ujjaini.¹¹⁹ Another undated inscription refers to a Paśupati Ayyaṅṅaru

and installation of līngas by him.¹²⁰

The Yaśastilaka of Sōmadēva describes the practices of the Pāśupatas.¹²¹ The Charya as follows. The consists of smearing of the body with ashes in the morning, at noon and evening, adoration of the idol of Śiva or Paśupati, ceremonial offering of water-pots, doing circumambulation from left to right, self humiliation and other processes. This alone leads to salvation.¹²² One Bāṇa inscription of 10 A.D. from Gudimallam also refers to a Pāśupata.¹²³

The Pāśupata sūtras of Ācharya Rasikanḍaṇya, the earliest text dealing with the sect gives five categories-karma, kārya, yōga, vidhi, carya and dhukhānta,¹²⁴ of which only carya is found in the source material. According to Loreznon, the Pāśupatas follow the Advaita Śaivism and are the spiritual fathers of Kālāmukhas, as such, both are related to each other.¹²⁵

Śaivas : The Śaiva school which has been described in bhāṣya of Rāmānuja, constitutes three principles, Pati, Paśu and pāśa explained in four Pādas vidya, kriya, yōga and carya.¹²⁶

The Yaśastilaka refers to Haraprabōdha a followers of Śaiva sect, who believed that Lord Śiva manifests in two forms, as Sadāśiva and Rudra as corporal and incorporeal; Rudra is omniscient, omni-potent and supreme bliss, is the creator of the Universe, the primeval architect; Śakti is the inherent power of Sadāśiva. The Śaivas believe that the highest truth of advaita alone leads one to salvation and Śiva helps the world in vāma and dakshina margas. The Śaivas further teach that the souls which are in bondage cannot evolve the unconscious matter, but the interaction of the two is due to the initiation of Śiva who sets in motion the process of cosmic evolution. All creatures are steeped in ignorance, they are not rulers of their own destinies, though they are rewarded according to their karma, and are directed by Śiva and shaped by him. Thus the whole doctrine describes Śiva as director of Dharma of this universe.¹²⁷ Śiva as Nāḍabindurūpa, giver of worldly pleasure and bestower of Moksa also is described.

So far no inscription made any direct mention to Śaiva sect. Though Śaiva ācharyas like Patangaśivacharya and Sudarśanācharya gave 'Śiva Mandal dīkshas' to the kings of Eastern, Gāṅga, and Western Chālukyan dynasties,¹²⁸ one Iśānacharya is found in the

inscription at Alampur and another Mugdhasivacharya in the inscription of the Chālukyans of Vēmulavāda seems to be Śaiva achāryas.¹²⁹ They perpetuated the existence of Śaiva sect.

Kāpālikas : The earliest mention to the observance of Kāpālika Vrata occurs in the Gāthāsaptśati of Hāla. A woman roaming in the burial ground, besmearing the ashes is described as kāpālīni. The Mattavilāsa gives the prerequisites of a Kāpālika. As the hero of the Prahāsana states, a person becomes a Kāpālika by keeping a Kapāla always, while drinking, eating and also sleeping. The hero, who himself was a Kāpālika further states that the Kapāla is like his best and worthy friend and keeping it is like doing tapas. The kapāla brought from the burial ground should contain a little piece of flesh, and should be darker than a crow. It is used for filling up the sura. However, in case of need, a cow horn is used as a substitute for drinking Sōma. The Mattavilāsa gives humorous account of a Kapāla, lost and refound. 'The Kāpālika who lost Kapāla roams in Kanchi in search of it; he is happy at the sight of it as one is happy at the sight of moon after the darkness and feels that he got the kapāla back only due to the grace of Śiva.' The Kapāla was praised as the most auspicious one, equivalent to the Kapāla of Brahma. The drinking of Sōma and company of women, were practised by kāpālikas as a means to reach the gate of Mōkṣha. The drinking of Sōma is believed to be tapas, and a means to assume desired forms. The Kāpālikas uttered the mantra "Namaśivāya" and the term Mahēśvara constantly. The Kāpālikas seem to be Vaidikas; because the hero condemn Śākya-bhikṣu for stealing the Vēdānta, Mahābharata and other Hindu ideals and for compiling the three piṭakas. However they did not observe the caste rules.

The Kāpālika vrata is found in the Dharmaśāstra is a penance for brahmahatya and described in the Purāṇas as performed by Śiva for cutting off the head of Brahma. This is repeated in the Mattvilāsa where in the Kāpālika describes Śiva as adorned with moon as a crest-jewel, and as freed from the sin of brahmahatya by observing the Kāpālika vrata.

The Mattavilāsa, opens with an invocative verse to Śiva. He is described as Kapāladhārī and pinākapāṇi, the base of all things and

forms, the supreme knowledge, observer, all pervading and one who assumes all forms. Śiva is called Bōlanāth as he is benignant and kind to devotees. The Kāpālikas believe that even Śiva carries always Kapāla filled with sura.¹³⁰

Kālāmukhas : The Kālāmukhas were the most dominating of all the śaiva sects. They are found in different parts of Āndhra. The most important inscription referring to Kālāmukha belongs to the Eastern Chāḷukyan period. The Tandikonda plates of Amma II describe that the Kālāmukhas originated in the lineage of Lakuliśa. Unlike the Purāṇic accounts, the epigraph describes “that the Kālāmukhas took Śruti for their guidance, belong to Simhapariṣad inhabited in the ancient celebrated temples of Śiva like Amarāvatiśvara who was worshipped by the kings of various lands. In that line was born Lakuliśa Paśupati who was well versed in all the Āgamas, nourished his body by living on pure waters, grass, milk, fruits and roots. His disciples were prabhūta, Vidyēśvara, Vamēśvara and Paśupati.”¹³¹ The other inscriptions found in Āndhra referring to Kālāmukhas are noted below.

One Rāstrakūṭa inscription describes the practice of Yōga by the Kālāmukha ascetics whose names end with suffix gōrava.¹³² A record from Alampur refers to Kālāmukha establishment called Siddha sōmēśvara.¹³³ Some labels from Alampur read Kālāmukha-Punne Mahāmuni, Bhētāla-gōrava, Bhētāla Mahāmuni, Śrī Śailamūni, Śrīvyālasīṃghagōrava.¹³⁴ This means suffixes Muni and Gōrava are found connected with Kālāmukhas. Mahānandīśvara temple inscriptions dated 6th to 10th century A.D. from Kurnool read “Ayōgavaṭam Utpātipiḍugu Kālāmukhas, Mēru Prithvi Śrī Vyālasīṃgha Gōrava”.¹³⁵ Satanikota in Kurnool district seems to be an important Kālāmukha centre where eminent preceptors lived with large number of followers gathered, between 6th to 9th century A.D. One inscription from that place refers to one Mahēśvara Kālāmukha teacher Attuman who was called Utpātipiḍugu, Ekāntanivāsi, Lōkasitabhima, Samsārabhita and Roudra Chandēśvari.¹³⁶ It is clear that the term Utpātipiḍugu is associated with Kālāmukhas. The terms Utpātipiḍugu and Ekāntanivāsi, Śrī Śailamuni, Mēruprithvi, Śrī Vyālasīṃgha Gōrava and many ascetics including women are found mentioned in the caves of

Bhairavakonda.¹³⁷ At Satyavolu the label assignable to 7th to 10th centuries A.D. reveals the names of several ascetics, like Utpātipidugu, Ekāntanivāsi, Vaige Bētālagōravāni, śiṣya Paraśu Bhētāla Mahā muni, Śrī Enkimula tapasi, Śrī Chōḷaravilai Parvata rīṣhiya Ekisāmula eku tapasi.¹³⁸ Bhōgēśvara temple at Gadigarevula in the same district also refers to the Śrī Sakalasiṅgh Bhaṭṭakasya śiṣyah, Śrī Vyāḷasiṅghagōrava.¹³⁹ This show that Utpatipidugu without reference to Kālāmukhas is referred to and the term is associated with Ekāntanivāsi, Śrī Śaila Muni, Gōrava and Mēruprithvi. One inscription refers to one Mallikarjuna Vyākta līṅga of Kālāmukhas and the name Vidyārāsi is associated with it.¹⁴⁰ Another one from Undavalli too refers to the terms Utpatipidugu, Ekāntanivāsi, Śrisaila muni and adds another name Prabhuta rasi.¹⁴¹ This shows that the Kālāmukhas are called Utpātipidugu, and had suffix like Rāsi, gōrava and muni.

The suffix Chuchuchu has been used while writing the names of the tēachers at Madugula and Kalesvaram, the important Śiva centres.¹⁴²

The above given data shows that Alampur, Satanikota, Mahanandi, Bhairavakonda, Undavalli and Satyavole were some important centres of Kālāmukha establishment, and that Kālāmukhas were called Utpātipidugus with different local variations.

2.8 VAIṢṆAVISM

Vaiṣṇavism is next to Śaivism in popularity in Āndhra Dēśa. It became popular from about sixth or seventh century A.D. onwards. The term Vaiṣṇavism is derived from the root 'Viṣ' meaning to be active and to pervade. In Ṛg. Vēda God Viṣṇu is described as swift moving, as the lord of increasing activity, as one who took three strides and measured the Universe, as protector, preserver, ordainer and as Hiranyagarbha the Creator.¹ Viṣṇu is further said to be associated with Indra, Surya and the mountains.² He is also mentioned as promoter of conception, protector of the embryo; Viṣṇu is prayed for a male child of beauty as He Himself is a youth of great beauty.³ Bhagavat, a term connected with Vaiṣṇavism, is used in the Ṛg. Vēda in the sense of bliss and happiness. The other terms, Nārāyaṇa and Kṛṣṇa appear as proper names of a poet, a rīṣi, a king and an asura.⁴

The Yajurveda refers to the term Vaiṣṇava for the first time in the sense of belonging to Viṣṇu. The Atharvaveda describes Viṣṇu as Mukta-dēva, Ādi-dēva, Dēvādi-dēva, Yajnapuruṣa, chief of Gods, and one who is requested always by Gods to save them from the asuras.⁵ In the Brāhmaṇas God Viṣṇu or Nārāyaṇa was constantly identified with the Sacrifice.⁶ The term vaiṣṇavism as a religious sect was referred for the first time in the Mahābhārata. Devotion to Viṣṇu is termed variously like ekāntika dharma, Sātvata dharma and Pañcharātra dharma. But it does not refer to the doctrine of Vyūha which is the foundation stone of later Vaiṣṇava Philosophy.⁸

The historical beginnings of vaiṣṇavism in India can be traced from Besnagar and Ghosandi inscriptions. The Nāpeghāt inscription of second century B.C. refers to the earliest evidence of Vaiṣṇavism in Āndhra. It opens with an invocation to 'Samkarṣana Vāsudēva' besides other vēdic Gods.⁹ In the Nāśik cave inscription of first century A.D. Queen Bālaśrī describes her son Goutamiputra Sātākarnī as an equal to Rama, Kēśava, Arjuna, and Bhīmasēna.¹⁰ A further growth is marked in the China inscription of Yajña Śrī which opens with an adoration to Vāsudēva.¹¹ The Gāthāsapataśati describes almost all aspects of Viṣṇu mythology that are found in the epics and in the purāṇas. In a verse, the black Vindhya covered with a row of white clouds or heap of ashes are compared to Viṣṇu Madhumadana, bathed in the spray and foam of the ocean of milk.¹² This recalls the identity of Kṛṣṇa with mountain Gōvardhana which was beautifully described in Viṣṇu purāṇas while depicting a mountain festival.¹³ Another verse describes the purāṇic legend of the churning of the 'ocean of milk' with the help of Mēru and Kūrma by the devas and asuras, in the course of which arose many gems along with Amṛta.¹⁴ Yet in another poem, a woman with the white flour of rice fallen on her body while pounding is compared to Lakshmi rising from the ocean of milk as in epics and purāṇas.¹⁵ During the same period, the names like Vāsu, Gōvardhana, Sudarśana, Kanha, Lakshmi, Śrī, Rēvathi, Gōpa, Nanda, Gōpya, Kannaswāmy Koustubha are found mentioned in the inscriptions. The Śrīvastva symbol is found mostly on the coins. These two sources stand as good illustrations for different popular legends of bhāgavatism in Āndhra under Sātavāhanas. The epic and

purāṇic concept that the supreme Nārāyaṇa is the primordial spirit is found in one inscription of Abhira Vaśuśēna from Nagarjunakonda. It opens with an invocation to lord Viṣṇu as “*Namō bhagavatōparamadēvaśya purāṇapuruṣasya Nārāyaṇasya*”. This inscription records that Mahātalavara Śivasēna and some other princes and nobles installed Lord Aṣṭabhuja svāmi on the Seṭtagiri without being moved from his place. This is supposed to be the earliest reference to identify Nārāyaṇa with Viṣṇu in the available historical material.¹⁶ Perhaps this temple was in existence in the times of the Sātavāhanas itself. The temple site yielded a conch bearing the figures of dhvajastambha and chakra.¹⁷ The Ikṣvāku inscription which records the individual names like Viṣṇu Śrī, Rēvatamnika, Ananta Śrī, Kṛṣṇa, and Padma and the suffix Śrī show the popularity of Vaiṣṇavism during the Ikṣvāku period. The early Pallava names Viṣṇu gōpa, Kumāra Viṣṇu, Gōvinda, Narasimha, Simhaviṣṇu and late Pallava names like Kannaswāmy confirm their devotion to Viṣṇu. The Manchakallu temple¹⁸ and Yellesvaram¹⁹ show evidences of vaiṣṇavite remains of this period. Almost all the early Pallavas were staunch followers of bhāgavatism. Their inscriptions open with an invocation to Viṣṇu ‘Jitam Bhagavato’, a typical idiom used in the Bhāgavata purāṇa; and the kings are described as “*Parama bhāgavatas*”.²⁰ The Gunapadeya plates of Vijayaskandavarma dated 275 A.D. stated that queen Chārudēvi, wife of Buddhavarma donated that God Nārāyaṇa enshrined in a temple built by Kuli Bhatāraka.²¹ The Uruvapalli plates of the same king register the gift of a village along with 20 nivarthanas of land as dēvabhōga to the temple of Viṣṇu built by sēnāpati Viṣṇuvarma.²² King Aparājitavarma, a latter Pallava King, is supposed to be the builder of Vaikunṭha perumāḷ temple at Nemali, Chittoor district. To this enshrined God Tirumevralidēva, some devotees made some gifts for worship.²³ This temples was rennovated in the ninth century A.D.²⁴ Viṣṇu images from Madugula, Yelleswaram and Bhairavakonda are assigned to fourth to fifth century A.D. i.e., Pallava times.²⁵ The latter seems to be the form of Pāṇḍuranga as the Lord is with one hand placed on Kaṭi and another holding saṅkha.²⁶ Under the later Pallavas, Tirupati, where god Viṣṇu is worshipped as Venkatēśwara, developed as a popular centre. In the 51st regnal year

of Ko-Vijayadanti Vikramar, 830 A.D., Ulangapperumānār, a subordinate of the king, deposited 30 kalanju of gold for lamp for the processional image of Lord Venkatēśvara.²⁷ Another subordinate, Siyakan, also donated gold for the lamp.²⁸ Two more inscriptions belonging to the times of Ko-Pārthivendra verman register a gift by queen Sōmāvi, wife of Śaktivarman, a Pallava subordinate.²⁹ She installed silver images of God in the Tiruvilan koil, named it Mānavālperumāl, performed special rites to the presiding deities, presented several ornaments, and donated land measuring about 4176 1/4 Kuli.³⁰

The Sālankāyanas who ruled over the Kṛṣṇa region with Peddavēṅgi as their capital were devoted to God Viṣṇu. King Nandivarman II called himself Paramabhāgavata and issued a grant of 32 nivartnas of land to the temple of Viṣṇu.³¹ Hastivarman II another king, made a grant to the temple of Viṣṇu at Jayapura on the occasion of kalyāṇa ceremony.³² Achyuta, one of the twenty four names of the God Viṣṇu, is found in the inscriptions of the Sālankayanas as the proper name of a donee.³³ Viṣṇu temple of red stone with garuḍa pillar that has been excavated at Peddavēṅgi might be an important centre in those days.³⁴ Evidence regarding Vaiṣṇavism during the period of Ānanda gotra kings and the Brhatpalayanas is not available so far. But Dāmōdara, the name born by one of the kings, shows their devotion to Viṣṇu. In the inscriptions of the Viṣṇukunḍins, kula, bala are repeatedly described as Lakshmi.³⁵ King Gōvindavarma is compared to 'Śrī in the ocean of his kula which was like milk; and the shining Kausthubha. It further mentions him as equal to Gōvinda in appearance, qualities and wealth, and in having a wife like Śrīdēvi.³⁷ King Vikaramēndravarma is said to be as strong as Viṣṇu is "Viṣṇu Vikrama".³⁸ The names of the individuals like Gōvinda, Mādhava, Vāmana, Pāṇḍuraṅgasvāmy, Harivarman, Ramāchandra and Rāmaliṅga show the popularity of the various aspects of Viṣṇu mythology among the commoners.³⁹

The Eastern Chālukyans who ruled over Āndhra from 620 A.D. had Viṣṇu as their family deity and expressed their devotion in their epigraphs that they obtained boar their royal symbol by the grace of God Nārāyaṇa. "Bhagavannārāyaṇa prasādita varavarāḥ lāṅchnā-nām"⁴⁰ Kubjaviṣṇu, the founder of this branch is compared to

Vāmanāvatāra.⁴¹ King Vijayāditya II is described as “Kṣhīrasāgaraiva Lakshmīprabhavō—dinakara Viṣṇur—ivajisnurh”, while Jayasimha I is like Rāma the “Apratihataśāsana”, Indravarma was praised as ‘Purāṇapuruṣa’.⁴² King Dāṇārṇava who is supposed to have built Viṣṇu temple at Chalukya Bhimavaram is described in glorious terms as “Śrī sambhutinimitt muktāphala puruṣa ratnasmyukta śrīdharam... dēvah śrīdharasaya”.⁴³ The Bezawada inscription of Bhīma I, opens with obeisance to Nārāyaṇa. The inscriptions of Yuddamalla and Amma II refer to the avatars of Paraśurāma, Rāma, Bālādēva, Vāsudēva. The second one, though records a gift to Jaina basadi opens with an invocation to Viṣṇu the wielder of fierce sārgṇa which protects the three worlds.⁴⁴ The Manugallu plates of the same king also contain a verse in praise of Viṣṇu as “Śrī Kānthayabhijanabhaya namō bhuvanarakṣāṇi vikramādhi kṛita tyugra balayo varayani”.⁴⁵ Besides invoking the Supreme and His avatars in their inscriptions, the kings styled themselves as avatars for example, Śaktivarman was called Chalukya Nārāyaṇa who assumed the form to destroy the enemies like Chōḷa Bhīma who was like Rāvaṇa.⁴⁶

Though the Eastern Chāḷukyan kings were ardently devoted to Viṣṇu and great builders of temples, no inscription of these kings mention a donation to Viṣṇu temple. However Kubjaviṣṇuvardhana, the founder of this branch might have at Simhachalam established a temple for the tutelary deity Varāha with whose grace they obtained their royal emblem. It remained as a place of royal worship for some time that is, till 1000 A.D. So also Bhīma I was supposed to be the builder of Maṇḍava Nārāyaṇa temple at Samarlakota.⁴⁷

The proper name of individuals like Kēśava, Nārāyaṇa, Gōvinda, Mādhava, Viṣṇu, Trivikrama, Vāmana, Śrīdhara, Hṛīṣikēśa, Dāmōdara, Janārdana, Vāsudēva, Balarāma, Rāmchandra, Rāma-bhadra, Chakrapāṇi, Venna śarma, Paṇḍuraṅga, Vipranārāyaṇa etc., which occur in the Eastern Chāḷukyan Plates reveal the full evolution of vyūha theory and the concept of avatārahood as well as their popularity among the masses. Hiun Tsang, the Chinese traveller who visited Āndhra during this period mentions that there existed 700 Dēva temples without stating whether they were Vaiṣṇavite or Śaivite ones.⁴⁸

Contemporaneous with the above dynasties were the Māṭaras, the Vāsiṣṭas (350-500 A.D.) and the early Gāṅgas (500-1000 A.D.) exercising authority over the Kālīṅga Dēśa. King Prabhanjana varma of the Māṭaras is described in his Ningondi Plates as “Bhagavat Svāmi Nārāyaṇa Pādānudhuatah”.⁴⁹ Nanda Prabhanjanavarma and Chaṇḍavarma of the same dynasty styled themselves as “Parama Bhāgavatas”.⁵⁰ Anantaśaktivarma is described as devoted to “Nārāyaṇa—Bhāgavatah Kamalanilayā krānta vaksō—ārāyaṇ svāminah pādabhakta paramādvīata”.⁵¹ The Narasingapalli plates of Gāṅga Hastivarma open with an invocation to Bhagavat Nārāyaṇa and registers gift of land and house sites as dēvabhōga to the temple of Nārāyaṇa called Raṇabhīta after the title of the king.⁵² An ancient brick temple and image of Viṣṇu from Yedikonda, Sankaram and a ruined Viṣṇu temple at Bandupalli in Vizag district are assigned to the early dynasties of Kālīṅga Dēśa.⁵³ Srikurmam where the kūrma form of Viṣṇu is worshipped, has been identified with Gāṅga royal town Svētaka.⁵⁴ The names Nārāyaṇa, Viṣṇu, Vāmana, Lōkamādhava, Narasimha, Gōvinda, Dāmōdara, Śrīdhara, Kēśava, Madhusūdana, Vyāsa, and Bṛughu, etc., show different aspects popular among the commoners. The North Western parts of Āndhra, generally known as Dakṣiṇakōśala, was ruled by the Nala dynasty for some time. One stone inscription of this dynasty from Bhandarigud, Srikakulam district opens with an invocation to God Hari and states that King Skandavarma after having reclaimed the lost royal prosperity re-peopled the town Puṣhkari, installed the foot print of God Viṣṇu and made some donations to the temple.⁵⁵

Every inscription of the Western Chāḷukyans, occurring mostly in the western parts of Āndhra, opens with an invocation to Viṣṇu as “Victorious is the boar form which was manifestation of Viṣṇu, which made the ocean tempestuous and which had the earth resting on the tip of its lofty tusk” and as “Viṣṇu pādābhittakasya”. Their seal bears the figure of boar form of Viṣṇu.⁵⁶ Inscription of Vikramāditya praises Viṣṇu as the primordial spirit.⁵⁷ However, only one inscription of those days records the gift of land to the temple of Viṣṇu of Hambuligi by king Tailapa II.⁵⁸ The different names of God Viṣṇu found mentioned in the records of this dynasty are Vāmanaswāmi, Kēśavaswāmi,

Nārāyanaswāmy, Dāmōdara, Sudarśana, Kanha, Mādhava, Haridatta, Trivikrama, Vāsudeva and Pāṇḍuraṅga.

The Rāṣtrakūṭas who penetrated deep into the South supported Vaiṣṇava faith of that land. In 961 A.D. under the rule of Kannara, the vaikunṭaperumāl temple at Nemali was renovated by Kilakkajarr⁵⁹ a chief and the king himself granted some remission of taxes made originally by Pallava Aparājitavarma.⁶⁰ An inscription of Gaṅga Mahādēvi records donation of a lamp through a servant to the Yaksha on the hills of Tirumala, may be for the welfare of her husband Kannara.⁶¹ One inscription from Jaffargadh, Warangal district records the consecration of a deity, most probably that of Narasimha.⁶² King Indra built a temple of Viṣṇu at Bodhan, Nizamabad district, consecrated the deity as Indra Nārāyaṇa, and erected a garuda pillar too.⁶³ To that temple Perggaḍa Jaggadēva donated two villages, oil mill, flower garden and income of toll on salt.⁶⁴ Kṛṣṇa, a subordinate of Gōvinda, trace his origin to Yadu race and praised Viṣṇu the Laxmipati as being adorned with Koustubha. The names of the kings of this dynasty Gōvinda, Kṛṣṇa, Dhṛuva and Kannara show their faith to God Viṣṇu.

The two Vaiṣṇavite centres, Tirumala and Nemali were further developed in the times of Chōlas. Three inscriptions of Parāntaka I dated second thirteen and thirty eight regnal years record gifts for lamp, worship and Śrī bali for God Vaikunṭha Perumāl at Nemali.⁶⁶ A few inscriptions of the King are found at the base of Varāha maṇḍapa and Prākāra of Tiruchanur temple also recording some gifts.⁶⁷ Three inscriptions of Rājarāja I record gift of 50 kalaṅju of gold, ornamental plate by Mahādēvi Arulakkian Dēvi amma wife of Parāntak II and a lamp by an officer.⁶⁸ At Tondamananda a Viṣṇu temple named as Viruṇḍaperumāl was consecrated by Parāntaka I. The temple is seen extant in ruined condition on hillock, and contains an icon of viṣṇu.⁶⁹

The Bāṇas in their invocative verse refer to Kṛṣṇa as having appeared in the form of Vāmana at the sacrifice performed by Bali.⁷⁰ The Bāṇas developed the temple of Vengāḍam, and made gift of income from some villages and gold to God Tiruvalankōyal Perumandigal.⁷¹ One Bāṇa queen gifted land to Vijaya-Rāghava

Perumāl at Perumalnalluru in Chittoor district. In the Gudimallam Inscription, the donee who was pious and always 'in the circle of virtuous' was compared to Nārāyaṇa holding chakra. This inscription concludes with a Vaiṣṇavite idiom "Svasti Gōbrāhmaṇa".⁷² A certain chief of Bāṇa donated land to Vaikunṭha perumāl temple at Nemali.⁷³ The Dongalasāni inscription of the Telugu Chōlas describes the installation of Viṣṇu image and donation made to it.⁷⁴ God Viṣṇu as Chennakēśava was worshipped during the Telugu chōla times at Korraparu, Kolamallu, Erragudipadu, Veludunta and Muttukuru.⁷⁵ The Nōlamba Pallavas another minor dynasty was not lagging behind in patronising Vaiṣṇavism. During the times of Vōlamba pallava Nōlambādhiraja, the mahājanas of Mahudi in Anantapur district gifted some land to temple of Viṣṇu of that place.⁷⁶ Iṛiva Nōlamba gave wet and dry and aracca lands to one Kōlayya who built a temple of Viṣṇu.⁷⁷ The Kanchagara stone inscription records gift of land by Rēvala dēvi, queen of Vira Nōlamba to two Viṣṇu temples.⁷⁸

Besides the above mentioned inscriptions recording donations made by commoners, many temples dedicated to Viṣṇu assignable to early period are found in different parts of Āndhra. One Kanṭha Mārayya in S. 892, built a pillar in the temple Chennakēśvara at Amidala.⁷⁹ Similarly various parts of the temples were built by various individuals, as in the case of the Mādhavēśvara temple at Pratakota, Trimurty temple at Srikakulam, Viṣṇu temple at Mantapamalli⁸⁰ and etc. The Yaśastilaka gives a vivid picture of Vaiṣṇavism in Āndhra Dēśa during 10 A.D. Sōmadēva refers to Bhāgavata and Kriṣṇa Bhūmi, and is silent about the Pañcharātras and Vaikhānaśa doctrines. In Yaśastilaka God Viṣṇu is described as having dark complexion, as lying on the coils of Ananta, the Lord of serpents on the Ocean of Milk. God Viṣṇu wears ruby crown, is surrounded with a large spray of Parijāta blossoms, and with his weapons the Sankha, Chakra, Nandaka and kamala and Gada. Brahma seated on the lotus emerging from Viṣṇu's navel recites the thousand names of Viṣṇu: Indra and Lakshmi caress the feet of Lord; the captive wives of the demons wave flywicks and Garuḍa maintains the order among the assembled Gods. At one place, Viṣṇu is described as in the Yōgic trance and at another place is described as Māyāvi. Viṣṇu is the sustainer of the universe

and the omnipresent “Sarvam Viṣṇu Mayam Jagaditi Satyatam natih”.^{80a}

Bhakti : Bhakti is the kernal of Bhāgavatism or Vaiṣṇavism. Hence a special mention is made here. The term Bhakti derived from the root bhaj,—to adore occurs for the first time in the Taittiriya Upaniṣad, which teaches that devotion reveals the Brahman.⁸¹

Epics, the early sources of theism, teach the *ĕkāntika* dharma, the unshaken devotion to God Viṣṇu in the legends of Nara-Nārāyaṇa, Vasu-Uparichara, Nārada in Svētadvīpa, Badarikāśrama, Chitra Tikhandins, and Vālakhilyas etc. The Mahābhārata extolls doctrine of devotion and rites free from himsa. It also refers to the mode of worship comprising of praise of Hari, nāma-japa and worship of Viṣṇu with water, flowers, and sandal paste. This may be traced back to the sātva dharma or sāttvika vidhi mentioned in Sāmaveda Upaniṣads and Brāhmaṇas. The epic teaches that the devotee should consider that what all that belongs to him, his riches, kingdom etc., belong to God-Nārāyaṇa.⁸² The teachings of Vaiṣṇavas are compiled in the form of Āgamas, Samhitas, Pañcharātra, Vaikhāṇasā. The Divya Prabhandam of Ālvars, the Āgama Pramāṇya Yaumunāchārya are other important sources of Vaiṣṇavism.

The Epic, the Purāṇas specially the Bhāgavata, the Bhakti Sūtras, the Samhitas and the Prabhandam teach the same principle of Bhakti with some variations. Any attempt is made here to give briefly the ideals of Bhāgavata Dharma as taught in the above scriptures.

‘The Bhāgavata defines devotion as spiritual discipline for the Arspaṇa of the Ātman in the Āradhana of Puruṣa. It is the supreme bliss. Nārada defined it as intense love Prēma for God, the intrinsic nature of soul and immemorable bliss. According to Śāṇḍilya, devotion is a special kind of mental phenomenon “Parānu rakti” the most perfect attachment to God which comes by the self-sacrifice and by the grace of God. Here love is not an emotion but is a supreme tranquility, and bliss attained by knowledge, detachment and by the intense love obtained by concentrating on the auspicious form of God with devotion. It is an aesthetic experience, the Rasa that could be enjoyed in silence.’⁸³

Dedication of self, mind and deed is involved in the act of devotion. It helps to crystalize man's mind, thus rendering it fit for receiving the divine grace. The Bhāgavata says that worship does no good to God, because he is self-contented, yet is directed to God because the self contented God reflects back the worship upon the worshipper to enhance his inner excellence, to brush aside his impurities, and to ennoble his nature. Thus the worship is a process of self-discovery method of realisation of ideal potentialities of man. By devotion sins are destroyed, body is thrilled and mind is purified to receive the divine grace. This is called Bhāgavata Dharma and the best means of salvation'.⁸⁴

Devotion is neither feeling nor knowledge nor faith nor desire alone; a belief in God when deepened as faith emanates into devotion. Devotion is two types—saguṇa or nirguṇa; at times the thumb-sized form also is object of devotion. The nirguṇa brahma worship is again divined into Sāttvika, Rājasika and Tāamasika types depending upon the nature of the promoting principle. Devotion again is of two types; prevṛitti and nivṛitti. According to Nāarada Sūtras the devotee can visualise the God through personal relationship in five different ways; Mādhurya, Vāstalya, Śānia, Snēea and Dāśya.⁸⁵ The Bhāgavata states that Śrī Kṛṣṇa a boy of seven sported with the lovely woman of Vraja just as an infant plays with his own reflection in a mirror, and like Purusa surrounded by Śakti.⁸⁶ This development of soul from dāśya to mādhurya bhāva is the only means to make man get exclusively devoted and is the summum-bonum of Bhakti.⁸⁷

The Bhāgavata, the Viṣṇupurāṇa and the bhakti sūtras recommend five-fold yamas, five fold niyamas nine fold devotion to promote detachment and single-minded devotion.⁸⁸ According to Nārada Ātma Nivēdana' the last stage of the 9 fold worship includes cherishing of all passions, desires, anger and etc., for Him. The devotee should dedicate everything including daily work, festivals, rites to Him. He should be devoid of passion, anger, age, should be free from body, mind and talk, should be truthful, faultless and develop good company and take refuge in God.⁸⁹ The Ahirbudhanya Samhita also states that in order to reach Paramapada one should feel that he has neither independence, nor anything for self. The devotee should feel that

“My body, my riches, my relations do not belong to me, but to God”.⁹⁰ The key note of Bhāgavatha Bhakti is its faith that man must take refuge in God and God is ready to protect. Mahāviśvas, the faith that God is always ready to help the devotee who surrenders himself, is another feature of Bhāgavatism.⁹¹

The person whom the Nārāyaṇa looks with compassion and becomes enlightened is called Prapanna and the relation between the God and the devotee is called Sēṣa and Seṣi.⁹² The Vaiṣṇavites recognise four grades of soul on the way to the realisation of God depending upon the removal of its impurities. They are, Śalōkya, Sāmīpya, Sārūpya and Sāyūjya.⁹³

Thus the Prapatti, dedication of all actions to God, grace of God, Prapanna, Paramānuṣakti, Ahētuki Bhakti and etc., are the important features of Bhāgavatism. The Viṣṇupurāṇa says that he who always desire the welfare of all creatures is the best devotee of Vāsudēva, thus teaching the social welfare also as means of salvation.⁹⁴

The Bhāgavatas in order to enhance the position of their faith, give some myths as in Mahābhārata where Nārada observes the sculptures of boy Kṛiṣṇa carved on the pillars of Kailāsa and Viṣṇu being praised by Śiva. This tendency may also indicate the harmonious relations that prevailed between the sects.⁹⁵

The epigraphs of the time, mentioned below, show that the Bhāgavata Bhakti was practiced widely in Āndhra also, as it was in other parts of India. The earliest form of Viṣṇu (2 B.C.) worshipped was Samkarṣana Vāsudeva, who was called Rāma—Kēśava by 1st century A.D. By second century A.D. ideas of vāstyalya and rati came into vogue and the Bhāgavata religion developed fully with different mythologies identifying Viṣṇu with Kṛiṣṇa. By fourth century A.D. as seen in the Abhira inscription from Nagarjunakonda, Viṣṇu is considered as the ‘Purāṇa puruṣa’, The other Bhāgavata ideas of welfare of the cows and brāhmins were also highly esteemed.⁹⁶ A clear and complete idea of Bhāgavata Prapatti could be traced from the times of the early Pallavas who open their charts with auspicious words like “Jitam Bhagavata” or “Parama Bhāgavata” and describing themselves as “Bhāgavata Pādānudhāyatām”, “Bhāgavat Bhakti—Sadbava

sambhāvite sarva kaḷyāṇasya”. Their inscriptions contain verses for the welfare of “Gō-Brāhmaṇas”. Other bhakti ideas like śravaṇa and manana are recorded in one of their inscriptions registering donation to Viṣṇu. It also wishes welfare of the writers, readers and hearers of the chart.^a These ideas were further expanded in the Sālankāyana plates which describe the king as “Nārāyaṇa—caraṇara—vinda rajō-vagudita sirasāvāsa—sat—āyukessa”, an ideal of the absolute devotion specially that of dāśya. The chart concludes that the gift has to be accepted for the sake of God.^b One Śrīdhara has been compared to a bee at the lotus feet of Śrīdhara.^c The Kārtika puorṇima is called Vaiṣṇavadina in the times of Eastern Chāḷukyas.^d They worshipped the Supreme Viṣṇu who rests on sēṣa.

Kaliṅga Dēśa also witnessed the same type of development of devotion to Viṣṇu. The early kings indicated their Ekānthika Bhakti by describing themselves as Bhāgavat svāmy Nārāyaṇa Pādānu-dyāt”, “Svāmi Nārāyaṇa Pādabhakta”, “Paramādvaita” and etc.⁹⁷ One king expressed devotion by stating that he obtained all kingdom, body, riches, by His grace only.⁹⁸ The Gāngas, describe the Bhāgavat Nārāyaṇa as ‘saptasāyine, saptasāmōpagītāya, saptalōkika nādhāya Nārāyaṇāya’. The term svāmy indicates ardent devotion.⁹⁹ The Western Gāṅga plates describe Viṣṇu as having blue complexion, reclining on Sēṣa having lotus-issued from his navel containing Brahma “Jitam Bhagavatō gata gnana gaganābhāyana Padmanābhēna”.¹⁰⁰ The Nala inscription from the vizag region is noteworthy for its high philosophical contents and pure devotion. It opens with an invocation to God Hari as “Siddham, victory, praise of his qualities in such words as Hari was victorious, is victorious and will be victorious, is not appropriate, for verily, the divine Hari is himself the conquest, the object to be conquered and the conquerer”.¹⁰¹ The king who issued the inscription personally, after gaining the lost royal prosperity being a true devotee, expressed his devotion by dedicating his deeds to God Hari as taught in Bhagavadgīta. The record concludes with a verse that he who would conform to the good path followed by the king would find refuge in God Vāsudeva. The inscription was issued in Vaiśākha month called Mādhavamāsa, written with devotion by Janturadāsa, engraved by Viśvarūpa and Priti Bhāgavata. The terms

Vāsudeva, Viśvarūpa show the influence of the Bhagavadgīta. The statement that it was written with devotion and the names of the individuals dāsa and prītibhāgavata illustrate the Bhāgavata ideals. The whole inscription thus is soaked with a spirit of absolute devotion, Prabhakti and ecstasy.

Sōmadēva refers to the story of Vasu-uparicara which is noted for the ideals of non-violence and unsaken devotion as well as to the sūtras of Nārada and Śāṇḍilya.¹⁰²

The Undavalli caves, and other Śaivite centres like Mukhalīngam, Alampur contain the figures of Viṣṇu mythology such as Varāha, Vāmana, Pūtana samharaṇa, Gōvardhana, Jaṭāyuvadhā, Kṣhīra sāgaramadhana and scenes from Kāmāyāna are found at Alampur, Mukhalīngam, Chīlamakur and other centres.^{102a}

Avatāras : The doctrine of avatāras and vyūhas form the core of Vaiṣṇavism. The avatāras, the germs of which are found even in the Vēdic literature are described elaborately in the epics and are discussed philosophically in the Vāyupurāṇa and other texts. The Ahirbudhnia saṁhita describes the Vyūhas and their sub-division in detail.¹³⁰

Accordingly the Para Vāsudēva manifests into four forms namely, Vyūha, Vibhava, Antaryāmi and Archa.¹⁰⁴

The Vyūha is further divided into four main types—Vāsudeva, Samkaraṣana, Pradyumna, and Aniruddha. Each one of this is divided in its term into three forms. Altogether there are sixteen forms.¹⁰⁵

Iconographically, Viṣṇu image is divided into Stānika—standing, Āsana—seated, Śayana—reclining, depending upon the position of the body. Depending upon the mood and the spirit, the image is called Yōga-meditating, Bhōga with Lakshmi, Veira and Abhichāra-Tāntric and terrific.¹⁰⁶

Sādhāraṇa : Sādhāraṇa image of Viṣṇu possesses two to eight hands with Abhaya, Varada, Saṅkha Chakra.¹⁰⁷ Such images are found at Modugula, Podugula, Bikkavolu, and Samarlakota, Sangameswara, Alampur, Mukhalīngam and Tiruttani.¹⁰⁸

Āsādhāraṇa form : In this pose Viṣṇu is shown in the pose as

Ananta śāyi or Viśvarupa.¹⁰⁹ The figure of Anantaśāi is found at Undavalli.¹¹⁰

Generally the Avatāras are considered as ten in number, the Matsya, and Kūrma and Varāha forms are depicted either as animals or with half animal and half man forms.

Varāha Avatāra : In the Varāh form Viṣṇu is depicted with the face of a boar, and body of man, decorated with all ornaments. Usually, Bhūdevi is depicted on the tusks.¹¹¹ Such images are found at Undavalli, Mukhalingam.¹¹²

Narasimha Avatāra : This form is depicted in lion form or a human body with lion face.¹¹³ Such images are found at Kondamotu, Undavalli, Mukhalingam, Pratakota, Alampur and Chilamakur.¹¹⁴

The Trivikrama Avatāra : Bali giving gift to Vāmana is the theme of this Avatāra. It is shown as Trivikrama planting one leg on the ground, another one uplifted to the sky.¹¹⁵ The Gādhāsaptāśati describes Vāmana form in three verses.¹¹⁶ The sculptures of vāmana are found at Undavalli, Mukhalingam, Pratakota, Papanasi temple, Alampur and Chilamakūru.¹¹⁷

Of all the ten Avatāras Kṛṣṇāvatāra with many legends is represented in various forms.¹¹⁸ Gōvardhana Kṛṣṇa is found at Undavalli.¹¹⁹ Navaneeta Kṛṣṇa is from Undavalli and Maṇḍava Nārāyaṇa temple, Bhimavaram.¹²⁰ Vēṇugāṇa Kṛṣṇa is at Bhimavaram.¹²¹ The Varadarāja from of Viṣṇu, in the legend of Gajēndra Mōkṣa is found at Undavalli, Papanasi, and Pratakota.¹²² The Paṇḍuraṅga is from Elesvarama, and Mangapuram.¹²³ Hari Hara images are found at Alampur, Mukhalingam and Bhairavakonda.¹²⁴ Viṣṇu paying homage to Naṭarāja is found at Pushpagiri and Viṣṇu listening to the teachings of Śiva is sculptured at Kambadur.¹²⁵ The Sūryanārāyaṇa form is found at Mukhalinga.¹²⁶ The Scenes from Bhāgavata representing the legends of birth of Kṛṣṇa. Pūtanashamarāṇa, Samudra Madhana and such are carved in the temples of Papanasi, Alampur Pushpagiri and etc.¹²⁷

Sōmadēva refers to some of the Avatāras of Viṣṇu which are depicted as 'the primeval boar form of Viṣṇu with the pearl embodied jaw, the story of Vāmana who took three pieces of land from Bali and the whole universe by expanding the body and fixing the step on

ocean, sky and on the head of Bali. The story of Rāmāyaṇa which is of high moral ideals is referred to by Sōmadēva. He described the Kṛṣṇa's Viṣvarūpa darśana to Yaśōda, his dalliances with cowherdmaids, and his special attachment to his aunt Radha, the story of Kāmsavadha, Kṛṣṇa as the king of Dvāraka, his help to Paṇḍavas who were defeated in gambling and finally the ruin of Yādavas on account of wine-drinking.¹²⁸

The above given study shows that in the early times Viṣṇu was worshipped as Vāsudeva, Nārāyaṇa and Bhāgavata. Slowly the Vira cult, Vyūha and Avatāra theories have developed culminating in the ideals of Gita. All the Kēśavanāmas and ten avatāras are referred to in the inscription as the proper names of the individuals, by sixth or seventh century A.D. Though different forms of Viṣṇu were worshipped, finally the arca forms—Venkatēśvara and Paṇḍuraṅga became more popular and remain so till today. This may be due to the influence of the Aḷvārs of south. Thus Vaiṣṇavism spread slowly and steadily in Āncient Āndhra.

In this context mention may be made to the Kondamudi plaque which contains pictorial representation of Panchavīras "Sankarsanan, Vāsudeva, Pradyumna, Aniruddha and Sāmba" along with Narasimha in zoomorphic form. This shows the popularity of panchavira cult in Āndhra.

2.9 SĀKTISM

In Āndhra Dēśa the worship of female deity in a variety of forms is known from early times. The Vēdas, Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads describe Śakti as Mother, lady of beauty, activity, fertility, energy underlying every action of Gods and men, Śrī and māya of Śiva.¹ The Rāmāyaṇa describes all these aspects briefly. The Mahābhārata describes Śakti mainly as War Goddess, subduer of the wicked, the very "power", delighted by the offering of liqueur, and flesh, and as assuming different forms in order to help devotee. She is Mahisāsura-mardini, Tribhuvanēśvari, Brahmavidya, Vēdanāta, Kālarātri. Finally she is also the various forms of lower deities, evil spirits and goblin of the Vēdic and epic literature.²

Almost all the Mahāpurāṇas describe Śakti as most beautiful and

powerful. Harivamśa, Mārkaṇḍeya, Dēvibhāgavata the mahapurāṇas and Kālīka and other upapurāṇas etc. deal with Śakti cult. The Dēvimahatmyam of Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa gives the Vibhuti of Dēvi, and the Dēvibhāgavata Purāṇa gives the Virāṭrūpa, and Śrichakra forms of Dēvi. She is Prakṛiti, the primordial roof of creation. The three guṇas of Prakṛiti, Sātvika, Rājasika and Tāmasika are identified with the powers of Mahālakshmi, Mahāsaraswati and Mahākālī³ philosophically.

The Matsya, Agni, Bhaviṣyat and Padma Purāṇas teach the supreme philosophy, festivals, and Vratas connected with Śakti cult. The Śiva purāṇa considers Śakti as power of Śiva, while the Viṣṇu purāṇa considers as power of Viṣṇu. The former explains the kuṇḍalini, a form of Śakti abiding in the mūlādhāra of human beings, and the other forms of Dēvi like Saradāmbika, Rādhā, Sāvitri, Lalita are described in Brahnavivarta and Agni purāṇas. The Upa-purāṇas which had been composed by 1000 A.D. give a picture of Śakti cult in a different phase. The human sacrifice and sensual form of worship have been introduced. The Dēvi Mahābhāgavata and Kālīka purāṇas are some of the important Śakti purāṇas. The last is the most important one. It describes the terrific aspects of Śakti as well as other forms like Rudrabhairavi, Sundari, Rājarājēśwari, human sacrifice, navamipūja and Śakti pīṭhas etc. In Āndhra Dēśa the sāttvika forms of Śakti as Pārvati, Gowri as found in Rāmāyaṇa and as the Goddesses of the war depicted in Mahābhārata are found from the times of Sātavāhanas and Ikṣvākus. From the Chālukyan period onwards Dēvi as Chāmunḍa, Kālī, Durga, Mahiṣasuramardini the war deities and other ferocious forms as well as Mātṛikas, the protectors of children were also worshipped. The Yaśastilaka gives a colourful picture of Śāktism blending different elements of vēdic, epic and purāṇic mythology. It mentions yōga, tāntric practices and folk deities as well as evil spirits. Śakti as Śrī Tribuvanēśvari, Śivaśakti, Nāda bindu, Kālārūpaṇi, Mahākālī, Mahālakshmi, Mahāsarasvati; war Goddesses Aparājita, Kātyāyāni, Durga; Umā-Pārvati consort of Rudra-Śiva are mentioned by Sōmadēva along with the Tāntric deities like Chandika Chandamālī, Bhairavi, Yōgini, Nāyakis, Maṭrimaṇḍalas and the evil spirits Kṛitya, Jyēṣṭha, and goblins. It represents Śakti cult specially,

as practised in the western parts of Āndhra under the influence of Śākti purāṇas, Upa-purāṇas and the Tāntric texts.

The archaeological, epigraphical, literary and sculptural sources found in Āndhra Dēśa throw a flood of light on the practices of worship of Śākti.

During the period of the Sātavāhanas Śākti was worshipped in various forms like Bhūdēvi,⁴ Lakshmi,⁵ Pārvathi,⁶ Kanya,⁷ Durga Kāli, Ārya and Chandī⁸ as revealed in Gāthāsaptasati. With regard to this no epigraphical evidence is available so far. In every village there is a temple for the dēvi and the Goddess is worshipped in the form of a tutelary diety.⁹

In the time of Ikṣavākus, there is sufficient archaeological material indicating Śākti worship. Virapurūṣadatta is described as Hāritiputra. A temple of Hāriti is discovered on the hill of Nagarjunakonda which contains an image of the Goddess in paryankāsana.¹⁰ It seems that the custom of offering bangles to the Goddess was in practice, as the site contains a huge number of pieces of bangles. An inscription here records an 'akṣayanīvi' of hundred dinaras on the occasion of some festival.¹¹ The names of women of that period like Bhaṭṭidēvi, Rudrabhaṭṭārika, Padmavāṇi, Rati show the popularity of the different aspects of śākti. The suffixs Śrī and Amma¹² to the names of the women, indicate aspects of dēvi, as Śrī and Amma representing the primary needs of man, the wealth and nourishment. The next important human requirement, self-protection is provided by the Goddess Hāriti. With regard to the Viṣṇukuṇḍin period there is only one seal with the figure of Lakshmi,¹³ standing on a lotus.

The Eastern Chālukyans called themselves "Hāritiputranam" "Māṭṛigaṇaparipālanām" and "Kaśuiki varaprasāda labdha rājyānām".¹⁴ The seal of Guṇaga Vijayāditya bears a beautiful figure of Lakshmi standing on a lotus.¹⁵ An inscription of this dynasty from Kodamuru, Kurnool district registers a gift of land to Goddess Lokamma probably a village deity.¹⁶ The practice of adorning temples with the sculptures of śākti as Maḥiṣāsūramardini, Saptamāṭṛikas, Cāmunda, Kāli, Vārāhi and Lakshmi commenced from the times of the Eastern Chālukyans. The Western Chālukyans of Bādāmi, one of the most powerful dynasties that ruled Deccan were ardent devotees

of śakti. Every inscription of these kings opens with an invocation to Śakti as Kouśiki, Hariti and Mātṅgaṇas. They described themselves as the sons of seven Māṭṛikas who are the protectors of seven lōkas.¹⁷ The names of their donees like Gāyatriśiva, Durgaśiva śarma, Durgayya show that Durga form of śakti was popular during the period. Alampur in Mahaboobnagar district, which was developed under the patronage of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, Chālukyan of Bādāmi and was not only a Śaivite centre but also is one of the Śākta pīṭhas, attracting thousands of people from different parts of Āndhra. The place is still considered as a powerful centre for the practice of yōga, penance and religious austerities. One Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscription records a donation made to this temple for feeding thousand people on the Mahānavami day.¹⁸

The popularity of śakti worship could be traced in Kaliṅga Dēśa from the proper names of brāhmins such as Durga śarma, Gouri śarma, Lalita śarma and Umāpathi. The concept of Dēvi as Lalita evolved in the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa and developed into Chakra pūja, is a very popular form of Dēvi worship. The term Lalita for the first time is found mentioned in the Gāṅga records. Queen Lokamahādēvi and Yuvarāja Rajendra Verma of this dynasty donated villages to Goddess Bhaṭṭārika while another king Dēvēndra Verma consecrated the image of Bhagavati.¹⁹

Among the minor dynasties, Lōkamavva, the queen of Bhīma II of Telugu Chōḷa king is stated to have donated some gifts to the temple of Ellamma, probably a grāmadēvata.²⁰ The names like Durgarāja and Chāmundēya and the gift of land to the Goddess Bhaṭṭārika by Vikramāditya, show that the śakti cult was not unknown to the Āndhras in Cuddapah district.²¹ There are a few more inscriptions found in different parts of Āndhra referring to the worship of śakti. An inscription of the 8th century A.D. from Adavisomanipalli cave in Karimnagar district records the installation of Bhagavati, while one from Goli, Guntur district records the construction of a temple for Dēvi.²² Besides erecting temples and consecrating images, sculptural panels were also set up for the success and welfare, health longevity of the members of one's family or of the country. This is found prescribed in Mahabharata. Sculptural panels of Saptamātrika of

seventh century A.D. from Kurnool district by one Ēruva Mahādēvi, one from Sātānikōta by Mahēndra Chōḷa; Mātrikas from Surabhesvar temples, Turumella, Kurnool district are only a few that could be mentioned.²³ Goddess Durga at Gooty, Anantapur district might have been installed on the occasion when the Yuvarāja was waging a battle for the first time at that place.²⁴ Under the Vēmūlavāda Chāḷukyas Śāktism and Śāktipithas flourished along with Śaivism as shown in the epigraphs and the Yaśastilaka.

The inscriptions of Pallavas, the Bāṇas, Nōḷamba Pallavas and Chōḷas do not refer to Śākti cult. However, a few Dēvi images have been found at Gudimallam, Kalahasti, Hemavati and other centres.²⁵

The Cosmic form of Dēvi given in Devībhāgavata is described with slight variation in Yaśastilaka. "The stars are the pearls of her hair, the sun and moon are her eyes, the celestial river is her robe, the oceans are her girdle, the Mēru mountain is her body".²⁶

The influence of Śākti Upa-purāṇas specially that of Kālīka which describes Kālī in destructive form of śākti associated with burial grounds, death and battle-field is found in the Gadwal plates of Vikramāditya I. It states that "the sword of Pulakēśīr II which defeated Harṣa was like the tongue in licking blood of hostile kings."²⁷ The Dēvi mahatmyam teaches that Śrī Tribhuvanēśvari manifestes in different forms on different occasions for different purposes as Aparājita, Ambika, Durga, Kātyāyāni and others.²⁸ The Yaśastilaka describes Ambika, also called Aparājita, as Goddess of royal court and is invoked for the success of the king in warfare. She is invoked as "May the Goddess contribute to their victory oft and anon. In this sword of the king she incarnates as sword, in the bow she assumes the shape of the bow, she incarnates as the arm in the arrows, she assumes the form of the armour round the body. She is the wish-giving stone in fulfilling the desire for triumphs in the battle".²⁹

As prescribed in the religious texts, Sōmadēva refers to a temple of Durga erected on the outskirts of the town, in a desolated place and bali offerings made there at nights by lady priests.³⁰ The ferocious form of worship is found mention in the inscription of the period collected from different places in Āndhra Dēśa. Chandēśvari, Ugra Chandēśvari and Roudrachandēśvari forms of Śākti are of unlimited

power and full of anger, and incarnate for the destruction of the demons. The Chandēśvari temple at Alampur records the self-immolation by one Mallikārjuna Bhaṭṭāra, may be to propitiate the Goddess.³¹ There are two records from Nellore. One register grant made to Goddess Sati Durga, another records of account of a devotee who offered flesh from nine parts of his body, and finally his head to Bhaṭṭārik Durga.³² Yet another inscription of the later Pallava period records offering of the head to Goddess Śakti.³³ Roudrachandēśvari form is found as Satanikota, Kurnool district. Velupucherla, Cuddapah district was a popular centre of the śakti cult.³⁴

The worship of Śakti in ferocious form seems to have continued till 10th century A.D. Describing the ferocious deities and practices the Yaśastilaka mentions the Chāṇḍāmāli temple, which probably might be the present Rājarājēśvari temple at Vemulawada.

“The temple of Caṇḍamāli was a horrid place, frequented by the terrible female spirits known as the Mahāyōginis, and a crowd of fanatical votaries, engaged in outrageous forms of self-torture. Certain devotees were burning guggila incense on their heads; some, extremely ferocious, were boring their arteries, like lights; while others, exceedingly bold, were trying to please Śiva by drinking their own blood. In one corner, Kāpālikās were selling for a price pieces of flesh cut off from their own bodies, and at another place certain fanatics were worshipping the Mothers by swinging from their intestines, extracted with their own hands. Elsewhere certain grim men were offering their own flesh as an oblation in the sacred fire. Such was the temple of Caṇḍamāri, terrifying to death himself.”³⁵

The cult of ferocious Goddesses with a ritual of sacrifices including that of human beings is described by Sōmadēva as mentioned here. The Kālikāpurāṇa, Śāktaupapurāṇas Dēvimahatyam, Yōginī-tantra, and others, prescribe paśubali at midnight on navami day.³⁶ The list of the animals for bali given in Kālikāpurāṇa seem to have been followed by the Āndhras of the 10th century. The story of Yaśastilaka opens with the description of a sacrifice of all sorts of creatures including human beings in the temple of Chāṇḍāmāli on Mahānavami day being performed by king Māradata. ‘The temple of Chāṇḍāmāli also called Mahābhairavi is described as a strange

spectacle, being full of victims of all kinds brought there for the sacrifice and held fast by armed guards resembling the attendants of Śiva. There could be seen sheep, buffaloes, camels, elephants, horses frightened by the half-brandished swords of the keepers. They are aquatic animals like crocodiles, alligators, frogs, crabs, tortoises and pathina fish, all trembling with fear at the sight of the spirits waiting to drink their blood. The keepers were at pains to hold together the numerous birds sacred by the movements of the circular sacrificial blade and other victims such as antelopes, tigers, lions, wolves, apes, boars etc.”³⁷

Śakti Chamuṇḍa or Kālīka who is glorified in Dēvī purāṇa may be Sōmadēva’s Chaṇḍamālī. ‘The impetuous movements of the Goddess are such that the waters of the ocean are splashed by the heavy impact of her feet. The moon on her forehead is terrified by the horrid mass of hair matted and entwined with madly excited serpents. While the bells of her club ring out, the human skulls swaying at her sides move to and fro. The mountains are laid low by her massive hands as she vehemently waves them in an outburst of joy at the destruction of the demons.”³⁸ The purāṇic description of Kālī or Bhadrakālī as having the appearance of creating terror to demons, as the night of destruction at the end of the world, as removing the heads of the dānavas drinking their blood, surrounded by bhūta, prēta and piśāchas and the description of smaśānakālī of tāntrism seems to be borrowed by Sōmadēva while narrating the Chaṇḍamālī ‘who was like the younger sister of Yama, mother of Mahākāla, messenger of death, stewardess of the kitchen of awful mothers, night of destruction of all living creatures.’ This temple was a place where God of death worships manes.³⁹ The description of Chaṇḍamālī or Kālī given in Śyāmarahaśya, Kālitantra, Chaṇḍīkalpa etc., is exactly repeated in Yaśastilaka. “Goddess Chaṇḍamālī wears garlands of human skulls as her head ornaments, she uses the corpse of children as her ear rings, the elbows of dead as her ear-rings, balls made from bones of dead as her necklace, the oozing blood from leg-bones of corpse as her cosmetics, skeletons as her toilet box in her hands, rivers of wine as streams where she performs her evening ablution, the chariot fields as her pleasure gardens, the ashes of funeral pyre as her ornaments, raw lace-

as her robe, the intestine of dead bodies as her girdles, the bosom of the dead as her dancing floor she plays with heads of goats, and sports in the lakes of blood. The blazing fires of cremation grounds serve as her votive lamps at nights and the human skulls as the vessels to eat her food, sacrifice of all kinds of living creatures at her altar being greatest pleasure.⁴⁰ Sōmadēva while describing the valour of Māradatta states that he was “bold enough to go to the cremation ground at night which is terrible with sounds of loud drums in the hands of the femal goblins and as engaged in dual with powerful spirits and over-throw them in the encounter, at another place, the goblins in the battle-field are described as gratified with blood from the bossom of the enemy.”⁴¹

Kulāchāra : Prince Māradatta considered his body ‘divine like one initiated’ into Trikamata. Sōmadēva called Kulāchāra as Trikamata⁴² according to which “one should indulge in meat-eating, drinking and worship of Śiva with wine in the company of a female partner sitting on one’s left during the ceremony. The worshipper should play the role of Śiva united with Pārvati and exhibit the yōni mudras”.⁴³ Sōmadēva gives in a nut-shell the tantric principle as ‘Jyōtirbindu kaḷānādah kuṇḍali, mudra maṇḍal chōditha, vāyusaṅchārah, nirbījakaranjitaṁ’. He further gives the other aspects such as Mantravāda, Maṇḍala, dīkṣa, six magical rites etc. The tantras while teaching popular practices like mantra, mudra, maṇḍala, nyāsa, chakra, yōga etc., which confer on the devotee supernatural powers, teach advaita philosophy for the realization of the supreme power which is Sat, Chit and Ānanda.⁴⁴ Dikṣa Da=to give, kṣi=duly is a stepping to the tāntric cult. It invests one with a right to follow the injunctions of the tantras. At that time the Divine śakti is communicated from guru to sādḥaka in the form of mantra, certain rules to be observed daily, at every step of life. The days on which the solar and lunar eclipses occur are considered auspicious for the initiation of Dikṣa.⁴⁵

Mantra : According to the Tantras, Mantra is a body of Śakti charged with the vibrations of spiritual personalities of the original seer who composed it. The sounds represented by the letters are the forms of Śiva-Śakti or Sabdabrahma, from which the whole world

proceeds. Mantras assume different forms as bija, kavacha, hṛidaya etc. Every Dēvata has bija and the mantra sleeps in it. When the mantraśakti is invoked by correct process, utterance and practice, the Dēvata presiding over the Mantra appears before the sādḥaka and bestows desired fruits.⁴⁶

Nyāsa : Ni—Placing on, as—to cast, Nyāsa is meant to invoke a God or mantra mentally to come and occupy certain parts of the body in order to render the body fit to worship God. It is believed that by doing so, the worshipper becomes like God and can move and act fearlessly among bad men.⁴⁷

Mudra : Mud—delight Mudra is one of the five makāras of tantrism. It means symbolic or mystic intervening of the figures and hands as part of religious worship. The mudras are believed to make gods delight, make their minds melt and bestow boons on the sādḥakas, so are used for all the sixteen upachāras.⁴⁸

Maṇḍala : The term Maṇḍala has different meanings. The tantric text used the term for drawings with colours or sandal powder, before invoking God for worship. Each maṇḍala has a central presiding deity.⁴⁹

Yantra : Yantra is a diagram engraved or drawn or painted on metal or stone or paper or any other material. It is the form of deity as understood in mantra, and can be easily pleased.⁵⁰ Another important factor of tāntrism is bhutasuddhi which aims at the purification of the body for identifying the individual's soul with the Supreme soul.⁵¹

Yōga : Yōga is the means of communion of human soul with the Supreme soul. According to the Sūta saṁhita, Yōga is of four types—Mantra yōga, Haṭhayōga, Lāyayōga and Rājayōga. The yōga which rises Kuṇḍalini Śakti through nāḍis and Chakras is called Lāya yōga. There are 7,200 Nāḍies the subtle channels of energy in the human body. Among them there Iḍa, Suṣumna and Piṅgala are very important. The Iḍa exists from left testicle to left nostril, Suṣumna exists in the spinal chord and extends from Mūlādhara lotus to central region and Piṅgala extends from right testicle to right nostril. There are six chakras or lotuses in the human body—Mūlādhāra, Svadhīṣṭhāna, and Sahaśrarapadma are important. A red lotus Svadhīṣṭhāna with four petals is situated at the base of spine in between

the genital organ and anus. In its centre is Svayambhuliṅga and at its base is a door Brahmadvāra where dwells the jīvātma like a tapering of the candle. Dēvi Kuṇḍalini, more subtle than fibre of the lotus and luminous as lightening, lies asleep coiled like a serpent around the Svayambhuliṅga and closes the door of Brahmadvāra making a sweet district murmuring which is compared to the humming sound of a black bee. The coiled and sleeping Kuṇḍalini is awakened by the Kāmavāyu and bija 'Hum'. On being roused, Kuṇḍalini enters the door and moves upward dissolving all the deities and elements presiding over different Chakras and reaches Brahmarandra the Rudra-grāndhi and unites with Paramaśiva in the Nirālambapuri. This mithuna of Kuṇḍalini Sati with Parama Śiva results in the flow of nectar in the human body. Then the sādḥaka is absorbed in ineffable bliss. Kuṇḍalini after enjoying the union with Śiva, returns in the same way, passes through different Chakras, casting off different elements and come back to the Mūlādhāra.⁵² The piercing of the Śaṭ chakras is one of the most important subjects dealt with in the Tantras and a practice which involves considerable pain and disorder leading the devotee to diseases, madness and so on. Along with the highest bliss the yōga gives Śatsiddhis, ākaraṣena, stambhana, māraṇa, vidvēṣana, uchchāṭana and mōhana. At times mōhana and ākarsena are replaced by santi and vaśikaraṇa, Siddhis can be utilized both for good and evil purposes.⁵³

Forms of Dēvi : Goddesses like Maṅgala, Śrī, Uma and others are described as born from satvika; Brāhmi, Aparajita, Kauśiki, Durga etc., from that of rājasika and Kālī and Ambika, Kapālī, Charchaka and such deities from the tāmasika nature of Śakti.⁵⁴ The epic and purāṇic Goddesses Bhūdevi, Lakshmi, Sarasvati Umāpāravati are also referred to in the Yaśastilaka. Śiva and Pārvatī was Ardhanārēśvara are described by Sōmadēva as inseparable, and interdependent, and that Śiva without Śakti is like accepting harvest from seed without soil.⁵⁵ The figures of Arthnārī are found at Elēśwaram Alampur and Mukhalingam. The figures of Pārvatī are found at Pratakota Tirumella, Mukhalingam and many other places.^{55a}

The Yaśastilaka describes the temples of Śakti built according to the nature of the deity and as directed by the Purāṇas and the

Tantras. Bhavāni, a sāttvika dēvi, was installed in a beautiful garden in the most pleasant surrounding.⁵⁶

Sarasvati : Sarasvati the Goddess of speech is described by Sōma-dēva with selective words. 'She is praised as the sole eye in the perception of objects, the supreme light in destroying the ignorant, the jewel lamp showing the path to the abode of beatitude. She curses a king who does not patronize the poets. In pūrvaraṅga ceremony Sarasvati sits on a white lotus with white complexion, three eyes, matted hair, crescent as her ornaments and with book, rosary and dhyāna mudra. She is swan abiding in the lotus mouth of the Gods, a spray of jewels adorning the ears of Vidhyādhara, a pearl string embracing the minds of the mortals, she as Sāvitri or Gāyatri is contemplated every day at morning, at noon and in the evening. Brahma worships her lotus feet by holding his hands in obeisance, Viṣṇu by resorting her in Yogic trance, and Śiva meditates as Dakṣiṇāmūrthy to fulfil the desires'.⁵⁷ The images of Sarasvati are found in Mahaboobnagar and Vizak district.⁵⁸

Laksmi : Devi as Lakshmi is mostly found as lalatabimba on the lintels of the temple door ways. Kṣēmakāri Dēvi as Kṣēmakāri is described by Sri Gopinatha Rao as an old lady 'without flesh in eye pits and trembling who killed demon Subala. She is worshipped with wine, meat and fish'. Such an image is found at Alampur.⁵⁹ Mahiṣāsura-mardini. The Dēvipurāṇa recommends the installation of Mahiṣāsura-mardini for the destruction of the enemy and also is a 'must in forests and palaces'.⁶⁰ These images are found at Alampur, Tirumalla Adavisomanapalli Moravakonda, Pratakota, Mukhalingam, Biccavol, Hemavati and many other places.⁶¹

Mātṛkas : The purāṇas differ in naming and giving the origin of the Mātṛkas. According to the Mārkaṇḍēya purāṇa, Mātṛkas are born of anger of Brahma, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Skanda, Indra etc., at the time of killing demons. According to the Suprabhedagama, they are created by Brahma to kill Nṛta and according to Dēvipurāṇa they are meant for the welfare of all the beings, animate and inanimate and specially of children. They are also supposed to represent the seven mental qualities of kāma, krōdha, lōbha etc. The Mātṛikas called ganas are Bhadrakālī, Kālīka, Raudri, Saumya, Kauśiki, Vāruṇī, Mahēndri,

Agnāyi, Vāyuni, Kumāri, Brāhmi, Vaiṣṇavi and Vārāhi. They are beautiful, ferocious to enemies, are of unlimited power, live in caves, cemeteries, mountains, forests and cross-roads. They are propitiated to destroy the enemies, to protect Kārtikeya and to remove diseases of children.⁶² The figures of Saptamāṭṛika are found at Pratakota Alampur, Bijjanamula, Moravakonda, Hemavati, Pitakayagulla, Melapadu and many other centres.⁶³

Kauśiki : Kauśiki who wears yellow garment and helps one in battle, is another form of Durga. She is invoked as Siddhāreṇi, Kālī, Kapālī, Bhadrakālī, Arya, and Mahākālī. She bears peacock's tail for banner is adorned with jewels as well as sword, shield etc.⁶⁴ The Eastern Chālukyans called themselves as obtained kingdom by the grace of Kauśiki. The images of Kauśiki are popularly called Kali or Chāmuṇḍi are found at Biccavol, Satyavol, Ālampur, Tirumalla, Hemavati, Pitakayagulla, Bijjanamula and many other places.⁶⁵

Yōginis : The description given in Tantrasara, Guhyakālī and other texts about the ferocious type of worship add deities like of Chāṇḍamālī are also given in Yaśastilaka. The abode of the Chāṇḍamālī is described as a horrid place frequented by terrible female spirits known as Mahāyōginis. They are monstrous deities extremely ferocious, long-lived like the lights of universal destruction. They emerged from the sky, earth and from all sides like darkness at night. Flames are issued from their foreheads; gasping and helpless serpents are pressed with tangled masses of their hair; their heads are decorated with skulls, their cheekes with blood and ears with snakes'.⁶⁶ The yoginis and the Māṭṛumaṇḍalas whose worship gives supersensuous knowledge and who are the companions of Chāṇḍika are repeatedly described by Sōmadēva.⁶⁷ Originally the Yōginis are considered to be eight in number. The Skāṇḍapurāṇa considers them as forty eight while Agni purāṇa as sixty four. They are fearful forms created by Dēvi Durga, worshipped in Maṇḍalas with bali in autumn navarātras. One whō worships them can become free from bhūtas, piśāchas and can attain extra-ordinary powers.⁶⁸

Vidyas : Vidyas, eight or ten in number spring on the body of Dēvi and are worshipped in the cities by kings in dakṣhiṇamārga.⁶⁹

Nāyakas : Unlike the other forms of Sakti, Nāyakas are not

considered as mothers, but are connected with illegitimate sexual acts and are seven in number.⁷⁰

Nandā Dēvi : Dēvi Vindhyaśini residing on Himalayas at Nandathirtha is called Nandādēvi. She is described to have born to kill Vētrasura.⁷¹

City Goddess : As in Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata the city is also believed to be protected by a Goddess. She protects the good, inspires confidence in the devotees and warns the king and people at a critical time according to Yaśastilaka. The city Goddess is described as warning a king who was seducing a lady Ānantamati, who took a vow of chastity. She showed her displeasure by doing harm to the subjects.⁷²

Siddāyaki : Siddāyaki another city goddesses is also described as a refuge of all, inspired confidence in people who worship and offer presents.⁷³ Śakti as the protector of the family is described as bestowing physical fitness to its devotees and her worship is performed on every important occasion.⁷⁴ At the time of coronation jewels were carefully arranged near the idol.⁷⁴ Tutelory Goddess presiding over a house in worshipped with the milk of a cow which is having a calf at the threshold.⁷⁵

Jyēṣṭha Dēvi : The Atharva vēda refers to Jyēṣṭha as Lakshmi. The epics and the purāṇas describe her as born during the churning of the milk ocean with an ugly appearance, with an as her vehicle and crow as her banner. The Sivapurāṇa, Liṅgapurāṇa recommend her worship by the heroes for destroying the enemies.⁷⁶ Jyēṣṭha is worshipped with white lotus blossoms for the destruction of one's enemy.

Nagnakabandha : In connection with Śakti worship reference may be made to the form of Nagnakabanda, which is believed to be associated with fertility cult. The Nagnakabandas are mostly found in the Tēlaṅgāṇa region of Āndhra Dēśa with some local variation from the times of Sātavāhanas till ninth to tenth centuries, (1) The excavations at Kondapur yielded a terracotta figurine representing a nude abodome of woman, legs apart, profusely decorated like a Pūrṇaghata with lotus on the neck, Such plaque is found a Chityala in Adilabad district; (2) A nude abodome with lotus on neck with an inscription 'Avidhava and Jīvapūta', was got done by queen.

Mahādēvai Khanduvata at Nagarjunakonda; (3) Excavations at Elēśvaram also revealed similar figure but without any inscription; (4) At Keesara, Ranga Reddy district, the same type of figure is found but in a slightly modified form. Here, the parts of the female organ are clothed, with linga on one palm; (5) At Alampur several such nude abodomines upto neck portion that is seated turso with or without a lotus on neck have been noticed. These are popularly called Ellamma or Rēṇukamma, the wife of Jamadagni whose head was cut off by her son Paraśurāma; (6) Similar sculptures are found in Śrīśailam submerging areas too.

The first type has been explained as representation of Śākambari aspect of Dēvi by some scholar. The terms, jivapūta and Avidhava found on second one are explained as indicating welfare and fertility. The fourth type has been named by Sri Sivaramāmurthy Lajja Gouri. The fifth variety found at Alampur has been worshipped even today for children. Thus the Nagnakabanda forms seen to be connected with fertility cult. This view may be strengthened by the support from the scriptures too. According to the Gṛihya Sūtras, in the rites of simantha the pregnant lady is asked to look at a Kalaśa for progeny, cattle, prosperity welfare of husband and other such things. Here this figure of Nagnakabanda may represent the symbolic cult object of śimantha rites.⁷⁷

Thus Śakti in her manifold forms specially as ferocious Dēvi combined with tāntrika mode of worship and Goddess of fertility is popular in the western and southern parts of Āndhra.

2.10 MINOR CULTS

The worship of minor deities like Kumāra, Sūry and Vināyaka along with the practice of worship of the dead, the heroes and the Sati play a distinctive part in the religious life of Āndhra people.

Kumāra : Kumāra is one of the important deities of the Hindu pantheon whose worship is still prevalent in South India. The term Kumāra is found in Ṛg-vēda to mean a boy.¹ The Kousīkata brāhmaṇa mentions the birth of Agni-Rudra from a seed discharged in a golden vessel. Skanda another name of Kumāra is referred to as an aescetic in the Chāndōgya upaniṣad.² Finally it is in the

Āraṇyakas that Kumāra is deified and different Gāyatri mantras are given. Skānda yāga, a passage from the Parisiṣṭas of the Atharva veda describes Skanda as 'having golden complexion, six mouths, ten eyes, and as associated with peacock, bells, banners, and as surrounded by the mothers. He is described as boon-giving, auspicious deity prayed for wealth, grain, herds, speech, enjoyment, slaves, status, honour, jewels, offspring and many other such things.³

The account regarding the birth of Kumāra given in the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata is as follows. Agni who was once cursed by Śiva to bear his power, being unable to do so for a long time, left it in Akasagaṅga where the foetus developed into a baby in the sravana grass and was nourished by the six Kṛttikas. The Adiparva states that people desirous of children should worship Naigamēya in association with his mother also. It also states that Kumāra as Skandagraha, harrasses children, causes child fever and diseases. The Purāṇas described more elaborately the birth, exploits and yōgic qualities of Kumāra. In Śiva, Skanda and Kūrmapurāṇas, Kumāra is called "Jnānaśakti bharovirah", an authority on Brahma-vidya.³

Historically the worship of the Kumāra could be traced back to the times of Kuṣāns, Yaudhēyas, Śakas, Kṣhātrapas, Guptas and some other dynasties in India. Professor Nilakanta Sastry traced the antiquity of the cult of Kumāra in South India to the early historic period on the basis of the presence of bronze, spears, cocks etc. in the megalithic burials.⁴ An attempt is made here to trace the worship of Kumāra in ancient Āndhra. In the Nanēghat inscription, adoration is made to Kumāra along with other gods.⁵ Names of individuals like Skandasvāti, Kumāradatta, Viraskanda, Śivaskanda found in epigraphs and the names of the poets like Kumāra, Śiva-skanda, Skanda pālita belonging to the second century A.D. reveal the popularity of Skanda cult in the Sātavāhana times. According to Patanjali, the term 'datta' denotes extreme devotion. So the name Kumāradatta may indicate extreme devotion to Kumāra. The term Pālita may also convey the same idea. The Ikṣvākus also are described as devoted to Kumāra. Śrī Chāntamūla, the founder of this dynasty, is described as "Svāmi Mahāsēna Parigrahita".⁷ An epigraph from Nagarjunakōṇḍa records that Eliśri, a talavara was intensely devoted

to Kumāra and built a temple for the God.⁸ Three sites of Kārttikēya temple,⁹ one pillared structure with torso and the head of Kumāra¹⁰ with two hands carrying kukkuṭa and Śakti were discovered in the area. The names of Ikṣvāku royal personages and commoners like Khanda, Viśākha, Skandaśrī, Khandacharita, Khandauta, Kumāra-nandi, Khandakōṭi, Khanda, Ṣanmukha and such show the popularity of the cult of Kumāra. The two names of Ikṣvāku princes, Virapuruṣa and Bāhubali may be synonymous of the word “Mahāsēna, an appellation of Kumāra. Thus Kumāra was popular as son of Agni, wearing a śakti all powerful and having kukkuṭa as symbol, as graceful and benignant. The terms Skanda, Viśākha, Mahāsēna, Ṣanmukha, given above show the popularity of the mythology of Kumāra in Āndhra.¹¹ As in epics, Kumāra in the name of Mahāsēna, the war deity, was worshipped by the Ikṣvākus.

The Pallavas were also devoted to Kumāra, as indicated by the names of the kings like Vijayaskanda, Kumāraviṣṇu, Skandaśiṣya etc. One of the important temples built by Pallava kings is found at Mallam, Nellore district to which donations were made by some individuals.¹² The earliest epigraphical reference to Kumāra as Subramanya in India is from this place. Here, Kumāra is worshipped as a boy. The Śāṅkayānas were devoted to Kumāra as evidenced by their names Skandavarma.¹³ Like the Ikṣvākus the Eastern Chāḷukyans of Vēṅgi also worshipped Kumāra as Mahāsēna. Every inscription of this dynasty opens with an invocation to Kumāra as “Svāmi Mahāsēna Pādānudhyātaḥ”. Kumāra was an ideal for kings and knights.¹⁴ Amma I and Amma II always compared themselves to Kumāra. Malla I of this dynasty is stated to have constructed a temple of Kumāra at Bezwada over which his grandson Malla II erected a pinnacle and the front tower. At that time another temple of Kumāra existed at Chebrole also and jatara was held at Chebrole and Bezawada.¹⁴ On the basis of the discovery of the image of Ṣanmukha at Rajahmundry it may be surmised that a temple of Kumāra existed there.¹⁴ Kumāra also called Kārttikēya, Mahāsēna, Skanda and Guha was mainly worshipped as a war God; and Bezwada, Rajahmundry and Chebrole are the important centres of Kumāra worship in the times of the Eastern Chāḷukyans.

The Western Chālukyans of Badami worshipped Kumāra as a tutelary deity, and expressed their devotion in their invocative Verse addressing themselves as “Kārttikēya parirakṣita”. Under the Rāṣṭra-kūṭas the worship of Kumāra developed into a cult. Inscriptions found at Kudatini and Kolagallu in Bellary district show that the cult of Kumāra with yōgic qualities, as found in Purāṇas was prevalent there. Kudatini was a popular centre of Kārttikēya worship during 900-1000 A.D. Here flourished a line of teachers of great reputation. Two inscriptions of Krishna III give an important information regarding one Gajādharayya, a teacher in charge of the Kārttikēya Tapōvana.¹⁵ That Gajādharyya installed God Kārttikēya at Kolagallu. The inscription of Kolagallu opens with an obeisance to Kumāra “Adoration to the omniscient God Kārttikēyadēva who has a form which is manifest in three words, who has obtained great fame and is glorious. I bow to that supreme Lord who bears the weapon called jñāna who is the son of celebrated Rudra, is auspicious, and the peaceful one. He is the benefactor of the whole universe; he is the chief of the commanders of the army of gods. People heard of the valour of the high Shouldered one. His wide frame is capable of destroying all sins. He possessed 3 guṇas and prowess. He is Kapardin, holds in his hands the best bird and the gada. Kārttikēya is installed on a pitha called Yeṣṭhyāsana which is created with special effort decked with many gems extremely pure in lustre. He is worshipped by Indra and other gods and is capable of destroying sins. The āsana created by Brahma can be changed to a desired form and is comfortable. Seated in dandāsana, the 12 eyed one was the general of the army of gods a responsibility which only Śiva could hold. Śaṇmukha, the twelve eyed boy, was born in the womb of lotus of gold, in Śrvaṇa, was the soul of the universe and the Supreme Lord. Taraka, the king of demons, who could not be slain even by Rudra and other gods was destroyed by the boy in sport, who had 12 suns as his eyes”. This inscription further glorifies Kumāra as “The only God on earth and in heaven who is eternal, is full of brilliance and one who accomplished his purpose. The twice-born praise him by Ṛks and Samans. Kumāra, the eye, the face of the universe, the Purusa was anointed at Kolagula”.¹⁶ This inscription was written on sasti thithi of Phalguna which is stated a

sacred day to Kumāra in the Atharvavēda, epics and the purāṇas. It appears that the brahmachāri form of Kumāra was worshipped at Kolagula as the temple is called tapōvana, the deity wears jñāna śakti and the teacher in charge of it is brahmachāri and a kapardin. Kolagallu and Kudatini were developed in the time of King Kottiga also. An inscription dated S'889 praises Kumāra at Kolagallu and mentions Gajāṭharayya.¹⁷ Another one from Kudatini found on the platform of Kumārasvāmy temple records setting up of an image by a merchant in the presence of the same teacher and donation made by the kings.^{17a} The former gift is donated on Śrāvaṇa pañchami, a sacred day of Nāgas as mentioned in the Sūtras. The Western Chāḷukyans of Kaḷyāṇi had a special reverence to Kumāra. An inscription of Taila II from Kudatini records a grant of a garden to Kārttikēya in the presence of Gajāṭharayya.¹⁸ Another one also records some gift and mentions Gajāṭharayya as witness.^{18a} Taila II donated gift to Kumārasvāmy of Chebrole also.¹⁹ One Bāṇa inscriptions from Gudimallam refers to the devotee who lived in the temple of Śiva like Kumāra who enjoys Śiva's lap.^{20a}

Besides the epigraphical sources, sculptural and iconographical sources from different parts of Āndhra confirm the popularity of Kumāra in his manifold forms. The Śakti dhara types are found at Nagarjunakonda, Srisailam Biccavol, Ālampur,²⁰ Mukhalingam and Hemavati.²¹ Śanmukha type are seen at Draksharama, Gudimallam and Jogimallavaram.²² Kārttikēya type is noticed at Bhimavaram,²³ Tārakāri type is found at Mukhalingam.²⁴ Guha variety is sculptured at Ālampur and Nandavaram²⁵ and Subrahmanya variety is from Bhimavaram and Padmabrahma temple at Ālampur; Bālasvāmi is found at Mallavaram Tiruttani and Mallam.²⁶

It may be pointed out that, while the Sātavāhanas and the Pallavas were more familiar with Skanda form of Kumāra the Eastern Chāḷukyanas and the Ikṣvākus worshipped Kumāra as Mahāsēna. Temples were erected in his honour at Nagarjunakonda, Chebrole, Vijayawada and probably at Rajamundry. At present, temples of Kumāra are not found at these places, since they have been converted to Śiva centres. Kumāra was worshipped in these temples with Chanḍaśakti. Under the Western Chāḷukyans and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas

Kudatini and Kollagallu were popular centres of Kumāra in his ascetic form, with Jnānaśakti. At Mallam, Kumāra was worshipped as a boy under the patronage of Pallavas, Pāṇdyans and other southern dynasties. In the course of time these temples were converted into Śiva temples and Kumāra is given the position of a sculpture in a niche.

The association of Kumāra with Nāga worship is a matter of great interest. The Gṛihyasūtras show that Skanda is connected with the child birth and child diseases. In the Mahābhārata Skanda is worshiped in association with mother in connection with children. The Sakandapurāṇa describes Kumāra as having assumed the form of a snake to kill a demon Pralambhāsura, while in another context he is described as having protected a devotee in the form of a snake. According to the folk cult, the snakes are connected with fertility and procreation. It appears as though the Vēdic Kumāra, epic Skanda and the native sanke cult deeply mingled so that these three became inseparable at one stage. Nāga and Skanda are the most common names found in the Sātavāhana inscriptions. Both combined as Skanda-Nāga is also found in one inscription.^{26a} The association of Nāga with Kumāra or Skanda could be found in the Ikṣvaku inscription also where Kumāra as Mahāsēna is described as Virūpākṣapati. According to the Buddhists, Virūpākṣas are a class of snakes. Kumāra in association with Naga is represented at Draksharama and Bhimavaram,^{26b} here, the deity instead of having six faces, is sculptured with one face and five hoods and is worshipped for happy matrimonial life and for male offspring. Even today in the coastal areas of Āndhra, on Saṣṭi thithi of Mārgaśīrṣa, the image of boy Kumāra with hoods is worshipped and taken in procession and the deity is called Subrahmanya.

Sūrya : Sūrya is the only deity who has been worshipped all over the world from the beginning of human history till today. The splendour, regularity and warmth of Sūrya evoked interest in the early man and provoked him to develop mythology and mystic ideals.

The worship of Sun which can be traced back from the pre-historic times was held in high esteem especially in Ṛg. Vēda. In the Vēdas, one of the most important deities was Surya worshipped under

different forms, and with various appellations as Savitr, Mitra, and Pūsan. He is described as travelling in a chariot having a banner, as witnessing all, as moral force, ordainer, soul of movable and immovable, and as deliverer from sin. Surya is considered as healer of diseases like jaundice, yellowing of skin, teeth, eyesight and leprosy. He is invoked to kill worms, venomous creatures, to cure cough, pains, heart diseases and to save from snake bite.²⁷ The Smṛtis give elaborately the worship of Sūrya consisting of japa or Gāyatri, arghya, āchamana, prāṇāyāma, mārjana, aghamrsana, and upasthāna. The epics and purāṇas repeat the same ideas specialising certain qualities. Purāṇas described Sūrya, as the atmospheric God, and chief of planetary system.²⁸ The Markaṇḍeya purāṇa described Sūrya as the supreme God, lord of all Gods, every thing and the goal of emancipation. The Sām̐ba, the Bhaviṣya purāṇas specialise the cult of Sūrya describe Sūryalōka, prescribe code of conduct for the devotees, and subscribe to way of worship and the vratas.²⁹ The Saptamithithi, Sunday, Māgha month, red flowers, fasting, food without salt, and oil are considered sacred to Sūrya. According to the Suprabhēdāgama and Amśumabhēdāgama, the icon of Sūrya should be sculptured as handsome youth with beautiful eyes, holding lotuses in uplifted hands accompanied by Daṇḍa and Piṅgala or Uṣa and Pratyūṣa, as travelling on a chariot drawn on one wheel, by seven horses and driven by Anūra. Sūrya should be endowed with halo. kuṇḍala, hāra, and yajnōpavitha.³⁰

Historical beginnings of Sūrya worship appear from the Mauryan times. The early figures of Sūrya on the pottery of Mauryas and Sungas show the existence of Surya cult in the second and third centuries B.C.

The Nāṇēghāt inscription of the Sātavāhanas which opens with an invocation to Sūrya along with many other Vēdic Gods is supposed to be the earliest epigraph referring to Surya in India.³¹ Sūrya as Sāvitrī of Gāyatri is frequently mentioned in the Gāthasaptaśati of Hāla. God Śiva is described as worshipping Sūrya by uttering Gāyatri mantra, by sipping water, offering water and flowers. In those days even a traveller in a bitter cold used to do Gāyatri.³² Not only the Cosmic form of Sūrya, but of human form is also described in this work. He is depicted as young and beautiful,³³ beloved of people, and

as a daymaker, travelling in a chariot. It is described that the moon illuminates on account of Sūrya's brightness.³⁴ The Ikṣvākus described themselves as the descendents of Sūrya and the excavations there revealed the practice of worship of navagrahas by them.³⁵ An epigraph from the same place records fixing up of horoscope as a popular practice in those days.³⁶

The Sālankāyanas who succeeded them, described themselves as "Chitraratha Svāmi Pādānuḍh yatānām". The circular dot on their seal may indicate the figure of sun only.³⁷ The Pallava name Ādityavarama and the images of Sūrya found at different Pallava temples like Gudimallam show the existence of the cult of Sūrya.³⁸ The epigraphical mention made to Brāhmins bearing the names Arka, Bhāskara Divākara and Āditya show the prevalence of Sūrya cult among the brāhmins during the Viṣṇukuṇḍin period.³⁹ In the times of the Eastern Chālukyans Aditya temple existed at Dharmavaram in Nellore district, to which Pāṇḍuraṅga the general of Guṇagāditya made some gifts.⁴⁰

Sculptures of Sūrya are found at the temples at Nakkalagudi and Bikkavole, the early temples of the Eastern Chālukyans. The sculpture at Biccavolu is carved with boot on the feet in imitation of the North Indian fashion.⁴¹ Traditionally the Sūrya temple at Arasvilli is supposed to be constructed by Dēvēndra of Heaven but historically it is assigned to Dēvēndravarma, of the Eastern Gāṅgas.^{41a} The form of Surya with Nārāyaṇa as Sūryanārāyaṇa and the Sūrya images are found at the temples of Mukhalingam.⁴² The popularity of the sun worship during the Eastern Chālukyans and the Eastern Gāṅgas can be drawn from the names like Ravi, Mārtāṇḍa, Bhānu, Aditya, and Divākara. The figure of Sūrya and Chandra found on the seals of these dynasties also show their reverence for these phenomenal Gods.

Under the patronage of the Eastern Chālukyans, Rāṣṭrakūṭas, Nōlamba Pallavas, Telugu Chōlas, temples were erected for Sūrya on the western borders of Āndhra Dēśa. The first temple of Sūrya was built by one Śrīmāra at Ālampur, a saiva centre.⁴³ Nearly half a dozen icons of Sūrya are found here. A beautiful image is found at Jyoti another centre of Śaiva Pilgrimage.⁴⁴ During the time of Taila II, Mahājanas of Balguli donated a garden for the service of Āditya,

consecrated by one Duggamaya.⁴⁵ Many sculptures of Sūrya are found at Western Chālukyan centres like Bijjanumula, Morvakonda, Biravolu and other places.⁴⁶ The temples of Śiva at Hemavati contains an icon of Sūrya.⁴⁷ At Anantapur temple of Sūrya was constructed separately under, the Nōḷamba Pallavas. Similarly under the of Telugu Chōḷas and the Western Gāngas separate temples of Sūrya were erected. Donations to these are made by individuals.⁴⁸ Just as at Alampur,⁴⁹ at Vemulawada⁵⁰ another śaiva centre a temple of Sūrya was constructed. The Jinad inscription of Pāramāra Jaggadēva reveals a popular practice of worshipping Sūrya on Sunday with the shoots of nimba tree.⁵¹ Sōmadēva Suri mentions Sūrya as the 'head of planetary system'. The practice of Sūrya worship for health continued in the 10th century A.D. also. Yaśastilaka refers to astronomy, astrology and to the practice of casting horoscopes and fixing lagnas.⁵²

The study of Sūry worship is incomplete without a reference to the other types of practices. Many inscriptions refer to donations made on the days of Makara saṁkranti, āyanas and eclipses. The epigraphs which mention the Vēdāṅgas as a specialised branch of knowledge by the brāhmins of the times show that astrology and astronomy, the two branches of science relating to Sun, were more popular in the curriculum. These two points show that the worship of Sun in the Cosmic form also was in vogue during the period under study.

It is clear from the above account that in Āndhra, Sūrya is always associated with Śiva. As times changed the temples of Sūrya were converted into Śaiva temples as in the case of Kogali in Bellary district. Here the inscription on the pedestal of a śiva temple reads "The image of Divākara was made by the grandson of Śivasvāmy". It is the same case with the temple at Jammikunta in Karimnagar district where the inscription found on the dvajastamba of a Śiva temple records donation of land and two ratnas to God Āditya made in the year S. 917 by an individual.⁵³

Vināyaka : The origin of the cult of Vināyaka may be traced back to the composite form of animal figures found on the seals from Mohenjodaro. The deity Vināyaka is called Gaṇapati and Vignēśvara also.

In the Vēdas, the term Gaṇapati is used in the sense of leader of a troop, gaṇas and as an epithet to Bṛhaspati and Indra. The early literature described Vināyaka as demon, leader of malignant beings who cause obstacles that can be propitiated. Bauhdāyana gṛhya sūtras prescribed oblations of Vināyaka at the beginning of every auspicious act and on the fourth and fifth day of every bright fortnight. The Mahābhārata, which describes Vignēśvara as one who observes all actions with divine qualities identifies him with Śiva and also with Viṣṇu.

Iconographically, Ganapathi is described nearly in twenty forms, elephant's face, stumpy body, and potbelly being the characteristic features.^{54a}

The material for the study of the cult of Vināyaka is meagre in Āndhra Dēśa though the thought could be traced back to the Sātavāhana period. The early form of Gaṇapati is found at Amaravati as one of gaṇa, standing on stumpy legs with two hands, elephant face having big ear but without a trunk.⁵⁴ Lambōdara, the name of a the Sātavāhana king confirms Vināyaka's other quality, namely the potbelly. In one verse of Gāthāsaptasati reference is made to the image of Gaṇapati placed under a tree. In the other verse obeisance was made to Vināyaka who had drunk the water of the ocean with his trunk.⁵⁵

The dancing Bālaganapathi of Bijjanakonda cave Vizag district is the earliest image of Gaṇapati.⁵⁶ In the times of Western Chālukyan king Kīrtivarma, certain Devanappa granted land to Kannavādi Gaṇapati, while Western Gāṅga prince Śrī Vallabha himself installed Vināyaka along with Durga.⁵⁷ Temples dedicated to Vināyaka are found at Mahadevamangalam, Chittor district⁵⁸ and at Pitakayagulla, Kurnool district also.⁵⁹ Though the temples of Gaṇapati are few in number the sculptures are found in plenty in Āndhra dēśa throughout. The different sculptures of Vināyaka found in different places are given here chronologically.⁶⁰

A two-handed Vināyaka of Sālankāyana and that of the early Pallavas are found at Peddavegi and Peddamudiyam. A two-handed Gaṇēśa found on the bas-relief of an open terrace of Akkanna and Madanna caves is assigned to the Viṣṇukunḍins.⁶¹ Cave temples of

Mogal rajapuram and Bhairavakonda are adorned with figures of four-handed Gaṇapatis.⁶² The seal of Eastern Chālukyan king Guṇaga⁶³ and temples of the Eastern Chālukyans Bikkavolu, and those of the five Arāmas and Podugula,⁶⁴ are also decorated with the figure of Vināyaka. The Western Chālukyan and the Rāṣṭrakūṭa type Gaṇapatis are found at different centres like Alampur, Sangamesvaram, Pratkota⁶⁵ and etc. A group of temples at Mukhalingam and Hemavathi also contains some sculptures of Vināyaka.⁶⁶ Invariably every village has a guard or Kṣētrapati.

The existence of Vināyaka sculpture from the beginning and the absence of temples dedicated exclusively to Gaṇapati show that in Āndhra Vināyaka was not worshipped as cult God but only as creator of obstacles or evil and as one who is to be propitiated first. This may be the reason why the sculpture of Vināyaka is invariably found at every temple and every religious construction, mostly on the lintel of garbhagrha of temples.

Semi-divine beings : The semi-divine beings like Apsarasas, Gandharvas, Kinneras, Kimpuruṣas are supposed to dance, sing, wave fly wicks, offer flowers and engaged instrumental music in the courts of different gods.⁶⁷ They do services to the dikpālas and other minor Gods too. The Vidyādhara, Sādhyas Yakshas and Nāgas the other group are meant for doing services in the war-fare. The Siddhas and Garaṇas are supposed to utter auspicious words and witness great deeds. All these semidivine beings jubilant happy occasions, congregate on memorable events and pay compliments. Usually all these types are sculptured on different parts of religious shrines in their characteristic poses, as doing suitable services to the deity in the shrine. The Semidivine beings obtain their energy by doing austerity sacrifice, penance, and observing truth. However, at times they are inspired with human motives and passions. These hosts have their own lōkas, undertake processions on festive and other important occasion.⁶⁸ They are of ideal beauty, wear very beautiful and charming garments, adore themselves with jewels and garlands and soar in the sky.⁶⁹ These points are clearly indicated in the inscriptions, sculptures and literature of the period under study.

The Nānēghāt inscription states that the king was well versed in

gandharvavidya, music. Similarly Khārvēla was described in Hātigumpha inscription.⁷⁰ The Nāśik cave inscription narrates that Gandharvas 'as warriors participated in the battle fought by king Sātakarṇi'. Yet another inscription from Talugunda mentions Gandharvas, and Siddhas that congregated at a temple adoring Śiva.^{70a} The Caves at Mogalrajpuram are decorated with the figures of Gods, ṛiṣis, besides flying gandharvas, yakshas and gaṇas playing music, holding camaras, banners and offerings.⁷¹ The idea or belief that the semi-divine beings witness and praise the deeds of good people is found in Amma I's plates which describe the Vidyādharas, assigning on vīṇa, the fame of a brāhmin donee.⁷² Apsarasas the most beautiful, and the Gandharvas the masters of music, are mentioned in Bhima I's plates.⁷³ Generally the temples are adorned with the figures of these semi-divine beings.⁷⁴ Yaśastilaka is full of stories of semi-divine beings, like the Vidyādharas moving freely in the air cars alongwith their wives,⁷⁵ they are skilful in the game of ball throwing and benegnent to a devotee.⁷⁶ The nymphs of heaven, Bharata the master of dance, Gandharvas the masters of singing, Bṛihaspati the master of instrumental music are also referred to.⁷⁷ The Siddhas are described as singing in praise of ruling kings on the planes of Himālayas.⁷⁸ The popular belief that a hero after the death is received in the heaven by the Apsarasa is depicted on the hero stone pillar of the period.

In Andhara the temples at Draksharama, Mukhalingam, Hemavati, and Alampur are decorated with the figures of soaring Gandharvas in company of their consorts and other semidivine beings in the traditional style and in the characteristic poses.⁷⁹ The ālasakanyas and the midhunās which are invariably found in temples may represent the apsaras and their counter parts. Special reference to Naga and Yaskṣha may be made here. The Gāthāsaptāśati describes nidhi as being guarded by the Nāga.⁸⁰ The figure of Nāga or Nāgini is depicted as carrying a daṇḍa, shield and sword or as holding hands in Aṅjali, and with one or many hoods. They are shown with human or snake body. Such figures are profusely found in Āndhra.⁸¹ The Yaśastilaka describes serpent Ananta as the root or upholder of the earth.⁸² The pot found in the excavation conducted at Kisara, Rangareddy district depicts the figure of Nāgas as guarding the

universe. The worship of Yakṣa the most popular of all the folk cult⁸³ is found in Andhra from early times till the end of 1000 A.D. The temples at Vemuru, Mogalrajapuram, Bhairavakonda, Alampur, Mukhalingam, and Hemavati, are decorated with the figures of dwarfish and handsome Yakṣhas, carrying garlands on door jambs, pillars, lintels and other parts of the temple.⁸⁴ The Yakṣas and the Nāgas are sculptured in the pose of adoring or doing service to the main deity.

Woship of the dead : Ancestor worship could be traced in Āndhra to the very early times. The Sātavāhans usually showed reverence to the deceased father, mother and husband. This habit of describing themselves as devoted or mediated at the feet to Bappa, or father or mother is found in the Pallava, Śālakāyana, Viṣṇukunḍin and Eastern Cālukyan plates also.⁸⁵

The early rules of Kālīṅga and the Gāṅgas are also described as meditated at the feet of the parents.⁸⁶ The practice of offering tarpaṇas to the dead, as a regular feature of religious life of the period is found in the epigraphs, as a part of the pañcamāhayajnas. The practice of making gifts for the welfare of the deceased,⁸⁷ and immersing the ashes of the dead in Gaṅgas and other holy places is also found in Āndhra.⁸⁸ The Hindu custom of śrāddha, offering of pinḍas for the dead, and honouring of the brāhmin as the representative of the piṭr as well as the belief that the crow is the symbolic representation of the departed soul at the rites are described in the Yaśastilaka.⁸⁹ The cult of the dead was followed because the Vēdic people thought that the self or soul or ātma is different from the body, and that after death the body dissolves in the elements or phenomenal forces, Agni, Sūrya, Vāyu, etc. So, they buried or burnt the body of the dead and thought that by doing so, the gross body disappears and the subtle body is purified and made suitable for the upward journey. The saintly man who died is called Piṭr, so they are adored. Their lōka is different like the gods, they are also invited to sacrifices and are prayed and invoked to protect their descendents and to give them health, welfare, offspring,⁹⁰ rain, eloquence, food, success, etc.⁹¹ Thus the Piṭr were not feared, but revered by the Vēdic people. After the cremation on the tenth day, the bones are collected and deposited at

some place i.e. the root of a tree. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa recommends the raising of a memorial to the dead, while the Sūtras ask to let free oxen. People who were not properly buried or to whom rites are not performed or food is not offered remain as Prēta or ghost. The guilt souls also become prētas.⁹² The Piṭr are offered śrāddha with food, water, sesame on pravana, māsika, aṣṭika and grahaṇa, saṁkrānti days since they depend upon the offerings made by the sons or relatives for their nourishment. Besides, wells, pools and gifts are also made under the name of the dead which are called Pūrtha śrāddha.⁹³

Sati : The word Sati is derived from the root Sat = virtuous. The women in Āndhra were noted for the charity and for practising the teachings given in the religious scriptures. The funeral pot found at Guntur bearing the label “Ayamaṇi pūṣṭka” is supposed to be that of a sati.⁹⁴ The Sātavāhana Queens, Nāyanika and Bālaśrī are described in glorious terms for their sāttvika nature and chastity.⁹⁵ The Gāthāsaptasati describes the practice of sati, burning of widow on the funeral pyre of her husband, in three verses.⁹⁶ At Nagarjunakonda, the practice of sati has been suggested by a figure of woman jumping from a ladder into the fire.⁹⁷ There are many incidents of granting the donations by the royal ladies of ruling powers for the welfare of their kings specially on the occasion of their campaign. The chastity and purity were practised by the commers also. The Eastern Chālukyan inscriptions praise on Mēḍāmba as sati. She was like Sita,⁹⁸ while another lady Annavva was like Arundhati,⁹⁹ Another lady possessing of all virtues, having auspicious signs, wearing all ornaments and was the best women. She knows the principles of all the duties of woman and sati.¹⁰⁰ The Marutur plates of Pulakēśin give the list of ideal women Sāvitri, Suvarchala, Arundhati, Svāha and Śaci, while describing the chastity of the queen.¹⁰¹ The drastic consequences of faithlessness of wife and infidelity among the royal families is the nucleus around which the whole theme of Yaśastilka is woven. The above mentioned practice reflects of the teachings of Vēdic and later vēdic scriptures on life and thought of women of Āndhra.

The women were held in high esteem in the Vēdic period. The

R̥g. Vēda praises and invokes many female deities. The Upaniṣads speak of Gārgi, Maitrēyi, Lōpamudra as ideal women. The Rāmāyaṇa states that the wife is the soul of her husband and her moral and physical perfection is the-key stone of his success. The wife who is devoted to her husband is believed to possess auspicious powers.¹⁰² The epics underscore the chastity of women and give various legends. Self-immolation by women was not compulsory but only optional in those days; since such chastity demands selflessness, boldness and will power too, was highly praised.¹⁰³

Hero worship : Just as the ancient fathers are deified and worshipped, warriors who died in a good cause, are also highly praised in the Vēdic times when cattle theft was so common. The Eastern Chālukyan King Bhīma I donated a village to forty six brāhmins in memory of his son who died in the battle.¹⁰⁴ The inscription of Western Chālukya Tribhuvanamalla, from Bekallu, Warangal district records that certain Punnireddi established a Trikuṭa and twenty memorial temples in honour of twenty one generations of his ancestors and endowed gifts to them.¹⁰⁵ This seems to be the continuation of the tradition of the collective burials from the Ikṣvākus times. Usually, the memorial stones record the account of the heroic deed, in which the hero died and donation made to him. At times, the stones bear the figure of hero in a pose of fighting and apsarasas welcoming him.¹⁰⁶ Most of the hero stones were erected in memory of those who died in the battle.¹⁰⁷ Sometimes the memorials were raised for those who died in slaying thieves,¹⁰⁸ and for those who died in the cattle raid.¹⁰⁹ At times hero stone was erected when self-immolation was done on the death of his master and memorial stones were raised and donations were made and entrusted to his family members.¹¹⁰ The hero who died is called Kalgunṭa¹¹¹ or Koḍange¹¹² and a gift is called Kalanādu¹¹³ Another type of hero stone for the memory of self-immolation in fire is found in Anantapur district.¹¹⁴ The memorials for spiritual teachers called nisidhis were built at Gangapur.¹¹⁵

The study of the practice of erection of hero stones or chāya sthambhas revealed the following points: 1. The Chāyastambhas were erected either to an individual or to many collectively, 2. They were erected for both the sexes, by both men and women, 3. They were

either for royal personages, or teachers or soldiers or heroes or servants, sati or those who died in religious fervour, 4. The causes of death are battle, cattle ride, protection from theft, protection of the master protection of the boundary or devotion to God. 5. The pillars are with or without figure, with or without description of an event, 6. The memorial pillar may be a pillar, a temple or nishdi or a simple mound, 7. The person for whom the memorial was raised is usually deified and worshipped, and 8. It also may be noted here that no memorial pillar is erected in memory of a Brāhmin.

On the basis of the above observation it may be surmised that the memorials were erected for those, who were not sanctioned the Vēdic rites like sanyāsi or a sūdra or one who is deified and worshipped. Most of the memorials are found in Chittoor and Anantapur districts, the border areas which were constantly under the threat of the enemy or alien powers; the hero stones were erected mainly by the Vaiḍumbas and Bāṇas who were the vassals of big powers and took care of the border areas, donations were made in order to encourage loyalty among the ruled and to take care of the family members of the deceased.

Self-Immolation : The self-immolation is a type of religious self sacrifice known since the times of Vēdic priod. Epics described it as spiritual penance either by fasting unto death, or burning by entering into the fire, or cutting the body limb by limb or by the restraint of breath.¹¹⁶ The Yaśastilaka refers to the practice of self-immolation falling from the precipice.¹¹⁷ A procession carrying the head of a person who committed self immolation is carved at Kambadur.¹¹⁸

This is the picture of minor cults that influenced the religious life and thought in Āndhra Dēśa under study.

2.11 RELIGIOUS THOUGHT

In this chapter an attempt is made to give a brief account of the religious thought that prevailed in Āndhra Dēśa from the Śatavāhanas at 1000 A.D. Inscriptions refer to only five systems of Philosophy namely Nyāya, Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Mimāṃsa and Vēdānta. There is no epigraphical reference to Vaisēśika. Among the literary sources the Bhagavadajjuka tries to explain the significance of Yōga

School while the Yaśastilaka mentions some tenents of a few schools Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika, Sāṅkhya, Mīmāṃsa and Vēdānta.

During the period under study it looks as though the tenents of the six systems Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika, Sāṅkhya, Yōga, Mīmāṃsa and Vēdānta as told by the riṣis in the darśanas were studied as they were before. Therefore no attempt is made here to explain them. Nevertheless an account of yōga and five systems is given below as mentioned in Bhagavadajjuka, and Yaśastilaka respectively. The two important literary sources depicting contemporary practices.

Nyāya : Sōmadēva does not refer to Nyāya as such, but refers to the Nyāya concept of salvation as annihilation of attributes—sky-like salvation.¹

Vaiśeṣikas : The Vaiśeṣika system of Kaṇāda was referred to by Sōmadēva. Two classes of Vaiśeṣikas Tārkika Vaiśeṣikas and Sidhānta Vaiśeṣikas are mentioned by him. The Tārkikas believe in nine categories viz., quality, action, generality, particularity, inherence and non-existences. Salvation, according to them, is the result of Dharma. It is an absolute cessation of nine attributes of the soul knowledge, pleasure, pain, desire, aversion effort, virtue, vice and mental impression. They lay stress on the knowledge as means to reach salvation. The Siddhānta vaiśeṣikas are the theists, lay stress on faith, worship of Śiva in corporal and incorporeal forms. Salvation, according to them comes out by initiation into the cult of Śiva.²

Sāṅkhya : Sōmadēva describes Puruṣa and Prakṛti the two principles of sāṅkhya philosophy of Kapila. The Puruṣa is the self, eternal, and blissful, but inactive. Puruṣa associates with Prakṛiti and identifies itself with the manifestations like intellect, egoism and etc., which brings strain, pleasure, pains and illusion, whereby Puruṣa is distracted from its original state. When the self realises its true nature and that of Prakṛti, contamination ceases to act. Then Puruṣa reaches its original condition. Thus after cessation of intellect, mind, egoism senseorgans, the self abides itself in a state of pure consciousness. This state is called Kaivalya.³

Mīmāṃsa : According to Sōmadēva the Jaiminiyas believed the Vēdas as eternal and omniscient Kumārila the expounder of the philosophy is referred to by him.

Vēdānta : Sōmadēva refers to the Vēdāntavādins as Brahamādvaitavādins too. Referring to the advaita vēdānta of Sankarāchārya, Sōmadēva says that the Supreme is one and abides in all individuals as one moon is reflected in different water pots, and that lack of knowledge of this fact, causes bondage. It is further stated that all living creatures are supposed to be merged in the Absolute after the annihilation of the body.⁵ Salvation according Vēdānta can be reached when the ignorance is destroyed, and the Absolute is realised.

Theory of Karma : The belief in the theory of karma, imperishability of the soul, transmigration, re-birth, suffering and enjoyment of the fruits of the previous karma, svarga, naraka etc., which form the back-bone of the religious life and thought of Hinduism had strong impact on the religious thought of Āndhra. These terms are found mentioned in the source material of the period under study repeatedly.

The Vēdic and Upaniṣadic idea iṣṭa-pūrta ensuring good results in svarga, acting as bridge from earth to heaven is illustrated in the Nāṇēghāt inscription of Bālaśrī, one of the earliest inscriptions of Āndhra. The inscription recording a gift by the queen mentions the meritorious act as “Dharmasētu”.⁶ Another inscription of third century A.D. from Kodavali in Vizaq district, states the gift of a well as “Dharma sthāpitam”.⁷ The Gāthāsaptasati refers to dharma,⁸ re-birth,⁹ and fate.¹⁰ The belief in the perishability of the body, and soul as witness of all deeds,¹¹ referred to in the Gādhāsaptasati continued to be cherished even in the tenth century. An inscription of Chālukyans of Vemulavada states the mercilessness of death, temporal nature of life, need of observing Dharma—āyukṣhiṇam dinē dinē . . . Yamasya karuṇāmnāst . . . anityam sarīrāṇi . . . Kartvyam Dharma sangraham’.^{11a} These ideas are found in the Ikṣvāku lithic records also. Nagarjunakonda inscription states that Ehuvala constructed the temple as “Dharmaphalam”.¹² The Viṣṇukunḍin plates describe the king Indravarma as having made gifts for the increase of his own merit “Svapunyaphala prāptam”.¹³ Eastern Chālukyan inscription refers to such beliefs “Anēka Dharmānuṣṭāna Puṇyasamchaya”.^{13a} Most of the records issued by the kings contain the idea of desire for the increase of religious merit, besides longevity,

prosperity, health, wealth, victory etc.¹⁴ The inscriptions of Pallavas, Eastern Chālukyans and Gāṅgas clearly show that the kings followed the scriptures strictly. The Pallava kings Viṣṇugōpa and Skandavarma claim to have followed the law as per the scriptures,—“Vidhivihita sarva maryādasya”. Yuddhamalla states that he followed Manu’s injunctions. The Gāṅga king Anantavarma makes a statement like “it is stated so in Dharmaśāstras”.^{14a}

The above epigraphical and literary evidences illustrate strict adherence to the traditional religious thought by the people of Āndhra Dēśa. As a corroborative evidence the scriptural account of the theory of Karma is given below. The term karma has been used in the Rg. Vēda in the sense of exploit or a religious work. According to the vedic belief ista-putra one enjoys heavenly pleasures for the good actions done by him and comes back to earth after their exhaustion. This belief showed the germs of the theory of karma or fate and transmigration of later periods.¹⁵ The principle of Doctrine of Karma is that every act whether good or bad produces certain results. This is developed into the law of causation and the theory of punarjanma, which provided scope for the expiation, punishment for doing wrong, and rewards for discharge of one’s duties properly in the present and future births.¹⁶ The theory of karma was fully developed in the epics. It is highly praised by different names like fate, Daivam, Vidhi and Niyati. All the schools of religion and philosophy teach that the aim of human life should be to rise the self above karma and transmigration. The theory of karma gives importance to free will.¹⁷ The strict rule of karma taught in the Upaniṣads has been relaxed by the theory of Prāyaścitta and karmavipāka in the time of the Dharma sūtras. The epics and the purāṇas give importance of the reading of Vēdas, performance of sacrifices, fasting, dāna, anutāpa, prayer, worship etc., as means to overcome effects of Karma.¹⁸

Kali Age: The traditional belief that Kali age is full of bad qualities, and evil is frequently mentioned in the inscriptions and literature. The Pallava kings are referred to as up holders of dharma from the evils of kali age.¹⁹ In Mattavilāsa, king Mahēndravarma is described as the refugee to prajna, jñāna, daya, vinaya, dāna, dhīrya, satya, soujanya and other qualities, which had no other place in the kali age.²⁰ The

Kaliṅga kings and others were also described as having removed the stains of kali age by worshipping at the feet of Śiva.²¹ The Yaśastilaka contains some verses on the evil of Kali age.²² Many imprecatory verses of the inscription of the period refers to kali. According to the Hindu concept the wheel of time is conceived as four Yugas, Kruta, Treta, Dvapara and Kaliyuga. The Kaliyuga is said to be the worst of all the four, since all the virtues of previous yugas disappear.²³

Cosmology : The epigraphs of the period bear some references to cosmology, the theory of origin of the universe. The Nagarjuna-konda inscription of Vaṣusēna opens with an invocation to god Nārāyaṇa as the primordial Male.²⁴ The Nala inscription of fifth century A.D. identifies God Viṣṇu with All.²⁵ A sculpture of the Viṣṇukunḍin period shows the themes of the birth of Brahma from Lotus issued from the navel of Viṣṇu who reclined on the bed of Anantha on ocean.²⁶ The early Gāṅgas describe god Śiva as the creator of the different worlds, dēvas and asuras as well as the mutable and immutable.²⁷ The Chāḷukyans describe that Viṣṇu in the form of boar uplifted the earth from waters.²⁵ Amma II of this dynasty describe Viṣṇu as the protector of the three worlds.²⁸

The Yaśastilaka refers to Brahma as Pitāmaha, the creator born from a kuśagrass, as described in epics and the purāṇas. It further narrates the Vēdic belief that the boar has lifted the earth from water, and the epic belief that the earth has been supported by the great serpent Anantha. The purāṇic belief that the whole universe abides in the stomach of Krishna is noted by Sōmadēva. The purāṇic belief that Brahma, Viṣṇu and Śiva are the creator, a sustainer and destroyer of universe respectively is mentioned by Sōmadēva.²⁹ All these epigraphical and literary references regarding the origin of the universe are found in corroboration with the scriptural accounts.³⁰

Cosmogony : A close study of the epigraphs, literature and sculpture found in Āndhra give the contemporary thoughts about cosmology. The belief in Kailāsa, Svarga, Naraka, Gods, nymphs³¹ Rudralōka is enpressed in the³² epigraphs and literature of the period. The herostones which depict the scene of welcome to a hero by the apsaras may represent the belief in Vīralōka mentioned in the epic.³³ The Yaśastilaka describes different lokas like Kailāsa, Viṣṇu, Brahma,

Vidyādhara, Gandharva Siddha and Svarga and Naraka lōkas.³⁴ The sculptures of Brahma, Dikpālakas, Navagrahas, semidivine beings, risis rākṣhasas different divine animals, birds, composite forms, full bloomed lotuses and vegetation which usually adorn temples walls show the fertile imagination of the contemporary belief in Cosmology and Cosmogony making the temple a miniature universe or cosmos.

The above mentioned lōkas are found mentioned in the traditional literature.³⁵

Savarga : The epigraphical and literary sources frequently mentioned svarga and its attainment as a reward for good deeds. The Gāthāsapthaśati also mentions the same.³⁶ Svargaloka referred to in the benedictory verses of the inscriptions from the times of the early Pallavas till the end of 100 A.D. The Sarabhavaram plates describes the king as one who got seat in heaven by the grace of God Śiva.³⁷ The Yaśastilaka gives a sketch of svarga, with Indra the ruler, nymphs playing, singing, and roaming about freely and happily enjoying the life, Bṛihaspati, their master, divine trees, kalpa and Pārijāta, Celestial Gaṅga, Surabhi—the divine cow and etc. Sōmadēva speaks of the popular belief that as a result of good deeds performed on earth people go to heaven.³⁸

This concept of attaining svarga as a reward for good deeds has its origin in the vedas and continued throughout.³⁹

Naraka : The source material found in Āndhra on religious life and thought does not give specific information about hell or sufferings there.⁴⁰ The imprecatory verses of all the inscriptions in the post Buddhist period, mention that the transgressor has to suffer in the naraka for thousands of years or would be born as worm for thousand years.⁴¹ The main theme of Yaśastilaka revolves round the belief that one has to suffer in hell, or has to be born as animal or bird or insect and suffer from diseases for doing himsa, adultery, for speaking falsehood and for doing such evil acts or Pāpas.⁴² Ṛg-vēda describes naraka as the abode of the wicked, sorceress, goblins, unchaste women, thieves, robbers and such people. It is situated below the three earths and is like a deep pit. The Śatapatha⁴³ and other Brāhmaṇas and the Garuḍa⁴⁴ and other purāṇas describe elaborately the punishments inflicted in the narka.

Pāpa and Prāyaścitta : The concept of pāpa and prāyaścitta was quite a familiar feature of ancient Hindu thought in Āndhra. The Buddhist records of the Sātavāhana and Ikṣvāku period always wished the welfare of all but never mentioned sin or prāyaścitta, though they are an important part of the Buddhist philosophy. The Gāthāsa-ptaśati is the first sources from the Āndhra to mention sin and Prāyaścitta.⁴⁵ The Pallavas who revived Hindu dharma, tried to uphold it from being contaminated from the evils of Kali age which may be identified with Buddhism or foreign influences, might have enforced the concept of sin and introduced the style of writing impecatory verses in their inscriptions to reach their goal. They began to write the imprecatory verses warning the future generations from misusing or procuring the gifted lands and amounts to the brāhmins or to the temples. In the early Pallava inscriptions the transgressor of the order was warned with corporal punishment even in a case of small obstacle⁴⁶ caused to the grant. But it has been replaced in later times with warnings charged with religious faith. In the Gāratla plates of Attivarma the imprecation states that the confiscator would incur the guilt of slaying hundred thousands of cows and that the property of brāhmin is a terrible poison or even more; poison may kill only one person, whereas the confiscation of brahmin's property kills the sinner, his sons and grandsons also.⁴⁷ Sālankāyana Nandivarma warns the transgressor not to become victim to Yama's wrath nor to drink ghastly poison in every birth by occupying brahmin's property.⁴⁸ The imprecation that the confiscator of the property should suffer in hell for thousands of billions of years in hell is commonly found in the inscriptions of that period. This occurs for the first time in Kantēru plates of Sālankāyanas.⁴⁹ The Gaṅgas invariably imprecate the transgressor to dwell in the hell as worm for six thousand years.⁵⁰ important imprecations 'Pañchamahāpātaka and Brahmahatyāpataka' are mentioned in the Viṣṇukunḍin plates. There are found separately and frequently in the later period. The pañchamahāpātakas are just mentioned without giving their names, but at times are mentioned specifically. They differ from inscription to inscription. The Viṣṇukunḍins refer to cow, woman, brāhmin, riṣi, child as five.⁵¹ While the Warangal inscription refers to cow, human, ascetic, and bhrūṇa.⁵²

Many inscriptions specially mention cow and brāhmin as sacred and their killing as mahāpātaka. It is more when they are killed on the banks of, sacred rivers, Gaṅga, Jamuna, or in places like, Prayāga, Vāraṇāsi, Kanyākumāri and on mountains like Śrīparvata.⁵³ A late Pallava inscription states that the transgressor of the order incurs the sin of destroying Śrīparvata while the Eastern Chālukyans warn the law breaker with the sin of breaking Śivaliṅga.⁵⁴ The Telugu Chōla inscription of ninth century A.D. gives thousand temples and thousand tanks as the objects of veneration for the destruction which incurs sin.⁵⁵ The Ṛg-vēda refers papa as "Anṛta" which is against Ṛta the willful rebellion against the divine law. Varuṇa, the chief deity of Ṛta prohibits killings, deceiving, gambling, cheating, indulging in immoralities like anger, wine, dice etc., cattle theft, and immoral sex relation. He punishes the transgressor, not only for one's own sins but also for the sins committed by his ancestors. When one discovers his hidden faults, confesses sins, prays for remission, penalty, bowsdown, and offers sacrifices, varuṇa becomes merciful, gracious, removes fears, grants boons and protects. Prāyaścitta as means of getting-rid off the sin is introduced from the times of the Brāhmaṇas, to give an opportunity to the individual to develop his personality. The Chāndōgya upaniṣad considers the theft of gold, drinking, violation of gurus' bed, murder of brāhmin and bhrūṇa as great sins.⁵⁶

The Sūtras consider neglect of duties, speaking false hood etc., as sins and mention penance, sacrifices, austerity, fasting and donation of gifts as means to expiate the sin. They consider theft, murder etc., as great sins for which one has to suffer for generations. Sin is defined as that which is not Dharma. Even gods are liable to commit sin and undergo punishment. The epics and the Purāṇas give various types of sins and prāyaścittas. However, their number and classification differ from text to text. The Purāṇas classify sins into pātakas, upapātakas and mahāpātakas of various grades.⁵⁷ The Pātakas whether done intentionally or unintentionally, depending upon the caste, circumstances, time, place, age, sex and other factors are judged as per the validity of the scriptures, judgment of the king and pariṣad of learned people and then Prāyaścittas are imposed.⁵⁸ Usually the prāṇāyāma, bathing thrice, wearing wet clothes, sleeping

on ground, upavāsa. tapas, hōmas with dikṣha and japa, repentence, gifts, tirthayātras are the means of removing sins. On the whole Prāyaścitta is meant for self purification.⁵⁹

The imprecatory verses of the inscriptions issued during 7th to 10th centuries show a striking change in the concept of sin and the corresponding punishments. In the early days, for transgression of law punishments of corporal type were inflicted. Subsequently the corporal punishments were replaced by psychological deterrents. The transgression of law was considered equivalent to the sin of killing brāhmin, cow, women, child and bhrūṇa. In course of time it is further changed. The sin for transgression is considered equivalent to the destruction of objects of public utility—like tanks, temples and Śivaliṅgas. The above change in the concept of sin and imprecation reveal a striking fact that both the ruler and the ruled were equally concerned more about things of public utility rather than individual benefits.

Yōga : Yōga śāstra,⁶⁰ different steps of Yōga have been mentioned as specialised subjects studied by the brāhmins of the period under study along with the Upaniṣads, Itihāsas, Purāṇas, Tāntras and Agamas.⁶¹ The Bhagavadajjuka mainly deals with the significance of yōga as practiced in the sixth to seventh A.D. An account of this is given at the end of the chapter. The Yaśastilaka too refers to religious mendicants, austerity, scriptures and meditation and yōgic equipment like kuśa seats etc.⁶² The yōgic steps like yama, niyama, yōgic postures, lotuses in the body, kumbhaka, rechaka and Omkara too are mentioned in the Yaśastilaka.⁶³

The Upaniṣads and Pāṇiṇiya in contrast to the vēdic ritualism emphasise on the cultivation of the virtues, like faith, modesty, fear, sympathy, asceticism, self-restraint and tranquility by a seeker of the Truth.⁶⁴ The inscriptions of Āndhra reveal the practice of vēdic rituals and worship, by the kings. Cultivation of ethical qualities are also equally emphasised. The Sātavāhana Queen Nāyanika is described as having observed brahmacharya, sleeping on ground as an ascetic even in her house.⁶⁵ Another Queen Bālaśrī is described as delights to practice truth, charity, patience, respect for life, she was bent on penance, self control, restraint, abstinence, fasting and was leading life as a typical royal risi's wife.⁶⁶ The noble qualities like yama, niyama,

were cherished even by commoners in the time of Ikṣvākus. The contemporary record refers to one Viradhama as possessing virtues like truthfulness, gratitude and such other pious qualities'.⁶⁷ Pallava Narashimhaverma II is described as "Rājariṣi guṇa sarva samdoha". Kings like Viṣṇugōpa, Simhaverma are also described in similar terms.⁶⁸ King Simaverma is described as the observer of satyavratha, "Satyavaratadīkṣhita". He was "Vijigīṣa".⁶⁹ A donee of this period is also described as observing yama, niyama and satyavrata.⁷⁰ The Bhagavadajjuka of Mahēndraverma mainly describes the practice of "Parakāya pravēsa" to enlighten the people who are ignorant of the greatness of yōga. It praises yōga as avyaya, anivārya, akṣōbya, abdhutha, mahatthara, the essence of tapasya and root cause of knowledge.⁷¹ The eight steps, "Aṣṭāṅgamārga" are practised with devotion and dispassion, to distinct self from body and mind for the spiritual insight, and to attain Samprjnatva and Asamprajnatva samādhi. The Bhagavadajjuka says that the suras, asuras, vipras and yōgis follow the yōgic path for enlightenment.⁷²

Yama, niyama the first two steps were generally followed in Āndhra during the period of Viṣṇukuṇḍins Mādhava verma III is described as practicing charity, piety, valour, modesty, magnanimity and protecting all the living creatures on the earth.⁷³ Tūka śarma the donee of Guṇaga vijayāditya conquered the six enemies, kāma, krōdha, lōbha, mōha, mada, and māstarya.⁷⁴ Vijayāditya's donees shine with satya, abhimāna and śoucha.⁷⁵ In the inscription of Dānārṇava the donees are glorified as observers of sadāchāra, brahmacharya, daya, vinaya, thyāga, satya, śoucha, śāntī, soujanya etc.⁷⁶ Usually the donees are described as observers of satyavrata, yama, niyama and svādyāya.⁷⁷ One Pandiya was referred to as an excellent chief of ascetics in the world,⁷⁸ and one Dāriyabhaṭṭa is described as equal to Brahma.⁷⁹ Bhima II's donee was mentioned as not weary of repeating 'Prajāva'.⁸⁰ The kings of Vāsista gōtra, Kalinga are usually, described in their charts as endowed with vinaya, satya, śoucha, āchāra, tyāga, audārya, and dākṣiṇya.⁸¹ Almost all the kings of early Gāṅga dynasty are described as possessing qualities like, wisdom, refinement, truthfulness, good conduct, liberality, courtesy.⁸² King Indravarma was specially described as a person who conquered the "Six

enemies".⁸³ In Gāṅga plates, brahmacharya was specifically referred to as quality of one donee.⁸⁴

Besides other penances and ascetic exercises,⁸⁵ the practice of yōga for the purification of intellect is found in the Western Chālukyan plates too. The Galavalli plates of Priṭhivimūla describe the donee as engaged in the yama and niyama while donees of Western Gāṅgas are proficient, besides yama and niyama, in penance, fast, mortification, silence etc., and are capable of cursing and blessing.⁸⁶

In this context the Yōga of Patanjali is briefly mentioned here. The eight steps of Yōga are Yama, Niyama, Asanas, Prāṇāyāma, Pratyāhāraṇa, Dhāraṇa, Dhyāna and Samādhi.

Yama : Yama consists of the practice of ahimsa, satya, astēya, brahmacharya and aparigraha as the basic principle of Yōga.

Niyama : Niyama comprises śauca—cultivation of good sentiments, and purification, Santōsa—contentment, tapas—endurance of cold and heat and austerities, svādhyāya—reading sacred books, japa and meditation.

Āsanās : The Asanas help body to be free from diseases, preserve vital energy and bring nervous system under control.

Prāṇāyāma : Regulation of breath, with exhalation—Rēchaka, inhalation—Purāṇa and retention—kumbhaka for strengthening heart, steadiness of the body and brain, is called Prāṇāyāma. Kumbhaka keeps mind in undisturbed state.

Pratyāhāraṇa : Pratyāhāraṇa is the withdrawal of senses from their respective external object.

Dhāraṇa : Dhāraṇa consists of holding the mind on the desired object.

Dhyāna : Dhyāna is steady fastness in contemplation of object without disturbance.

Samādhi : In this last step of Yōga mind is absolutely absorbed and it takes the form of the object itself. The combination of Dhāraṇa, Dhyāna and Samādhi called Samyamana gives six siddhis to Yōgi. They are Aṇima, Mahima, Garima, Prapthi, Prathiyama, Isānatva and Vasithva. In the last stage the "yōgi knows present, past and future, he understands all sounds of animals and birds, he can

disappear, he knows his death, can tame all creatures including ferocious animals, he knows the subtlest articles, can see far away things, through walls, mountains and hidden things, he knows other lōkas, stars, movements of grahas, he can conquer hunger and thirst, can see the gods and angels, he can know other's thoughts, hear or feel the faraway sounds, smells etc., he can walk on water, throw himself on fire or a knife's edge, can die at his will, he emits effulgent light from his body, he can become small or big, can get anything by his wish, appear in different places at a time, can pass through straight walls and even can easily enter other's body'. 'The yōgi obtains beautiful, strong, lustrous body and eight siddhis. But the Yōgi must not be entangled in the use of these supernatural powers. He must attain kaivalya by passing over these stages'. The Yōga of Patanjali had been adopted by all these religious sects as means of realisation of the self or Brahman or the truth as well for the achievement of Siddhis, which vary from sect to sect or text to text. It plays a vital role in Śāktism in raising the kundalini. In Tāntrism through yoga the six cruel acts are achieved.⁸⁷

The Bhagavadajjuka refers to eight siddhis of Patanjali Yōga and some super natural powers like knowing present, past and future and to move in invisible forms. The whole aim of the Bhagavadajjuka is to teach that the self is pure, but identifies with 'I' for practical purposes in the world; body is only a vehicle, a medium of existence to lead the life, till the exhaustion of karmas of the Self. In order to illustrate this fact Mahēndravarma takes parakāyapravēsa as a theme and narrates a humarous incident. In this Yamakinkara comes to earth by the command of Kāla to take away the life of a prostitute whose span of life is over. But, by mistake he takes out the life of another prostitute Ajjuka. Soon after he knows his mistake and wants to rectify it by replacing the soul into her body. By this time a parivrājaka enters into the dead body of Ajjuka behaves like parivrājaka only. Yamakinkara observing the change, puts the life of Ajjuka into the dead body of parivrājaka and goes to get the life of the actual prostitute who is destined to die. The body of Parivrājaka with the soul of Ajjuka behaves like prostitute only. While everybody was wondering at this change the kinkara returns and requests the

parivrājaka to leave the body of Ajjuka and enter into his own body.^{87a}

The Yaśastilaka also refers to the ten siddhis of Yōga as well as yōgic power to get control over the body. King Yasōdhara's spy is called mahāyōgi for his spiritual perfection. Super knowledge of knowing the incidents of far away lands, power of travelling in air, creation of illusory scenes like sprouts, hail storms, wild animals, assumption of small as well as big forms, multitude forms by super natural powers, etc., are some popular aspects of yōga described in Yaśastilaka.

Thus, of all schools of Religious Thought yōga played a significant role.

2.12 MYTHOLOGY AND INSTITUTIONS

Mythology: In ancient Andhra, as in the rest of India, the Vēdic lore, Epics and Purāṇas provide the ideals of life and the norms for the judgement of human action. They are applicable to a king or a commoner alike. However in this regard there is bound to be a lag between theory and practice. This chapter therefore is intended to be an index showing the impact of religion on the life and thought of the times under review.

According to Hindu tradition men were like Gods. They did whatever they wished and move freely everywhere in the company of Gods. But in course of times, they had degenerated and lost powers as they became less virtuous. Gods are called so as they are shining, friendly, helpful and meritorious. As such each virtue symbolically is represented as one or the other deity. Similarly Rīṣi is described as spiritual embodiment of Āryadharmā and ethics acting as intermediary between man, God and piṭṛ.

Thus, each God represents certain noble qualities and each sage is a guide line for the goal of human beings and every excellence is associated with the dēvalōka. Hence any man, king or sage on the earth who possess good qualities is compared to a deity or divine rīṣi. Each physical and mental faculty useful for the upward progress of individual in harmony with the society had been developed as mythology. Different stories were woven around each God and rīṣi

teaching the lessons of life here and there and the next world, each helping the individual to ascend the ladder of spiritual life. In course of time a number of practices were laid down which were Institutionalised latter. The legends and beliefs illustrating the attempt of man to accend to the higher levels and fall for defaults can be noticed in the source material. The belief that man can become immortal by observing dharma is expressed in the Sarabhavaram plates,¹ wherein the king is described as having secured a seat in heaven by the grace of God Śiva. The donees of Gaṅga plates are praised as conquerors of the celestial beings by observing Dharma.² The story of Nahuṣa who occupied the position of Indra, and thrown down to the earth for being arrogant to the Rīṣis, is mentioned in Yaśastilaka.³ This is didactic. In almost all the inscriptions, Kaliṅganagara the capital of Gaṅgas is described as beautiful in all the seasons like Amarapura, the capital of dēvas.⁴ The Vēdic and epic literature consider Indra, Varuṇa, Yama, Kubēra etc., as dikpālakas, the protectors of the four quarters of the world and any other such powerful king is called Pañchama lōkapāla.⁵ For instance Rāvaṇa was called Pañchamalākapāla. The Pallava king Mahēndravarma and the Eastern Chāḷukyan Indrabhaṭṭāraka varma assumed the title Pañchamalōkapāla,⁶ The kings like Jayasimha and Indrabhaṭṭāraka of Eastern Chāḷukyan dynasty who were very handsome called themselves as “Svarūpalāvaṇya” and “Dvitiyamakaradhvaṇya”,⁷ respectively. In literature also such practice can be found. In Yaśastilaka Sōmadeva compares princess Yasōgha, Yasōdhara and Māradata with Kāmadeva.⁸ Amma II because of his valour and prowess was compared to Kumāra.⁹ Jayasimha I was like ‘Bṛihaspati in diplomacy, Manu in modesty, Yudhistra in Dharma, Arjana in valour’. At another place the same king is described as Bṛihaspati in observing Nāya, Manu in having vinaya and Daśaradharāma in having unparallel power.¹⁰ Vijayāditya III, the most powerful of all the kings of this dyanasty is praised as ‘Moon in beauty, earth in endurance, sun in splendour, sea in greatness and kalpataru in generosity’.¹¹

This practice was followed even by the subordinate rulers. King Arikēsari of Vemulavada who was well-versed in grammer, gajatantra, medicine, archery and jurisprudence is described as having goddess

Bhārati in his mouth and as having Goddess Śrī, in his arms.¹² In Yaśastilaka also prince Yasōgh is described as 'Blessed with firmness by Mandhara mountain, depth by the ocean, dignity by sky, eloquence by goddess of speech, art of commanding by Lakshmi, forbearance by the earth, mastery and tradition by Brihaspati, and control over all by Yama, Varuṇa and Kubēra.¹³ Another prince Yaśodhara is like Brahma in wisdom, Ocean in discrimination, Indra in rattling of elephants, Aruṇa in chariot driving.¹⁴ The Yaśastilaka refers to the undesirable qualities of Gods also. It mentions Varuṇa as suffering from dropsy,¹⁵ Vāyu as fickle,¹⁶ Kubēra as a drunkard, Chandra as suffering from incurable consumption.¹⁷ Agni as suffering from jaundice,¹⁸ Indra as having illegal relations with women¹⁹ and Lakshmi as fickle.²⁰

The Rīṣis are divided into different classes-depending upon the austerity, penance, tapas. yōga, they performed.²¹ They are Brahmarīṣis, Maharīṣis, Rājarīṣis, Dēvarīṣis and munis. Atri, Aṅgīrasa and others are called Brahmarīṣis, Nārada and Vaisiṣṭa are Dēvarīṣis, Veinaya, Dilīpa, Yayāti are Rājarīṣis. While Bhṛugu is maharīṣi Utanka is a Vipra Rīṣi. Viśvāmitra is Brahmaṁśatriya.²² The Pallava king Paramēśvara Varman is described as "Rājarīṣiguṇasarvasandhōha," and as "Vijigīṣa".²³ So also Gōvindavarma of the Viṣṇukunḍins is described as "Samasta rājarīṣi guṇasahrudyōga". The Viṣṇukunḍins traced their origin to Drōṇa and Aśvathāma, who are the best Brahmaṁśatriyas.²⁴ The Vēmūlavada Chālukyan king Arikēsari is also described as Rājarīṣi.²⁵ The Ānandagōtra kings traced their origin to sage Ānanda,²⁶ while the Jinad inscription describes the king as born of fire, produced by the meditation of Vasiṣṭha. This inscription further states that the tapas or sāttvika power of Vasiṣṭha is greater in strength in defying the rājasika and tāmasika power of Viśvāmitra so while the former became the brahmarīṣi, the latter remained as devarīṣi only".²⁷ Thus as in case of Gods, Rīṣis who were having finer qualities only were more remembered. Āndhra Dēśa, many places seem to be connected with myths. Rīṣis and their great deeds.²⁸ Turimalla in Kurnool district, a Śiva centre is believed to be associated with āśhrama of Jamadagni, who killed Kārtavīryārjuna for taking away his divine cow Surabhi.²⁹ Paraśurāma son of Jamadagni who killed

his own mother at his father's order and his vow of destroying kṣatriyas as well as their valour by cutting of the thousand arms of Kārtavīrya,³⁰ is mentioned in another inscription of Eastern Chālukyans.

The Yaśastilaka mentions a number of sages, who are known for their contribution to religious literature and the well known legends of some sages. Sagara, Surasa, Nārada, Pārvatā, Vasu a set of sages given in the epics³¹ along with Paulah the teacher of Dharma, Pulōma the writer of politics, Palākya the writer of Rājanīti, and Kātyana the writer of law were mentioned in Yaśastilaka. Sages like Yajnavalkya, Rājaputra, Nara, Nārada, Goutama, Āpastamba, Aṅgīrasa, Rōmāpada are also mentioned in Yaśastilaka for their austerities and for their authority on Dharma,³² together with Dhanvantari, the divine physician and other celestial sages.³³ Sōmadēva refers to Atri who is called kulapati and his wife Anasūya who is considered as ideal for her vigorous ascetic exercises.³⁴ Agastya who is well known for drinking the whole ocean, toppling down Vindhya and for reducing the asuras to ashes,³⁵ and his wife Lōpamudra an ideal wife³⁶ are cited Aṅgīrasa, Bhṛigu, Sukra are the other important Rīṣis mentioned by Sōmadēva Sūri.³⁷ Nārada is described as a trouble maker as a great devotee and a philosopher.³⁸ Vyāsa who arranged vēdas, epics and the purāṇas,³⁹ is also referred to by Sōmadēva. The Yaśastilaka gives many stories from Mahābhārata and other texts, like that of the brāhmin Gautama who was spared even after killing his benedictor Nāḍijangha, the rīṣi Viśvāmitra who ate meat of dog in times of famine for survival,⁴⁰ story of Jimūtvāhana who sacrificed himself to save the Nāgas,⁴¹ and the story of Gavyanas who retained his beauty, vigour and age even after vigorous penance.⁴² The episodes of rivalry between vasiṣṭa and Viśvāmitra,⁴³ Vasiṣṭa's ability to cause rain during drought,⁴⁴ Viśvāmitra's power to create a second svarga,⁴⁵ Gautama's power to create magic gardens⁴⁶ are also mentioned by Sōmadēva.

Akkanna and Madanna caves of 4th to 6th centuries A.D., and the structural temples at Bikkavolu, Alampur, Hemavati, Mukhal-ingam, and Tiruttani of later periods are usually adorned with the sculptures of sages, dikpālalas, navagrahas and popular deities with their attendants.⁴⁷

Vēdic, epic and purāṇic literature repeatedly gives the geneology of divine kings who are noted for their remarkable deeds i.e., Manu, Yadu, Sagara, Yayāti, Pṛthu, Vēna, Bhagīratha, Nahuṣa, Dilipa, Dirghātma etc.⁴⁸ The practice of taking divine kings as ideal by the kings of the period can be traced from the times of Sātavāhanas itself. King Sātakarṇi is compared to Rāma, Kēśava, Arjuna, Bhīmasēna and other epic heroes.⁴⁹ King Ehuvala of Ikṣvākus dynasty is described as equal to epic heroes Sagara, Dilipa, Ambariṣa, Yudhisthara and Rāma.⁵⁰ The epic heroes Kṛipa, Karṇa, Arjuna, Drōṇa, Drupada, Bhōja and Bhārgava are taken as an examples of the best army leaders in Yaśastilaka.⁵¹ Dānārṇva is compared to Manu for observing Nyāya.⁵² Amma II of the Eastern Chāḷukyans dynasty though victimised by ill luck lost his kingdom many times, was coronated again and again. Being a very good king he got full support from the people, generals and warriors. For this he acknowledged at times by praising his supporters as 'Rāma and Lakṣmana in beauty, Bhīma and Arjuna in valour, Baladeva and Vāsudeva in wisdom and strength respectively, and Nakula and Sahadēva in bravery'.⁵³ The kings of the main branch of this dynasty suffered set-back constantly at the hands of step-brothers. This may be the reason why Vijaya I, was compared to Bhīma who killed Duśāsana⁵⁴ and the donees to Rāma and Arjuna. King Māradata was described as surpassed in Valour, the kings of old-age like Nala, Nahuṣa, Bharata, Bhāgiradha and Bhagadatta.⁵⁵ This shows that not only the valour and diplomacy of the ancestors were cherished but their devotion, dedication ambition and politeness were also highly valued. One Western Gāṅga plate and Jinad inscription praise the great kings Sagara and Arjuna. respectively for their firm determination in their attempts and for achieving their mighty deeds.⁵⁶ The Sarabhavaram plates describe the king as modest and polite like Dilipa, Bhagīradha, Vainya, and Yayāti.⁵⁷ Krishna, a subordinate of Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty traced back the origin of his family to Atri, Chandra, Budha, Dirghāyu, and Yadu thus attributing divinity to his family.⁵⁸

Next to the royal court, family life which forms the matrix of society also was developed on the ideals of divine love. The conjugal bliss as enjoyed by the divine pairs, which were given in the epics are

taken as examples both by the ruler and the ruled of Andhra Dēśa.

The typical conjugal love of Brahma to Sarasvathi, Isa to Uma, Indra to Śachi, Viṣṇu to Śrī, and Kumara to Jayanti, were given as examples of love of Nṛipatuṅga to his wife who was like Arundhati.⁵⁹ Another set of ideal couples Rāma and Sita, Draupadi and Arjuna, Sudakṣiṇa and Dilipa, Lōpamudra and Agasthya, Arundhati and Vasista, and Rēṇuka and Jamadagni are given as an example of love of a hero to his wife in Yaśastilaka.⁶⁰ At another place, Chāya and Agni, Śrī and Viṣṇu, Śachi and Indra, and Manmadha and Rati are named ideal couples.⁶¹

Besides the ideal love, ideal parenthood also is recorded in the inscriptions of the period. Bhīma II of the Eastern Chāḷukyans is always compared to Śiva, his wife to Pārvati and Amma II, their son Kumāra,⁶² similarly one chieftan Sundamayya, was like Guha to Uma and Śiva and Jayanta to Indra and Śachi.⁶³

Just like ideal pairs of gods, rīṣis and kings of the tradition are cherished, the illegal relations of the dēvolōka are also taken as examples, to remind people of the evil consequences in life to such bad acts. For example, Brahma's love for Tilottama his own daughter; Śiva's relation with Gaṅga; Kṛṣṇa's relation with Rādha; that of Vāli to Tāra; of Tāra to Chandra and Indra's relation to Ahalya.⁶⁴ Agni is described as lustful as in Purāṇas.⁶⁵

Among the other myths popular from the times of Sātavāhanas till thousand A.D. the myth of Rāhu swelling Chandra is repeatedly described.⁶⁶ The churning of the Ocean of milk by dēvas and rākṣhasas for Amṛita with the help of Vāsuki and Mēru⁶⁷ and the ethical ideals of Rāmāyaṇa had been charished by the ladies of these times.⁶⁸ The influence of noble ideals of the epics could be studied more and more from the times of Ikṣvākus.

In contrast to Dēvas the shining ones, asuras or evil spirits which dwell in darkness are also described in the traditional lore of the Hindus. The belief in evil spirit in Āndhra is noted down here. The Gāthāsaptāśati described Laṅka guided by Rākṣhasas⁶⁹ and the driving away of evil spirits from the body of a lady.⁷⁰ The figure of rākṣhasas are found at Karle, Mogalrajapuram as carrying dēvāyātans.⁷¹ Yaśastilaka refers to Diti, the mother of asuras and to the

practice of performing rites to drive them away.⁷² Bali, the king of rākṣhasas is described as the originator of their family, in the Bāṇa records.⁷³ The elephants are believed to be attacked by evil spirits.⁷⁴

The perilous and destructive forces and the conflict between the Asuras and the Dēvas is a regular story in the mythology. In such a case of crisis, the supreme being assumes human form on earth as an Avatāra, to uphold Dharma.⁷⁵ Such stories on Avatāras are taken from mythology as examples and are mentioned in the records of the period under study. Śaktivarma was called Chālukya Nārāyaṇa who assumed different forms to destroy the evil people. His enemy Chōla-Bhīma is compared to Rāvaṇa.⁷⁶ Such ideals are found in Yudhamalla's inscription where he was described as an incarnation of Paraśurāma who cut off thousands of Kārtavīryārjuna.⁷⁷

Institutions : An interesting feature of religious life and thought in Āndhra Dēśa is the part played by the two religious institutions, temple and Maṭha. The temple is a place of worship. Here greatest stress is laid on the mode of worship and ceremonies. In course of time it assumed additional duties like running feeding houses, keeping records and acting as a court. Unlike the temple the maṭha laid greater stress on the theoretical aspect of religion. Probably the maṭhas came into existence as early as fifty A.D. when the revival of Hinduism was commenced. The purpose of maṭha seems to guard Dharma and ensure its implementation. In course of time maṭha also assumed socio-political duties.

The princes, merchants and royal servants made lavish donations and the commoners followed their example in the maintenance of the temples. The gifts like livestock,⁷⁸ land,⁷⁹ village,⁸⁰ cash,⁸¹ gold,⁸² ornaments,⁸³ garden,⁸⁴ taxes,⁸⁵ revenue⁸⁶ and other commodities were made⁸⁷ for daily worship, periodical festivals, and for the temple staff. In order to carry on the administration and the execution of these gifts, a religious committee or village assembly or an individual or Purohita or head of a Maṭha was made supervisor.

Maṭha is a place where disciples and teachers reside, and where ascetics reside and propagate a particular branch of study on particular religious sect. It is a place where great teachers with their followers practised religious exercises and experienced spiritual mysteries.

Maṭhas were feeding and resting places too for wandering ascetics, poor brahmins and pilgrims.⁸⁸

Usually, the maṭhas are established adjacent to temples but at times they existed independently. It appears that from the sixth century A.D. onwards maṭha took active role not only in academic and religious matters but also in other social activities of the society. The earliest inscription which refers to the construction of the temple along with maṭha and Prākāra belongs to the times of Eastern Chāḷukya king Guṇagavijayāditya.⁸⁹ Another instance of maṭha construction along with a temple was found at Kolakondal.⁹⁰ Śiva temple at Turimella and the surroundings are called Kapila maṭha even to this today.⁹¹ In all the three cases the temples are associated with maṭhas. The maṭhas as ghatikas are found in three inscriptions. Kolagallu inscription records gifts for keeping student home, and a maṭha,⁹² another inscription belonging to the Chāḷukyans of Vēmula-vāda records vidyādāna made by a king Arikēsari II to the head of the academic institution at Ankuṭa.⁹³ Another inscription belonging to the same king refers to Sūristhāna, academy of the learned, and its president attached to the temple of Vēmulavāda.⁹⁴

Maṭha and temple as places of religious exercises are found from Bezvada pillar inscription of Yuddhamalla.⁹⁵ According to it, the maṭha was constructed exclusively for the śaivites and if other than śaivites should occupy the authorities or the local crown princes should forcibly expel them". The Alampur inscription refers to yogic exercises and records a curse for those who disturb the religious observances in the Brahmēśvara temple.⁹⁶ On Siddhasōmēśvara maṭha on the Kālāmukha sect is referred to in Telugu Chōḷa inscription.⁹⁷ The Tandikonda plates of Amma II show that a very important Kālāmukha maṭha existed at Vijayawada attached to Śiva temple.⁹⁸

The heads of the maṭhas were not only powerful in academic and spiritual matters, but were powerful in non-religious fields also. They took active role in other walks of life as subordinate rulers, administrators, judges and witnesses. They took part in social service and played a role in the preservation of culture too.

Mathādhipathis acting as subordinate rulers is found more in the western part of Āndhra. One Prabhūtarāsi is described as ruler of

Kundakur in western Gaṅga inscription.⁹⁹ Besides three more such rulers are seen namely Prabbeyarāsi, Gajāḍharayya and Varuṇasivabhattara ruling over Kolagallu and Kudatini. Varuna Sivabhattara is called gramamāndhata.¹⁰⁰ The single incident of sthānādhipati as gramadhipati, in the eastern side of Āndhra belongs to the period of Śaktivarman of the Eastern Chālukyan dynasty.¹⁰¹ The heads of the maṭhas are referred to as administrators in many inscriptions. The Tandikonda plates of Amma II show that the religious teachers took active role in receiving gifts, building maṭhas and temples.¹⁰² The Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dhurva inscription refers to one Sōmadibhatta as mathādhipati and Eśānācharya who constructed the prākāra of the Nava Brama temples at Alampur. Sōmēśvara Bhatta, the Mahāsthānādhipati, Śaivite medicant Appimana Gorava, Lōkamayya Gaunda are religious heads to whom gifts were entrusted by the Vaidumbas, Rēnāti Chōlas and Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings respectively.¹⁰⁴

There seems to be difference between an ordinary teacher, sthānādhipati and mahāsthānādhipati. An ordinary teacher does not seem to be engaged in other activities while the sthānādhipati functioned as a ruler and judge. The Mahāsthānādhipati probably was head of many maṭhas and many sthānādhipatis.¹⁰⁵

The sthānādhipatis as judges and witnesses are found more in the western Āndhra. One Nōlamba inscription records that Varuṇasivabhattara settled a dispute relating to the distribution of land below a tank.¹⁰⁶ One Gajāḍharayya of Kārttikēya Tapōvana, Mallikarjuna Vyaktalinga of Kālamukhas and the sthānādhipatis of temples of Rājārājēśvara, Adityagriha, Kēdarēśvara and Nagarēśvara temples are mentioned as witness to gifts made by some pious donors.¹⁰⁷

Temples and matha both served as free feeding houses for pilgrims, yatis, ascetics, brāmins, and the poor, besides other welfare and social activities. The earliest mention to the free feeding is found mentioned in the inscription of Nala kings from Vizag.¹⁰⁸ Next one belongs to the Eastern Chālukyans.¹⁰⁹ Most of the inscriptions referring to this aspect are from the southern and western parts of Āndhra. Alampur inscription of Irungula Chōla refers to sattra for ascetics, yatis and pilgrims. The Kolagallu inscription, and Hemavati inscriptions also refer to feeding of ascetics in the Maṭha and temple

respectively. A few more Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscriptions also refer to feeding of daily pilgrims, and thousand brāhmins on Mahānavami day.¹¹⁰ The Rāmēśvaram inscription of Vasantapōṛṇi, and Vemulawada plates of Aarikēsari also refer to free feeding of the pilgrims.¹¹¹

In the south, the practice of maintaining free feeding houses is found in the late Pallava, Chōḷa and Bāṇa inscriptions. The Melapadi plates of Parāntaka I, and Pallava and Chōḷa inscriptions from Tirupati, record donations made for feeding of thousand brāhmins.¹¹² Sometimes details like quantity of rice to be cooked, pounding of rice are also given. The temple, which acted as pivot of human activity in the ancient period, naturally has been visited by people regularly. The temple as public notice board and as record office, as a court or a town hall, and as resting place of the kings on their tours can be seen from the source material studied.¹¹³ The inscriptions recording the incidents of digging a tank, construction of a rachcha, punishments, remission of taxes gifts made to poor brāhmins, subordinates etc. epigraphed on different parts of the temple clearly mirror its role as a public notice board.¹¹⁴ One inscription from Palavidu, Palnadu taluq, states that inscription engraved on the wall of Śiva temple is a copy of a copper plate grant,¹¹⁵ issued by the king.

It is an accepted thing that every temple should possess a band of its own musicians. Some how the contemporary records make mention to the existence of only one type of musical band 'consisting of drummers and pipers who took part during Śribali ceremony'¹¹⁶ One solidary record belonging to the Eastern Chālukyan period¹¹⁷ refers singers of hymns.

Thus the temple reflected the religious life while the maṭha represented the religious thought of Ancient Āndhra.

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19. I.A. IX. 96-103; JAHRS. VI, See all inscriptions; in AP. Ar. Sr. 39; 'Viṣṇukundins'.
20. I.A. XX, pp. 15-18 and etc.
21. I.A. XX, pp. 15-18, XHI, pp. 51, E.I. V. p. 110-112, p. 127; 131, VII, pp. 15-19 XVIII, p. 207, XXI, 135, XXXI, XIX, p. 146, XXXVII, pp. 40-45 and etc.
22. E.I. XVIII, pp. 257-61, N.D.I., c p. 24 and etc.
23. E.I. IX, p. 102, E.I. XVIII, p. 257, XVII, p. 7 and XXXV etc.
24. E.I. XII, pp. 4-6; XIV, pp. 129-37.
25. E.I. XXIV, pp. 47-52, I.A. XIII, pp. 115-124.
26. E.I. XVII, p. 7, Dharma as preserved by the brahmins has been discussed in Chapter entitled Smārtha Dharma. XXVI, p. 63; XXXVII, p. 160; XXVI, III p. 133.

2.2 Śrauta Dharma

1. Kane, Vol. II, Pt. I, pp. 981-85, 976-1246.
2. Ar. Sur. W.I., V. pp. 59-73.
3. E.I. XX, pp. 1 to 22 and In. Arch. 1956-57, p. 37.

4. E.I. VIII, pp. 159-63; 233-36, and XXXII, pp. 91-98; S.I. III, p. 1421.
5. E.I. IV. p. 197 and A.P. Arch. Series Viṣṇukundins by Dr. N. Venkata-
ramanayya, and Tundi Copper Plate by Dr. Subrahmanyam.
6. E.I. III, pp. 81-89, A 8 of 1965. IA VI, pp. 75-78.
7. E.I. XIII, p. 164, Handique, 362, 322, 426, 420, 318 and 362.
8. JTA. 5, No. I. II, p. 816.
9. Keith, pp. 454-56.
10. Keith, pp. 460-63.
11. *Ibid.*
12. *Ibid.*
13. Sat., Br. II, 22-6-7. (*Ibid.*).
14. Keith, pp. 456-57 and 463.
15. Vyas, pp. 279, 80, 81, Hopkins, 103, 66, 223, 58, 66.
16. E.I. XXIX, pp. 89-97.
17. E.I. XVIII, pp. 56-58; XXXI, pp. 129-39.
18. A. 13 of 1914-1915 and E.I. XXIII, pp. 88 to 97.
19. E.I. V. pp. 134-5; XVIII, pp. 316-19. Bh. I, pp. 140-46.
20. E.I. XVII, p. 3, of all Vishnusarma, Prithusarma are formost, E.I., XXIII,
pp. 88-89.
21. C. of 1919-20, A of 1919-20, pt. II, p. 11, EI, XIII, pp. 104-7.
22. IA, VI, pp. 75-78.
23. Yaśastilaka by Handique, pp. 318, 362.
24. *Ibid.*, pp. 316, 322, 287 and 426.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 287.
26. Kane, II, II, p. 132; pp. 166-70; and other personal enquiries made by the
candidate.
27. Kane, II, I, pp. 982-86.
28. Arch. S.W.I.V., pp. 59-73.
29. Kane, II, II, pp. 986-998.
30. E.I., XX, pp. 1-22, and etc. and Kane, II, Pt. II, p. 1000.
31. Kane, II, II, pp. 1224-1278 and Handique, pp. 385-88.
32. E.I. XXI, p. 22; E.I., I, pp. 2-6; VIII, pp. 159-6, 233-6; XVIII, pp. 56-58, E.I.,
XXIII, 88-89.
33. Kane, II, II, pp. 1133-1203.
34. E.I., XX, pp. 1-20, XXXI, 129-139, E.I., IV, pp. 197; Kane, II, II, pp. 1206-
1212.
35. Kane, II, II, pp. 1204 and E.I., IV, p. 197, "Viṣṇukundins" A.P. Arch,
Sr. 39.
36. *Ibid.*, and Kane, II, II, pp. 1204-5.
37. Ar. Ser. W.I., V, pp. 59-73 and Kane, II, 1905.
38. *Ibid.*

39. *Ibid.*, Kane, II, II, p. 1206; also see 'Appendix' Viṣṇukundins by Sri Sankaranarayana, pp. 212-221.
40. E.I., XX, pp. 1-37, E.I., IV, p. 197; Kane, II, Pt. II.
41. Handique, pp. 383-387 and Keith.
42. 'Viṣṇukundin' by Sri Venkataramayya and Sri Sankaranarayana's Appendix, p. 215.
43. A.S.W.I., V. pp. 59-73; Keith, pp. 348-49.
44. A.S.W.I., V. 59-73, Kane, II, II, pp. 1239-46.
45. E.I., IV, p. 197, Sankaranarayana on "Viṣṇukundins" appendix, pp. 212-221.
46. A.S.W.I., V, pp. 59-73, E.I., IV, 197; Kane, II, II, pp. 1214-1223.
47. E.I., XX, p. 22, XXXII, pp. 91-98. JAHRS, XIII, p. 31-4, IX, pp. 77, E.I., IV, p. 197; Kane, II, II, pp. 1228-1239.
48. Keith, pp. 347-48 and E.I., IV, p. 197; Handique, 382-87, Sankaranarayana "Viṣṇukundins", pp. 212-221.
49. E.I., IV, p. 197 4 of 1923-24 and Keith, p. 348.

2.3 Smārta Dharma

1. Rg. Veda, X, Kane, II, Pt. I, pp. 109-103; Manu, V, VI, VIII.
2. Ramgopal, India in Vedic Kalpa Sutras, see pp. 380-431.
3. Indian in the times of Panini and India in the times of Patanjali.
4. Vyas, pp. 35, 274 to 279, Vora, pp. 126-140; 130-160.
5. Hazra, pp. 231-35, Kane, II, I, pp. 640-756.
6. IA, IX, pp. 96-103.
7. Bh., 42, pp. 23-27.
8. Bh. 23, p. 147.
9. I.A., V. II, pp. 15-19 and E.I. V. pp. 134-39.
10. JAHRS, VI, 17-24.
11. E.I., XVIII, pp. 227-332; XXXVI, pp. 298-300. JAHRS, XX, 195-201, E.I. XXIII, pp. 88-89.
12. E.I., XIV, p. 336.
13. JAHRS, II, pp. 46-48 and E.I. XXVIII, pp. 175-79.
14. Kane, II, pt. I. pp. 312-467, 640-695-888; 329-376.
15. *Ibid.*, 633-701.
16. *Ibid.*, pp. 651-75.
17. *Ibid.*, pp. 312-21.
18. *Ibid.*, pp. 685-87.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 675 to 685.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 689-695.
21. Kane, II, II, pp. 741-43.
22. Manudharma Śāstra, VII, pp. 67-82-84.
23. See under Brahma Vidya.

24. *Ibid.*, pp. 675-68.
25. *Ibid.*, pp. 351-54.
26. See under Dānas.
27. See under Śrauta Dharma.
28. See under Samdhya.
29. V. No. 4.30; 5.48.
30. E.I., XXIII, pp. 223-26; Bharati, Vol. 23, p. 147, E.I., XXIV, pp. 223-26, I.A., XXII, pp. 91-95 and SII, X, p. 24.
31. Handique, p. 260.
32. Kane, II, I, pp. 448, 651-68.
33. *Ibid.*
34. Kane, IV, pp. 310-12.
35. *Ibid.*
36. *Ibid.*
37. V. No. 1, 700.
38. SII, IX, p. 67 and Handique, pp. 63-64.
39. Kane, II, I, pp. 314-16.
40. S.I.I., IX, pp. 24-87, V. No. 100. 24 and 66.
41. E.I. V. pp. 134-39. I.A., XII, 91-95.
42. Handique, p. 272 and other.
43. Kane, IV, pp. 46-48.
44. Kane, II, p. I, pp. 685-6.
45. Kane, IV, p. 47.
46. A.S.W.I., V; E.I. XX and etc.
47. E.I. XX, XIV and Bharati, I, p. 90, SII, No. 66 of SII, IX.
48. Handique, p.
49. Kane, Vol. II, P. I. pp. 678-80.
50. *Ibid.*, pp. 679-83.
51. *Ibid.*
- 51a. Manu, III, 76 and Sāntiparva, pp. 264, 11.
52. Kane, II, P. I. pp. 696-98, 109-11, 106-108.
53. Satkarma Niratāya SII. I. 31; I.A. XII, pp. 91-95, E.I., XXXV, p. 221, XXXI, pp. 74-80 or Svakarmaniratāya, Bh. 40, 17-20 or Svakarmānusta niratāya, B. 45 of 1913-14, E.I., XXXI, pp. 174-90, E.I., XXIV, p. 47. I.A. XX, pp. 414-19, E.I., XXII, pp. 91-95, Bh. 23, JAHRS, II, 376-8. The Panchamahāyajnas, E.I., XXXV, pp. 221-24, 296, 702, XXIX, XXIII, pp. 88-9, JAHRS, V, pp. 51-52.
54. Laws of Manu, III, V. No. 67, pp. 82-84.
55. Yajna, Yajana or Dēvayajna are discussed under the Yajnas and Hōma. Dāna, Pratigraha or Manushya Yajnas are discussed under the Dānas.
56. Svādyaya tatparāya; Abhijanavidyāya, Vritta sampannāya, Sarvaśāstrātvā Vidhah E.I., XXXI, pp. 1-10, XXXII, p. 91-98.

57. I.A., IX, pp. 96-103.
58. E.I., XXXI, pp. 1-10.
59. E.I., XXXV, pp. 145-50.
60. JAHRS, VI, pp. 17-24.
61. I.A., XX, pp. 15-18.
62. E.I., XXXI, pp. 74-80.
63. E.I., XXXVI, pp. 297-302.
64. E.I., XXXI, pp. 133-134.
65. A 7 of 1916-17.
66. Bh. 23.
67. I.A., V, II, pp. 15-19, Bh. 42, pp. 23-27.
68. E.I., IV, pp. 136-139.
69. E.I., XXIII, pp. 88-89.
70. I.A., VI, pp. 75-78.
71. E.I., XXVI, pp. 62-68.
72. E.I., XXXV, pp. 221-224 and XXIII, pp. 88-89, JORH, IX, pp. 88-74.
73. E.I., XVII.
74. Kane, II, P. I, pp. 356, 328, 354.
75. *Ibid.*, 353.
76. Kane, II, P. I, pp. 700, 701, 327-29, 352-56.
77. *Ibid.*
78. P.V. Kane, II, P. I, pp. 354-57.
79. *Ibid.*, p. 328.
80. E.I., XXXI, pp. 1-10.
- 80a. I.A., XX, pp. 15-18.
81. E.I., XXXI, pp. 133-134.
82. Bh. 42, pp. 23, 27.
83. I.A., VII, pp. 15-19.
84. E.I., XIV, p. 336 "Śāpānugraha samarthāya.
85. Kane II, p. I, pp. 354 and 357 etc.
86. A.P. Arch. Series No. by Ramesan, pp. 21-35; C. 1 of 1919-20, pt. II, p. 96.
- 86a. E.I., XXXI, pp. 74-80.
87. See under Matas.
88. Manu, III, V.N. 84-94.
- 88a. Manu, III, V. 94-100, 106.
89. Manu, III, Verse, 94-100, 106, 117, 121 and etc.
90. E.I., XXXVI, 298-300, V. No. 3-5, SII, IX, p. 69 and etc.
91. E.I., XVIII, pp. 227-332; E.I., XIV, p. 336 and etc.
92. E.I., V, pp. 134-39.
93. E.I., VII, 259-95, Arch. S.U.W.I., V. p. 59.
94. Ramesan's Copper Plates of A.P. Govt., Vol. I. pp. 211-35.

95. E.I., XXXI, pp. 1-10.
96. E.I., XXXV; 14 of 1952-53.
97. SII, IX, p. 24.
- 97a. E.I., XXXVI, pp. 298-300.
98. Kane, IV, pp. 42-43, 121-4.
99. *Ibid.*
100. Arch. S.W. In. V. p. 59.
101. Kane, V. pp. 11, 22, 27, 28, 31 etc.
102. Kane, V. p. 45.
103. *Ibid.*, pp. 57 and 39.
104. E.I., XXXV, 14 of 1952-53.
105. SII, IX, p. 67.
106. E.I., XIV, pp. 336 and XXXI, pp. 37-40.
- 106a. Vora and Kane, IV.
107. SII, IX, pp. 24, 67 and E.I., XIV, p. 335.
- 107a. Kane, IV, pp. 1355, 103-4, 113.
108. E.I., VIII, 59-95.
109. "Viṣṇukundins" and E.I., IV, pp. 193-98.
110. I.A., VI, p. 91.
111. I.A., VI, pp. 75-78.
112. Handique, 162, 176, 260, pp. 63-64.
113. Kane, IV, pp. 145-146.
114. Kane, IV. pp. 130-4.
115. *Ibid.*, pp. 132-3.
116. *Ibid.*
117. Kane, IV. p. 130.
118. Kane, p. 134.
119. JAHRS, Vol. V, pp. 46-48, JTA, 15, E.I., XVI, p. 58 alot of enquiries were made by the candidate regarding the practice but could not get information. This practice might have become an archaic.

2.4 Sādhāraṇa Dharma

1. Rg. Veda Macdonell I., V, VII and IX, Kane, II, pt. I, pp. 836-39, 40, 888.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 847-48; 838-41.
3. Ramgopal, p. 155, 450-51 and etc.
4. Kane, II, pp. 843-44, Macdonell, p. 168, Keith, p. 478.
5. Vyas, p. 285; Vora, 190-91.
6. Kane, II, p. II, pp. 844-45; Mahābhārata, XII, pp. 87, 45, 42.5-7 Anuśāsana-parva.
7. Kane, II, p. II, pp. 840-44; Kane, II, pt. I, pp. 882-83.

8. Kane, II, II, pp. 843-45, 840, 42 and 893.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 893, 843.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 843.
11. E.I., XXXI, pp. 1-10; XII, pp. 133-36: JAHRS, VI, pp. 17-24, 14 of 1908-9; E.I. XXVI, pp. 165-70, E.I. X, pp. 100-6; I. X, VI, pp. 85-88; E2 of 1941-42.
12. E.I. XXIX, pp. 83-91, Bh. I, pp. 140-46, E.I., XXXVI, pp. 292-302; E.I. XXV, pp. 42-47, A II of 1917-18; I.A. XX, pp. 104-106, I.A. 102-22; A 6 of 1952-53, E.I. XXVI, pp. 62-68; E.I. XXII, pp. 24-29.
13. Kane, Vol. II, II, pp. 8410, 42, 893.
14. E.I., XV, pp. 246-258.
15. Kane, II, II.
16. Kane, II, II. p. 843.
- 16a. Kane, II, II, p. 843.
17. E.I. Vol. XX, Copper plate inscriptions by Ramesan, pp. 1-37; and E.I. IV, pp. 193-98, E.I. XVII, pp. 337-39; IA., XX, 15-18. E.I. 2-10, E.I. IX, pp. 49-56 and etc.
18. SII. I, pp. 46-49, E.I. VII, pp. 177-192, E.I. IV, pp. 193-98 and etc. IA XIII, pp. 115-124, E.I. XXIV, pp. 47-52 and etc.
19. Kane, II, II, pp. 842-43.
20. I.A. IX, pp. 96-103; E.I. XXI, pp. 1-10, Bh. 23; I.A. VI, pp. 75-78; I.A. VI, p. 90, E.I. XXVI, 62-68.
21. SII, Vol. I, pp. 46-49; A 2 of 1923-24 and etc.
22. *Objects of gifts :*
Gold : A.S.W.I. V., pp. 59-73; E.I. XV, pp. 246-58; E.I. XX, pp. 1-37. E.I. IV, pp. 193-98; A.P. Govt. Series 6, p. 242.
Coins or money : A.S.W. In. V., pp. 59-73; E.I. XV, pp. 246-58; E.I. IV, pp. 193-98, E.I. XX, 1-37.
Villages : A.S.W.I.V. pp. 59-73; I.A. XX, pp. 15-18; V. 175-77; E.I. VIII, pp. 236-40.
Dress : Ar. S.W.F. Vol. V, pp. 59-73; "Viṣṇukundins", A.P. Arch. Seri.
Lands : E.I. XV, pp. 246-48; IV, pp. 193-98; SII. IX, p. 67, JAHRS, V. pp. 101-6.
House site : E.I. I, pp. 2-10.
Flower Garden : E.I. I, pp. 2-10; XXIV, pp. 137-43; SII. IX, p. 67.
Water tank : See under Utsarga.
Oil mill : SII. IX, p. 67.
House-holder objects : Ar. S.W.I. V, pp. 55-73; 2 of 1966.
Elephants, Horses : Ar. S.W.I. V, pp. 59-73; 2 of 1966.
Cushions, seats : A.P. Arch. S. 40, p. 6.
Garments and Ornaments : Ar. S.W.I. V, 59-73; 2 of 1966.
Dwellings : 846 of 1917-18; A 4 of 1924-28.

- Woolen carpets* : E. 21 of 1939-40.
Umbrellas : SII. IX, p. 50.
Education : JAHRS XX, pp. 195-200.
Kavyas : JAHRS. XX, pp. 195-200.
Kanyas : E.I. IV, pp. 193-98 'Viṣṇukundin' A.P. Arch. Ser. and 8 of 1965.
Chariots, Cars and other conveyances : Ar. Ch. W.I. V, pp. 59-72 of 1966.
Cows : E.I. 2-10; E.I. IV, pp. 193-98; E.I. XX, 1-37.
Food : JAHRS XX, pp. 195-20.
Education : 67 of SII. IX, see under Maṭha.
23. I. I, pp. 838-39.
 24. Kane, II, II, pp. 839-40; 46-48.
 25. Kane, II, II, pp. 849-51; 846-47.
 26. Kane, II, II, *Ibid*.
 27. *Time of Donation* :
Uttarayana : I.A. XX, pp. 104-100, Bh. I, pp. 240-46; E.I. XXVI, pp. 465-70, A 17 of 1932-33.
Dakṣhināyana : E.I. XXII, pp. 24-28; XXXVI, pp. 297-302.
Lunar eclipse : E.I. XXIX, pp. 89-97; A 12 of 1908-9; E.I. XXXI, pp. 129-38; 24-80; N.I. III, p. 144; I.A. XX, pp. 15-18; A 12 of 1908-9.
Solar eclipse : E.I. XXXVI, pp. 292-302; I.A. V. pp. 120-22; Bh. 12.
— : JAHRS, XI, pp. 43-47, All of 1917-18, 7 of 1916-17.
Purnamāsi : E.I. XXV, pp. 42-47, A 11 of 1917-18, 7 of 1916-17.
Mahākārthika : E.I. XXVII, pp. 7 & 34, XXV, p. 234.
Mahāpurnamāsi : A 6 of 1952-53.
Śrāddha : 13 of 1908-9; 14 of 1908-9; 1 of 1913-14.
Royal coronation : A 3 of 1917-18.
Services to King : 3 of 1938-39.
Marriage : E.I. XXVI, pp. 62-65.
Victory : SII. IX, p. 46.
Diksha : E.I. XXV, pp. 62-68, Bh. 34, pp. 86-39.
Nityaśrāddha : 1 of 1913-14.
Consecration of a tank : E.I. III, pp. 127-30.
To get merit of the Life : A 14 of 1908-9.
 28. Kane, II, II, p. 849, 51 and etc.
 29. 21 of 1939-40.
 30. E.I. XXXV, 14 of 1952-53.
 31. JAHRS V, pp. 17-24.
 32. I.A. XIII, pp. 273-76.
 33. E.I. X, pp. 100-6, XXII, pp. 24-29.
 34. A 3 of 1917-18.
 35. SII. IX, pp. 65, 78, 236, 34 of 1913-14, 15 of 1937-38.

36. SII. IX, p. 69; A 12 of 1908-9 and etc.

37. Kane, II, II, p. 855.

38. *Ibid.*, pp. 841, 42, 855. 56.

39. E.I. XXXI, pp. 1-10 and JAHRS. XX, pp. 83-90.

The term 'Radhakra' as used in ancient texts is given below. "Rathanta is a method of reading Vēda : in Rājasūya sacrifice Radhantara mantras are uttered; purohit who does rites for charoits is also called Radhakara; a Chariot drawn by mules is given to Hōtr; in Aśvamēdha sacrifice horse is taken to rest in the night to the home of Radhakara. In the Radhakara caste is the result of marriage of a vaiśya—with śūdra women. They are eligible to read Vēdas, do śrauta sacrifices, but they have to consecrate the śrauta fire and do upanayana in the rainy season only. Kane, V, II, 1290-1642; p. 987; Ramgopal, 293, 89, 117; Kausika, SU 41.18.20; 51. 18.20). This gift was donated on rainy season.

40. Kane, II, II, pp. 858-62-69.

40a. E.I. XXVIII, pp. 298-302.

41. See under S.I.I. I, pp. 36-38, E.I. XI, p. 226: XXXVIII, pp. 119-121, E.I. V, pp. 118-42; N.I. II, p. 57; E.I. XXXVI (Imprecation is noted under "Pāpa and Prāyaschitta"; E.I. XI, p. 228.

42. Kane, II, II, 865-877; V, pt. II.

43. E.I. Kane, II, pt. 877.

44. Bh. 12, ND III, p. 966, JAHRS. V, pp. 57-59; JAHRS. V, pp. 101-6; p. 51-59. I.A. XIII, p. 55, A.P. Arch. 6, p. 242.

45. Dr. N. Venkataramanayya Chalukyas of Vengi, p. 1.

46. I.A. IX, pp. 96-103; JAHRS. VI, 17-24.

47. E.I. XXI, pp. 61-71, XX, 1-37.

48. E.I.I., pp. 2-10.

49. Kane, II, II, 869-874; and S.W.I. V; E.I. XX, 1-37; E.I. I, p. 2-10.

50. *Ibid.*

51. *Ibid.*, and E.I. I, pp. 2-10.

52. *Ibid.*

53. Kane, II, I, pp. 890-93, 94, 90-97, Hazra, pp. 183-84.

54. E.I. XI, V, 509 of 1915-16.

55. E.I. XXXIV, pp. 197-204.

56. 176 of 1966, A.P. Arch. Seri. 40, p. 26.

57. 830 of 1917-18, 792 of 1917-18; 131 of 1959-59.

58. 354 of 1940.

59. SII. IX, p. 401 and 792 of 1917-18.

60. E.I. Vol. III, p. 127.

61. Tanks : E.I. XI, p. 266, Lands for tanks, maintenance for depositers, silts and digging pits.

Consecration of tanks : E.I. VII, pp. 127-30.

for tank : SII. IX, pp. 59, 176 of 1966. JAHRS. V, pp. 101-6; 811 of 1917-18; 12 of 1916-17, SII. IX, pp. 27, 26, 24, C. 12 of 1916-17; 811 of 1917-18. A 592 of 1912-13.

Staff : 35 of 1916-17.

B 726 of 1916-17; B 120 of 1899.

Deepening of tank : I.A. p. 40, p. 114.

Repairs : SII. IX, pp. 34, 30 and 830 of 1917; 783 of 1917-18.

Maintenance : 188 of 1937-38.

Sluice : SII. IX, p. 27.

Persons were appointed to take care; 415 of 1920-21; 743 of 1916-17 C. 35 of 1916-17.

Chāvadi : C. 306 of 1919-20.

Racha : B. 103 of 1929-30.

Mandapa : B. 62 of 1953-54; 44 of 1925.

62. *Chaultry* : JAHRS. VI, p. 44 of 1965; SII. IX, p. 19; SII. X, p. 599; B. 234 of 1913-14; B. 417 of 1920.

Student Home : SII. 67 of I. SII. IX, p. 67, JAHRS. XX, pp. 195-200.

Watershed : Paniybhumi, 17 of 1966; A. 2 of 1966.

63. Kane, II, I, pp. 895-96.

64. *Ibid.*

2.5 Tāntrism

1. Frazer, I.P. 7-10 and Encyclo. of Religion and Ethics III. p. 392 and Keith. pp. 381-86 also refer P. Kumar : on 'Sakti cult' Select Inscriptions, pp. 118-119.
2. Keith, pp. 304-95; 380, 90.
3. Epic Mythology, Agni purāṇa and etc.
4. E.I. VIII, pp. 296-303, 143-146, E.I. Vol. I, pp. 84-88, XXIV, pp. 233-36, 137-43, XXXI, pp. 1-10, 74-50, IV, pp. 142-45; XXVII, pp. 33-36, XXIV, pp. 47-52; I.A. XX, pp. 15-18, V, pp. 175-77, E.I. VI, pp. 315-19 and many more.
5. E.I. XXI, pp. 1-10, XXXI, pp. 74-80, IX, pp. 98, Bh. p. 12, p. 87, Bh. 13, 472: 19 and 20 of 1934-35. 7 of 1916-17 IA VI, 85-88.
6. Handique, pp. 377, 143, 205-280, 84, 264, 410.
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18. Kane, Vol. V, pt. III.
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2. Kane, V. Pt. I. pp. 2-28.
3. V. No. 7.3.
4. V. No. 1.99; 4.28.
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9. Kane, V, I, pp. 211-225; 217-219, 247.
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11. V. No. 2.51.
12. V. No. 1.16 and 4.19.
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14. Kane, V, I, pp. 241-50; 247; Macdonell.
15. V. No 1. 79; and 7.24.
16. V. No. 6. 35.
17. Referred under Śaktism.
18. *Ibid.*
19. Kumar, p. 229-330; pp. 184-29, 202-3; Kane, V.I. pp. 179-74, 156-57.
20. Kane, V, I. pp. 190-92.
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22. Kane, V, p. 195-200.
23. Handique, pp. 157, Yaśastilaka Book III V, 462-4.
24. Kane, V, Pt. I, p. 206.
25. V. No. 4.69; 6.45; 6.44; 6.35; 4.12.
26. Handique, pp. 33 and 39.
27. Handique, p. 407.
24. V. No. 2.65; also Sivaramamurty 'Amaravati sculptures' p. 248; Pt. IV. A2; p. 263 and etc.
29. Select temples of A.P. by Dr. M. Ramarao; 230 of 1903.
30. Agarwal, pp. 50-63; Ramgopal, pp. 406, 429.
- 30a. JBRS Vol. XVI, 1883-85, p. 223.
31. SII IX, p. 69.
32. JBRS XVI, p. 68.
33. IA VI, pp. 88-89, JBRS XVI.
34. I.A. VII. pp. 15-19.
35. N. D.I. II, pp. 57, 25 under Ustarga and Pratista and Dānas; S II X 76, 60, 12 of 1933-34; E.I. XI 220-28; SII IX 595; Bāna inscriptions, 145 of 1943-44.
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37. Kane, IV. pp. 560-62: 64-71; 572-73.
38. Amaravati Sculptures. Plt. III. E. 1, 2, 4, 9, pp. 245-46.
39. V. No. 2.94.
40. J.T.A. pp. 49-63; E.I. X, pp. 150-159.
41. Handique, p. 416.
42. *Ibid.*, p. 27.
43. TTDI. I.P. 8; No. 6 and 18 (also see SII IX. 33).
44. History of Tirupati, pp. 314, 17, T.K.T. Viraraghavachari, Vol. I. pp. 314, 17, 30, 37, 505 etc.
45. 155 of 1942-43, 150, 168, of 1943-44, 230 of 1903; TTDI No. 9. also read Kane, V.I. pp. 36-37-39; Kane, II. pp. 711-34; 896.150, 168 of 43-44.
46. SII. IX no. 33, 69, TTDI. IV, 4, 8. TTDI, Chōla and Bana records. SII. III. p. 19, 233 of 1949-50; SII. VII. p. 94; 178 of 1945 and several others.

Temple Services

Ablution : T.T.D.I. Vol. I. No. 8.

Tirumanjana : T.T.D.I. Vol. I. No. 18.

Dhūpa : S.I.I. IX, p. 69.

Dīpa : Several inscriptions refer to lamps and different types of gift made for it, SII. VII. p. 64: 178 of 1943-44. The Dipas are of several types : (I. Daily lamp; II additional lamp); (1) Perpetual lamp; (2) for special occasions only; (3) To the main temple; or (4) to a special idol on specific occasion. SII IX. p. 69, gift to Venkateswara perpetual lamp TTDI No. 8, 3, 2, Siyakina *Ibid.*, No. 2, Tandikonda pt., Chola. S.I.I. III. donated sheep to God Śiva during "Asterisankattige" 184 of 1943-44. Two Twilight lamps SII VII, pp. 94, 95. Several inscriptions Banas from Gudimallam refer to the Dīpa to the main deity.

Ko-Vijaya Dan'tivikram donated a lamp to the provisional image TTDI. Vol. I. p. 18.

Bhōga : Procession to deity—T.T.D.I. 8; SIIIX-69; worship SM IX 33.

Bali : Sribali offering of the uncooked rice, flowers and fruits to Gods are first referred to in Pallava, T.T.D.I. 1, No. 9.

Charu : Charu is offerings of cooked food to Dikpālas (Gānga and Chālukyan plates referred to charu).

150, 154 of 1943-44; 168 of 1943-44.

Nivedyam : Tandikonda pts., SII. IX p. 69, Chōla Bāna Inscn.

(T.T.D.I. 1, p. 4 and 8; SII IX, p. 33) More offerings in a day 155 of 1942-43; 23 of 1903.

Music and Hymns : Tandikonda plates.

47. 230 of 1903; SII. IX. pp. 69. 155 of 1942-43.

48. Viraraghavacharya, p. 523; TTD. I. 18.

49. T.T.D., 14.

50. SII. IX, p. 69 and Tandikonda plates.

51. S.I.I. IX, p. 33. 69 and 143 of 1943-44.

52. T.T.D.I., Vol. I, No. 7, 8, 9.

Without referring to any particular festival, special rites are note in 173 of 1943-44. TT DI 1.9.

SII VIII 521, 509. Special celebrations are made in Śiva Temple on New full moon days in the Pallavas reign. 174, 143 of 1943-44. Kārttika as a special festival of the Saivits is found in Rāṣtrakūṭa record and a lamp on Astorisan Kārttika. (154 and 150 of 1943-44). Puttasi festival and Mukkōtidvādasi (T.T.D.I. Vol. No. 8 and 9).

53. 174 of 1943-44; 184 of 1943-44.

Pavitrarōhana festival to God 96, 99 of 1921, Chitri Tirumal SII VII, 519.

- Tiruppadimono festival SII. VIII 509, (AP Arch. Sr. No. by Rama Rao, pp. 57-58).
54. Gādhāsaptasati, 2.43, 2.40, 3.56.
 55. *Ibid.*, 3.62, 3.44.
 56. *Ibid.*, 2.37; 3.67; 1.25; 3.37.
 57. Handique, p. 39, pp. 26-28 and 407.
 58. *Ibid.*, pp. 407, 427.
 59. Origin and growth of religion, pp. 170; Kane, V. II. pp. 728, 725, 729 and V.I. pp. 276, 799-800, 230, 806, 110, Vyasa, 146, 47-51 and 170-272; Keith, p. 391-93, 383-84; Ramgopal, p. 476. Kane, V. II. pp. 776, 78, 230-3; Hopkin, p. 130; Kane, IV. pp. 159-61, Keith, pp. 55, 56, 64, 87 and 102; pp. 144, 272, Kane, Vol. I. p. 725, II. p. 732, Ramgopal, p. 476, 200.
 60. Verses 5. 48; Kōsapāna is described as drinking of hot poison or sura. See Gādhāsaptasati in Marati by Joglekar.
 61. Refer under 'Papa and Punya'.
 62. Verses 2.25; 4.40.
 63. Amaravati sculptures by C. Sivaramamurty.
 64. V. No. 3.1; 1.64.
 65. Various references.—Handique, pp. 408-456.
 66. In Arch. 1955-56, p. 23.
 67. Vyas. pp. 225-226; Macdonell, pp. 154-55, Agrawal, p. 1-12, 21-29, 35-65, Ramgopal, pp. 468, 140, 84-5.
 68. Ajaymaitra Sastry and I.K. Sarma Satavahana coins. and In. Arch. 1954-55, p. 23, Sivaramamurty, p. 236, 57.
 69. V. No. 2.40; 3.62 and many more.
 70. E.I.V.P. 140, XIII, p. 160.
 71. Handique, pp. 253, 26, 27, 282 and 72. Vyas. 225, 26, 227; Hopkins 123, 24, 97, Macdonell, pp. 154. Agarwal, pp. 177-191, 148-43; 151-54.
 73. E.I.V.P. 140; E.I. III. p. 160.
 74. Ajaymaitrasastri, p. E.I. VII p. V. No. 2. 77.
 75. E.I. XXVII, p. 221-66.
 76. Handique, p. 282.
 77. Macdonell, p. 154, Ramgopal, p. 103, Vyas, pp. 282-83; Hopkins, pp. 8-11 Adi and Asvamedhaka parvas. Vishnu purana.
 78. E.I. Vol. P.
 79. Central Arch. Dept. No. 157/61; 6651; 1168, 6859.
 80. V. 5.48; 3.57; 1.64 and Handique, pp. 252, 141 and etc.
 81. Macdonell, pp. 85-86, 87, Ramgopal, p. 103, pp. 471-2, Vyas, pp. 281-2; Hopkins, pp. 3-6, Ramgopal, p. 103, Hopkins, pp. 256, 200, 180, 141, 156, 117, 118 and 184. Agrawal, pp. 127-30.
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83. Sivaramamurty, pp. 66, 67, 134; Memo. Arch. 71 pt. XX.A. Sivaramamurty, p. 134; V. No. 2.43; 3.62. Ramarao 'Satavahana coins'.
84. 'Kavi Gāyaka Kalapateru' E.I. XXIII, p. 160 and Epigraphia Indica VII, pp. 192-7; E.I. VI 23, 40. SII I No. 38.
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87. See under festivals.
88. Innumerable 189/1962, 1168, 127, 4972 and etc. Mukhalingam' Barret, D.
89. Agarwal, pp. 116-117; Ramgopal, 105-470; 425-30, Macdonell, pp. 154, 138, Vyasa, pp. 281-3; pp. 77-78; Hopkins, p. 78; Agarwal, pp. 114-18; 133-35; Hopkins, pp. 6, 7, 72, Hopkins, p. 12. 7-8 and Agarwal, pp. 118-9, Karmaker, pp. 189-194, Hopkins, 72; Agarwal, pp. 122-76; Agarwal, pp. 124-86, See Sivaramamurty Amaravati Sculptures.
90. V. No. 5. 75, 76, 6.93.
91. E.I. Vol. V, p. 140 'dina-andha bandhijana surabi' XX 15-18. E.I. XVII p. 227-32, XVIII pp. 2-6.
92. Handique, pp. 253, 141.
93. Innumerable.
94. Macdonell, pp. 147-48; 152-53; Ramgopal, pp. 100-408, 197, 406.1 404, 119; 150-51, p. 108, Hopkins, 20, 12, 13, 200; 16, 17, 106; Vyas, p. 279, Episc puranic glossary Wilson and see references under sins and other relevant topics.

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2. Narayan Ayyar Saivism in South India, pp. 1-2.
3. Karmaker, pp. 52-55, 19-30, 266-70; Benerjee, 69-70.
4. Kamraker, pp. 67-76, 217-19, 52-54.
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6. V. No. 1, 700.
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11. Ind. Arch 1957-67, pp. 36, 19-29. E.I. XXXIV, p. 19.
12. E.I. XXIII, pp. 147-9.
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37. *A.P. Arch. Series* 19 and Sivaramamurty Early Eastern Chalukyan Sculpture p. 57 and 7. 1 of 1960-61.
38. *B.* 128 of 1951-52, 337 of 1918-19 and *J.T.A.*, II p.
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61. 276 of 1964, 48 of 1961-62, 71 of 1943-44; 98 48 of 1960-61, 53 of 1961-62 and 75 of 1961-62.
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69. B-235 of 1937-38.
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- 102a. *Ibid.*
 - (a) Photo no. 36 central Arch.
 - (b) State Arch. 124, 2037.
 - (c) State Arch. 2037, 1001, 26, 212/60, R-23/D, 126/61 of Central Arch.
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- (o) 74 of 1967-63 and etc. and many more.
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132. 77 of inscriptions copied up 1964.
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115. 17 of 1939-40; 160 of 1967.
116. Vyas, pp. 144, 281, 291, Mahābhāratha and Purāṇa. (see kane)
117. Handique, p. 253.
118. 229/1962 of Central Arch, 22.

2.11 Religious Thought

1. Handique, pp. 233; 226, 227.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 184, 187, 218-19.
3. Book V, pp. 250, 193-5; 229-230.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 196.
5. *Ibid.*, 195, pp. 224, 226.
6. A.S.W.I. V. pp. 59-73.
7. E.I. XVIII, pp. 317-19.
8. V. No. 3.57; 6.14; 29: 6, 5.62; 2.74, 1.63.
9. V. No. 5.41; 4.75.
10. V. No. 3.45, 3.79.
11. V. No. 3.47; 5.86 and 3.1.
- 11a. V. No. 3.1 See "Chalukyan of Vemulavada" by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya.

12. E.I. XXXV.
13. E.I. Bharati, Vol. 42, pp. 2-12.
- 13a. E.I. XXXI, pp. 129-39.
14. E.I. I, p. 399, XXIV, pp. 52, 53, E.I. XIX, pp. 137; E.I. XXIV, pp. 129, 180.
- 14a. Referred under Danas.
15. Kane, V, II, pp. 1532-39, Keith, pp. 572-78.
16. Kane, V, II, 1560-62; 1558-60, Keith, pp. 575-77; 580-81.
17. Kane, VI, II, pp. 1569-72, 75, Vora, pp. 174-76-78; Vyas, pp. 146-47, 288-89, 290-93 and Datta and Chatterjee, p. 15.
18. Kane, V, II, pp. 1589-94, 1596.
19. E.I. Vol. XXIV, p. 142; XXIX, p. 89.
20. Mattavilāsa opening verses.
21. All Gāṅga records. EI XXXVII, p. 160; XXIII, p. 263-269 and etc.
22. Handique, p. 102.
23. Hopkins, pp. 76-77; Vishnu Purana, pp. 387-89; 90-93; Bhagavata Purana, XI, etc., All puranas deal at great length on Kaliaga.
24. X.I. XXXIV, p. 201.
25. E.I. XX, pp. 1-37.
26. Memors by Longhurst; "Vishnukundin coins" by Ramarao.
27. E.I. XXXI, p. 787-192; XXIV, p. 180-81, JAHRS. II, p. 146-148 etc. see under Saivism.
28. E.I. XXIV, p. 271.
29. Handique, pp. 143, 145, 316, Godhāsaptasāti, 3.7; 3.35.
30. Macdonell, pp. 11-14, Kane, II, 1491-3, 1484-95, 1515-1543.
31. See under benedictory verses and Handique, pp. 82, 84, book V, 7.8, 7.31, 6.75, 5.46.
32. Verses, 1.75; 2.25; 2.76; 74; 5.46; 4.55.
33. Innumerable are found scatterd.
34. Handique, pp. 89, 82, 84, 158.
35. Macdonell, pp. 8-10; Vyas, p. 145; Kane, V, II, pp. 1524-29; Hopkins, pp. 11, 60, 61.
36. V. No. 1.75; 2.25; 2.74; 2.76; 5.46; 4.55.
37. Gādhāsaptasāti, V. No. 6.75; E.I. XIII, 104-107; XXI; Viṣṇukundin pts.
38. Handique, pp. 145, 158, 75, 84 and 319.
39. Macdonell, pp. 167-68; Grisword, pp. 314-318; Keith, pp. 407, 40; Kane, IV, pp. 1-3; 136-59; Vyas, p. 290; Hopkins, pp. 233, 57 etc.
40. V. No. 1.99.
41. Referred under Pāpa and Prayaśchitta, E.I. XXV, pp. 42-47; VII, pp. 18-20; 2818-8; I.A. XII, pp. 9-95 and many more.
42. Handique, Book IV.

43. Macdonell, p. 169, Keith pp. 409-11; 474; Kane, IV, pp. 153-56; 164-162, Ramgopal, p. 481; Hopkins, pp. 108-11.
44. Kane, IV, pp. 160-64; 167-173, 176-78 Hazra Chapter IV.
45. Sin, 2.837; 3.67; Prayaschitta 3.33; 3.57. 'Sriparvata' is found in XXXVIII, pp. 205-6.
46. E.I. I, p. 2-10; VI, pp. 86-88.
47. I.A. IX, p. 103; JAHRS, Vol. V.
48. E.I. XXXI, pp. 4-7.
49. E.I. XXV, pp. 42-47.
50. E.I. VII, pp. 15-29; 281-88; Vol III, p. 6; I.A. XII, pp. 92-95.
51. "Viṣṇukundins" by N. Venkataramanayya, Handique, pp. 172-3.
52. No. 3 and 6 of Warangal district inscription.
53. E.I. XV, pp. 15-19; E.I. XI.
54. E.I. XXVII, pp. 203-6; J.T.A. N.I. II, 25; E.I. XXVIII, pp. 205-6.
55. E.I. Vol. p.
56. Grisword, pp. 121-27, 129-131; Kane IV, pp. 1-15; Keith, p. 480.
57. Ramgopal, pp. 478-79; 481; Kane, IV, p. 40; p. 40; Vora, pp. 53-54; 57, 59, 182, 161. Hopkins, pp. 87, 121, 130, Vyas, pp. 287-89, 79, Kane. IV, pp. 13-15-32.
58. Kane, IV, pp. 16-20; 25-31; 60, 62, 65, 73-86, 87-104.
59. Kane, IV, pp. 41-42, 46-55.
(also see under 'smārta Dharma')
60. E.I. XXII, pp. 98-9.
61. E.I. XVII, pp. 56-58; XXIII, pp. 88-89; XXXV, pp. 221-23 and etc., and 7 of 1916-17 and E.I. XIX, p. 153.
62. Handique, pp. 66, 176, 260, 214.
63. *Ibid.*, pp. 217, 280-81, 216.
64. Keith, p. 585.
65. Arch. Sur. West India, VI, pp. 59-73.
66. E.I. VIII, pp. 58-95.
67. E.I. XXXV, p. 205.
68. E.I. XXIX, p. 89.
69. E.I. XXIV, p. 142.
E.I. Vol. I, pp. 1-14; XXIX, p. 89.
70. E.I. XXXII, p. 93.
71. Veturi Prabhakara Sastri's edition in Telugu.
72. *Ibid.*
73. JAHRS, VI, pp. 17-24.
74. E.I. V, 124 and Vāsista Anantavarma, XXIV, pp. 52-53.
75. Bha. p. 23.
76. E.I. XXXI, pp. 38-40.
77. E.I. XXXII, pp. 91-95.

78. I.A. VII, pp. 15-19.
79. Gola Sarma, E.I. XXXVI, pp. 298-300; and Bharat. Vol. 42, p. 23.
80. E.I. V, p. 137.
81. E.I. XXIV, pp. 52-53.
82. XXIV, pp. 47-52.
83. E.I. XIII, pp. 115-24.
84. E.I. XXXIII, p. 215; XXVI, p. 134 and JAHRS, VI, pp. 17-24.
85. E.I. XXII, pp. 88-89 and I.A. VI, pp. 75-78.
86. E.I. XXV, pp. 22-24 and E.I. XIV, p. 336.
87. Keith, pp. 590-91, "Rāja Yōga" by Sri Vivekananda Section dealing with Pathanjali's Yogas Sutra. Chapter 2, 29; An Introduction to Indian Philosophy by Datta and Chartterjee.
- 87a. Bhagavadajjuka Tr. By Veturi Prabhakara Sastri into Telugu.
88. Handique, pp. 58, 418 and 20, 416, 410, 411, 412.

2.12 Mythology and Institutions

1. E.I. Vol. XIII, pp. 104-107.
2. E.I. XXVIII, pp. 175-79.
3. Handique, p. 437.
4. E.I. XXX, pp. 24-29.
5. Hopkins, pp. 149-50.
6. E.I. XXXII, p. 93; E.I. XVII, pp. 2-6.
7. E.I. XIX, p. 55; Bh. 40 pp. 17-20, E.I. XVIII, pp. 56-58; 59.
8. Handique, pp. 26, 21 etc.
9. E.I. XIX, p. 255, E.I. V, p. 137.
10. E.I. XXXVI, pp. 298-300.
11. E.I. V, pp. 119; 123.
12. Chalukyan of Vamulavada by N.V. Ramayya, p. 75.
13. Handique, p. 26.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 82.
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16. *Ibid.*
17. *Ibid.*
18. *Ibid.*
19. *Ibid.*
20. *Ibid.*, pp. 171, 299, 175.
21. Grisword, pp. 48-50, Macdonell, 138-39-147, Hopkins, pp. 176-80, Wilson, 363-367-180-81-189.
22. *Ibid.*
23. E.I. XXIV, p. 89.
24. A.P. Arch. Sr. No. Dr. Venkataramnayya, p. 26.

25. E.I. XXVII, pp. 221-61.
26. Indian Ant. 2 of 1919-20.
27. E.I. XXII, p. 60.
28. E.I. XIX, p. 255.
29. E.I. XXIX, pp. 160-64.
30. Handique, p. 378.
31. *Ibid.*, pp. 453, 379, 454.
32. *Ibid.*, pp. 452-454, 444-450.
33. Handique, p. 460.
34. Handique, p.
35. *Ibid.*
36. *Ibid.*, p. 436.
37. *Ibid.*, 452-54.
38. Handique, pp. 33 and 62.
39. *Ibid.*, 362.
40. Handique, p. 436.
41. *Ibid.*, 438.
42. *Ibid.*
43. Epics myto : E.I. XXII, p. 60.
44. Handique, pp. 434-438 etc.
45. Book IV, Yaśastilaka (*Ibid.*)
46. *Ibid.*
47. Innumerable sculs. and scens.
48. Puranic geneologies, repeatedly describe also read Hopkins "Epic mythology."
49. E.I. VII.
50. E.I. XXV, p. 200.
51. Handique, p. 61.
52. E.I. XXXI, pp. 38-40.
53. E.I. XXIV, pp. 271, E.I., V. 119.
54. E.I. XIX, p. 146.
55. Handique, p. 21.
56. E.I. XXII, p. 60.
57. E.I. XIII, p. 124
58. E.I. XXXVI, p. 62.
59. E.I. XIX, 147.
60. Handique, p. 436.
61. *Ibid.*, p. 141.
62. E I. XIX, 147.
63. *Ibid.*
64. Handique, pp. 51, 437-38.
65. V. No. 1.14.

66. V. No. 16, 4.19; 3.7; 3.13; 4.46; 7.57; Handique, pp. 62, 78.
67. 5.75, 76, 6.93, Handique, pp. 63, 67, 62, 78, 59, 141.
68. V. Nol. 34; 4.11, Handique, p. 437.
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70. V. No. 4.96.
71. "Early Andhra Iconography" by C. Sivaramamurty.
72. Handique, p. 62.
73. E.I. Vol. XVII and p. 145 of 1943-44.
74. Handique, p. 407.
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76. E.I. XXXV, p. 192.
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78. E.I. XXIII, pp. 161-71, 178 of 1943-44.
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80. E.I. XXIII, pp. 161-71, XXXI, pp. 187-92. XXVIII, pp. 67-70, 6 of 1935-36 and etc.
81. E.I. XXV, pp. 4-7, XXXI, pp. 57-68, 28 of 1960-61 and etc.
82. TTDI, Vol. 1, pp. 3, 2, 12, E.I. pp. 222-4, SII, III, pp. 19, 170 of 1931-32; 230 of 1093.
83. TTDI, I.
84. SII, X, p. 599, IX, p. 67.
85. SII, VII, pp. 94, 5 and 6 of 1935-36.
86. E.I. XXXVI, p. 157-68.
87. SI, IX, p. 33, TTDI, pp. 6, 7, 233; 233 of 1949-50.
88. Kane, II, I, pp. 907-9.
89. 840 of 1921-23.
90. 456 of 1920-21.
91. 49 of 1953-54.
92. SII IX, pp. 67 and 23 of 1913-14.
93. Bharati, 7, p. 297.
94. 170 of 1913-14.
95. E.I. XV. pp. 150-59.
96. 144 of 159-60.
97. See under Saiva sects.
98. E.I. XXIII, pp. 161-71.
99. C. 4 of 1909-10.
100. SII, IX, pp. 67, 24.
101. JTS II, pp. 401, 143 of 1959-60.
102. E.I. Vol. VII, pp. 161-171.
103. XXXV and 136 of 1959-60.

104. Catalogue of inscriptions copied upto 1964; SII, X, p. 594; SII, IX, p. 65.
105. 143 of 1959-60; SII, IX, p. 77 and etc.
106. SII IX, p. 24.
107. SII IX, pp. 65, 19 of 1964; 170 of 1966.
108. E.I. XXIII, pp. 153-171.
109. E.I. YXIII, pp. 121-171.
110. 230 of 1903; 234 of 1913-14; 147 of 1915-16; SII, IX, pp. 19; 417 of 1920-21.
111. E.I. XXVII, pp. 220-51; SII, IX, pp. 599; 170 of 1966.
112. 230 of 103; TTD. I, No. 1, 6, 220.
113. In. Arch. 1954-55, pp. 27-29; E.I. IX, pp. 47-56; 12 of 1916-17; 10 of 1929-30, SII IX, 30, 34.
114. SII, Vol. X, pp. 69, 50; E.I. IX, pp. 47-56, 336, 377 of 1918 B 846 of 1917-18; B 1 of 1959-60, 415, 456 of 1920-21, 103 of 1929-30.
115. 46 of 1917-18; 83 of 1929-30.
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117. 150 of 154 of 168 of 1943-44, E.I. XXIII, pp. 161-171.

Buddhism

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Buddhism in Āndhra can be traced back to the times of the Buddha himself according to tradition. Historically Aśōka is known to be responsible for the propagation of Buddhism in Āndhra.¹ The Yerragudi edict shows that he attempted at improving himself and in propagating the faith in Āndhra.² Inscriptions at Śālihundam and Amaravati³ show Aśōka's association with these places. The Sātavāhanas, though themselves were not Buddhists, were responsible for the growth of Buddhism in Āndhra. An inscription from Amaravati records donation made by the superintendent of the water establishments of Sātavāhana king Śivaskanda for the raising of a stūpa. An inscription of Goutamiputra Vijaya Sātakarṇi opening with an adoration to Buddha is found at Nagarjunakonda.⁴ In the thirtyfifth Regnal year of the same king, one Amakhatabera established a shaft surmounted with Dharmacakra at the eastern gate of the monastery.⁵ The same king is mentioned in an inscription at Amaravati.⁶ During the reign of Vāsisṭhiputra Pulōmavi II one house-holder along with the relatives established Dharmacakra at the western gate of Mahāchaitya at Dhanakataka.⁷ Two inscriptions of Goutamiputra Yajna Śrī are found but in a mutilated condition.⁸ Thus the inscriptions of the times of Goutamiputra, Vāsisṭhaputra pulōmavi, Śivakanda and Yajna Śrī are found at Amaravati.

Buddhism seems to have flourished on account of the support given by the people during this period. It is clear from the inscriptions that people of different sections of society the merchants, sellers of perfumery, cobblers, cowherds, artisans, goldsmiths, house-holders,

nuns, ascetics, different officials contributed lavishly to the religious constructions. For instance different parts of astūpa like pillar, rail bar, sculptural slabs, coping stones, panels, friezes, sripada, carved garlands, rock umbrellas, gates, cells, and pavilions were donations made by people. Donations made by pilgrims coming from distant places also have been discovered at Amaravati. Bhattiprolu is an important Buddhist centre even prior to 200 B.C. Inscriptions found there record gift of a casket, and two boxes made of crystals, and one made of stone, by King Kuberaka.¹⁰ Salihundam, an important centre of Buddhism which flourished from first century B.C. to eight century A.D. contains different types of articles—remains of pot shreds, sculptures and such objects. All these are in broken condition.¹¹ Ghantasala, is another important centre of Buddhism. One inscription from this place records gifts made by a house-holder Buddhīśri consisting of a stone maṇḍapa with gandhakuti and a railing tōraṇa.¹²

The Ikṣvākus permitted royal women to follow and propagate Buddhism. The Rental inscription of Śrī Chāntamūla of this dynasty records the donation of āyakamba and maṇḍapa by a merchant.¹³ In the times of Virapuruṣa Datta Buddhism reached the zenith. All the royal ladies of Ikṣhvāku family played an important role in the propagation of Buddhism in Āndhra. They are Chātiśrī the peternal aunt, Aḍavichāntīśrī and Chūlachātiśrī the sisters of Virapuruṣa Datta, Rudra Bhaṭṭārika the śāka princess, Bapiśiriṇika, Chātiśrī, daughter of Hammaśiriṇika, Bhaṭṭidevi mother of Ehuvula the wives of Virapuruṣa. The other female lay devotees are Bōdhiśrī, Chandraśrī and many more. Among the royal ladies, Chātaśrī, the peternal aunt of Virapuruṣa is the most worthy laic. Majority of the inscriptions found at Nagarjunakonda record gifts made by her. She is responsible for the erection of the Mahāchitya, which was originally built by the great teacher Mahādēva. She Completed the construction of under the able guidance of Bhadanta Ananda. Chātiśrī built pillared hall, stone mandapa and a stone shrine surrounded by cloisters apsidal temple and many other constructions.¹⁴ Aḍavichāntīśrī and Chūlachātiśrī made some gifts to Mahāchaitya.¹⁵ Virapuruṣa's wives also promoted Buddhism. His śāka wife Rudrabhaṭṭārika along with his aunt Chātiśrī made donations for construction of Chaityas, some parts of stūpa and three

hundred dinaramasakas.¹⁶ Bāpiśiṇika another wife of Virapurusa and daughter of Hammaśiri, also made gifts of āyaka pillars under the guidance of great teacher Ananda.¹⁷ Bōdhiśrī a female devotee was responsible for the construction of many chaityas, maṇḍapas and cells at Nagarujanakonda and other places. On the east side of Vijayapuri, on the chula Dharmagiri she constructed a chaitya hall with flooring slabs, and all necessary things, a chaitya at Kulahavihāra and a shrine for the Bodhi tree at the Sindhava Vihāra for the benefit of the monks of Tāmraparṇa. She further built one cell at great Dharmagiri, two maṇḍapas at Pūvaśāla, maṇḍapa at Dēvagiri, tank, varandhah, and maṇḍapa at the eastern gate of great Chaitya at Kantakosala. The three cells at Hirumthuva, seven cells at Pipala, and a stone maṇḍapa at Puṣpagiri are also donated by Bōdhiśrī.¹⁸ In the time of the Ikṣvāku kings, their officers made some gifts at Ramireddipalem and Jaggayyapeta. The merchant community was responsible for the erection of stūpa at Peddaganjam.¹⁹

In the times of Ehuṇḍa Cāntamūla also Buddhism continued to be patronised by women. His mother Mahādevi Bhaṭṭi Dēvi built a vihāra furnished with all necessities and called it 'Dēvivihāra'.²⁰ Mahādēvi Koḍabaliśrī, Ehuṇḍa's aunt also built a monastery and donated a pillar.²¹ The laic Chandaśrī seems to be very popular at that time. She founded a maṇḍapa, a store room and made gifts for the longevity of the king Saṭhivaravardhamāna. This lady is described as one who on the occasion of many religious ceremonies at Sathivadhamān gave religious gifts at various places, cities, hills and markets, in connection with the celebration of religious ceremonies and festivals.²² Kumāranandi and many other merchants were responsible for the erection of images and different parts of stūpa during this period.²³ Thus it is clear that Buddhism blossomed with the support of royal ladies, commoners and merchant community.

During 4th to 10th centuries A.D. source material relating to Buddhism is scant. There are only a few inscriptions referring to the royal support given to this religion. One of the important records is the Amaravati pillar inscription of Pallava Simhavarma. It describes in glorious terms the mystical experience of the king and his conversion to Buddhism. The Mattavilāsaprahasana by king Mahēndravarma

describes the degenerated stage of Buddhism.²⁴

The other rulers of Āndhra Dēśa who patronised Buddhism were Attivarma of Ānanda gotra and Gōvindavarma of Visnukundin dynasty. Gōvindavarma obtained the grace of Buddha, understood and got respect for the teachings, and built many vihāras. His son Vikramēndravarma respected great old teachers and constructed several vihāras which were like celestial mansions, and donated a village Indrapalita to the vihāra constructed by his wife. In this context the inscription of Prithivimūla also may be referred to²⁵ An interesting feature of this period is royal patronage enjoyed by Buddhism, in contrast to the popular support of earlier times. Many records refer to donations made to Arhatabhattara or the Buddha.²⁶ Fahian and Ywan Chwang, the two pilgrims who visited Āndhra left their impressions in their writings. Ywan Chwang describes different monasteries and places where miracles were performed, stūpas were built.²⁷ A brief note from their accounts is given below.

It is noted down that in Kalinga there were ten sanghārāmas with about 500 priests who studied the great vehicle according to the teachings of the Sthavira schools, and an Aśōka stūpa, where the four past Buddhas sat down and walked.²⁸ In Southern Kōśala there are about hundred sanghārāmas and somewhat less than ten thousand priests, who studied the teachings of the great vehicle. The king of the country then called Sādvāha (so-to po-ho) (means he who draws good), greatly praised and esteemed Nāgārjuna and provided him with a citygate hut²⁹ (placed guards round his hut), and great monastery of many storys (Anta-Lo) Āndhra country with vengi as its capital was having twenty sanghārāmas with about three thousand priests.³⁰ At Veṅgila a great sanghārāma with storyed towers and balconies beautifully carved and ornamented was existing. A figure of Buddha portrayed was noticed by the traveller, there. Dhanakataka (To-No-kie-Tse-Kia) was about six thousand li, in circuit and the capital (Bezvada) some forty li round. There were numerous sanghārāmas mostly deserted and ruined. Of these, about twenty are provided with thousand priests who studied the law of the great vehicle. To the east of the capital, bordering a mountain is a convent called the pūrva-śīla (Puvasil) Fo-P'o-hi-loseng). To the west of the city leaning against a

mountain is another convent called *apara-śīla* (*Amaravati tope*) built by the king to honour Buddha. He hollowed the valley, opened a road, constructed pavilions, long galleries, wide chambers, supported the heights and connected the cavern. To the south of the city, a little away is a great mountain cavern. When first *Sādvāha rāja* excavated this *saṅghārāma*, the men engaged in it were exhausted and the king's treasury emptied, then *Nāgārjuna* provided with an abundant supply of money. In the topmost hall, *Nāgārjuna* deposited the scriptures of *Sākyamuni Buddha* and the writing of the *P'usa*. In the lowest hall were the laymen attached to the monastery and the stores. The three intermediate halls were for the boarding of the brethren. The pilgrim learned that when the king had finished the construction of the monastery an estimate of the maintenance of the workmen came to nine koti of gold coins. *Chu-li-ye* (*Chulya* or *Chola*) was the last part of the *Āndhra* country visited by the pilgrim where the *saṅghārāmas* were ruined and dirty.^{30a}

It may be said that the fall of the *Ikṣavākus* was followed by the decline and degeneracy of Buddhism and that it struggled for survival till tenth century A.D.

3.2 SCHOOLS OF BUDDHISM

After the death of Lord Buddha, a number of schools came up in Buddhism due to schism in the Buddhist *Saṅgha*. Buddha in his own life time suspected dissensions in his *saṅgha*, and laid down punishments for the dissident monks in *Pātimokka*. However, in the course of time, eighteen sects came into existence on account of differences due to the vested interests among groups of monks. Pupils of each *piṭaka* separated themselves from the others. In the same way interpretation of the Master's word by the teachers led to new groups. In course of time regional groups also have come up in Buddhism like the *Andhakas*. It is very difficult to explain when all these eighteen sects had their origin.¹

In *Āndhra Dēśa* some of the eighteen schools had been followed during the period under study. The schools that are found mentioned in the inscriptions are the *Thēravādins*, the monks of *Tāmbalapanna*, the *Simhalese* committee, the *Mahisāskas*, the *Siddāntikas*, the

Bahuśrutīyas, the Rājagirikas, the Chētyakas, the Pūrva and Aparāśeliyas. However, the inscriptions do not furnish details regarding the doctrines and practices, of the schools.

The Thēravādins : The Thēravādins are also called as Sthaviras and Vaibhājjavādins. An inscription from Kesanapalli refers to Thēras. The Nagarjunakonda record refers to them as Vaibhājjavādins.² Bōdhiśrī built a monastery and a Chaityagṛiha with a stūpa for the Thēra monks of Ceylon. This stūpa is without a wheel-base and Āyakas. The followers of orthodox Buddhism are called the Sthaviras or the Thēravādins. According to them, Buddha taught abstention from all kinds of evil, accumulation of all that is good and purification of mind by practising sīla, samādhi and prajna. Sīla is good conduct consisting of refraining from speaking falsehood, malicious words, harsh and frivolous talk, killing, stealing, misconduct, observance of satya, abstinence from the use of garlands, softbeds, dancing, music, silver, gold and midday meals etc. The samādhi helps one to keep the mind perfectly balance so as to have a proper insight into the real nature of things. It consists of the fourth, fifth, and sixth stages of the eight-fold path. The prajna consists of right resolution and right point of view and helps one to comprehend the four noble truths—dukkha, samudaya, nirōdha, and mārga as well as the Pratityasamutpāda. The Pratityasamutpāda teaches that the world is anitya, asuka and anātma.

According to the Thēravādins all the compound, wordly things, are made up of five khandas or constituents, namely rūpa, vēdana, sanna, sankara and vinnāsa. They also mention twelve ayatanas—The six organs of sense and their objects, eighteen dhātus elements upholding the body and twenty two indriyas. The theory of causation consists of a chain of worldly things. Accordingly the world is a succession of transient phenomena and all the substances are mere aggregates of impermanent qualities, which are essenceless and devoid of substantiality. There is neither being nor non-being, but becoming, thus every thing is becoming, fleeting, changing and flux. Thus there is continuity but not identity. These changes are causally connected with one another and each component is determined by its antecedent conditions. The world of becoming is governed by the law of

causality or dependent origination, which is without beginning or end, and is dynamic. Thus all things that exist are uncaused, eternal but are becoming. This process is compared to a revolving wheel Bhāva-chakra. When an individual understands the true nature of things, he renounces the world, gets free from suffering, hankering, takes up the middle path, reaches the perfect state and becomes an Arhat who has no future birth.

According to the theory of causation karma is like an axle of a rolling chariot, controlling the universe and the individual. Normally karma is of three kinds, corporal, verbal and mental.³

The Mahāsāṅghikas : The Mahāsāṅghikas are also called Ekavyavahārika or Lōkōttaravādins. This school came to existence, when the Vajjiputtakas separated themselves from the Theras in the second council held at Vaiśālī. Perhaps 'Goṣṭhis' referred to in Baṭṭiprolu inscriptions seem to be no other than the Mahāsāṅghikas of Āndhra who spread very fast in a brief time.

The Mahāsāṅghikas like Thēravādins accepted the cardinal principles of Buddhism like the four noble truths, the eightfold path, the non-existence of the soul, the theory of karma, theory of causation, the non-permanency of the world which is without beginning and end, the thirty seven Bōdhipakṣiyadharmas and the gradual stages of advancement. Besides, they believed that the Buddhas are Lōkōttara and everything concerning them is transcendental. This belief led to the growth of the theory of "Thrikāya". The Mahāsāṅghikas, believed that Buddha is not a single historical person but there are many Buddhas whose bodies, lives and powers are unlimited, who neither sleep nor dream but always remain in samādhi and who can understand everything in a moment. These ideas gave rise to the conception of Bōdhisattvas. The Bōdhisattvas are supra mundane. They enter the mother's womb in the form of a white elephant and come out from the right side. The Bōdhisattvas are above human feelings, and they are born of their free will in any form, and share others' joys and sorrows. The Mahāsāṅghikas even believe that every man in a sense is a Bodhisattva and so should aim at the liberation of all, even while moving in the world as a householder. They believe that the five Vijānanās are conducive to both Virāga and

Sarāga and that the highest bliss could be obtained through knowledge. Originally the mind is pure but is stained with upaklesas. The nature of things is Avyakta. A being has no existence neither in future nor in the past, after death and before birth. Behind this impermanent world, there is sunyata, the mind is only Ālayavijānana, an imaginary world and behind this self is transcendental self-Mahātma. The nirvāṇa according to this sect is not the occasion of transmigration but is a transcendental sūnyata. The deification of Buddha and the ideal of Bōdhisattvas introduced in profound manner the element of religious worship into Buddhism.³ The sects that deviated from Mahāsāṅghikas may be divided into the earlier and later ones. Gōkulikas, Bahuśrutīyas, Prajñāpativādas, being the former ones, Chaityakas, Śāila schools being the later ones.

Bahuśrutīyas : Two inscriptions issued in the thirteenth regnal year of Śrī Chāntamūla from Kesanapalli, probably his first capital, record donations to Mahāchaitya of Mūlāvāsavihāra of the Bahuśrutīyas. Inscriptions of his successors from Nagarjunakonda also record donations made to Bahuśrutīyas. The monastery at Nagarjunakonda has twenty eight cells and special chambers for vinayadharas. The Chaityagrihas of this sect are with stūpas and the monastery is with the image of Buddha on a long pillar kept in apsidal temple. Thus the Bahuśrutīyas in Āndhra introduced image worship and chaitya griha along with Buddha.⁴ They accepted the four noble truths and nirvāṇa as the aims of life. They agree with the five propositions of Mahādēva and also the Buddhas as the Lōkōttaras. The Satyasiddhiśāstra of Harivarṇa, the principal treatise of this school teaches the plurality of the universe, and the two kinds of truth as the mahāyānists did. Harivarṇa accepted the daśabalas, dharmakāya and buddhakāya. He explains that only the present is real and the past and future have no existence. This school thus bridges the two main buddhist systems hīnayāna and the mahāyāna.^{4a}

The Rājagirikas : The epigraphical reference to Rājagirikas is found at Amaravati.⁵ According to Kathāvattu, they believed that giving gift in material form is not important, and that the very idea of giving gift is more important. The merit thus accumulated increases birth after birth. Arhat according to Rājagirikas, is subject to the

influence of Karma even after death.^{5a} The Rājagirikas are called so after their original home Rājagiri according to Dr. H. Sarkar.

Mahiśāsakas : An inscription of Nagarjunkonda refers to the teachers of the Mahiśāsakas. It contains the doctrinal point which is in contradiction to the theravādins. Perhaps this branch of Mahiśāsakas may belong to the Sārasvatavādins; because according to the Sārasvatavādins, though Buddha is included in a saṅgha, the gift made to saṅgha is more meritorious than the one made to Buddha.⁶ The record states that the monastery was built on behalf of the community of the four quarters for the sake of the welfare of all sentient beings, reflecting the mahāyāna ideal.⁷

Monks of Ceylon : For the sake of the monks of Ceylon, chaitya-griha with a stūpa first its kind is founded at Nagarjunakonda. Originally it did not contain idol of Buddha but was introduced later on. The stūpa of this sect is with āyaka pillars.⁸

The Mahāvihāravādins : The followers of this sect worshipped stūpas without āyakas. They mainly worshipped Buddhapāda and votive stūpas. The stūpa is surrounded by the vihāras, without special cells for the monks.⁹

The Chaityakas : The epigraph from Amaravati belonging to the times of Puṣṭāmāvi records donation of dharmachakra to the Chaitya which was in possession of the Chaityakas. Two other inscriptions from Amaravati specifically refer to the decoration of this stūpa and chaitya with parasole and light respectively. The other inscriptions record various types of gifts made to the Chaitya and Stūpa.¹⁰

The speciality of chaityakas in Āndhra was to have the stūpa with wheel shaped base and āyakas. Offering of flowers, and garlands to chaitya, erection of stūpa, donation of umbrella, lamp, and other parts like slabs, tōraṇas railing and suchi were made by the devotees. The decoration of the stūpa was the most important feature of the chaityakas. At Amaravati, iron claps are fixed on slabs of the dome intended to hold oil and wick on festival occasions. Ironhooks, small projections and holders at the half length are also noticed for holding lamps and flower garlands.¹¹

According to Pāramārtha, a buddhist teacher and writer, after two hundred years of Buddha's nirvāṇa certain Mahādēva was expelled

from the Mahāsāṅghikas on the question of validity of ordination given by a teacher who himself is not a regularly ordained one. The teacher so expelled, resided on a mountain and started a new school with some specific doctrines. Mahādēva believed that one can acquire great merit by erectings decorating or worshipping a Chaitya, by circumambulating and by offering flowers, garlands, and scents. By giving gift one can acquire merit for himself and can transfer such merit to his friends, relatives for their happiness. According to him the Buddhas are free from attachment, evil, and delusion. They possess fine elements, and are superior to Arhat by possessing daśabalas. The person having a right view is not free from hatred. Nirvāṇa is a positive faultless state. The Chaityakavāda was the root of the Śaīla school which was followed mainly by the Āndhras.¹²

The Andhakas : According to Kathāvattu, the Andhakas believed that every thing regarding Buddha is lōkōttara, though his actions are mundane or super-mundane depending upon the object of the action. An Arhat is above the worldly things, but performs good deeds like making gifts, and worshipping Chaityas without any bearing on merits and demerits. The Andhakas believed that an individual from the moment he develops bodhicitta becomes a Bōdhisattva and is destined to become the Buddha. The Nirvāṇa is neither an object of thought of a person nor a faultless state according to this sect.¹³

The concept of Buddha according to Andhakas as mentioned in inscriptions is noted below. 'Buddha, the supreme God, the divine one worshipped by the Lords of Gods, absorbed the best elements, the best of the beings, omniscient, compassionate towards all sentimental beings, is free from lust, hatred, delusion and is perfectly enlightened one'. 'They believed in the past, present and future and in other Lōkas'. According to them Nirvāṇa is the state of bliss which can be achieved not only for oneself but for the whole world and one can give share in his merit to others and so donations were made in association with family members, friends, relatives and a multitude of people. The wish for welfare of all beings, of the whole world, of the monks abroad and the assemblies of saints is found in several inscriptions. The Chaityas were constructed, stupas were erected and decorated and monasteries were built with all essential food, clothing

and medical facilities for the monks.¹⁴ The belief that not only Nirvana, but happiness, wealth, longevity and victory could be achieved through a meritorious deed is found in Āndhra Buddhism.

According to Bhavya and Vaśumitra, the two famous writers, the Andhakas comprise of the Chaityakas, and the Aparā and Pūrva Śēliyas. In the Pāli tradition Hēmavathikas, Rājagirikas, Sidhāntikas, Pūrva and Aparā Śēliyas are known as the Andhakas. The Ceylonese Chronicle calls the Śāila School as Andhakas for their popularity in Āndhra. Writers like Vaśumitra, works like Kathāvattu give different view on the principles and practices of the Andhakas in general and Chaityakas and Śāilas separately. They at times differ from the epigraphical evidence.¹⁵

The Śāila Schools : The Śāila schools are the off-shoots of the Mahāsāṅghikas specifically that of the Chaityavāda. It appears that they derived their names from the hills on which are located their principal centres is supported by the testimony Yuan Chawang. The Mahāsāṅghikas who were in the Mahāvanaśāila at Dhāṇyakaṭaka called themselves Mahāvanaśēliyas. In the course of the development of the saṅgha, a group of it either for the vassa or for permanent stay might have moved to the other side and established themselves. Thus the Aparā and Pūrvaśēliya schools came to existence. As such the two śāila schools have no vital doctrinal differences. Like the Mahāsāṅghikas, the śāilas believed that every thing concerning Buddha is lōkōttara. They accepted the four points of Mahādēva.¹⁶ The epigraphical evidence to the pūrvaśāilas is found in one of the inscription of Amaravathi.¹⁷ The Eastern gate of monastery which was in possession of Pūrvaśāilayas and establishment of a dharmachakra is recorded there. The Aparā Mahāvihāraśāilas are the most dominating sect of Buddhism in Āndhra. The earliest and largest mahāchaitya, chaityagriha, and monastery are found at Nagarjunakonda.¹⁸ A few chaityas have no idols. The Aparā mahāvinayaśāilas are the first to introduce the image of Buddha in Chaityagriha though they did not accept it in the beginning. Thus in course of time, stūpa was replaced by idol in a Chaityagriha.¹⁹

The study of the principles of the andhakas, chaityakas and the śāilas given in the texts and in the inscriptions shows that the chaityakas

of the mahasāṅghikas who settled in the easternghat regions of Āndhra were only called Andhakas and the names pūrva, apara and uttarāśailiyas are given to each group of Andhakas named after that particular locality of the ghāt where they settled. But for the names there is no difference at all among the three schools in their practices or doctrinal points. The Pūrva and Mahāvanaśēliyas were popular at Amaravati. The Apra Mahāvanaśēliyas were more popular at Nagarjunakonda.

3.3 MONACHISM, TEACHERS, CANONS AND PHILOSOPHY

Monachism

The scene of ordination is depicted in a panel of the stūpa at Nagarjunakonda in which a barber is shown removing the hair of a novice in the presence of Buddha, royal personages and others. Conversion of prince Siddhārtha to ascetic life which is repeatedly shown makes it clear that it a favourite theme of the Buddhist artists in Āndhra. Similarly the conversions of Nanda, Yakṣa, Alavalla, king Kippana and Rāhula are also depicted.¹

Originally the ordination was made by Buddha personally by uttering the words “Ehi bhikkhu” and it was given without distinction of rank caste, and sex, Buddha told the monk : “As the Viśākha plant sheds its withered flowers, men should shed passion and hatred oh! bhikku”. In course of time, when the number of converts increased, senior bhikkus used to give ordination with formulae “Saraṇāgama” which further was developed into a “Saṅghakamma”. The admission consisted of two stages, pabajja and upasampada, the first being a formal act, the latter being the real one. One who desires ordination should get his head shaved, put on yellow robes, cover his shoulders, salute the feet of the master and utter the formula Triratna thrice. As in the case of bhikkus rules for the bhikkunīs also were laid down for ordination, upasampada, and begging. But the bhikkunīs have to perform the Pavārṇa. Vassa, and Upasampada, before bhikkus, and be more cautious about their behaviour. Food-alms, robes-rags, dwelling-foot of a tree and medicine-cow urine, are the four requisites permitted for a bhikku while the other equipment like girdle, razor,

needle, water strainer, staff, and toothstick were the subsidiary ones.² The same rules are applied for the bhikkunis also. Every day the novice rises early and gets water, sets seat, makes ready dress and food to his teacher, cleans the vihāra, arranges all things in a proper way, nurses the sick and begs food for himself.³ Bhikkus of saṅgha go to a village for alms while some stay at sangha to look after the affairs like looking after the guests.⁴ Originally the life of a monk was very simple. But during the time of the Buddha itself pleasant monasteries were built with all comforts. The Cullvagga refers to people who zealously engaged in putting up new buildings, providing with requisite things like clothes, food, lodging and medicine to the bhikkus as superintendents of the works. The dwelling place of a monks is called puṇyaśāla or vihāra which consists of halls for exercises, closets, cloisters, store-rooms, gate-ways, wells, ponds and with many towers.⁵ In order to maintain the daily life, usually eligible monks were appointed as the regulators, incharge of lodging, distribution of robes, stores, water, and gardens. Superintendents of monasteries overseers of buildings and many other post also were filled with suitable bhikkus.⁶

The sculpture at Jaggayyapet gives the plan of puṇyaśāla of multistories. At Nagarjunakonda, eight or more monasteries have been found on the slope of Mahendragiri, three on Chandragiri, two on Chandalarparvata, each with a vihāra, caitya, and stūpa. The monastery consists of rooms and a maṇḍapa for public lectures.⁷ Every monastery has one stūpa vihāra and chaitya. Every vihāra has open courtyard, enclosed brick wall, paved central (hall, grinding stones, room for food, refractory rooms, and kitchen there.⁸ The epigraphs and literature found in Āndhra refer to some of the above mentioned points. Though the details of the requisites provided by the donors are not recorded⁹ different apartments of monastery like hall, rooms, and cells are found mentioned.¹⁰ Donations made for repairs and whitewashing also are found in Āndhra.¹¹ The Mattivilāsa refers to Dhanadāsa Setṭi of Kanchipura who constructed a beautiful Rajavihāra for the monks.¹² Though the Pāli texts refer to many officers Navakāmika, śīla-vidhaka and Vidhika are only mentioned in the inscriptions. Navakāmika is the overseer of the buildings, as well

as architect. One monk is selected by the sangha and designated so, when a lay devotee wishes to erect an ārāma. In case, he could not complete it, he can take the help of other monks.¹³ Bōdhiśrī appointed three superintendents of the works to carry out the constructions at Nagarjunakonda. A female Navakāmika is also mentioned in Amaravati.¹⁴ Each unit of monastery here has three components; vihāra, a chaitya, and a stūpa. A vihāra consists of rooms maṇḍapas, lecture-halls, Chatus, śālas, and halls for religious practices.¹⁵ Chaitya is a place of private worship and study and stūpa is the object of public worship. Excavations revealed on the eastern side of the Nagarjunakonda valley, the university area and vigatajvarālaya—hospital, on the north-eastern corner a biggest monastic unit and on the north a big monastery built by Bhaṭṭidevi.¹⁶ Each monastic unit is enclosed in an open court-yard, with grind-stones, refractory rooms, and kitchen. At Ramireddipalli a big monastery two small monasteries and a tank, have come to light. The Viṣṇukuṇḍin queen Paramabhaṭṭārikadēvi built Mahāvihāra, and furnished it with food, water, beds, seats for the Bhikkus of four corners.¹⁷

At Salihundam, another Buddhist centre two śāriraka stūpas, innumerable votive stūpas and chaityas, and five monasteries with a fine drainage system are found.¹⁸ The archaeological findings of this place show two complexes each consisting of big dinning halls, kitchen room, cells for storage, kitchenyard and other parts etc.¹⁹ The names of officials incharge of administration vidhika and that of servants Patanaḍayaka were noticed.²⁰

Food : Originally Buddha asked the monks to live on a little food. In the course of time, the bhikkus were accustomed to rich food provided by the wealthy. The saṅgha distributed food to the monks by tickets.²¹ On the sacred days they can accept the invitation from a lay devotee. The epigraphs found at Nagarjunakonda and a record of Viṣṇukuṇḍins mention perpetual endowments made for the feeding of the monks. The Mattavilāsa and Yaśastilaka show how bhikkus indulged in eating the delicious dishes and even took flesh, honey and wine despite the strict rules laid down on food habits.²²

Medicine : In the beginning cow urine was the only medicine allowed. Later, butter, oil, honey, molasses and many other items like

ointments, purgatives, dressing of wounds and surgical instruments were permitted.²³ An epigraph from Nagarjunakonda refers to Vigatajvarālaya while the Viṣṇukunḍin inscription records donation of medicine to saṅgha.^{23a}

Dress : The Lord said that the dress of a monk should be made out of patches and look like the rice field of Magadha. The dress consisted of three main pieces; upper cloth, lower cloth and a cloak like cloth. Usually, the dress was in saffron colour. Jivaka for the first time introduced the custom of offering dress to the monks.²⁴ The verse from Gāthāṣaptaśati describes the palāśa flowers that have fallen on the ground as the bhikkus prostrated before Buddha. The Nāśik and Nagarjunakonda inscriptions refer to donation of cloths for the monks.²⁵ The excavations at Saḥihundam reveal the use of three robes, and girdle, needle, bowel, water strainer and other things.²⁶ The sculpture at Nagarjunakonda shows that the dress of a monk consisted of upper and lower clothes.²⁷ While wearing the upper cloth, the monk always keeps his right arm uncovered. The Mattavilāsa describes the Buddhist bhikku as wearing red silken garments and as keeping the alms-bowl under the garments.^{27a}

Though all the officers and the entire administration of the monastery are not mentioned in the inscriptions, they certainly might have existed in order to carry on the activity of the different complexes of monasteries.

Death of a Monk : When a monk died the body was cremated, the ashes are kept in water pot, its mouth is closed with pot bowl and a stūpa is erected. In the monastery No. III stūpa seven and eight, the relics of deer, bull, rabbit are also found at Nagarjunakonda. Chāyasthanbhas were also erected in honour of a reverend monk.²⁸

TEACHERS

Many Buddhist teachers of great reputation lived in Āndhra Dēśa. The first and foremost was Nāgārjunāchārya the legendary figure. There is no precise information about life, date and birth place of Nāgārjunāchārya. There are many contraversies about the person including the name. Hence an account of the different versions of

Nāgārjuna's life is narrated below.²⁹ Nāgārjuna a South Indian brāhmin, was born in Vidarbha according to one version. According to Hieun Isang, he lived during the time of the king called So-to-po-ho, in Southern-kōsala, first in a monastery near the capital of Dakshina-kōsala, which seems to have once extended as far as the river Krishna and then on Śrīparvata or Nagarjunakonda. According to another tradition he attained siddhi at Kanchi as a great Buddha by the grace of Tāra. In another place he is said to have attained siddhi at Nalanda by the grace of Chandika. The Tibetan and Chinese accounts narrate that Nagarjuna was responsible for the construction of the railing round the stūpa at Dhānyakaṭaka. These accounts mention the various kingdoms visited by Nagarjuna, his sojourn at Nāgalōka, where he studied texts and other sūtras of deep mystical meaning for ninety consecutive days and then how he returned to earth with a casket. It is further stated that, 'He understood the deep meaning of Tripiṭakas and invented new vows, a new custom, Mādhyamikavāda. He was endowed with eminent qualities, learned in all sciences, practised the art of converting inferior substance into gold and helped the contemporary king to carve huge monasters of many storeys and to install the images of Buddha made of gold. It is said that Nāgārjuna by his knowledge of life elixir made the king to live for hundreds of years. The queen vexed with the long life of the king asked her son to go the Master and request him to put the king to death. Since the king would not die unless Nāgārjuna dies, the latter shut himself up in a chamber and disappeared (cut his throat with a dry blade of grass. In all the kingdoms of India, people began to raise temples in honour of Nāgārjuna and worshiped him as Buddha. He was the thirteenth patriarch and administered religion for more than three hundred years. The king who was contemporary of the teacher is identified with Yajna śrī sātakarṇi by Dr. Sircar and Dr. Gopalachary and with Goutimiputra Sātakarṇi by Dr. Ramarao. According to another opinion Nāgārjuna was contemporaneous with five successive Sātavāhana Kings viz., Vasistiputra Pulomavi II, Śivaśrī Puḷomāvi III, Śivaskanda Sātakarṇi, Yajnaśrī Sātakarṇi and Vijaya. One scholar considers that probably the contemporary king of Nāgārjuna might be Śrī Chāntamūla of Iksāvaku family. According

to the latest conclusions Nāgārjuna lived towards the end of the second century A.D.

Nāgārjuna's works : Ācharya Nāgārjuna was the author of Mādhyamika Sūnyavāda, Ārōgya manjari, Kakṣhapuṭa Tantra. His prescriptions for eye diseases were well-known in China. The remedies for posians suggested by him are praised by Bāṇa the poet. His prescriptions for several diseases are inscribed on public pillars. Above all, he discovered the elixir of life, on account of which, he prolonged his life indefinitely as well as that of the king. The Rasatantra of Nāgārjuna has a reference to his abode in Parvata. He was a great chemist and was successful in converting rocks into gold and provided the king with large sums of money. Nāgārjuna's Śṛīhallēkha, was committed to memory by the young and old in India when Itsing visited. Only twenty four works of the teacher have come to light so far: 1. Prajnāpārmīta Śāstra; (2) Prajnāmūlaśāstra Tika; (3) Prajnāpradīpaśāstra Karika; (4) Mūlamādhyamika Śāstra; (5) Surngasapthadi; (6) Mādhyāntānugama Śāstra; (7) Daśabhūmibibhāga Śāstra; (8) Dvadaśānikāyana Śāstra; (Vivādasamāna Śāstra; (10) Pramāṇavivēchana; (11) Upāyakaūśālyahridaya Śāstra; and (12) Vighrahavyāvahatvani Kārika.

The philosophy of Nāgārjuna teaches that the world has a conditional existence, neither absolutely real nor absolutely unreal. In fact no object has a nature of self-existence. Sūnyata is nirvana, an unconditional condition in which all contradictions are reconciled.

The inscriptions of the period under study refer to many other teachers. The Amaravati inscriptions speak of ascetics like Isidatta residing at Mandare mendicant monk Prasanna residing at Mahāvana-sala whose teacher dwells in Pūsakavana, one Buddhi, dwelling at Odiparivema and another Sariputra living in a hall in Mahāvana.³⁰ Not only the monks, but female bhikkunis like Samudīya who was firm in Vinaya and worthy Buddharakṣhata who was an Arhat and whose daughter and grand-daughter were also great ascetics holding high offices in the sangha are referred to. They were the disciples of Bhūtarakṣhita, a great sthavira, who possessed self-controlled mind and who lived at Rajasila.³¹ Another nun Rōha is described as one who passed beyond eight worldly conditions, and as one possessing

great self-control.³² The control of senses and its importance is given in many verses in the Buddhist texts. An Iksvaku inscription refers to some teachers. Among them revered Bhadanta Ānanda of Nandigāma who was the *amtēvāsika* of the Ārya-saṅgha. All were residents of the Parnagrāma. The Mahāchaitya at Nagarjunakonda and the pillars of Āyakas were erected on the date given by Ānanda.³³ The inscriptions from Nagarjunakonda describe the teachers in glorified terms as “Satahadayi”, “Ahamtarājacharija”, “Samkasamaya” i.e. experts in expounding their as well as well as other religious doctrines, and “*ḍṛitātmān* and *jitātmān*”.³⁴ Two other inscriptions describe the teachers as experts in determining the meaning and inclination of the teachings of the Buddha, and traditions of recluses. These teachers are said to have converted the people of Kashmira, Yavana and other countries and as “*Akunṭita chidrāmalakalamsa—silasya, ācharyamatadhārasya, vṛittasrutamativāgvisāradsya—guṇōpamānasya, Aviniscaya kathikaviśiṣṭasya piladdhvajasṛaddhasya . . . hētvārtha sabdaśāstra kṛlapariśramasya . . . mantrārdha*”³⁵ Two inscriptions one from Gummidarru and another from Jaggayyapet refer to the hierarchy of teachers. The pot shreds from Salihundam refer to preachers and teachers.³⁶ The Chapter on Chullavagga states that there existed eight classes of bhikkus in the Buddhist saṅgha of which some like *thera* or Ārya, the senior bhikku; preacher or *kathika*; preceptor or master, *ācharya*, a monk, mendicant, an ascetic, a nun, *amtēvāsika*, apprentice, and etc., are referred to in the inscriptions of the period.³⁷

Canon : The sacred lore of buddhists called Tripitakas consist of three parts; viz., Vinaya, Sutta and Abhidhamma. The Vinaya-piṭaka chiefly deals with the rules of the monastic order. The Sutta-piṭaka contains the ethical principles and the Abhidhamma expounds metaphysics based on psychological ethics. There is another division according to which the canon is divided into nine Aṅgas.

The Vinaya is referred to in the inscriptions found at Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda. These records also mention Ārya Punavasa, Bhuddhi a Chaityakavāda and one Dharmakathika well versed in Vinaya.³⁸ The use of the terms Dharma and Vinaya as proper names of the individuals illustrate the popularity of the text among the

people. The Vinaya piṭaka consists of four parts, Pātimokka, Sutta Vibhaṅga, Khandakas and Parivara. According to another division the text consists of five parts, Parajika, Sachittya Mahavagga, Chullavagga, Parivarika, Pātimokka is the earliest manual of disciplinary rules. It also contains the atonements for transgressing the rules. Suttavibhaṅga explains the suttas of the Pātimokka with a sort of historical introduction.^{38a}

An inscription from Nagarjunakonda refers to Abidamma while another praises a monk as “Suddhāchāra Vṛttāgama-vinayōpadēśa prakaraṇāchārya”.³⁹ The Abidhamma is divided into Prakaraṇas and the Suttapiṭaka of Sarvāsthivādins is called Āgama.^{39a} In an epigraph from the same place the monks of Thēriyavādins and Vibhājjavādins are described as experts in the nine-fold teaching and four classes of monastery. The nine-fold teaching mentioned may be the sutam, geyyam, veyyakaraṇam, gātha, udanam itivuttam, jātakam, abbhuta-dhāmmam and vedallam. The four classes of monastery may be the Bhikku, Bhikkunī, Upāsaka and Upasikas. Mahamohōpadhyāya Ajimitra Śāstry interpreted these four classes as the four recluses robes, food, bed and meditation.⁴⁰ In another inscription the teacher of a certain revered Ānanda of Aparamahāvinaśēlyas was praised as teacher and preceptor of Dīgha, Majjama and Pañcha Mātukas.⁴¹ In Pāli, Mātika is a term used for the Abhidhammapiṭaka, but Mr. Dutt states that the “Word Pañcha Mātuka of the inscriptions may well mean the Vinayapiṭaka of the Mahāsāṅghikas”.⁴² Which may not be accepted in the present context because the Vinaya of the Mahāsāṅghikas of Āndhras is referred to by the title Vinaya only in several inscriptions.^{42a} The Nagarjunakonda inscriptions shows that both Vinaya and Abhidhamma are recognised by the Andhakas. It describes that certain Dharmakatika as Vinayōpadēśa Prakaraṇāchārya. It also shows that the five Mātukas mentioned are only Abhidhamma, but not Vinaya.⁴³ The term Dhammakatika is found in many inscriptions from different Buddhist sites. The expression katha has a two-fold meaning. Katha generally means religion. The other mean an account of the debates on the doctrines which were subsequently collected in the Abhidhammapiṭaka.⁴⁴ Thus most of the Buddhist tripiṭikas the tradition and customs were studied, by hearted

preached and realised by the Āndhras.

Philosophy

An attempt is made in the following pages to describe the three stages Arhat, Bōdhisattva and Buddha on the way of attaining nirvāṇa, since they are found mention in the inscription of the period under review. The Philosophical concepts are not discussed here, as they have already been mentioned in connection with the principles of different schools in the preceding pages.

Arhat : An epigraph from Amaravati describes nun Rōha as 'Arhat' and as one who passed above eight stages.⁴⁵ According to Dhammapada Arhat is one who finished his journey, who is above suffering, grief, threw off all fetters, and whose thoughts are well collected, without temptations or desires. Like a swan which left the lake, he leaves his home. Arhat is one who is freed from bhāvachakra, and is free from ten klēśas. He is no more subjected to rebirth, does not come back to the earth. Arhat enjoys the bliss of peace, expires like a burning lamp on the exhaustion of oil and wick. Arhat possesses four faculties Ardha, Dharma, Nirukta and Pratibhana.⁴⁶

Bōdhisattva : The inscriptions mention the concept of Bōdhisattva by describing Buddha born as musk elephant, the bull, and as "Sarvalōkahita Sukhaavahat" and etc.⁴⁷ The Mahāyānists consider the attainment of perfect wisdom and love for the multitude as their goal. In order to fulfill it, they wish to be born again and again, the heart being free from attachment. The Bōdhisattva relieves the miseries of others by giving the fruits of his good action and suffering the consequences of their actions. His past deeds are described in the Jātakas, Avadānas Pārmitas and Chariyapiṭakas. The Mahāyānists believe that the transcendental Buddha or Buddhakaya assumes different forms and helps the miserable.⁴⁸ The four major qualities of Bōdhisattva are Metta, Karuṇa, Mudita and Upēkka; they also mention four other qualities, Sangrahavastitas like wit, liberality, almsgiving, affability, officiousness, co-operation, ten moral and intellectual qualities; dāna, śīla, nekkhamma—renunciation, panna—wisdom, viriya, khati, sacca, adhistana, metta and upēkka.⁴⁹ Besides,

Bōdhisattva possesses five balas, four kinds of samrutyapāsthava, four kinds of control, four powers of miracles, and five transitory indriyas. According to Mahāvastu, the career of Bōdhisattva, is divided into ten stages. Bōdhisattva is honoured with epithets like Mahāsattva, Maitrēyi, Avalōkēśvara, and Manjuśrī depending on the specific qualities of Bōdhi.^{49a}

Buddha : Buddhas are the highest spiritual beings. A Buddha is characterised by thirty two Mahāpuruṣa lakṣhaṇas which show him as Chakravarti eighty other characters called anivyanjanas, two hundred sixteen māṅgalya lakṣhaṇas, one hundred eight marks on each foot. Mentally Buddha possesses ten balas, eighteen avanika dharmas, four vaisaradyas, ten balas of knowledge. Buddha is called by a host of epithets like Sugata, Tathāgata Bhagavat, Daśabala, Lōkavid, Dēvādidēva, Sarvajna. Śadabhiṇa, Sākyamuni, and Sidhārtha. The present Buddha is believed to be preceded by twenty four who will be Buddhas in future too. There are five eternal Buddhas called Dhyāna Buddhas-Virōcana, Akṣobha, Ratnasambhava, Amitabh and Amōghasiddhi. The femal counter parts of these Buddhas are known as Tāras. The state of Buddha can be reached by a person only after passing through innumerable existences. Thus every being that is destined to develop into a Buddha is called Bōdhisattva a sentient being possessing Bōdhi but not Samyakasambōdhi.⁵⁰

Inscriptions of the time mention all the above qualities of Buddha. They also throwing light on the evolution of the concept of Buddhahood. In the Āmaravati inscription Buddha is referred to as “Blessed one, the sun, the truly enlightened one, the best of beings.”⁵¹ In course of time the invocations are more elaborate as found at Nagrajunakonda. The Yajñaśrī inscription invokes him as “Namō Bhagavatō” while that of Chātsrī begins with adoration “Supreme Buddha honoured by the Lord of Gods, omniscient, compassionate towards all sentient beings, feed from lust, hatred, delusion. “He is the bull, the musk-elephant among the great spiritual leaders, the perfectly enlightened one, who is absorbed by the best of elements.”⁵² In another epigraph He is called “Aga-Pogalasa”, aṣṭhāṅga mārga dharma Cakra pratāka, dhātuvara-parigrahita, Telōka dharma, Dharavaha, Jitarāga, dōsa, mōha, viparumuta, jitakāma, krōdha,

bhava, haisa, taisa. mōha, dēsa, sadapita, māra baladapamāna, pasamāna kāma, chakralakṣhaṇa, sukumārasujāta caraṇa, samāna-sambuddha, Ikshavāku-rāja pavara-riṣi-sati pabhavavanisa, sambhava, śārada-sasidomadarśana, savamno, sarvalōkacharita, sarvalōkahita, sukha-avahathanaya, 'sava-sat-anukampaka, supabuddhabodhi, taruṇa-divākaraprabha, daśabala, mahābala, dēva, manuṣasava, satahita, magadēśika, mahāgani-vasabhagandha, hathi sarvalōkahita-sukha avahattanaya.⁵⁰ Epithets like Bhagavata, samya-ksambuddha, sarvasattvatma, sarva-paramiprata, sarvasat Sambuddhēti are found in other inscriptions.⁵⁴ The Indrapalita inscription of Viṣṇukunḍins opens with an invocation 'Jitam Bhagavata, tēna sambuddhēna, kṛipātmāna, nirvāṇa, prataya yēna, sadyamargah, pradarsitah. . . sakalasatva dhāturanayaōtpādita mahā bōdhivittēna. . . bhagavatō daśabala balinah Caturvaiśāradya viśārads syas-tadēśa venika Buddhadharma samalhkutātāmā dvātrimsanmahāpuruṣa lakṣhaṇa varōpalakṣitasya, jati jarāmarāṇa śōkadisu bahu.^{54a}

Nirvāṇa : Nirvāṇa is the state which is inexplicable and an object of the state of self-experience. Buddha said 'Nibbhanna can be reached by abandoning all sensual pleasures, doubts, with all craving stilled, stead fastly maintaining the peace of sorrowfulness and by possessing the knowledge 'Nothing is' and not being misled by perception. The person who realises it can no longer be identified like a flame, extinguished by the wind. Nirvāṇa is of two types: (1) Place attainable here and now, in this life, and (2) Parinibhanna, absolute nirvāṇa attainable after death. The second one is eternal and amṛita.⁵⁵ Nirvāṇa as a state of eternal bliss is expressed in inscription found at Nagarjunakonda.⁵⁶ The Buddhist theory of non-existence of soul, the concept of the Nirvāṇa The Mādhyamika theory of sūnyata, the theory of rebirth, are referred to by Mahēndravarma in seventh century A.D. and Sōmadēva in the tenth century A.D.⁵⁷

3.4 RELIGIOUS LIFE OF BUDDHIST HOUSE-HOLDER

The Aṅguttara nikāya, and the the Dharmikasutta give the Panchāśilas that are to be followed by a Buddhist house-holder. They are abstinence from killing, stealing, adultery, lying and abstinence from the use of intoxicants. The sixth seventh, and eight śilas imposed

on monks are supposed to be followed by a laic on fortnight. These eight silas together are called the eight fold abstinence. A pious Buddhist house-holder ought to perform the five balis to the family, to the guest, pitr, to the king and to the gods. The house-holder even after having observed to the silas offers food and drink to bhikkus, practices his profession honourably. Such one goes to God Svayamprabha.¹ The *Siṅgalavāda* and the *Mahāmangalasutta* teach that a man should live in a suitable country, look after parents, teachers, wife, children, friends, masters and servants and should not bring dishonour to his family. He should practise alm giving, religious life, penance, chastity discernment, humility, content, patience, liberality, benevolence, gratefulness, and selflessness. He should study his own self as the highest knowledge, speak well-disciplined words, listen to Dharma, realise the noble truth, be away from worldly things, sorrow and defilement. This is the highest bliss.²

— The ideals taught by Buddha are fully followed by the lay devotees specially by women in Āndhra. *Bālaśrī*, the *Sātavāhana* queen, who is described as delighted in observing noble qualities made lavish donations for the bhikkus of four corners as per the teachings of the Buddha.³ There are many inscriptions which recall the mahāyāna ideals practised by the Āndhras. *Amaravati* inscriptions frequently refer to the donations made for the welfare of the donor, his friends, relatives, and even the whole world.⁴ *Mahātalavari Chātriśrī*, *Bōdhiśrī*, *Koḍabaliśrī*, along with others are described as having donated gifts not only for themselves, but for the endless happiness and welfare of the assembly of saints, of the whole world, and for all the sentient beings.⁵ *Chātriśrī* is described as one who had compassion for śramaṇas, brāhmins, miserable, and the destitute. She bestowed on them matchless and ceaseless flow of gifts, she is compared to *Vēlama*, a noted woman in buddhist stories.⁶ The donation of food, drink, and clothes are found in the inscriptions mentioned above. Another noted donee to buddhist sangha is queen *Paramabaṭṭārīka Dēvi*, of the *Viṣṇukunḍins* family. King *Gōvinda-varma* constructed many vihāras, bestowed all his possessions in charity, protected śramaṇas, bhikkus, brāhmins and possessed highly enlightened mind for the uplift of the beings. The vihāras surpassed

in the beauty the celestial mansions. Iudravarma donated lamps, incense, perfumes, flags, drinks, couches, food, medicine etc., for the monestry built by his chief queen for the benefit of “Chaturdiśāryavara bhikku sangha.”⁷ In the beginning, Buddha asked the Bhikkus to take refuge in three ratnas and said ‘be the light unto thyself’.⁸ But in course of time when the number of devotees increased, the lord permitted the erection and worship of stupas, pilgrimage to the sacred place including image worship.⁹ In the Mahāparinibbanna sutta, the Lord states that a stūpa should be erected for the Tathāgata at four cross-roads. Worship, offering of garlands and perfumes to it are recommended as beneficial. He further states that a Tathāgata, an Arhata, a pratyakṣa Buddha, a true follower, and a king are worthy of having stupa. By worshipping it one can be born in heaven.¹⁰ The Buddha further states that the places where Tathāgata is born, attained enlightenment, taught the first sermon and where he passed away are important places of pilgrimage. One who would die on such a journey is blessed with a birth in Heaven.¹¹ Originally, the articles used by Buddha or by a worthy person were worshipped Buddha was represented either by vajrāsana or a tree or pāduka or stūpa. But the literature of the later period like the Mahāvastu, Lalitāvistra contain references to image making and the lakṣhaṇas of the image of the Master. Thus, in course of time, both Hinayānists and the Mohāyānists filled their sacred places with countless votive stupas and images. The mahāyāna ideals which were propagated by the Jātakas were found appealing by the people. This resulted in extensive sculptural activity. The practice of erecting stūpas, their worship, votive stūpas, installation of the images of the Master and narration of Jātaka themes are found in Āndhra widely. A great number of stūpas and vihāras are found in Āndhra. The stūpas are divided into three types, śārīraka-corporal, uddēśīka-memorial and pāribōgika. A sacred spot śrīpada, and dharmachakra are also important objects of worship. The Stūpas at Salihundam, Kottur, Gudivada, Jaggayyapet, Bhattiprole, Ghantasala, Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda are considered as śārīraka or uddēśīka stupas. These places were also important centres of pilgrimage visited by Buddhist house-holders from different parts. Bhattiprolu stupa of 3rd century B.C. contains three relic caskets and

is supposed to contain the tooth relic of Buddha.¹² Other stupas contain relics in one two, three or four caskets made in crystal or stone. The stūpa at Nagarjunakonda which is considered as dhātugarbha contains a bone kept in a silver casket with gold flower petals.¹³ The stupa at Amaravati is called Mahāchaitya. It consists of drum, pradakṣinapatha, harmika and chatra. The drum is surrounded by a railing, gate ways, āyaka platforms with five āyaka pillars.

All these parts of stūpa are covered with sculptured slabs. Stūpa might have been painted, and gilded sparkling against dazzling light. The original granite railing built by Aśoka was replaced by a limestone one. The hārmika was placed, a gateway was added the railing was decorated with plaques depicting scenes of stūpa, triratna, chakra and so on. The construction of minor stūpas was introduced in the time Ehuṇḍa Chāntamūla and Chātiśrī. The practice of building Chaityas with stupa spread so quickly that in course of time stupa lost its importance and Chaityagṛihas with Buddha and apsidal shrines became more popular. The Bōdhisattva was for the first time introduced in the Chaityagṛiha at Nagarjunakonda.¹⁴ The stūpa at Salihundam seems to have continued to be popular upto eight century. Two śariraka stūpas and innumerable votive stūpas are found there. While stūpa-chaitya were built on the hill, the vihāras are perched on slopes. Both Salihundam and Amaravati show the three phases of Buddhism, viz. Hinayāna, Mahāyāna and Vijrayāna. The existence of Hinayāna is indicated by the symbolic representation of the Master. The Mahāyāna is shown by the representation of the Master in the forms of Padmapāṇi, Mañjuśrī and others. The Vajrayāna is indicated by the existence of images of Tāra, Marīchi, Jambhāla and etc.¹⁵

The evolution of the buddhist thought is represented in the evolution of Buddhist art. This is indicated in the following account. In the early phase, Buddha is represented as lotus, wheel, tree, empty throne, and stūpa, afterwards flaming pillar is added. The human form of the Buddha was introduced from second century onwards for commoners and for personal adoration. Besides Buddha, Bōdhisattva, Buddha seated on coils of Nāga are also carved. From the tenth century onwards, the tāntrika deities were introduced. Besides these, chief events in the life of Buddha like Māya's dream, Buddha's birth, seven

steps, horoscope Casting, visit to city, renunciation, Tusita heaven, conquering of Māra, enlightenment, first food, sermon, transport of relics, conversion of nāga, Alaveli, Kippan, Nirvāṇa of the Lord, and Jātakas like Champēya, Māndhātā, Mahāpadma, Vasētara, Ummagga, Śibi, have formed the themes for the artists in Āndhra.¹⁶ The gift was made for oneself or favourite for the relatives, friends, for the monks, for the whole world and for all the sentient beings, by oneself or on behalf of his relatives or friends, or by all four quarters. It is believed that a gift would ensure the bliss of Nirvāṇa, happiness, welfare, longevity in both the worlds to the donor his relatives, friends and to all.¹⁷

Mode of worship : The sculptures from Jaggayyapet, Amaravati and other places give an idea on the mode of worship that prevailed among the Buddhists. People worshipped Buddha in symbolic form as stūpa, chaitya, Throne, Tree, Buddhapada, and Umbrella. They offered flowers, garlands, umbrellas, bannares, flywicks, fruits, water, music, dance to these objects. At Jaggayyapet the Padas were enshrined in Puṇyaśāla with the royal honours of offering chattra. Watering and decorating of bodhi tree, kneeling before it, and offering añjali to it are popular modes of worship.¹⁸

Buddhist festivals : The periodical meetings like Upōsatta, Pravārna and Vassa ordained by Buddha in course of time developed into festivals. The Vaiśākha Pūrṇima on which the Lord was born, enlightened and died was considered as sacred day and developed into an important festival. The epigraphs of the period do not name any particular festival, but mention the celebration of festivals and ceremonies in general. The edicts of Aśoka and the Nāsik inscriptions of Balasri eulogise the generous nature on festive days. The Nagarjunakonda inscription states that one upāsaka Chandaśri bestowed many religious gifts at various places in connection with the celebration of the religious ceremonies or festivals in honour of the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha.^{18a} Here, the first may indicate the Vaiśākha Pūrṇima, the second Upōsatta and Pravārna and the third one to the Vassa and Kaṭhina. Of all the festivals, the Vaiśākha pūrṇima only is spoken of explicitly. A marble pillar inscription of Yajñaśri refers to the Vaiśākha pūrṇima probably which might be the day on which the pillar was erected,¹⁹ so also one Viṣṇukuṇḍin inscription

describes the donations made by the king on Vaiśāka pūrṇima.²⁰ The Yaśastilaka of tenth century also describes that on the day festival celebrated in honour of Buddha.²¹

Upōsatha : The fortnightly sitting of monks to hold discussions about Dharma and Vinaya, to recite the Pāṭtimokka and to proclaim the parisuddhi is called Upōsatha. It is held on the eight or fourteenth day of each month and is meant both for the monks and the laity. On that day, the selection of a spot is announced, all seats are arranged, lights are lit, drinking water is arranged, monks are put to questions and answers. An intelligent bhikku is chosen to preach Dharma and to recite Pāṭtimokka. A guilty one is not permitted to attend it, but he has to confess his sin.²² On Upōsatha day, a laymen is supposed to observe fast and be away from business, hunting, and spend time preaching and hearing Dharma.²³

Vassā : The Vassā originally intended to avoid the inconvenience of trāvēlling in rains and to avoid himsa by crushing the green herbs, sprouts and insects. The Vassa commences either on the full moon day of Āṣaḍa or of Śrāvaṇa and lasts for three months. During this period, the wandering monks live under one shelter as a single unit. The Vassa recites the Dharma, Suttas, Vinaya and other texts. He who observes it should not leave the place, in case if he leaves should return within seven days.²⁴

Kaṭhina : Kaṭhina is the ceremony of distribution of robes performed at the end of Vassa or Pravārṇa. Each sangha possessed a store of robes consisting of raw cotton, robes and an officer to look after. The raw cotton or yarn, cloth provided by the devotees is received. Cutting, sewing, dying and distribution of robes is to be completed within twentyfour hours. Every bhikku has a claim for his robes depending upon his āvāsa or stay and Cīvara, the condition of clothes. Donation of clothes to Sangha is supposed to be very meritorious.²⁵ In the inscriptions under study, though reference is not found directly to raw cotton or dress, donation of fields and money for clothes are found.^{25a}

Pravārṇa : The Pravārṇa ceremony was held at the end of the vassā. This ceremony is held in a solemn atmosphere to express humility and modesty of the Bhikkus on the fourteenth or fifteenth

day of bright fortnight. On that day the Bhikkus were permitted to accept gifts from the laic and the gifts made on this occasion are considered to be more meritorious.⁶

Stūpa Mahā : Building a Stūpa or vihāra like any other religious structure such as digging of a tank erection of memorial shrines and pillars became a popular religious practices. The Mahāvamśa gives a graphic picture of erection of a stūpa, rooms and pavilions. The stūpa is decorated with tōraṇas, fitted with bells, lotus medallian, beautiful figures of lion, tigers, various birds, divine attendants, pañchalatas, divine beings playing musical instruments, playing music, dancing, carrying flowers, garlands, adoring and worshipping. Various auspicious symbols like pearlstrings, crystals, pendants, are also used for decorations. The sculptures at Amaravati, Nagarjanakonda and other places represent exactly the same description. The Yaśastilaka mentions the worship of stūpa.²⁷

According to the Buddhist tradition, the Universe consists of innumerable spheres, of which each has its own earth, sun, moon, heaven and hell. Each of the spheres consists of three Avacaras or lokas, the highest being the Arūpa, the lowest being Kāma. The lowest region is the abode of six classes of Gods, four Dikpālas, thirty three Gods, Besides there are thirty one lokas inhabited by the living beings, who are classified according to their spiritual excellence, they being the supreme Buddhas, the pratyakṣa Buddhas, the Arhatas, Dēvas, Gandharvas, Nāgas and Yakṣas.²⁸

The Amaravati Art from second century B.C. to second century A.D. depicts a pantheon consisting of Apsaras, Gandharvas Kinneras, Yakṣas, Nāgas, Garuda, and other Dēvas headed by Sakra, the lord of Heaven. As in Vedic literature and epics Indra or Sakra is ever vigilant. Mātali is the divine charioteer. Viṣvakarma, is the divine architect. Airāvata is the divine vehicle.²⁹ The other Gods represented are Kubēra the Lord of wealth, Vasudhāra the Goddess of prosperity, corn and beauty, Prithvi the Goddess of earth, life essence and vegetation, Dikpālas, Sūrya, Chandra, and Manmadha.³⁰ Goddess Lakṣmi as standing in the Lotus and as being bathed by the elephants is also represented here. The figure of a seated female with a child on her

knees has been identified with mother Goddess, as Peddabankur Karimnagar district.

There are beautiful figures in terracotta like Gajalaksmi and that of Dēvi seated in paryanakāśana decorated with pearl strings, fruit and parrot in left and right hands respectively. These two figures resemble Lakṣmi figure on the Sāñchi gate and Goddess from Mathura. The Goddess Śrī an embodiment of auspicious quality, and prosperity, as associated with lotus, Srivastava etc., was the most favoured theme of the artist. A lady seated on lotus pulling on the garlands from the mouth of makara is considered as the earliest representation of Sri or Lakṣmi in South India.³¹ The Āmaravati sculptures repeatedly show scenes of divine congregations depicting Dēvas, Apsaras, Gandharvas, Vidyādharas, Yakṣas, Nāgas etc., as soaring in the air, fluttering in the sky, carrying offering, vases and trays and adoring Buddha-bhagavan on great occasions like descent of Mahāpuruṣa, undertaking of asceticism, of Turban transportation to Tuṣita heaven and Buddha's visit to Tuṣita. Similarly scenes of semi divine beings also are sculptured. These are shown as a congregation enjoying, playing musical instruments singing and dancing. Some times these are shown as taking part in the processions carrying couriers, umbrellas, banners, garlands, incense jars and singing and dancing.³² The Apsaras, Gandharvas and Vidhyadharas are sculptured as soaring in the air while the Kinneras and Kimpuruṣas are depicted in hybrid forms.³³

Yakṣas : The cult of Yakṣa is found in Āndhra from an early date. During the Sātavāhanas both at Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda the Yakṣas are represented in both ugly and handsome forms like the handsome garland bearer, and pot bellied ugly Sivagaṇas issuing garlands either from mouth or from navel. Yakṣa as residing on Vṛikṣa is also depicted.³⁴ Chaityas were erected in honour of some Yakṣas like Candamukha residing on Vakula tree and Alavaka and Punnaka. Beautiful Yakṣinies are usually depicted either singular or along with trees. Yakṣini in association with trees is called Vṛikṣika.³⁵ Yakṣa Kubēra figured on the beads found at Kondapur.³⁶ At Nagarjunakonda also dwarish Yakṣa is shown carrying garland. Besides they are depicted in several scenes, along with aquatic animals,³⁷ and in niches as decorative pieces.³⁸ Excavations at

Nagarjunakonda reveal a temple dedicated to the Vaiśravaṇa. This shows the popularity of Yakṣa cult.³⁹ An inscription from Jaggayapet refers to a teacher Bhandata Nāgārjuna who was famous for his mastery over mayuravidya or Yakṣavidya.⁴⁰ Representation of Nāga is the most dominating of all Buddhist art in Āndhra and is found in many places.

The sculptures found at Amaravati represent animals like bull, elephant, horse, cow as decorative motifs as well as symbolic representation of different occasions in the life history of the lord e.g., the elephant, represents womb formation; vrsabha, the time of birth; deer the occasion of preaching; the lion, Sākyasimha. The fish is used as an auspicious symbol of the feet of lord.⁴¹ Besides, there are mythical animals like horse, elephant, lion with beak, horse with human face, horse elephant and lion with wings, elephant with the hind part of fish, horse with fish body, and horse with elephant head and horse with the head of a makara horse with fish body, and horse with human body, cow with wings, or a human face, winged deer, merman, men with lion faces and Nāga with human head. The Uchchaiśrva and Airavata represent signs of Chakravarti in the sculptures of Buddhist legends. The horse and horseman frequently found at Nagarjunakonda may represent kimpurasa and Tumbura.⁴² Amaravati artist in the beginning carved the tree as an object of worship in its natural form. In course time it is represented in its anthropomorphic form. The three spirits are shown with a projecting head or hand from a trunk, or as women standing by a tree. The spirit abiding in a Vrikṣa is represented as adoring the newly-born Siddhārtha. Such sculptures are found at Nagarjunakonda and Chandavaram also.⁴³ In another type, Chaitya tree is shown at the tree enshrined by a many storeyed building, worshipped by the devotees watering. It is a striking feature of Amaravati Art. The kalpavṛkṣa is also represented as one of the eight signs of Indra in the story of Māndhātā.⁴⁴ Amaravati art depicts belief in the water spirits at different places. Women flying with water vessels filled with lotuses are considered as representations of water spirits so also the river goddess is represented as standing on crocodile. The sculpture of a lady standing on makara under a tree from Jaggayapet is considered

to be a water spirit. Sometimes the spirit is represented in art in the forms of hands projecting out from water.⁴⁵

The symbols of Svastika, Nandipada, Lotus, shell and fish are found on the Sātavāhana coins and other places. These are found in the early sculptures of Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda also. The Amaravati sculptures depict the seven jewels of Universal Monarch in connection with the story of Māndhātā. The picture, with mango or Aśōka or lotus or flowers popularly called *kalaśa* the auspicious symbol of plenty and fertility is a unique and well-known feature of religious art of Āndhra. Thus the art at Amaravati, Nagarjunakonda and other places reflect the contemporary religious life and thought.

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4

Jainism

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The word Jainism is derived from the word Jina. Jina means one who conquered the worldly passions. Since Jina is worshipped as the supreme being by the followers the religion got the name Jainism. There are twenty four Jinas appearing in different periods to restore the original purity of their doctrine whenever it is outweighed by evil influences. The antiquity of Jainism in India could be traced back to the proto-historic age. Rishabha Dēva the first teacher of Jainism is supposed to have taught his Dharma at the commencement of human civilisation. The nude male torso in Kāyōtsarga pose, standing and sitting figures on seals found at Mohenjodaro, Harappa, and Lothal are described as those of Rishabha.¹

According to Jaina tradition, Jainism was introduced in Āndhra by the first Thirthankara, Rishabha. His son Bāhubali the first king of South India, after ruling for a short period abandoned the throne and followed the life of an ascetic. He performed austerities at Pōdana-pura alias Bodhan and attained siddhabood there. Another tradition narrates that Bharata, son of Bāhubali erected a huge statue of 525 “Dhanu” of his father at Bodhan. In course of time the statue was covered with Kukkutasarpas making it invisible to commoners. This account is narrated in the inscription of Chamundaraya at Sravana Belgola.² In Dharmamrita, a Jain work ascribed to eleventh to twelfth centuries A.D. the author, Nayanasena states that during the time of the twelfth Thirthankara, Vasupujya, Vengi mandala was visited by Yasodhara the ruler of Anga who was thrilled by its beauty settled there and ruled over it. Sridhara, one of his sons was an ardent

devotee of Jain cult, and performed austerities at places like Srisailam, Amaravati and Siddhavatam.³ Haribhadriyavritti, another Jain work states that Mahavira, the last Thirthankara preached his doctrine to the king of Kalinga, a friend of his father. Vajjabhumi, one of the many places visited by Mahavira, in his ascetic life is identified with the north-eastern part of Āndhra.⁴ Thus according to tradition, different parts of Āndhra were associated with Jaina Thirthahankaras from the times of the first Jina.

Historically, Jainism in Āndhra could be traced back to fifth century B.C. This can be seen from the Hathigumpha inscription which states clearly that Jainism flourished in Kalinga even in pre-Mauryan days.⁵ According to the Parisisti parvan, King Samprati the grandson of Asoka, embraced Jainism under the guidance of Suhastin, a svētambara Jaina acharya. This King propagated Jainism by sending missionaries to Āndhra, Chola and Karnataka to inculcate the spirit of piety and righteousness.⁶ There are two direct epigraphical and iconographical evidences showing Jainism in Āndhra as early as third century B.C. The inscription is cut in a cavern at Malkonda, Nellore district. According to this one Sirigsetti of Aruvahilakula donated cavern to jaina monks.⁷ Some Jaina images are also found in another cavern very near to a place called Siddhulakonda.⁸ The Sātavāhanas extended their toleration to Jainism. According to Prabhāvakachairta, a late Jaina work, Kālakāchāry, the successor of Suhastin, once visited Pratiṣṭānapura and invited the ruling king to attend the Paruṣana ceremony, the performance of which had been shifted from Bhādrapada suddhapañcami to Caturdhi on the request of Simuka. Another Jaina traditional account informs that the same king constructed a Jaina temple and that some of his warriors followed his path and built temples after their own names.⁹

Epigraphical evidence shows that Jainism continued in Āndhra in the second century B.C. also. Guntupalli, hitherto considered a Buddhist centre, has been identified with a Jaina monument by Dr. R. Subrahmanyam. While re-interpreting the inscription found here, he ascribes it to second century B.C. and states that the donor Chulagōma, was royal messenger of Mahārāja Kalingādhipathi-Mahamēkhavāhana.¹⁰ Khāravēla, the Cēdi king of Kalinga was a staunch

follower of Jainism. The Hāthigumpha inscription issued by him opens with an invocation “*Namō Arihamitānām Namō Sava Siddhānām*”. It is said that he brought back the Jain images previously carried away by Nanda I, and reinstalled—in Kalinga. In his thirteenth year, Khāravēla revolved the wheel of conquest on the Kumāri hill where Jaina religion has been preached, invited the council of wise, asectics, sages from all quarters and got the *Āṅgas* compiled. He offered respectfully royal maintenance, silks and white clothes to the monks who by their austerities have extinguished the cycle of life and birth. Khāravēla is praised in this inscription as the king of monks, king who repaired religious structures and as one who saw, heard and realised the bliss as well as the nature of *jīva* and *dēha*.¹¹ For about five centuries after the Hāthigumpha inscription, Jainism is not referred to in any epigraphical records found in Āndhra. Though it was one of the foremost religions in the early days, faced set back during the early Christian era at the hands of Buddhism and Brāhmanism. This is revealed in the abundant archaeological material found in different parts of Āndhra. Konakondala at Guntakal may be mentioned as an important Jaina centre of second century A.D. This was connected with the great Jaina teacher Kundakuṇḍachārya. On the hills at Konakondala there is a spacious natural cave which can accommodate fifty people under its flat and horizontal rock-roof. There are several other recesses under huge boulders which are considered to be Jaina habitations.¹² Paddamaudiyam a noted Jaina centre connected with Simhanandi continued to be famous in the early period.¹³ Siddhvatam and Danavulpadu in Cuddapah district are important Jaina centres known in the third century A.D.¹⁴ Aryavatam in the East Godavari is another Jaina centre belonging to third century A.D. This place is rich with Jain figures. The other Jaina centres are Kovvur, Chebrole, Gudivada and Dharmavaram. Among these places at Kovvur a Jaina image of a very rare type is found. Another Jaina image in Kāyōṭṣarga pose is found at Dharmavaram, Vizag district. According to the Musinikonda grant queen Ayya Mahādevi, wife of Kubjaviṣṇu, the founder of the Eastern Chālukyan dynasty built Naḍumbivasati at Bezavada in the first quarter of the seventh century A.D. To the same temple Viṣṇuvardhana III of

Eastern Chālukyans donated the village Musinikonda in S 684.¹⁵ Again in the time of Amma II the practice of making donations to Jainism were noticed. In the Maluyampudi plates of Amma II it is recorded that he donated the village Maliyampudi to Kaṭakābharāṇa Jinālaya an excellent temple built by Durgarāja on the southern side of Dharmपुरi. This grant was made to meet the expenses of repairs offerings to Jina, and for the free feeding of ascetics. Amma II also donated the village of Peddagaliparru to the Chieftains Nandivarma II and Bhīma who were devoted to Jaina Dharma. They took the grant of the village from the king for the purpose of constructing a Jaina Bhavana at Vijayawada. They inherited their devotion to Jina from their parents Mēlaparāja and Mēlāmbha.¹⁶ The village Kāluchumbarru was donated to Sarvalōkāśraya Jainālaya by Amma II at the request of his mistress Chemakāmba.¹⁷ Thus, it is clear that in the time of Amma II three temples were built in three different places, Bezvada, Dharmavaram and Ramateertham. The other places where Jainism flourished in the time of Eastern Chālukyans,¹⁸ are Durgakonda, Gurubhaktakonda, {Penumachalli and Peddamirdiyam. Three ruined temples, a stone figure of Pārśvanāthha Tīrthankara in sitting posture made of stone and a Choumukha with six figures on each side with parasol are found at Dharma varam.¹⁹ The nearby hill ranges running over a long distance served as shelters for the Jain monks. A grey granite image of Jina is found at Biccavolu made probably by Kaliviṣṇu I.²⁰

Yuvan Chwang, the Chinese traveller who visited Āndhra in seventh century A.D. mentions Jainism as one of the religions practised in Āndhra.²¹ He states that in Kalinga, majority of the people were followers of Jainism. He refers to a place Culiya, and says 'that the people had belief in the Tīrthankaras' and that among the followers digambaras were found to be numerous.²²

There is abundant material found in Āndhra in support of the patronisation of Jainism by the Rāṣtrakūṭas and the Chālukyans of Kalyāṇa. In S'854, Chandīabbe, queen of Kannaradēva built a temple at Nandavara and gifted taxes from village Rajanuru, gold and land for the maintenance of the basati.²³ The stone inscription at Dana-valapadu records that King Nityavarṣa constructed a pedestal for

Sāntinādhā for the bathing ceremony.²⁴ Another record from the same place issued by a subordinate of Rāṣṭrakūṭas by name Śrīvijaya is of great interest for its philosophical contents. This place yielded a large number images made with sandstone now kept in Kazanabuilding, Golconda, Hyderabad. Excavations conducted here reveal three temples with four doorways for the Choumukhas in order to enable the devotees to witness the bathing ceremony from all directions, one pānavaṭṭa bearing the figure of bullocks and dikpālas, as found at Mathura, the famous Jain centre in North India. Thirthankars with their śāsanadēvis, Choumukha with Sānthinādhā as the main deity, images of Pārśvanādhā, Padmavati and many niṣidhis are also found in the excavation.²⁵ The sculptures and images found in places like Konakondla, Rayadurga, Chippagiri, Hanumakonda, Jallur, Kudatani, Kogali, Adoni, pedatamblam, Chinatambalam, Bodhan etc., bear testimony to Rāṣṭrakūṭa support to Jainism and its popularity in Āndhra. A stone figure of first Tirthankara with lion throne, elephants, chowri bearers, prabha and parasol is located at Jallur. Several figures of Pārśvanātha with six umbrellas, snakehood, in kāyōtsarga pose are on boulders at Hanumakonda.²⁶ Jain figures sculptured on the boulder at Chinnatambalam and Peddatambalam, Chippagiri temples at Rayadurga and Kudatim are said to be developed by Amōghavarṣa. The figures of Tirthankara, and the inscriptions of Nityavarṣa from Adoni are some of the numerous vestages found in Āndhra. Another very important Jaina centre in Āndhra. is Bodhan in Nizamabad district Historically it was a secondary capital of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. Traditionally, it was the capital of Bāhubali where his image was erected, which in course of time disappeared.^{26a} Kobpal was another Jaina centre developed in the times of Rāṣṭrakūṭas. An inscription dated S 811 records that danḍanāyaka Ammarasa visited the holy place Kūpana and made donations for basati which was constructed by Aliammarasa of Kadamba family.²⁷ Kobpal continued to flourish as an important Jaina centre till the end of the Western Chālukyan period. This place is referred to as Āditīrtha in later times. The inscriptions found refer to the carving of foot-prints of Ācharya, donation of the images of twenty four Thirthanakaras, the main being Pārśvanādhā. A basti constructed by Mādanna Danḍanāyaka, and

donation of the figures of Pañchaparamēṣṭi also are mentioned.²⁸ Kopbal inscriptions belonging to the times of Vikramāditya states that one Kalyāṇakṛita erected a basati in honour of his Guru Simhanandi.²⁹ Another inscription of this dynasty from Bekkallu, Warangal district records establishment of Jain temple and donation made to it.³⁰ Warangal Padmākṣhi temple also was developed in the times of these kings³¹ and continued to enjoy a high position in the time of Kākatiyas. An epigraph of Tribuvanamalla from Warangal records that the establishment of Jain temple by certain Punnireddy,³² while another one refers to the construction of Jain image at village Siddhapur.³³ Yet another from Tolikonda refers to the Jain ācharya.³⁴ The Jainālaya built of bricks at Gollattagudi, Mahaboobnagar district is of some interest. It is similar to that of the temple at Biccavole. It is devoid of figures and sculptures on outer wall, and sikhara.³⁵ Under the Western Chālukyan King Taila II, Patanceru in Medak district was developed as a great Jain centre. The place yielded several Jain sculptures including a ten feet Jain image which is highly polished. The practice of carving the figure of Jain with other Jinas on an arch like parikara is an important feature of images found here. Ekatīrtha, Tritīrtha, Pañchaparamēṣṭi, Dvādaśatīrtha parikara and chauviṃsas and even ṣoḍasatīrtha parikara were sculptured during the Western Chālukyans times. The Thirthankaras are with Śrīvatsamonk on the chest.³⁶ Pudur, Nayakallu, Kambadur, Amarapuram, Kogali are other Jain centres. The last was developed by Taila II.³⁷ In a cave at Adoni, are found three seated Jinas with Padmavati and Pārśvanātha in Kāyōtsarga pose. Kolanupaka, was developed as Jain centre by Kumāra Tailapa who built a Jain temple there. Here Adinātha sitting on bhadraśan is accompanied by Padmāvati.³⁸

The Nōlamba Pallavas and the Chālukyans of Vēmulaṇḍa are the two feudatory dynasties who patronized Jainism, in Āndhra. One Nōlamba Pallava inscription from Anantapur records that the lay disciple Ālupadēvi, queen of Iṇṇugola, protected the Jain charity by reconstructing a ruined basati.³⁹ Another record from the same place refers to an ācharya.⁴⁰ The Jain temples of the Nōlamba Pallavas are found at Hemavati, Kottesvara, Patesvaram, Kambadur and Madaksira etc. At Kambadur, jainālaya consists of garbhagriha,

antarāḷa, a hall, and other parts Digambara sculptures also are found on the walls of the temples.⁴¹ King Baddiga II built a Jinālaya at Vēmulavada which was developed later on by his son Arikēsari IV. Both these kings patronised Jaina poet Sōmadēvasūri.⁴² The figures of Chaumukha and Chauvisatirthankaras and Chaumvisas are very very valuable for their types in South India. They combine the Buddhist and Hindu custom of setting up votive stūpas and temples with the Jaina concept of *srvatōbhadrika*. Another interesting feature of Vēmulavāda sculptures is the mark of Uṣṇisa on the head of the Jaina figures.⁴³

The inscription from Gaṅgādhara issued by Jinavallabha is of great importance in the history of Āndhra Jainism. It records that Jinavallabha the brother of poet Pampa constructed a jinalaya called Tribhuvanatilaka, erected the images of Jinas, Chakrēśvari and other deities, excavated a tank called kavitāguṇārṇava, and planted groves called madanavilāsa. Jinavallabha used to perform the bathing ceremony with milk to the Jinas installed on the Vṛisabhagiri and used to offer respect to those that visited this place.⁴⁴ An inscription from Ujili dated S'888 registers a land and flower garden to God Chennapārśva by Śrīvallabha Chōḷa Mahārāja. The gift is made for repairs of that temple, feeding of the ascetics in the temple of Baddi-jinālaya, and for regular services of eight kinds of lamps, incense, offering of fruits, dhūpa and tambūla.⁴⁵ There are some more evidences found scattered in Āndhra which throw light on popular support to Jainism. An inscription of the seventh century A.D. from Vamikonda in Cuddapah district mentions Vṛiṣabha an excellent teacher living on the hill. The record further states that he was a cloud to the crops namely the righteousness and an unshakable rock to his opponents in discourses.⁴⁶ An epigraph of the eight century A.D. from Kesanapalli records a gift made to jinālaya,⁴⁷ another dated tenth century A.D. from Tummalagudem, Nalgonda District, registers a gift of land by a certain Sankaragandara to Jayadhīrajīnālaya.⁴⁸ At Konakondla, Anantapur district a hillock called Rasasiddula Gutta contains a Jaina tomb and label.⁴⁹ Besides these, there are some inscriptions from Bellary, Anantapur, Nizamabad, Adilabad and other places referring to different Āchāryas and accounts connected with Jainism.⁵⁰

Vallimalai Caves, assigned to Western Gāngas are the natural recesses in a big boulder, having on the back wall the figures of Thirthanakaras, Indra, Yakṣas, Ambika and an inscription refering to Jaina teachers.⁵¹

Jainism, thus, appears in Āndhra Dēśa in the early centuries of christian era, though it seems to have comparatively flourished only from the times of the Eastern Chālukyans of Vēṅgi.

4.2 JAINA SECTS

Even during the life-time of Mahavira, his son-in-law Jāmālī tried to create schism in the order. After the nirvāṇa of Mahavira, people like Tissagutta disputed on some philosophical aspects that the soul does not pervade all the atoms of the body; that no difference is there between the monk and the God; that bad and good actions are immaterial since all life comes to an end after some time, and that the kārmic bodies touch the soul but do not bind it etc. A keen study of all the texts of both svētambaras and digambaras show that the differences between them pertain more to practices than to morals or philosophy. The rules concerning meditation, penance, residence, fast, etc., seem to be the same for both.¹

Dr. Deo who made an intensive study of different gaṇas, kulas, śākhās, gachchas, anvaya etc., found in tradition, literature, non-canonical works, practices, and epigraphs observed the following points. Practice of division of congregation goes back to second century B.C. The gaṇas received their names after the proper names of their 'originator', many kulas and śākhās are named after the regions, preceptor, caste of an originator, practices or the moral strictness.² The practice of branching off after personal or regional basis made the sangha deviate even for the slightest incident and led to the growth of gachchas. Usually gaṇa followed gachcha. The koṭṭiyaṇa is the most ancient, revered and frequently mentioned; so are the kharatera and the tāpagachchas. The epigraphs do not give full details of the origin of the gachcha nor do they deal with doctrinal and the monastic differences. The epigraphs prior to eighth century to ninth century A.D. do not mention gachcha fully. Most of the gachchas and gaṇas of the svētambaras are developed in medieval and modern times.³ Tāpagachcha is called so because of its hard penance

and many subjects like Sagra, Purande Samavasi arose from it.⁴ The terms anvaya, sangha, vamsa are peculiar to the digambaras.⁵ After the migration of Bhadrabāhu to the south, and the settlement of digambaras there permanently, a number of gaṇas and gachchas arose in course of time.⁶

The earliest reference to the school and sect of Jainism in Āndhra occurs in Hāthigumpha inscription where king Khāravēla is mentioned as belonging to yāpaniya sect. The yāpaniyas are digambaras, who observe the practices of the svētambaras⁷ hence, there the donation of silk garment is referred to.

Other units of jainasangha that are found in Āndhra areas are Gaṇa and Gachcha. Gaṇa is the largest unit of sangha and is found even in pre-Mahāvira times. It consists of a group of three kulas, who have common reading. The monk who looks after the gaṇa should have full faith, self-control, ability and be devoid of feelings towards others. A monk could go to another gaṇa only by a valid reason, with the permission of the teacher after six months of stay in one gaṇa. According to the digambaras, gaṇa is a group consisting of three to thousand monks.⁸ Gachcha is name of a group of followers of one ācharya. At times the terms anvaya or gaṇa are also referred to as Gachcha. It appears as though the Jains favoured smaller groups like Gachcha of three students for the sake of convenience for begging, study, administration etc. Every monk had owe allegiance to a particular Gachcha.⁹ Teacher or Sūri is the sole support of gachcha since he looks after the spiritual development of its members. Gachcha is a dominating factor of Jaina order and replaced gaṇa in course of time.

The inscriptions of Eastern Chālukyan viṣṇuvardhan III, refer to the teacher of "Sourāṣtragāṇa, Kāvurrūr-sanghānvya."¹⁰ Since gaṇa is considered as the largest unit of Jaina order, the teacher Chandra-prabha might have originally come from Sourāṣtradēśa. As the suffix anvaya is used by the digambaras, the above mentioned monks¹¹ were evidently digambaras, branched off from a monk who settled at Kāvurūrī area probably. The followers of this sect observed the worship of Arhats, alm giving and maintained basatis.¹² Amma II of the same dynasty in his record refers to yāpaniya sangha, Kōṭimaḍuvagana

and Nandigachcha.¹³ The digambaras who observe all the practices of svētambaras are called yāpanīyas. No specific scripture of this sect is found so far. The suffix “Nandi” of the name of the teacher shows that he belonged to Nandi gachcha one of the four most ancient gachchas of digambaras.¹⁴ The teacher is described as equal to gaṇadhāra.

During the same time, at Vijayawada, there existed Vālahāri-gaṇa, Aḍḍkaligachcha and Paṭṭavardhani lineage.¹⁵ This sect might have originated in Vālahāri country, propagated by a teacher Paṭṭavardhani who settled at Aḍḍkali. As the suffix anvya is noticed, the sect evidently belonged to digambaras. The followers of this sect built temples and are devoted to alms giving to ascetics of the four classes.

The Mūlasangha, Dēśigaṇa and Pusthakagachcha as a unit is found at Kopbal.¹⁶ The mūlasangha is believed to be taught by Mahāvira himself, the dēśigaṇa is one of the four branches of the digambaras, and the pusthakagachcha is that which is devoted to the worship of scriptures and pañchaparmēstis.¹⁷ These evidently belong to the digambaras.

Draviḍasangha, Sēnigaṇa, Kārūrugachcha, are also noticed in the Telangana region.¹⁸ The Draviḍasangha as already stated is the original digambara sect settled in south India and dēśigaṇa is one of the four subsects of that sangha.¹⁹ The Kārūrugachcha might have originated from the area Kārūru. The devotees of this sect worshipped Pārśva and are devoted to alms giving.

The Dēśigaṇa, Kundakuṇḍānvaya and pottagemārga are referred to in the Jinavellabha's inscription from Gaṅgādhara.²⁰ As the name of gaṇa suggests, it is one of the oldest digambara sects; followed Kundakuṇḍa's teachings along with the worship of the scripture. The followers of this sect performed abhisheka to the Thirthankaras with milk, built temples and Chaityas, practised alms giving and worshipped even tantric deities. The pottagēmarga referred to may be pustakagachcha. Kundakuṇḍānvaya in combination with dēśigaṇa, goulasangha and Karūrīgachcha is found in three inscriptions, all referring to basatis.²² The Kālanūlupagaṇa also is noted in one of the inscriptions.²³

The study of the sects found in the inscriptions show that the

original rules given in the texts and literature were not fully followed in Āndhra, i.e. for example the digambaras accepted into their fold women including prostitutes, worshipped Jinas with flowers, observed caste rules, and worshipped books.

4.3 MONACHISM, TEACHERS, CANON AND METAPHYSICS

Monachism

The Jaina traditional literature is the main source for early Jain monachism. Jainism which preaches extreme ascetism originally admitted into it's fold men of high moral standard and of self-control. In course of time several women including courtesans embraced the faith.¹

King Srivijaya fully understood non-permanency of life and renounced the world. The Yaśastilaka describes different circumstances under which people undertook the Jaina vow. 'King Sudatta of Kālīṅga became a monk on account of failing to solve the problems of reconciling justice. King Yaśōrgha desired to renounce the world on seeing the grey hair in his locks. Under the direction of the sage Samyamabhadra, coronated his son Yaśōdhara and then renounced the world. Another king Yaśōmathi felt like renouncing the world on hearing a story from Sudatta. The story says that a certain king had to undergo many births and sufferings in hells for sacrificing a cock made of flour paste. After listening to this story king Yaśōmati felt that killing of animals for food from childhood would lead to punishments in the hell. Therefore he renounced the world and joined Jainism under the guidance of Sudatta. The queen Kusūmāvaḷi having suddenly got a desire to observe non-violence started listening to the Jaina faith. As a result her children Abhayaruchi and Abhayamati took monastic vow even at an early age of eight years. It is said that they remembered their past births, also. King Māradatta also renounced the world suddenly. Once on the pretext of navami festival celebrations at the Chāṇḍamālī temple, the king ordered all the people together there as that day a human sacrifice was to be done. At that time the royal servants brought Abhayaruchi and Achayamati also there. The king Māradatta was so overwhelmingly moved by the

pleasant appearance and sweet talk of the children that he immediately adopted Jainism under sage Sudatta.² In this connection Sōmadēvasūri says that the novice who is converted to Jainism is to be considered sympathetically since he could not give up his old practices easily. He further states that the people of higher classes only are eligible for religious initiation while the sudras are fit only to give offerings.³

The ancient Jaina literature describes the occasion of renunciation with a festive touch depending upon the status of the individual.⁴ The early digambara literature like Pravachanasāra states that the person who wants to renounce the world should salute the Pañchāpārmēsti, take leave of his relatives and dependents, approach the teacher and request him for admission into the order. On obtaining the permission of the teacher, he should pull out the hair and moustache or Lōya and become naked. 'Thence should listen to the rules and duties of a monk from his master and accept ascetic life'.^{4a} The same type of initiation is applied in the case of nuns also.⁵

The Jains do not tour during the rainy season; from the fifth day of Jyestha to the fifth day of Bhādrapada or Kārtika, or from the full moon day of Āṣāḍa to that of Mārgasīram in order to abstain from causing injury to vegetation. Rules regarding life in rainy season are given in the Daśarataskanda and kalpasūtras. While touring the monks should walk without harassing or killing any creature, avoiding muddy water regions. They should walk along the path of the carts, elephants or footpaths. The same rules are applicable to nuns also but in no case women are allowed to four or stay all alone.⁶ The rest of the year the monk is supposed to wander. However the Āchāraṅgas, Uttarādhyāna and the Nāyadhammakka speak of monasteries and vihāras where the monks can lead a peaceful and contented life.⁷

In connection with the tours the story of sage Sudatta deserves mention. The Yaśastilaka states that sage Sudatta, during his tours accompanied by his large number of disciples, never walked through the cities in order to avoid himsa, never selected a beautiful flower garden crowded with young women and men to avoid any scope for attraction towards mundane joys; and that he never passed through cremation ground with funeral pyres burning, to avoid awakening of

diverse thoughts.⁸ He finally fixed his camp near a town. Then he asked the monks to form into groups and go for begging food. The young boy, Abhayaruci and his sister Abhayamasi were directed to beg in the city. The monks were directed to come and meet him on their return at the temple of Bhavāni.⁹ In Jaina tradition a monk is permitted to possess clothes, alms-bowl, or paya, blanket or kambala and a broom or Pāvapuncha. This set is called Bhandaga.¹⁰ Sōmadēva refers to the Jains as naked, unwashed, carrying peacock feathers and easing food while standing. He says that bathing is useless for the spiritual way of life. The traditional texts states that nudity, tonsure or Lōya, help to face the world boldly and to promote detachment. According to them nudity is nature's order. The Yaśastilaka refers to the straining of water through cloth and eating of food while standing to avoid 'himsa' and to promote the firmness of the mind of the monk. Sōmadēva further states that although women are superior to men in intellect, they are unfit for salvation.¹¹

Kundakuṇḍa, the famous digambara writer and Sōmadēva give a detailed account about the religious duties to be performed by a monk. The great teacher Kundakuṇḍa gives that an ideal monk should follow the five great vows—ahimsa, astēya, brahmacharya, aparigraha and satya. According to him Ahimsa means renouncing the thought-activity injurious to any mundane soul. Satya means renouncing the thought activity of telling falsehood on account of delusion, attachment and aversion. Astēya is renouncing the thought—activity of picking up articles belonging to others. Brahmacharya is that thought-activity free from desire for a woman and sexual feelings. Renouncing the thought—activity concerning worldly attachments is aparigraha.¹²

The Three Guptis or restrains : Ācharya Kundakuṇḍa explains the three guptis. Manōgupti consists of freedom from thought of passions, delusion, attachment, aversion and such other impure thoughts Vāggupti is avoidance of talk about women, politics, theft, food, etc., Kāyagupti is renunciation of violent action such as piercing, beating, contracting, expanding etc.¹³

Five Samitis : The word samiti means vigilance or caution to be taken by a monk in his behaviour. It is believed that negligence leads

to sin. Therefore certain precautions are suggested by Kundakuṇḍa in Niyamasāra : there are Īriyasamiti which means carefulness in walking, Bhāṣasamiti which means carefulness in speech, Ēsānasamiti means carefulness in eating the food just to sustain the body, to perform exercise and meditation, eating the food not taken by any one before him, not prepared by himself but given by others with devotion, Adhananikṣēpana samithi means acting with care in picking up, and putting down books and articles, like jug etc. in lying down, and in the use pincha. The last one is pratiṣṭāpana samiti, which means carefulness in excreting in a secret place free from living beings.

Sri Kundakuṇḍa defines the āvaśyakas in his Samayasāra. According to this he who does not depend upon others is called avash and the action of an āvaś is called āvaśyaka; an avāś is considered an ideal man because he gives up foreign thought activities, practices, and is steady in thought activities, equanimity, uttering words, righteous, pure in conduct, concentration, observance, confession, repentance, svyādh yāya, and renunciation. Thus he realises the soul. That means the practice of pratikarmana, pratyākhyāna, ālōchana, prāyaścitta, paramasamādhi, and paramabhakti are the āvaśyakas of a true monk.¹⁵ Kundakuṇḍa did not discuss the samakya, caturvimśa-tīstava, vandana and kāyotsarga among the six āvaśyakas. He treats them separately. Especially the last one was not given much importance.¹⁶ The other types of religious exercises to be followed by a monk are as follows.

Pratikarmaṇa : Pratikarmaṇa means self-criticism. It helps realisation, self-contemplation, self-discipline to cultivate right conduct, and abstinence from crookedness, and roudra dhyāna. The self-contemplation that "I", is not either of anger, pride, deceit, greed, attachment, aversion, delusion, old-age, childhood, sub-human, soul in hell, celestial soul, or a soul at all. This sense leads the soul to right conduct. The belief that soul is supreme category destroys all karmas. He who avoids uncontrolled thought activity, observed the three fold control in directing the pure thought activity of soul towards the concentration and realisation of the pure soul is called observer of Pratikarmaṇa.¹⁷

Pratyākhyāna or Renunciation : Pratyākhyāna is related to the activities of the future. It consists of determination to avoid sinful activities. This is also done for realization of true nature of soul as one and eternal, to renounce attachment, to destroy karma and to be free from passions.¹⁸

Ālōchana : Ālōchana is of four kinds Ālōchana, Anulochana or eradication, avikritikarmaṇa or non-deformity and bhāvaśuddhi or purity of thought. The practice of ālōchana, and fixing thought activity in equanimity, helps realisation of the nature of soul; it leads to eradication of the three karmas. He who realises his soul 'as free from karmas and as an abode of pure attributes', obtains equanimity. According to Kundakuṇḍa, ālōchana is not a confession made before guru for moral transgressions of rules but it is done to be free from thought-activities.¹⁹

Prāyaścitta : Kundak Sṇḍa in Niyamasāra states that the observance of the practice of five vows, three guptis, and five samitis, self-control, and attentiveness to restrain senses is prayaschitta and is to be practised constantly. Contemplation of the attributes of one's own soul, subsiding the impure thought activity, conquering anger with forgiveness, pride with self humility, deceit with straight forwardness, and content is also called prāyaścitta. It further consists of observance of austerities, concentration and meditation on the soul, avoidance of the good and bad speech and impure thought activities and discouraging the idea of durability of the other objects like body. The practice of austerities destroys meritorious and demeritorious karmic molecule acculated by the soul during the infinite number of previous lives. The practice of kāyōstarga, the withdrawal of attachment from body also is included in expiation.²⁰

Parama bhakti : Parama bhakti is the next āvaśyaka according to Kundakuṇḍa to be followed by a monk for right belief, right conduct, and right knowledge and to various attributes of the liberated soul, renunciation of attachment, foreign thought activity, giving up of perverse motion, contemplation on the principles, observation of self-meditation, is called paramabhakti. The greatest conqueror Rīṣabha and others observed supreme devotion for self-meditation and attained perfect bliss of liberation.

Kundakuṇḍa in Niyamasāra refers to the worship of Arhat, Siddha, Ācharya, Upādhyāya and Sādhu the Pañchaparamēṣṭies as a way to paramasāmadhi. Arhatas are those who are free from all the four destructive karmas, possessing the highest attributes, omniscience and the thirty four atisayas, Siddhas are the most exalted and perfect souls who got destroyed the bondage of the eight karmas, possessing eight attributes, abide at the topmost of the universe, the Ācharyas are those who possess the five kinds of conduct, who trampled down the five senses, and who are firm in their determination, perfection in virtue. The upādhyāya is the head of the saints. He is possessed with three jewels, and preaches the categories. He is brave and is endowed with the thought activity of desirelessness, the Sādhu who is free from worldly occupations, deeply absorbed in four kinds of contemplation and delusionless, is to be worshipped. Those who are free from all worldly occupations, always deeply absorbed in four kinds of contemplation are called the mahātmas or panchaparamēṣṭies.²¹ What is called paramabhakti by Kundakuṇḍa is called caturvimśatistava and vandana by the other authors. The Mūlachāras recommend the worship of Thīratankaras possessing the six qualities. Praising of physical beauty of the Thīrthankaras also is recommended as an essential mode of worship. Respect to scripture, āchāryas, siddhas and sages and the praise of their qualities also are recommended as means of devotion.²²

Kundakuṇḍa in Niyamasāra describes at length paramasamādhi. According to him self-control, observance of silence, study of scriptures, observance of various fasts, mortification of the body and residing in forest are the means to develop equanimity. He who is detached from all injurious actions observes threefold control, is evenly disposed towards all living beings mobile and immobile, and is drawn close to his soul. During the observance of these vows, he should not get disturbed by attachment, and aversion, and be restrained from thought activities, indulgence, sorrow, envy, disgust, fear, sexual inclination, and give up movements and words. Finally he realises his self with nonattachment. This state is called supreme equanimity or paramasamādhi. Supreme equanimity is attained by a monk, when he realises the self through dharma, dhyāna and sukla

dhyāna along with the observance of self control, vows and austerities.²³ There is no difference between digambaras and svētambaras regarding the mode of worship and meditation. The four anuprēksas also form the subject of meditation.

Penance and Fasting : According to Jainism, an aspirant not only has to develop moral qualities but has to endure and invite the hardship in order to face the challenge of the natural instincts and to strengthen the three Jewels. By doing panance, the seeker could avoid the inflow of the karma as well as annihilate past karmas. The penances or Tapas or austerities are of two types—external and internal, each with six subdivisions.

Ālōchana, pratikarmanarenunciation, vivēka, kritakarmaṇa salutation to Thīrthankaras, practice of yōgic postures, pondering over kalyāṇakas are the other important religious observances to be followed by a Jaina monk.

--- Sōmadēva refers to the spiritual ladder with fourteen steps called guṇasthānas on the way to emancipation. The aspirant has to pass through different stages for spiritual achievement. In this process the soul has to struggle to check the inflow of karma and face the influence of past karmas. Kundakuṇḍa states that the person who identifies body with his self is called bhirātma. One who is conscious of self and non-self and observes vow is called antharātma and that when the soul is in its natural quality and is free from eight karmas is called paramātma. A perfectly liberated soul is absolutely free from all sorts of impurities and shines forth in its true nature, though it is bound with four āgatakarmas, like a Arhat still moving and preaching. The perfect soul is free from birth, old-age, and death. He is pure and possesses four-fold nature. He is all knowing, blissful powerful, indivisible, undestructable, inexhaustible, free from obstruction, independent of senses, and it is unparalleled, and eternal.²⁴ According to Kundakuṇḍa emancipation from mundane existence cannot be achieved by mere practice of virtue but by inner awakening and withdrawal from worldly life. Since the latter is not practicable morality, good motive behind the action and non-attachment to the fruits are to be observed.

The Niyamasāra described the state of nirvāṇa, as that in which

there is neither of pain, not of pleasure, annoyance, obstruction, death, birth, calamity, delusion, astonishment, sleep, desire, hunger, karma, qaasi-karma, anger, wicked concentration, knowledge, power perception. It is described as a state of immortality, formless, and attainment of souls own pure individuality together with all its pure nature, attributes and modification.²⁵

Supernatural powers : In spite of the ban on the use of spells and magical powers by monks in the early Jaina literature the Niryukties the traditional and other literature like Yaśastilaka refer to such practices repeatedly.^{25a}

Death : A monk is to be free from the worldly existence as early as possible, has to develop bodily detachment and even has to invite voluntary death happily with the permission of teacher and worshipping of five paramēṣṭies. Religious texts give various types of death. An inscription and the Yasastilaka refer to the death of a monk by sallēkhana. The death is celebrated with great pomp. The dead body of a monk is either buried or burnt. The place where the dead body of a monk is buried is called niṣidhi. In Āndhradēśa there are many niṣidis.^{25b}

Teachers and Canon

The person initiated into Jainafold is called sēsa or antevāṣi. He is kept on probation for a period four weeks and more. During this period he has to master the tenets of life of a monk and satisfy the teacher. The Jains worship teachers like the Pāñchaparamēṣṭies along with Jinas thus giving the teachers an equal rank with Jinas. Āndhra Dēśa which is a stronghold of Jainism gave birth to many great teachers like Kundakuṇḍāchārya. Kundakuṇḍāchārya the fourth descendent pupil in the line of Bhadrabāhu the earliest digambara writer in south India. He is native of village Kundakunda, Anantapur district in Āndhra Pradesh. His original name is Padmandi or Elechārya, is also called Vakragriva or Gridhrapircha. About 84 books are attributed to him all written in Prākṛit dealing more with philosophy and monochaism than with house-holder's life and religious practices. Some of the important books of Kundakuṇḍa are Panchās-thikāya, Pravachanasāra, Samayasāra, Niyamasāra, Rayanasāra,

Mūlāchāras, Aṣṭaphahuda, Barasanuvekkh, and Bhāvaprabharto. He is the earliest writer to deal with anuprākṣas as an independent subject. He is also supposed to be the author of Prākṛit traditional prayers.^{25c} All most all the writers of South India generally trace back their origin to Kundakuṇḍa.

The inscriptions of the period under study refer to a number of Jaina teachers and their abilities. An early inscription from Cuddapah describes an excellent teacher Vṛiṣabha who 'was like cloud to the crop of righteousness and was unshakeable to his opponents'.²⁶ The inscriptions of Eastern Chālukyans refer to many teachers of great reputation. One inscription refers to teachers of four generations—Chandraprabha ācharya Ravinandi ācharya and Kalibhairav ācharya. The last one was the head of Nidumbavasati at Beravada built by Viṣṇuvardhana I. In the time of Amma II also there flourished another line of teachers. The first one is Jainanandi who resembled the first disciple of ganadhara. The second one Guru Divākara is praised as chief ascetic, store of high knowledge, and as high-souled one resembling the Jinas themselves by virtue of his merits. Srimandiradēva the last one in the line, is described as store house of great austerities and as possessing the power of pratihārya or miracle. The inscription says that he was incharge of Kaṭakābharaṇa Jinālaya at Dharmapuri.²⁷ The Paddamudiyam plates refer to another important Jaina teacher Chandrasēna and his disciple Jainasēna. Chandrasēna was well versed in sidhānta, possessed excellent and praise-worthy conduct, and was honoured by śravakas, ksapanaka, kshulikas and ajjakas. A jinabhavana was constructed at Vijayawada for the use of those two teachers.²⁸ Another jinabhavana at Vijayawada called Sarvalōkāśraya was headed by another set of teachers, Saint Sakalachandra siddhānta who possessed virtues, mastered siddhānta writing, his disciple Ayyapot was a saint, virtuous, possessed of unmeasured fame, and was very intelligent, and his disciple Arhanandi was an excellent saint.²⁹ Besides these, inscriptions from different parts of Āndhra mentioned different lineage of teachers such as Chandrasūri, Vayabhadrasūri, muni-suvratam, Jayasimha-ācharya, Guṇachandramuni, Indranandimuni Subhanandimuni, Candrakīrtiācharya disciple of Guṇacharya.³⁰ Rāya-rāya-guru Maṇḍalāchārya, Mēghanandi siddhānta

chakravarti and Sakalachandra siddhānta chakravarti are described as men of extraordinary abilities in the Siddhānta writings. Rāyarāyadurga Maṇḍalācharya seems to be the teacher of a ruling dynasty.³¹ Sarvanandibhaṭṭara disciple of Ekachittuguda bhavan was another mentioned in the records. He is described as 'dispeller of the drought of sin by the clouds of ceaseless teachings of sastras and as possessor of eminently pure conduct'.³² In the court of Arikēsari IV there flourished a distinguished line of teachers—among whom Sōmadēva is famous. He belongs to Dēvasangha and carried on his literary activities in Subhadha Jinālya. This was built by Beddaga II at Vemulavada, Karimnagar district. Sōmadēva wrote Nītivākyāmṛta a treatise on polity, Sannāvati Prakaraṇa, Mahēndramatalisanjalpa, Yuktichintāmaṇisūtra and Yaśastilaka Champu. Sōmadēva was a great logician, and his eloquence struck terror in the hearts of the opponents. He was honoured with titles like Kavikularāja Tarkikacakravartin Vākkallōla-Payōnidhi, Syādva dācalasimha, Vādibha-Pancānana etc.³³

Sōmadēva in his Yaśastilaka refers to five types of Jina ascetics—the sanyāsi, śrāvaka, sādhu, sūri, and Samayadīpaka. The sanyāsi is an ardent monk or a layman. Śrāvaka is one who is an expert in astrology, incantation, omens, art of healing, and fixing the time for religious functions like initiation, festival, and installation of idols. The sādhu is one who has accomplished religious austerities combined with the observation of the Mūla and Uttara guṇas. Sūri is the leader of the society, enlightening with knowledge as well as directing practices of religion. He is to be worshipped like God, as he is like a boat for crossing the ocean of existence. The last one Samayadīpaka is one who advocates Jain faith by his knowledge, political faculties, power of eloquence and by skill of disputation.³⁴ Sōmadēva describes the fame of Sudatta a teacher, as pervading the universe, which is as white as the foam of milk, Kailāsa peaks, Airāvata, Pāñchajanya, Gaṅga and lotus bloom the lady of fame refused even Brahma, Śiva, Viṣṇu, Varuna, Vāyu, Agni, Kubēra and Chandra for the sake of Sudatta.³⁵

Canon : The sources of this period do not furnish any details on Jaina Canon. The Hātigumpha inscription tells about the Jaina council that was held on the Kumārihills under the patronage of King

Khāravalla and the compilation of Jaina canon consisting of seven Aṅgas.³⁶ The other inscriptions of the period under study refer to the canon in general either as sastra or Siddāntha or Dharma but do not refer to any text specially. The Jainas believe that like their religion, their canon also is pre-Mahāvīra, comprising of fourteen Puvvas which were originally taught by Mahāvīra himself and lost in course of time.³⁷ Kundakuṇḍāchārya was the first teacher to write on Jaina philosophy. The second one was Umasvāmi of fifth century A.D. a disciple of Kundakuṇḍa. On the basis of the writings of these two the present form of Jaina philosophy took its final shape in sixth century A.D.³⁸ The six Chēdi sūtras and the twelve Aṅgas are also considered as the oldest part of Jaina canon in general.³⁹

A few inscriptions in Āndhra Dēśa refer to Jaina canon. Naravāhana II and Bhima two chieftains of Eastern Chālukyan period are described as 'masters of all śāstras'. Their parents are ardent followers of the 'teachings of Jina'.⁴⁰ A few inscriptions refer to canon in general terms like 'teachings of lord Jina' or 'Jinadharmā and Jinasidhanta' and all śāstras.⁴¹ One Kalibhairavāchārya is praised as well versed in eight aṅgas 'Aṣṭāṅga divyajānana vaśikṛita nṛpati mandala'.⁴² Terms like austerities, miracles, and virtues alone are mentioned in the Maliyapudi plates.⁴³ The Pustaka gachcha and connected festivals and penances found⁴⁴ in inscriptions however show that Āndhras were well acquainted with canon. Despite scarcity in the material regarding canon, on the basis of references to terms like austerities, miracles and virtues, mentioned in the Maliyapudi plates and the pustakagachcha and the śrutapañchami festival it may be surmised that some Jaina canon existed in Āndhra Dēśa and that the followers were well acquainted with them.

Metaphysics : According to the Jaina tradition the Puvvas which contains the Jaina philosophy were taught by Mahāvīra but the works of Kundakuṇḍa are the first historically known philosophical text. The Tattavārdha sūtras of Umasāvami also is taken as basis of Jaina metaphysics as it is highly revered both by the Digambaras and the Svētambaras. Both sects do not have any noticeable metaphysical differences. The Uttarādhyāyana sūtras, the ancient Jain scripture states that right faith and right conduct are conducive to liberation..

Sri Kundakuṇḍa in his Samayasāra gives, soul; non-soul, merit, demerit, inflow, stoppage, shedding bondage and liberation as important categories while Pūjyapāda reduced them to seven by eliminating puṇya and pāpa. Thus the Jaina metaphysics is broadly divided into two main categories jīva and ajīva. The association of jīva and ajīva is eternal and inexplicable. Sōmadēva in his Yaśastilaka abridges the above seven categories to five namely, the self, non-self, constitution of universe, the bondages and liberation. The reasonable belief in the categories is called faith by him. According to him, the soul is pure by nature and body is impure; the categories are the agencies which uphold the universe.⁴⁵ The understanding and realisation of the nature of self is the sole aim of Jainism.

Kundakuṇḍa in Niyamasāra states that jīva is characterised by Upayōga or conscious, attentiveness towards the darśana and jnana. In both Niyamasāra and Samayasāra he distinguishes the empirical self from the transcendental self; former is the agent of action and undergoes experiences while the latter is pure and free from attributes and material pollutions—like lotus leaf by water.⁴⁶ The empirical self is divided into many categories. Human souls are two kinds which are again given as seven kinds according to the region of their dwelling. Besides these, sub-human souls of fourteen kinds, celestial souls of four kinds⁴⁷ exist. The universe in the shape of human body is described by Sōmadēva.

According to Sōmadēva self is the knower, seer, doer, sufferer, co-exists with the body and is known through nature since it is endowed with knowledge and discrimination. It is of unlimited power like a mystic formula circumscribed by letters of which it is composed, but just as the sky comes into contact with dust raised by wind. Jīva is subjected to birth and death by actions and is directed by karma; yet itself directs the karma.⁴⁸

Ajīva : According to Kundakuṇḍa the substance is of two kinds : atoms or paramāṇu and skandha or molecule. The former is again is of two types and the latter six types. Atoms the invisible substances are immobile, infinite; the solids like earth, stone are composed of molecules however the karmic molecules which bind the soul are finer. The two types of atoms are karmaparamāṇu and kāryaparamāṇu.

From the real point of view the combination of atoms takes place and it is called matter but from the practical point of view the term matter or substance is applied to a molecule.⁴⁹

The Medium of rest, medium of motion and space are three dravyas. 'Time another category, is free from attributes, and is of three kinds—present, past, future; due to it, the soul and other substances are altered or modified; it is all pervasive, ful, but from practical point of view is finite'. Except time, all other categories are extensive substance is another category. It occupies space.⁵⁰ Sōmadēvā also states that ajīva comprises dharma, adharma, space, time and pudgala. He explains that dharma is the underlying principle of motion, adharma that of rest, space that of non-resistance, time that of change; pudgala another principle is endowed with form, touch, taste, smell, and colour. He states that categories are the agencies which upheld the Universe.⁵¹ The jīva and ajīva are eternal and do not exist exclūsive of others and when and how they came into contact is an unanswerable question. But dissolution of self from oneself is the only solution for the riddle. It is peculiar that soul has an inherent quality of attracting the Puḍgala towards it, depending upon the feelings, the bhāvāsrava.⁵²

The other categories puṇya, pāpa, āsrava, saṁvara, nirjara, which constitute the practical way of acquiring good and bad actions and the consequences thereof, stoppage of inflow of karmic matter as well as shedding off karmas are discussed under chapter the Jaina religious practices.

The process of formation of bandha according to good or bad actions and its results are explained by Sri Kundakuṇḍa in his Samayasāra. "Material molecules are transformed into karmas of eight kinds due to the activity; similarly the mundans soul is transformed into its impure thought activity by reason of operation of karmic matter. They do not really produce attributes of each other but are only auxillary causes of the other". Though from the real standpoint, the soul is only the doer of thought activity, from the practical point of view it is the doer of material karmas and enjoys the fruits of its karmas. Usually, four causes—wrong belief about the nature of soul and nonsoul, vowlessness, passions like anger, and soul's vibratory

activity are said to lead to the formation of the karmic bondage. Each of these are again of two kinds. According to the thought activity karmic matter is modified into eight kinds of karmas.⁵³ This process of bondage formation with karmic matter is compared to soiling of the cloth with oil. The four-fold bondage causes eight kinds of karmas namely, mōhaniya, vēdaniya, jñānavarniya, gōtra karma, āyusyakarma, nāmakarma, gatikakarma, and āgatikakarma. Then the impure thought activity leads to pāda and pure thought activity leads to puṇya.⁵⁴ Thus the soul is not the doer of action but only the doer of vibration and attraction.⁵⁵

The soul by its thought activity identifies with sub-human, hellish, celestial beings, merit and demerit, dharma adharma; non-soul and universe, feelings of joy and sorrow. As long as the self thus identifies, its actions produces good or bad karmas, it does not shine out in the heart.⁵⁶ But the saints who do not entertain these thoughts are not besmeared by bad or good karmas. They form real men who attain self liberation.⁵⁷

Sōmadēva also gives the same views. He states that theft, passion, pride, greed, injury, Yoga and other activities of the body, mind, and speech cause bondage; lack of self-restraint, false views like lack of faith in āpta, āgama, padārdhas, error, and doubt about these things, lack of contentment discrimination, error, absence of vow, cruelty and vibrations made by the soul cause bondage.⁵⁸ He says that bondage has no beginning but has an end, the mutual filtration of karma and self and their relation is like that of gold and rust. According to Sōmadēva bondage is of four types depending upon the nature of karmas of which there are eight types.⁵⁹

Sri Kundakuṇḍa, in order to reconcile the two extremities—soul and bondage, the unperceivable karma and human effort, formed the theory that everything could be seen from real and practical points of views. In Pravachanasāra he explains the two-fold conscious namely knowledge conscious of jñānacētanā and action conscious or karma-satā. Since karma is physical action according to Jainism inflow of material particle into the soul is psychological. Self is the agent of its own psychic modifications. The previous actions can be amended and efforts can be made to scend. For this purpose, samvara and nirjara

are taught, which not only stop the flow of karmic matter in this life but also annihilate the previous karmas.⁶⁰

The three categories asvara, samvara and nirjara which are practicable in their application are discussed under religious life. The other two principles puṇya and pāpa are discussed here.

According to Kundakuṇḍa inflow of karma is preceded by puṇya and pāpa. The good karmas give merits and bad karmas give demerits, just as gold fetter binds a person as much as the iron one. The saint who knows the pure soul and observed in self contemplation, is away from all attachments and actions; so even if he performs austerities etc., is bonded neither with pāpa nor with puṇya.⁶¹

It is already stated that Sri Kundakuṇḍa taught that due to the soul's wrong belief, passion, vibration activity, vowlessness, inflow of karmic matter bondage is developed, but the right believe who is beyond these, is unbonded by the karmas and checks their inflow; just as the ripe fruit which has fallen down cannot be attached again to the stalk, so also in the soul where karmic matter has fallen off after fruition can never again be bonded. Kundakuṇḍa in his Samayasāra deals with samvara, the practical checking of the inflow of puḍgala. Just as gold heated in fire does not give up its golden nature, the right believer realising the pure nature of the soul, even though agitated by karmas, tries to regain the self-realisation. He checks the soul from the vibratory activities, given up other desires, removes attachment, contemplates upon pure nature of soul, absorbs knowledge and liberates himself karmas.⁶¹ At the time when thinking and wavering are stopped, the true nature stands before him, the inflow of karmic matter is automatically checked and the saint ascends slowly and becomes finally the pure soul.⁶²

While Kundakuṇḍa states that samvara is to do opposite of what conduces the formation of bondage without discussing much, Pūjyapāda elaborately explains it.

Sri Kundakuṇḍa opens his discourse on nirjara thus in the right believer the sense of enjoyment does not tend to form bondage but to shed karmas, as he knows that the nature of self is above passion and attachment, that means, he is enjoying things without desire for them. Hence he is not bound by karma.⁶³

Sri Kundakuṇḍa advises the devotee to have, love, contentment, and satisfaction in one's own soul's nature. It is the highest bliss.⁶⁴ He further says that the knower should be passionless, desireless, even to food, drink, future, present and indifferent to substances, medium of motion or rest, space or time, and to godly or devilish regions; he should be free from fear, above four principles, free from disgusts, without an equal to purity and impurity, rise and fall, praise and dishonour, and he should fix his mind on his own soul devoted to Siddhas, three Jewels and path of liberation.⁶⁵ A Jain followers should not follow any other rite or customs, should correct the erring brethren, perform piety, sacrifice his own comforts, propagate Jain faith by delivering lectures, writing books, performing worship, and austerities etc.⁶⁶

The Path of three Jewels

Jainism offers an opportunity to man to be free from the mundane existence by means of right faith, knowledge and conduct. The right conduct with right faith and knowledge is given the highest position. The Jaināchāryas extensively discussed this topic.

Sri Kundakuṇḍa in Niyamasāra and Samayasāra emphasises the need of three jewels for self-purification, absorption and to be free from karmic matter. From the practical point of view right conduct, belief and knowledge are the means to know the soul. Belief in the perfect soul, scriptures and principles is right belief. The ascertainment of soul, and non-soul, merit and demerit, inflow, stoppage, shedding, bondage and liberation constitute the right knowledge.⁶⁷ The Niyamasara entirely deals with the way of liberation.^{67a} Sri Kundakuṇḍa states that from real point of view Samyagdarsana means a sense of believing the realisation of self and from practical point of view it is believe in six substances and nine categories.⁶⁸ The eight essentials of right faith are Nisankita—freedom from fear of seven types; Niskanksita—no yearning for the fruits of one's actions, Nirvisikitsa-non-adherence towards the natural quality of objects, Amodhadrsti on confusion about natural thing, Upabrana-covers the Pseudo characteristic of self by devotion to Siddhas; Sthirtkarana-fixing

up or re-establishment on the right path. Vatsalya-love for devotees, jewels and Parabrahma to get courage.⁶⁹

The three jewels as the cause of salvations are again discussed at great length by Sōmadēva. Samyaktva the right faith consists of pravritti and nivritti and applies to house-holders as well as monks. Pravritti is endeavour to attain salvation, while nivritti is abstention from all that leads to wordly bondage. Samyaktva is the concentration on things that conform to reason, the right knowledge is that which is free from ignorance, doubt and error; and right conduct is complete cessation of all activity that leads to the acquisition of karma. It is also told at the end of the narration that samyaktva is the faith in the fundamental principles.⁷¹ Samyaktva depends upon certain attitude of mind. It is not necessary to master the scriptures or subject the body to austerities or journey elsewhere or wait for the lapse of time for acquiring. It is the prime cause of salvation. It is primarily faith in āpta, āgama and padārthas.⁷² It may be produced in two ways; it has eight components and is characterised by prasama and other qualities to be free from mūḍhatvas.^{72a}

Lack of Faith in āpta, āgama and the padarthas, error and doubt constitute mithāyatva or false views.⁷³ Taking only one aspect of a matter into consideration, doubt, lack of discrimination, erroneous notions, equal respect for all deities and faiths, also constitutes mithyātva. Samyaktva may be realised naturally i.e. by intuition with little effort or acquired from external sources with great effort for instance of remembering previous births. On hearing religious discourses, or meditating on the image of a Jaina Tirthankara, or witnessing great religious festivals, or any such things, one can acquire faith in the tattvas and it comes into consciousness after a long time, as a result of great efforts made in thorough investigation of all the scriptures which can only be understood with the help of methodical instruction by a wise teacher. Secondly, Samyaktva may be of two to ten types according to the frame of reference from which it is viewed. Faith in fundamental principles is the common feature of all.^{73a}

Samyaktva is called sarāga and vitarāga. Upto the eleventh guṇasthāna or stage of spiritual development. It is called Samyaktva saraga and the last three stages are called vitarāga samyaktva.

Satāgasamyaktva has certain fundamental characteristics such as prasama etc., while Vītarāgasamyaktva is characterised by the absolute purity of the soul. Sōmadēva states that thought, the right faith is extremely subtle being, a condition of the soul, may be inferred from the qualities the devotee has such as prasama, samvēga, anukampa and astilkya.⁷⁴ Praśama is restraining the mind from passions and other evil tendencies. Samvēga is fear caused by worldly existence the source of all kinds of sufferings, they fleet like a dream or a magic show. Anukampa is kindness to all creatures. It is the fundamental principle of Dharma. Astikya is belief, the apta, the scriptures, the vows and the fundamental principles.⁷⁵ Samyaktva is three types—ksāyika, auspaśamika and kṣayapaśamika. Briefly speaking kṣayika-śamyaktva is caused by the destruction of seven particular kinds of karmas. Aupāsamika samyaktva is caused by the mitigation of the four passions and the three kinds of darśanamōha and ksayōpasmika samyaktva is caused by the mitigation of the existing four passions and mithyātva.⁷⁶ Samyaktva may also be of ten kinds according to the sources from which it is derived. These sources are ājña, the command of the scriptures composed by the Tirthankara, mārga, the investigation of Three jewels : upadēsa, listening to the life-stories of the great men of old such as the Tirthankara, the Chakravartins etc; sūtra, the mode regulating the conduct and behaviour of the ascetics; bija a clue to the understanding of all sections of the doctrine; samkṣēpa, knowledge of the main topics of the systems, āpta, sūtra, or the sacred canon, the ows and the categories; vistara comprehensive knowledge of the vast canonical literature consist of the twelve āṅgas, the fourteen Puvvas and the Prakiraṇas; artha personal conviction in matters connected with the sacred lore; avagaḍha profound knowledge of some part of the three fold cannon and Paramādvagāḍha the conviction that man possess the three kinds of supernatural knowledge i.e. avadhi, manhparyaya and kēvala.⁷⁷

Somadeva then enumerates twentyfive hindrances to samyaktva known as dragdosah, the three kinds of mūdha or mūdḥāta, the eight madas, the six anāyatanas, the eight defects, sumka etc.⁷⁸ Sōmadēva gives the eight āṅgas⁷⁹ and śmka, ākāmṣa, vininda and anāyśalāgha the four obstacles to the growth of samyaktva.⁸⁰

Sōmadēva then describes the four attributes which contribute to the growth of samyaktva. They are upagūha, sthitikāra, prabhāvana and vātsalya. Upagūha or dharmōpabramhana is guarding the reputation of one's religion, by suppressing or concealing such faults of one's co-religionists which may lower it in the estimation of others. It is, one's duty to enhance the prestige of one's faith by the cultivation of such virtues as forbearance, truthfulness, purity, mercy and honesty, and by the practice of austerities, self-control and charity. At the same time, if any one's co-religionists committed offence by chance of error, one should conceal it with the wealth of one's own virtues, as a mother does with her children. Sōmadēva further states that a religion cannot be sullied by the misdemeanour of a weakling among its adherents, just as the ocean does not become foul, on account of a frog dying in its waters.⁸¹ Sthitikāra is strengthening of the conviction among one's co-religionists who may be faltering in their loyalty to the faith, a novice must not be discarded on account of a single lapse, and a good Jaina should be gaṇḍhara. He should make efforts for the progress through constant efforts to win back waverers and sceptics and to restore their allegiance. The aim of religion can be served only by the efforts of various types of men. Each one should be assigned the role for which he is fit. Any negligence of this principle deprives men of access to the truth, prolongs the cycle of births, and contributes to the decay of the faith.⁸² Prabhāvan is propagation of the faith by the installation of images and the establishment of temples and the institution of worship and festivals as well as by the diffusion of knowledge and the practice of manifold austerities. We are also told that it is one's duty to enhance the prestige of the faith, without any motives of wordly gain, by means of charity, diverse forms of knowledge, science, and the celebration of grand festivals and ceremonies.⁸³ Vātslyā is helping one's co-religionists in distress and to cultivate like vinaya, vaiyāvṛtya and bhakti vinaya is respect for one's teacher, fellow-student, the community, and for the study of the scriptures and ideal of self-control. Vayāvṛtya is efficient service rendered to the miserable and sick. Bhakti is pure and sincere devotion to Jina, the Jains scriptures,

and Jaina religious teachers who are distinguished for their austerities and learning.⁸⁴

Smyakdarśana : 'Right faith is acquired by right knowledge and without knowledge there is no virtuous conduct. Right knowledge is that which leads one towards the goal which distinguishes self from non-self. It could be acquired through the knowledge of scriptures, detachment, control of mind self-purification and realisation. He who possesses right knowledge becomes fearless. It is the real penance as it bears the karmas. Right knowledge coupled with conduct is effective'. In Samayasāra Sri Kundakuṇḍa states that the true knowledge is a special attribute of soul substance and knower and knowledge are one and the same'.⁸⁵ In Pancāstikāya, Kundakuṇḍa says that right knowledge is that which leads towards the goal.⁸⁶

Samayak Charitya : Right conduct is the application of right faith and knowledge and is important as it helps nirjara and samvara. Sri Kundakuṇḍa in his Pravachanasāra and Samayasāra states that right conduct in transcendental point of view consists in self-absorption, equanimity, and it is a state where the soul is free from agitation and delusion. In Niyamasāra he says that in real point of view it is observing one's own true nature and in practising austerities.⁸⁷

4.4 RELIGIOUS LIFE OF JAINA HOUSE-HOLDER

Just as strict rules were laid down for the conduct of the monk, certain rules were formed for the holder too. A person who is ready to give up the use of wine, meat and honey and willing to follow the Jaina principles is admitted into the Jaina faith.

Since it is not possible to renounce the worldly activities at once, the house-holder is advised to follow the five great vows called anuvratas, which constitute the ahimsa or refraining from doing injury, stya or refraining from falsehood, astēya or refraining from stealing, brahmacharya or the five vratas along with giving up of wine, meat and honey are called eight mūlaguṇas of the śrāvaka.¹ Then one has to follow the three guṇavratas for the discipline of the external movements and the four sikṣavratas for inner development. These seven vratas are called śilavratas. Besides performance of the six duties namely dēvapūja, gurupūja, svādhyāya, samayama, tapas and dāna,

worship of the pañchaparamēṣṭies, singing the kalyanakas and thinking over the anupreksas are also recommended. The house-holder who observes all these, grows through eleven stages called pratimas in his spiritual progress and finally renounces the world by observing the sallēkhanavrata.²

Sōmadēva in the Yaśastilaka gives some instances of initiation of laymen into Jaina faith. King Chandakavarma who listened to the teaching of Suddatta that ahimsa is the dharma took the vow of Jaina laymen. Queen Kusumāvali who was pregnant requested her king to proclaim protection from injury for all creatures, prohibited the sale of wine and meat, she was desirous of listening to the teachings of kindness to all, and worshipping the ladies of great self-control finally embraced Jainism. Sōmadēva states that people who were very cruel or suffering from diseases were not to be initiated into the faith.³ According to him house-holders are of two types—loukika and pāraloukikā. He accepts any custom or practice or popular faith so long as it does not come into conflict with fundamental principles of Jaina faith, morality and vows. The eight mulagunas according to him are abstention from wine, meat and honey and the five great fruits, uḍumbara, asvatta, palāśa, nayagrōdha. That means according to Sōmadēva the five vows are not included in the mūlaguṇa, and flesh eater, drunkard, and consumers of honey and uḍumbara fruit are condemned. Sōmadēva calls the five anuvratas, three guṇavratas and the four siksāvratas together as uttaraguṇas. The anuvratas-renunciation of injury, stealing, falsehood, lust and greed are treated in detail in Yaśastilaka.^{3a}

Ahimsa : Sri Kundakuṇḍa defines Ahimsa in Pravachanasāra, and Samayasāra etc. Ahimsa can be practised in two ways, internally and externally. That is, by the thought of violence bhavahimsa and by action and is limited for a house-holder to internal activity that is in sankalpa only. Sri Kundakuṇḍa says that thought activity free from all undertakings to any of the mundane souls existing in physical nuclei, soul class, soul-quests.⁴ Sōmadēva like Pūjyapāda states that sankalpa, abhinivēśa or motive is important either to a house-holder or an ascetic in religious life. A house-holder can be an ascetic by observing religious meditation even with wife and other attachments.

Ahimsa is not merely abstention from killing but the absence of the very idea of killing. Sōmadēva while stating the difficulty of purifying the mind, once polluted by the evil intentions says that the sum total of pious acts done over a long period will be completely destroyed in a moment like a house on fire.^{4a} Sōmadēva defines himsa as destruction of living creatures through error of judgement and abhivesa as the protection afforded to them. It consists of non-killing of animal for Gods, guest, mystic rights, medical purpose or out of fear. He gives instructions that all liquids should be strained through a cloth before use to avoid any possible injury to living creatures. One should for the same reason give up eating at night. Sōmadēva then enumerates certain qualities which should be cultivated to realise the ideal of ahimsa. They are maitri, pramōda, kāruṇya and madhyasthya and explains them in detail. Ahimsa is thus a positive virtue and resolves into jivadaia or compassion for living creatures, which by itself is as efficacious as all like the miraculous results produced by the cintāmaṇi gem.⁵

Sōmadēva defines theft as taking possession of others property, not given by the owner, with the exception of such things, which are used by the kings. He gives an elaborate account of asthēya too.⁶

Sōmadēva mentions various degrees of truth and falsehood; firstly that which is to some extent true, though, on the whole, false. Secondly, what is to some extent false, though on the whole true. Thirdly, that which is in all respects true. Fourthly, that which is completely false, as when a man promises to give something which he does not possess at all. The fourth item should always be avoided. One should not talk about the wives of others nor speak against the king nor indulge in anti-social talks; one should take care not to make any unfounded statement. Exaggeration, fault-finding and indecent speech must be avoided, and one should always speak words that are noble, beneficial and concise. One should not praise oneself nor call others by names one should not be jealous of the merits of others when they really exist and describe those of oneself which do not exist at all.^{7a} Sōmadēva however states that the truth must not be spoken if it is likely to endanger others and bring inevitable ruin to oneself. This can only mean that the truth need not always be revealed, if by

so doing one can save one's own ruin and that of others.⁷ Sōmadēva, however, points out that the effective power of truthful speech is based on the inherent validity of truth itself, and what a truthful man says is on all occasions valid.⁸ Sōmadēva lays as much emphasis on doing good to others as on speaking the truth. It is also a sin to withhold spiritual knowledge from anyone who asks for it.⁹

Sōmadēva then discusses the question of brahmacharya or chastity and defines it as regarding one's own behaviour with all women except one's wife or concubines, one's mother, sister or daughter according to their age. It is also defined as something, the maintenance of which leads to the growth of qualities like ahimsa or non-injury. Worldly pleasures should be enjoyed in moderation, to satisfy only physical needs. The vow of chastity is spoilt by illicit relation with women, unnatural methods of sexual enjoyment, arrangement of other people's marriages and preoccupation with the art of love, wine, meat gambling, music, song, dance, personal decoration intoxication, and aimless wandering.¹⁰

Parigraha, the subject of the fifth anuvrata, is attachment to wordly objects and it should always be curtailed. The attachment may be to both outer and inner objects, the former being ten and the later fourteen types. The outer objects are land, corn, money, habitation, clothing objects like couch and seat, servants, cattle, house-hold articles etc. The inner objects are false doctrines. The three kinds of inclination, the six kinds of feelings, viz., the sense of the laughable pleasure, displeasure, sorrow, fear and disgust; and the four passions, anger, pride, deceit, and greed.¹¹ Sōmadēva teaches that wretched and miserable is the man who uses his wealth for selfish enjoyment and not for the cultivation of virtues. Nothing but sin results from the concentration of the mind on wealth. Acquisition through greed more than one's legitimate share of wealth or property destroys the vow to renounce parigraha. The man, who is free from desire for both the outer and inner objects of attachment is fit to obtain the bliss of heaven and salvation.¹²

The three guṇavratas are digvrata, bhōgōpabhōgavrata and ananrthadaṇḍavrata according to Kundakuṇḍa and other Jaina writers while Sōmadēva replaced the second one dēśavirativrata or dēśavasika

vrata. By practising the guṇavratas and anuvratas the house-holder becomes equal to a monk. The first two consist of vows to restrict one's movements to a fixed point in a particular direction or in a particular place, preparatory to restraining the mind from external objects by renouncing injury, greed, indulgence and similar, propensities. These vows constitute a scheme of preliminary self-restraint designed to secure moral purity and establish mental equilibrium with regard to the objects of the world.¹³

The third guṇavrata is abstention from the Anarthadanda, which comprise of all accessories of violence and all agencies and means of injury leading to a slaughter, capture or confinement. They are so called because they contribute to the prevalence of strife and discord. The anarthadanda include birds and animals like cocks, hawks, peacocks, cats, vicious elephants, and means of injury such as poison, spears, arms, fire, whips, noses and teeth. The person who takes a vow to observe this particular guṇavrata should not therefore keep poisonous animal nor use any implement designed to cause injury or loss of life.¹⁴ The anarthadanda cover a wide field by including sinful gossip, evil thoughts, sports involving loss of life, futile occupation doing harm to others, jealousy and all acts that cause grief and mourning to one's fellow creatures. It will be seen that the third guṇavrata is designed to supplement the great vow of ahimsa, and Sōmadēva further states that, by renouncing the anarthadanda the devotee earns the friendship of all creatures and becomes their lord. Deception and violence practised at the instance of others, the overloading of beasts of burden, and causing excessive suffering to them amount of violation of this vow.¹⁵

Sri Kundakuṇḍa recommended samyika, prōṣadhōpavāsa, Bhōgapabhōgavrata and sallēkhana as the four sikṣāvratas to educate the house-holder in complete renunciation. While other writers like Umasvāmi replaced the last one with 'atoithi sambhāvan', Sōmadēva mentioned dana.¹⁶

The upabhōga includes even an object which can be used only once like food, garland etc., while paribhōga means an object that can be used repeated like ornaments house etc. The vow of renouncing a thing for whole life is called yama while for a limited period is

called niyama. The main idea in observing these is to avoid comfortable things and sensual pleasures by cutting off attachment in the way of spiritual development. Sōmadēva used the term niyama instead of bhōgōpabhōgavrata. He describes elaborately the four sikṣāvratas. Samayika, Prōṣadhōpasana, niyama and dāna.¹⁷

Samayika : Samayika means the practice of equanimity to become one with the atman. It should be performed in a neat selected place, which is free from insects, sounds, etc., once or many times in a day, specially on the day of fasting. The devotional hymns bodily posture, meditation etc., comprise samayika.¹⁸ Both Kundakuṇḍa and Sōmadēva describe the Samayika, as comprising of paramabhakti, worship of five paramēṣṭies and three jewels too.¹⁹ According to Sōmadēva worship is of two kinds, with or without idols; the idol worship is regulated by Somayasmācāra-vidhi, which prescribes the adoration of certain entities, that were held sacred by Jainas. They are the five Parmēṣṭhins of exalted beings and the three Jewels-right belief, right knowledge and right conduct. All these should be visualized on a piece of brick, bark or the earth or in the air or in one's heart. The salutations and hymns, accompanying the votive offering in connection with worship were composed by Sōmadēva in ornate prose and verse. They rank high in Jaina devotional literature.²⁰

The five paramēṣṭins the Arhat, one of the Tirthankaras or patriarchs endowed with superhuman qualities; the Siddha one who has realised within himself the luminous presence of the infinite soul; the Acarya or the teacher who regulates the social order according to the principles of Jainism, the Upādhyāya the learned preceptor who has mastered the sacred lore, and the Sādhu or the devotee bent upon salvation and engaged in rigorous austerities facing insuperable obstacles, are worshipped.²¹ Sōmadēva like Hēmachandra refers to the eight-fold worship and gives a number of verses in praise of right faith, knowledge, on conduct, arhat, siddha, ācarya, and tirthankaraś, calling darśanabhakti, jñānabhakti, caritrabhakti, verses in praise of arahat, siddha. pañchaguru, pañchaparmēsti, ācharya as caityabhakties.²² They are elaborately described.

The Bhakti is followed by the description of ceremonial worship of Jaina, which consists of six items namely bathing, adoration of the

idol, singing of hymns, silent prayer, meditation and the adoration of the presiding Goddess of the scriptures Śrutadēvata. The first two items, ceremonial bathing and adoration of the idol, are closely interconnected, and illustrated by Sōmadēva with a series of high flown verses in praise of Jina, designed to accompany each successive stage of the ritual. The various stages of the worship proper prastavana-Prelude, pūrvakarma-preliminary arrangement, sthāpana-placing the idol at the altar, samnidhapana-formal installation of the idol, pūja-obedience and offerings, and pūja phala declaration of the results securing from the worship of Jina are described. The idol is bathed with fragrant water, clarified butter, and the juice of vines, dates, sugarcanes, old myrobalana, areca-nuts and Piyala fruits as well as cocōnut-milk and annointed with various pastes and compounds made from sandal, aloe wood, cardamoms, cloves and Kamkola berries. Four pitchers, filled with water decorated with flowers and leaves are kept ready for the bathing ceremony. The sacred nandyāvarta and svastika emblems, fruits, flowers, unbroken rice, water, handful or kuśagrass, and earthen vessels are revolved in a circular fashion before the idol, this being the ceremony known as nirājana.²³ After a final bath, the worshipper should present to the idol kalamarice, havis, lights, incense, flowers and fruits. White parasol fly whisks and mirrors are among the articles used in the worship. The glory of the bathing ceremony is eulogised in many verses by Sōmadēva.²⁵

The next item is, 'japa or the repetition of the famous Pañca-parmēṣṭimantra consisting of thirty five letters. 'Namō Arhamtānām, Namō siddhānām, Namō ayariyānām, Namō Uyajyānām, Namō-loyesavvasādhūnām'. This is the sarvadrśana-mantra. Sōmadēva refers to the namksāra formulae too consisting only of the names of the five paramēṣṭhins, the mukhyākṣara formulae consisting of the initial letters of the names of the same, and the formulae consisting of a single letter such as Om. One should prefer the mantra consisting of thirty five letters as the most authoritative. The counting of the letters is to be done with a rosary composed of lotus seeds or golden beads or sunstones or gems, flowers, on the finger joints. The formulae are to be repeated in full, very clearly with stress on the final anusvāras. The repetition of the mantra may be vocal or mental, the latter

method being the more efficacious. The japa is followed by dhyāna or meditation.²⁵ Sri Kundakuṇḍa in his Mōkhapajuda which deals with Jina mysticism and in Niyamasāra states that meditation is the contemplation of the true nature of the self. In the former work it is stated that the external self consists of the sense organs the inner self is the consciousness; the soul is distinct from the body and that the higher self is the emancipated soul free from the impurities of Karma. The Paramātma or the higher self is the sole object of meditation. The Yōgin, by contemplating the Paramātma divests himself of sin producing greed and acquired no new Karma; firm in right conduct and right faith, he cōntemplates the self and reaches the supreme goal.²⁶

The prescribed process of meditation should be seriously practised by one who desires to contemplate the supreme light and attains that eternal abode of the emancipated souls, situated at the top of the Universe. Sōmadēva mentions two broad divisions of meditation, sabijadhyāna and abijadhayāna.^{26a} Just as gems, though found in the earth, are not found everywhere, meditation though depends upon individual effort, is not possible for everybody. The duration of dhyāna is only an antarmuhūrta; but it is difficult to attain, it should be steadfast in meditation free from vibration. There are five factors which contribute to the progress of yōga-indifference to the world, maturity of knowledge, lack of attachment, a steadfast mind and ability to endure the privation of hunger, thirst, grief, old age and death. The abstacles to yōga are also given by Sōmadēva. One should be deeply learned in sacred lore regarding the higher self, endowed with aptitude, goodwill and maintain constant silence except for the pleasant and true words.²⁷ Sōmadēva then refers to the four kinds of dhyāna mentioned in Tattvārthasūtra Ardhadhyāna and Raudradhyāna which are of four kinds each. The latter should be avoided by all means. The Dharmadhyāna and Sukladhyāna are to be followed. Dharmadhyāna is of four kinds; Ajnāvicaya, apāyavicaya, vipākavicaya and somsthānavicaya. The last step sukadhyāna is the highest form of meditation comprising four stages—Prthaktvavitarkavīcāra, ēkatvavitarkavīcāra, sūkṣma-kriyāpratipati and vyuparata-kriyanivaṛti or niskriya yōga. In the last stage vibration or activity of

any kind is totally absent the self becomes the higher self and attains its own qualities.²⁸ As Sri Kundakuṇḍa says in his Samayasāra that one who is full of faith and knowledge and meditates on the self with undivided attention, will be free from karmas, soon realises the higher self, which is nothing but liberation.²⁹

One who practises meditation should also contemplate on the Three Jewels, the rules of conduct, the anuprēkṣas, the seven fundamental principles of Jainism, and the personality of Lord Jina. But the contemplation of the self is the supreme object of dhyāna. Sōmadēva gives a number of verses which contain the reflection of the devotee engaged in meditation.

The worshipper may contemplate the mystic formula also signifying the five Paramēṣṭhins, namely the Brham mantra, the eternal foundation of all branches of knowledge.³⁰

Sōmadēva gives the transcendental or lōkōttara and the general or laukika forms of meditation. The devotee, for instance, should contemplate the Omkāra formula mentally locating it on the tip of the nose and concentrating the mind on space between the eyebrows. He should arouse the mystic lotus inside his navel and move the connected artery, then direct the four winds, or subtle breaths relating to earth, water, fire and air towards the mind.³¹ As in Prāṇāyāma, the devotee has to master the regulation of each of the four kinds of vital air, each located in its own centre, inside the nonstrill.³² Sōmadēva's elaborate discourse on dhyāna, ends with a definition of asanas or yogic postures viz. padmāsana, virāsana and sukhāsana and a few hints on the method of acquiring concentration during meditation.³³

Just as milk turned into curds never becomes milk again, one whose soul has been purified by the knowledge of the truth is not contaminated by sins again. Infact, no real difference exists between the individual self and the blissful higher self. The relation between the body and the self is like that of a flower and its fragrance.³⁴

The next item of Samayika is the worship of Śrutadēvata or the presiding Goddess of the Jaina scripture. That is Srasvati with the various offerings like water, lights, and incense.^{34a}

Jain religious poetry, anuprēkṣas, comprises of the twelve topics of meditation. These are reflection on the transient character of things—antiyānuprēkṣa; helplessness—asaraṇānuprēkṣa; loneliness,—ēkatvānuprēkṣa; distinction between the self and the non-self the anyātavānuprēkṣa; the impurity of the body—the Aśucyānuprēkṣa; the inflow of Karmas—the āsravānuprēkṣa; stoppage of the inflow of Karmas—the smavarānuprēkṣa, the sheeding of Karma—the nirjarānuprēkṣa, the constitution of the universe—lōkānuprēkṣa, the difficulty of attaining the Right path consisting of the Three jewels—bōdhidurlabhānuprēkṣa, and the law expounded by the Arhat—dharmaśva-khyātanuprēkṣa.” These are the most important topics in the Jina religious thought. The anuprēkṣas are designed to serve as aids to the spiritual progress, to produce detachment, to lead the devote from the realm of desire to the path of renunciation, to develop purity of thought in the practice of religion by the monks and layment alike.³⁵ It may be noted that Sōmadeva is the earliest writer who expounded Anuprēkṣas in Sanskrit. Sri Kundakuṇḍa deals with this topic in his Bhāvaprabhrta. Sōmadeva describes anuprēkṣas when king Yasōgha pondered over on the eve of abdication of his throne, and retirement from worldly life and in a discussion between Yasōdhara and Amṛtamati.

The second Śikṣāvratā is Prōṣadha : It is a religious fasting for four days in a month—the eighth and fourteenth days of each fortnight. He who observes this vrata should refrain from all sinful actions, practices, abstain, from taking bath, using perfumes, bodily decorations, ornaments, and women, observe fasts and devote himself to religious meditation in a temple or on a hill or at home or in the wood. Because, the inner spirit cannot become pure without mortification of the body, just as fire only can purify gold, āvasyakas or obligatory duties also should be performed by one who desires the prōṣadha vow.³⁶

The third Śikṣāvratā the limitation of worldly enjoyment is of two kinds. Food and other objects which can be used only once are called bhōga and objects such as ornaments which can be used again and again are known as paribhōga. Both kinds of enjoyment should be kept within bounds to prevent mental obsession, so one should

voluntarily practise abnegation which may be of two kinds, yama and niyama—the former being for ever in life and the later for a limited period. Flowers and vegetables containing various living organisms, e.g. onions, ketaki and nimba flowers, and surana roots should be forsaken for life. One should also avoid ill-cooked, prohibited food as well as food that has come in contact with or got mixed up with living organisms, and the food that has not been prepared under one's own supervision.³⁷

The fourth śikṣāvratā : Dāna or charity which contributes to one's own welfare and promotes the cultivation of the Three jewels in others and bring relief to one's kinsmen as well as others is the fourth śikṣa vrata. Some practise charity with a view of attaining bliss in the next world, others do to get it in this world, while a few others practise because it is proper to do so.³⁸ Dāna is of four kinds, namely abhaya or protection, food, medicine and sacred lore. Of these abhaya is the highest gift and the wise should always give the first place to affording protection to all living creatures. Every house-holder should feed Jaina sādhus or holy men. According to the nine-fold canon, hospitality consist of reception, offering a high seat, washing of the feet, adoration, salutation, affable speech, affable manners and affable temperament. Particular attention should be paid to the quality and purity of food, it should be prepared at home and not brought from another locality nor purchased from the bazaar, touched by wicked people or offered to Gods and Yakṣas as well as offerings brought for mystic rites.³⁹ One who observes the Three jewels is the most deserving of the gift and anything given to one who is not a Jina is like seed sown on barren soil.⁴⁰ If one wishes to be charitable towards such people out of pity or from a sense of propriety, one should give them a residual portion of food to be taken away and not feed them in one's house. Even the sight of them during the reception of Jaina holy men leads to pollution just as even pure water is contaminated by a vessel containing poison.⁴¹ Sōmadēva adds that it is useless to test the purity of monks for the purpose of giving food whether they are good or bad, the house-holder is purified by the mere act of giving. Dāna is of three kinds; rājasa, tāmasa and sātṭvika. Charity accompanied by self-glorification, momentary, casual and lacking in

conviction is known as *rājasa*. Charity practised through an agency of servants and slaves without any respect for the recipient or familiarity with him, without any consideration of merit is *tāmasa*. Charity is *sāttvika* or the best when hospitality is spontaneous and the recipient is worthy and when the giver has certain qualities namely faith, contentment, reverence, knowledge, liberality, forbearance and ability.⁴² It is the duty of the house-holders to provide, medicines to sick monks and saints. They may be of three kinds; physical ailments, mental worries and external troubles such as rigours of cold and wind. If the laity neglect the sufferings of monks, the latter cannot maintain their spiritual concentration. The monks engaged in expounding and studying the sacred texts, should be comforted with lodging, food, books other amenities, to master the scriptures. They should be encouraged and made happy by providing them with materials necessary for their study.⁴³ Sōmadēva finally mentions the various factors which destroy the value of charity.

Sōmadēva states that *sallekhana* or fasting unto death is to be followed when the body is about to perish, like a dry leaf or a lamp without oil. The hour of this last act of life comes when everyday the body loses strength and power of enjoyment and it beyond remedy. Self restraint, study, austerities, worship and charity all become useless if the mind is not pure at the last hour of life, so one should renounce one's affection for friends, infatuation for riches and ill-will towards enemies and confessing all the sins before the head of the congregation. Food should be gradually given up, thereafter abstain from everything with one's mind fixed on the five *paramēsties*. The factors that destroy the efficacy of *sallēkhana* are the desire to live longer, to die, to avoid suffering, longing for friends, recollection of past happiness and the desire for happiness in the next life.⁴⁴

Besides these, Sōmadēva mentions the six daily duties of a house-holder namely, worship of *devas*, adoration of the teacher, *svādhyāya* the study of spiritual lore, *tapas* the physical or mental activities leading to the purification of the soul by removing external and internal impurities, *samyama* control of the passions and the sense and the observance of the vows, and *dāna*, charity. The rules of life prescribed for the house-holders is called *sāgaradharma*.⁴⁵

The spiritual path that was undertaken by a layman beginning with eight mūlaguṇas and ending with the sallēkhana is divided into different stages called the pratimas. All Jaina authors and Kundakuṇḍa except Umasvāmi described them.

Darśana pratima : The stage in which the layman follows the five vows and mūlaguṇa; *Vratapratima* : is a stage in which he observes the five main vows, three guṇa vratas and four śikṣa vratas altogether twelve vratas; *Samyika pratima* : a stage in which he observes a fast on eight and fourteenth day of every fortnight faultlessly; *Sacittaprabara pratima* : in this stage the layman abandons the use of articles like water, roots, fruits, seed and etc., that are not sterilised and also does not feed others; *Nisibhōjanatayāga pratima* : Kundakuṇḍa defined it as abstinence from taking food at night and Sōmadēva calls it Divāmaithunavriti meaning abstinence from sexual intercourse during the day time; *Brahmacharya pratima* : is a stage in which the man gives up sexual intercourse even with his wife and all other contacts with women as well as bodily decoration; *Anamabhatyāga pratima* : is a stage in which the laymen gives up all processions or means of living and occupation, does not even give jobs to others; *Parigrahatyāga pratima* : is a stage in which the laic abandons all property except a few clothes and utensils; *Anumatiyāga pratima* : where the devotee withdraws from all worldly activities and does not even offer advice to others. The last one *Uddhiṣṭa pratima* : is a stage in which he does not accept food prepared particularly for him but only that what is prepared, offered respectfully at the time he goes for food.

The laic at a stage is called kṣhullaka. When he wears an upper and lower garments, carries instruments for cutting hair, takes his food in a dish sitting. When he wears only a loin cloth, eats food in his own palm standing and carries books, kuṇḍaka and pincha he is called alikaka. As soon as a laica is able to subdue his passions, emotions, and, discards even a loin cloth is called Nirgrandha, a naked saint. He carries only brush and books and does not even clean his teeth and body.⁴⁶

Sōmadēva describes Abhayaruchi and Abhayamati,⁴⁷ as one who reached the stage—Uddiṣṭatyāga pratima, wherein they begged

food which was not specially prepared for them at the stage of religious apprenticeship itself.

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Right conduct taught by Somadeva is discussed with Chapter entitled "Religion life of a home holder".

4.4 Religious life of Jaina House-holder

The Jaina iconography, mythology, cosmology have not been dealt with sperately Samanthabhadra was the first Digambara teacher who laid down the rules of Jaina House-holder in his Ratnakarandasravakacara (Bhargava, pp. 21, 66, 100-102).

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Salient Features

A well-documented history of Āndhra Dēśa commences with the rule of Sātavāhana dynasty and this is the starting point of the present thesis on the aspects of religious life and thought. The study made in the preceding chapters reveals that the three major religions Brāhmanism, and Jainism prevailed in Āndhra Dēśa. It is clear that all these three were neither patronised nor flourished equally at a time. While Brāhmanism persistently continued, Buddhism and Jainism had their periods of ebb and tide.

Although, the Sātavāhana period abounds in archaeologically Buddhist remains, surprisingly some inscriptions and other sources indicate that Brāhmanical religion, which has taken roots from the earlier times dominated others and formed the main stay of the religious life and thought of Āndhra Dēśa. During the Sātavāhana period the rulers of Āndhra were devotees of Vēdism and protectors of varnadharma. Calling themselves as true brāhmins, they performed innumerable sacrifices and gave lavishly a variety of donations to various sections of the society. The Sātavāhana queen Nāyanika has been called wife of a typical Rājarṣi. While the Nāṇeghāt inscription speaks of sacrifices and of vēdic deities, the Nāsik inscription refers to epic and purāṇic heroes and gods. Purāṇic Gods and religious rites, practices and beliefs as followed by the masses are reflected in the Gāthāsaptasāti. Religious practices of Vēdic, Epic and Purāṇic periods are found in the Satavāhana times.

The same vēdic tradition continued in the time of Ikṣvākus who also performed several sacrifices, donated gold, oxen, cows and ploughs liberally. The material unearthed in the excavations at

Nagarjunakonda, indicates the worship of Siva, Durga, Viṣṇu, Yakṣa and Kumāra during this period. From fourth century a new practice had come into vogue. The Pallavas in addition to the offering of sacrifices and donating gifts of gold and cows promoted the study of vedic lore and practice of āhnika for which brahmādēyas were made. This feature can be observed through out the period under study. The Pallavas were devoted to sectarian Gods also. The practice of giving mahādānas like hiraṇyagarbha continued in the reign of the Anandagōtra kings. The kings of Sāṅkāyana dynasty are devoted to Bhagavat chitrarathasvāmy. They called themselves Paramabhāgavatas though their names sound śavite as Nandivarma and Skandavarma. The Viṣṇukunḍins performed thousands of sacrifices and called themselves Paramabrāhmaṇya and Paramamāhēśvaras, though their names sound purely vaiṣṇavite. Schools and agraḥāras were established under their patronage.

At the commencement of the seventh century A.D. a phenomenal change is found in the religious life and thought in Andhra Dēśa. The kings instead of doing sacrifices themselves encouraged brahmins more to do Panchamahāyajñas and ṣatkarmas. Pratiṣṭha or installation of purāṇic deities became prevalent. Thus āhnikas and utsarga replaced the vēdic sacrificial religion. The Eastern Chāḷukyans donated profusely to brāhmins enabling them to study vēdic lore and preserve dharma. This period abounds in inscriptional references to the construction of temples dedicated to Śiva. The Chāḷukyas of Bādāmi also encouraged smārta dharma by donating brahmādēyas. It is observed that most of the brahmādēyas are found along the river banks and in coastal regions which are rich and fertile. It is clear that the purpose of granting lands to the brahmins in these regions is to enable them to settle down in peace and to pursue the study of Dharma and practice it. In contrast to the brahmādēya donations, Utsarga had come into popularity under the Rāṣtrakūṭas and their subordinates Nōlamba Pallavas, and Vēmūlavāda Chāḷukyans and the Chāḷukyans of Kalyāni. Majority of their inscriptions are meant to record gifts to tanks and temples. In Kaḷiṅga Dēśa, under the Vasisthas and Gāṅgas devotion to āhnika and dvijas is found. Both Viṣṇavism and śavism were followed.

Next to Brāhmanism, Buddhism flourished in Āndhra Dēśa during the period of study as attested to by innumerable stūpas, vihāras and antiques. Inscriptions found at Amaravati, Nagarjunakoṇḍa other sites reveal that Buddhism was practised mostly by the commoners. Royal women contributed to the development of Buddhism by their lavish donations and by building magnificent buddhist monuments. Many pilgrims visited these centres from different parts of India and a few of them even settled at some of these Places. Nāgārjuna the great teacher settled at Nagarjunakoṇḍa and many teachers followed him. Pallava king Simhavarma. Ānandagotra king Dāmōdravarma, Viṣṇukundin Vikramēndravarma and his mother Paramabhattārka dēva were also great devotees of Buddha, understood fully the philosophy of Buddhism and built vihāras. By sixth century A.D. Buddhism declined and degenerated as seen from Mattavilāsa. The only inscription that refers to Buddhism in Kaṭṇṇga Dēśa during the period of this study is that of Prithvimūla.

Tradition traces back the origin of Jainism in Āndhra to Pre-Mahavira times. A section of the people followed it even during the time of Sātavāhanas. However, it remained eclipsed till 6th century A.D. due to Buddhism and Brāhmanism and was revived under the patronage of Kubjaviṣṇu of the Eastern Chāḷukyan dynasty. Amma II patronised Jainism and this tradition was continued by the Rāṣtrakūṭas, Nōlamba Pallavas and Vēmūlavāda Chāḷukyans. The famous Jaina poet and philosopher, Sōmadēva-Sūri, wrote Yaśastilaka under the patronage of Baddega and Arikēsari, the kings of Vēmūlavāda.

Thus Brāhmanical religions flourished throughout the period under study in all parts of Āndhar Dēśa. Buddhism came like a high tide from the eastern parts of India and penetrated into the lower layers of society but had to slowly recede under pressures of the revival of Brāhmanical religion. Jainism withstood this force firmly and continued to flourish till the tenth century A.D.

There are certain places where more than one religion was followed at a time. These are listed below as they speak of co-existence of religions and the catholicity of outlook in Āndhra Dēśa.

NAGARJUNA KONDA	: Brāhmanism and Buddhism
VIJAYAWADA	: Śaivism and Jainism
KAMBADUR	: Śaivism and Jainism
HEMAVATHI	: Jainism and Śaivism
VEMULAVADA	: Jainism and Śaivism
PUSPAGIRI	: Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism
BODHAN	: Vaiṣṇavism and Jainism
RAMATERTHAM	: Jainism and Buddhism

The religions and sects spoken of in this work in relation to Āndhra Dēśa existed throughout India. Yet the present study yields some special features and contributions of Āndhra Dēśa in the field.

The donation of thousands of halas oxen, cows and gold made by the Ikṣvākus and Early Pallavas have been identified with the Panchalangāla, Gōsahaśra and Tulāpurṣa dānas. The powerful kings in the Vēngi region mainly made brahmādēyas while Nōlamba Pallavas made donations principally for works of public utility like digging, maintaining and repairing of tanks, for the establishment of racha the public meeting place in village, watersheds and free feeding houses.

The rulers of the early dynasties by donating more and more halas, oxen and cows helped people to bring uncultivated land under cultivation, and contributed to the expansion of inhabited areas and new settlements. The sahaśrakratuṣ performed by the Viṣṇukundin kings may be explained as modified or abridged forms of sacrifices to suit the changing times hoping that the very rituals would not become archaic or forgotten. In course of time the sacrifices began to be mentioned only in the benedictory and imprecatory verses of the inscriptions.

The Niṣṇukunḍins and Śāṅkāyanas followed tantrism as a means to achieve success in war. The Eastern Chāḷukyans who constantly faced troubles, sought the help of kālāmukhas or pāśupata rajagurus in protecting their country and people from the calamities: pests and enemies. In the Western part of Āndhra Dēśa by the tenth century A.D. tāntrism reached the peak. The kings and ministers were well-versed in Tantras. Krishna III was well versed in mantras connected with elephants called Nāgārjunamantra.

Of all the festivals and rites noted in the source materiḷa pitāmahi hiranyagarbhamahōstava, Śyāmasabalavrata, Kōśapanaśa-padha, Gōjadikṣa and Radhakara method of giving a gift are noteworthy.

Some of the earliest specimens of the iconographic forms of Śiva are from Andhradēśa. The earliest figure of Natarāja is from Undavalli caves near Vijayawāda; the earliest linga in India is from Gudimallam in Chittoor district, the earliest Mahēśāmūrthy and Lakuliśa in South India are from Bhairvakonda in Nellore district. The kālāmukhas in Āndhra are called Utpātapidugu, and have the suffixes muni, gorava, Chuchu and rāsi. The temples of North India are adorned with figures of Lakuliśa and those of further south are adorned with figures of Dakṣiṇāmūrty. They temples in Āndhra Dēśa are adorned with both the figures of Dakṣiṇāmūrty and Lakuliśa as at Alampur, Mukhalingam and Bikkavaolu. Besides these, the figures of Ekapādamūrthy are found in the north-eastern parts of Āndhra. The Lakuliśa, Pāśupata, Kālāmukha sects were very popular in Āndhra.

Epigraphical reference to Nārāyana as identical with Viṣṇu is for the first time found in an inscription from Nagarjunakonda. Viṣṇu either in the form of the name of a person or in invocation or in sculpture is found throughout the period under study. But construction of temples for Viṣṇu and gifts for maintenance are not widely noticed. The inscriptions of the Abhiras, Pallavas, Śāḷankayāns, Raṣtrakūṭas, Nōlamba Pallavas, Chōḷas, Bāṇas and Nalas numbering about a dozen, record gifts to the temples of Viṣṇu. Tirupati was the most flourishing Vaiṣṇava centre in Āndhra during the period of study.

Śakti as Mother, Protector and Destroyer is expressed in the invocative verses of inscriptions. The temples of Jōḷūḷāmba at Alampur and that of Rājarājēśwari at Vemulavada developed as Śaktipithas. The Lalita form of śakti also seems to be known in Andhra dēśa. The name Laita Śarma is noticed for the first time in a Gāṅga inscription. The worship of ferocious forms of Śakti and the ferocious made of Śakti worship, both were in vogue in western parts of Āndhra. The cult of fertility is present in Āndhra Dēśa in the form of Nagnakabandha.

The term Subrahmaṇya denoting Kumāra is found for the first time in India in the records from Mallam Chittoor district. In Āndhra Dēśa, in the beginning, Kumāra was worshipped as Skanda later as Kārttikēya, the war deity. His yogic aspect was worshipped later. The terms Nāga and Skanda were used in a compound form as in the case of Skanda-nāga, indicating the association of Skanda cult with local Nāga cult. The earliest reference to Sūrya in India is from the Nāṇeghāt inscription of Sātavāhanas. Worship of Hero, Sati and the Dead was in practice throughout the period in Āndhra Dēśa. The chhāya stambhas or memorials were erected in memory of those who were not eligible to have tarpaṇas or śrādha ceremony according to traditional rites. The practicē of self-immolation was also much in vogue. It is interesting to note that all the Vaiḍumba donative inscriptions of Chittoor district are on hero-stones.

Among the darśanas the sāṅkhya and yōga seem to have been popular in Āndhra. Yōga with different steps like yama, niyama, brahmacharya, satya as means for obtaining Mōkṣa was practiced both by the rulers and the ruled. The theory of karma, sin and prāyaścitta developed in the imprecatory verses.

Mathas are found more in the western Āndhra in the period under study. The heads of these mathas played an important role in the society as rulers, administrators, judge, and aducationalists. The temple with its adjacents maṭha and sattrā was the pivot, around which the social, cultural and academic life of society revolved. Ancient Āndhras made an attempt to develop their society on the lines of dēvalōka.

During the Sātavāhana and Ikṣhāvaku times, Buddhism enjoyed the support of masses and the patronage of royal women. Pallava Narasimhavarma, Viṣṇukuṇḍin Gōvindavarma, Eastern Chālukya king Jayasimha, and Harivarma son of Prithvīmūla are the male rulers who followee Buddhism. The Thērvadeas, Mahāsāṅghikas, Mahīśakas, Bahuśrutiyās are the important schools that flourished in Āndhra. Chaityaka school with its two branches—Apara śāliya and Uttara śāliya is the special feature of Āndhra Buddhism. Popular mythology, cosmology and folk eiements of Hinduism were borrowed by

Buddhism as attested to by features present in Buddhist sculptures in Āndhra Dēśa.

Jainism which faced a set back during the Sātavāhana times flourished only from the sixth century A.D. Sri Kundakuṇḍa Āchārya, the noted digamabara writer who hails from Āndhra was highly revered both by the śvētambaras and digambaras. The practice of writing anuprēkṣas in sānskṛit was first introduced by Sōmadēva. The worship of Jinas with milk and flowers by the digambaras is a special feature of Āndhra Jainism. The inscriptions mention caste system as prevailing among the Jains. Sōmadēva also attests to this fact by stating that only higher castes can be initiated into Jainism while the śūdras could only offer food to the monks. The mythology, legends and folk religion mentioned in the Yaśastilaka are the same as found in contemporary Hinduism. Such is the course of Religious life and thought to Āndhra Dēśa.

Appendix

Brahmanical Centres in Āndhra Dēśa

<i>Name of the Temple</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Date Century/ies (A.D./Saka/Ganga)</i>	<i>Sources</i>
1	2	3	4
THE IKSHVAKUS			
Mahādeva	Nagarjunakoṇḍa	3-5 cen. A.D.	Epi & Arch.
Astabhujasvami	Guntur Dist.	"	"
Nodagisvara	"	"	"
Puspabhadrasvami	"	"	"
Sarvalokadhivasa	"	"	"
Halampursvami	"	"	"
Kumara sits-3	"	"	"
Hariti	"	"	"
Durga	"	"	"
Navagraha	"	"	"
Siva and lingas	"	"	"
Vaisvarana	"	"	"
THE PALLAVAS			
Narayana	Dalura	3 cen. A.D.	Epi. & Arch.
Jivasivasvami	Manchikallu, Guntur Dist.	"	"
Siva	Tripurantakam	"	"
Trigunesvara	Kalambakkam, Chittor Dist.	9 cen. A.D.	"
Virattanesvara	Tiruttani, Chittor Dist.	"	"

Note : The names of the temples are given on the basis of the inscriptions in which they are mentioned. The place names indicate the find spot of the record.

1	2	3	4
Padmavati and Venkatesvara	Tiruchanur, Chittor Dist.	9 cen. A.D.	Epi. & Arch.
Siva	Madugula	"	"
Siva	Eleswaram, Nalgonda Dist.	"	"
Kapoteswera	Ghzerla, Guntur Dist	"	"
THE SALANKAYANAS			
Vishnugrihasvami		475 A.D.	Epi. & Arch.
Narayana	Penugonda West, Godavari Dist.	5 cen A.D.	"
Chitrarathsvami	Peddavegi West, Godavari Dist.	"	"
THE ANANDAGOTRS			
Kapotesvara (Pindesrara)	Chezerla, Guntur Dist.	"	"
Venktesvara	—	—	"
THE VISHNUKUNDINS			
Trikutamalaya	Kotappakonda, Guntur Dist.	—	Epi. & Arch.
Temple complex	Kisara, Rangareddy Dist.	6 cen. A.D.	"
Ramalingesvara	Velupuru, Sattenapalli Tq., Guntur Dist.	"	"
Tryambaka of Somagirisvaranatha	Amalapuram, E. Godavari Dist.	8 cen. A.D.	"
Siva	Podugula, Guntur Dist.	—	"
Bobbinaga	Ayyagaripalem, Guntur Dist.	—	"
Siva	Ipur,		"
Ellesvaram	Nalgonda Dist.		"
	Mogalroapuram		"
Akkanna-Madanna Caves	Vijayawada		"

1	2	3	4
Siva	Mukhalingam, Vizag Dist.		Epi. & Arch.
Cave temples	Undavalli, Guntur Dist.		"
THE EASTERN CHALUKYAS			
Nagesvara—Siva (Kalivisnu)	Vijayawada, Krishna Dist.	—	Epi. & Arch.
Chillakasibhattara of Kapota	Gundplapalle, Ongole Dist.	9 cen. A.D.	"
Bejjesvara—Siva	Dharmavarama, Guntur Dist.		"
Aditya bhatta	"		"
Karigallavadaga—Siva	"		"
Siddhesvara	Terala, Paland Tq., Guntur Dist.	621-22 A.D.	"
Siva	Pattividu, -do-	—	"
Parthisvara	Indrakila Hill, Bezvada, Krishna Dist.	909 A.D.	"
Chalukya Bhimesvara	Vinnakota, Krishana Dist.		"
Umamahesvara	Sattanapalli, Guntur Dist.		"
Bhimesvara	Draksaramam, E. Godavari Dist.		Epi. & Arch.
Jaladhisvarasvami	Ghantasala Divi Tq., Krishna Dist.	9 cen. A.D.	"
Karttikeya	Vijayavada, Krishan Dist., Chebrolu in Guntur Dist.		"
Siva	Nattal Ramesvaram Krishna Dist.		"

1	2	3	4
Siva	Bhimavaram		Epi. & Arch.
Siva	Nagaruru		„
Dharmalingesvara	Gopalapatnam, Vizag Dist.		„
Siva	Pattividu, Guntur Dist.	11 cen. A.D.	„
Siva	Brahmanapalli, Guntur Dist.		„
Veerabhadra	Koravi, Warangal Dist.		„

THE GANGAS

Gokarnesvara	Mount Mahendra, Vizag Dist.		Epi. & Arch.
Madhukesvarr	Mukhalingam, Gangam Dist.	87 G.E.	„
Dharmesvara	Sudava, Parlakimidi Dist.	254 G.E.	„
Goddess-Kanchipotti bhattarika	Arasavalli, Srikakulam Dist.	313 G.E.	„
Kunduka— Gundesvara (siva)	Gallavalli, Bobbili Tq.	393 G.E.	„
Ramesvara Bhattaraka (siva)	Dantiyavagu, Vizag Dist.	—	Epi. & Arch.
God Narayana Ranabhita	Vizag Dist.	—	„
Cave temples	Nandigama, Tekkali Tq., Ganjam Dist.	—	„
Kamesvarasvami	Galavalli, Bobbili Tq.	—	„

THE WESTERN CHALUKYS

Sangamesvara	Sangamesvara, Kurnool Dist.	8-10 cen. A.D.	Epi. & Arch.
Obalesvarasvami	Kurukundi, Bellary Dist.	„	„

1	2	3	4
Isvara	Peddavadugur, Anantapur Dist.	8-10 cen. A.D.	Epi. & Arch.
Surabhesvara	Turimella, Kurnool Dist.	„	„
Utteresvara	Alampur,	„	„
Mahadeva	Mahaboobnagar Dist.		
Trimurti	Ulchala, Kurnool Dist.	„	„
Bhogesvarasvami	Chippagiri, Bellary Dist.		
Siva	Niluru, Anantapur Dist.	„	„
Siva	Chandrana, Anantapur Dist.	„	„
Durgessvara	Kudatini, Bellary Dist.	976 A.D.	„
Kallesvara	Bagali, Bellary Dist.	991 A.D.	„
Kumarasvami	Kundatini, Bellary Dist.	996 A. D.	„
Nagesvarasvami	Chebrolu, Bellary Dist.	S.E. 928	„
Vishnu	Hambulige, Anantapur Dist.	973 A.D.	„
Vinayaka & Siva	Pitakayagulla, Kurnool Dist.		„
Cave	Bhairvakonda, Nellore Dist.	—	„
Siva	Kisara, Rangareddy Dist.	—	„
Group of temples	Kadamalakalva Mahanandi, Kurnool Dist.	10 cen. A.D.	„
Bhogesvara	Chinna Hottur Kurnool Dist.	9-10 cen. A.D.	„
Bhogesvara	Pedda Hottur, Kurnool Dist.	„	„
Temples	Varagal, Medak Dist.	S.E. 891	„
Goddess	Kodumuru, Kurnool Dist.	10 cen. A.D.	„

1	2	3	4
Lakulesvara	Ramathirtham, Kurnool Dist.	11 cen. A.D.	Epi & Arch.
Bhimesvara	Gangapuram, Mahaboobnagar Dist.	11 „	„
Isvara	Nagaruru, Bellary Dist.	—	„
Mulesvara	Nilagunda Bellary Dist.	—	„
Siva	Sivapuram, Nandikothur, Kurnool Dist.	11 cen. A.D.	„
God Bibbesvara	Koraprolu, Mahaboobnagar Dist.	878 A.D.	„
A temple	Korkor, Mahaboobnagar Dist.	878 A.D.	„
Tripurusha	Wadinur, Mahaboobnagar Dist.	—	„
Panchalingaladeva	Panchalingala, Kurnool Dist.	681 A.D.	„
Nagesvara	Narnuru, Kurnool Dist.	8 cen. A.D.	„
Kondamotu Virapuram, Pratakota, Satanikota, Rupalasan- gamesvaram, Mudgulla, Beggalamula, Murava- nanda, Musalimadugu, Siddhesvaram (Arch.)	Guntur Dist. Kurnool Dist.		

THE RASTRAKUTAS

Siva	Kamalapuram, Cuddapah Dist.	925 A.D.	Epi. & Arch.
Siva	Ramesvaram, Poddutur, Cuddapah, Dist.	8-9 cen. A.D.	„
Pushpagiri	Pushpagiri Cuddapah, Dist.	„	„

1	2	3	4
Shrine of Siva & Durga	On the banks of Pennar	11 cen. A.D.	Epi. & Arch.
Siva	Alampur, Mahaboobnagar Dist.	—	„
Temple	Pulivendala	—	„
Temple	Ramadurgam	—	„
Bhogesvara	Rayadurgam	9 cen. A.D.	„
Nagalingesvarasvami	Candragondla	10 „	„
Mantrala Yellamma	Manchala, Bellary Dist.	9 „	„
Patalalingesvara	Alampur	9 cen. A.D.	„
Isvara	Doddimakala, Bellary Dist.	„	„
Siva	Chennur, Adilabad Dist.	940 A.D.	„
Kallesvara	Bagali, Bellary Dist.	944 A.D.	„
Dekamma	Kudatini, Bellary Dist. Bellary Dist.	9 cen. A.D.	„
Isvara	Nayakallu, Kurnol Dist.	„	„
Siva-Arumtainakkar	Vyasapuram, Chittoor Dist.	—	„
Sundaresvara	Cuddapah Dist.	—	„
Gopalakrishna	Melapadu Cuddapah Dist.	—	„
Mallikarjuna	Minnikallu, Sattenapalli Tq., Guntur Dist.	—	„
Harihara	Lepakshi Anantapur Dist.	—	„
Kumara	Kolagallu, Bellary Dist.	9 cen. A.D.	
Kumara	Kudatini, Bellary Dist.	—	„
Narasimhasvami	Zafargudh, Warangal Dist.	—	„
Vaikuntha perumal	Nemali, Chittoor Dist.	967 A.D.	„

1	2	3	4
Indra Narayan	Bodhan, Nizamabad Dist.	978 A.D.	Epi. & Arch.
Temples	Kokkaracharla	S.E. 817	„
Temples	Mantasala	S.E. 815	„
Temples	Kanyathirtham	—	„

THE CHOLAS

Vakuntaperumal	Nemali, Chittor Dist.	—	„
Arumugaswami	Tiruttani, Chittor Dist.	1000 A.D.	„
Kalahastisvara	Kalahasthi, Chittor Dist.	—	„
Padmayati	Tiruchanur, Chittor Dist.	—	„
Mahadeva	Mahadevamangalām, Chittor Dist.	—	„
Kailasanatha	Ichambadi, Chittor Dist.	10 cen. A.D.	„
Tirumulesvara	„	—	„
Somesvara or Cholendrasimha	Melapadi, Chittor Dist.	—	„
Cholendrasimhesvara or Adityesvara	Tondamanad, Chittor Dist.	—	„
Nilkantesvara	„	10 cen. A.D.	„

THE TELUGU CHOLAS

Chennakesvara	Kalamalla, Cuddapah Dist.	—	Epi. & Arch.
Chennakesvara	Erragudipadu, Cuddapah Dist.	—	„
Veerabhadra	Tippaluru, Cuddapah Dist.	—	„

1	2	3	4
Ramalingesvara	Ramesvaram, Proddutur Tq., Cuddapah Dist.	—	Epi. & Arch.
Chennakesava	Veludurti, Kanpur Tq., Cuddapah Dist.	—	„
Agasthesvara	Chillamakuru, Kanapur Tq., Cuddapah Dist.	—	„
— (unnamed)	Nallacheruvupalle, Pulvendala Tq., Cuddapah Dist.	—	„
Amma (Dovi)	Dongalasani, Siddavatam Tq., Cuddapah Dist.	—	„
Image of Vinayaka	Bhairavakonda, Nellore Dist.	—	„
Nandisvara & Dandisvara	-do-	—	„
Ramesvarasvami	Badinepalle, Kurnool Dist.	—	„
Siva	Nagur, Cuddapah Dist.	8 cen. A.D.	„
Muktikotisvarasvami	Kamalakuru, Siddavatam Tq., Cuddapah Dist.		„
Chennakesava	Muttukur, Cuddapah Dist.	7 Cen. A.D.	„
Adityalaya	Maddunuru, Cuddapah Dist.	—	„
Veerabhadra	Kamalapur Tq., Cuddapah Dist.	—	„
— (unnamed)	Kosinepalli Cuddapah Dist.	—	„
Siva	Peddamudiyam Cuddapah Dist.	—	„

1	2	3	4
Rupalasangamesvara	Rupalasangamesvara, Kurnool Dist.	7 cen. A.D.	Epi. & Arch.
Siva	Melapadu, Cuddapah Dist.	9 cen. A.D.	„
Pretisvara, Sevetesvara & Nrtyalokesvara	Gangaperur, Cuddapah Dist.	—	„
Dasamma	Pulipatturu, Cuddapah Dist.	8 cen. A.D.	„
Vasamma	Gudlavaripalli, Cuddapah Dist.	—	„
— (unnamed)	Indukur, Cuddapah Dist.	—	„

THE NOLAMBA PALLAVAS

Doddappa & Nannesvara	Hemavati, Anantapur Dist.	—	Epi. & Arch.
Mallikarjuna & Adityagriha	Kambaduru, Anantapur Dist.	—	„
Mahendresvara	Baragur, Anantapur Dist.	—	„
Vishnu & Siva	Kanchagarbali, Bellary Dist.	—	„
Vishnu	Bagali, Anantapur Dist.	—	„
Chennakesava	Amidala, Anantapur Dist.	—	„
Siva	Gollapuram, Anantapur Dist.	—	„
Cholaraja	Madakasira, Anantapur Dist.	—	„
Siva	Manepalle, Anantapur Dist.	—	„

1	2	3	4
THE CHALUKYAS OF VEMULAVADA			
Siva	Chennur, Adilabad Dist.	S 863	Epi. & Arch.
Siva	Vemulavada,	9-10 cen. A.D.	„
Adityagriha	Karimnagar Dist.		
—	Koragabbaplli,	—	„
(unnamed)	Mahaboobnagar Dist.		
THE BANAS			
Siva	Gudimallam, Chittor Dist.	—	Epi. & Arch.
Agasthyesvara	Poddaturu, Chittor Dist.	—	„
Siva	Korrapadu, Cuddapah Dist.	—	„
Vijayaraghavaperumal	Perumalmature, Chittor Dist.	—	„
Kapilesvara	Avitala, Chittor Dist.	—	„
Somesvara	Punganuru	—	„
Siva	Senagalagudur, Anantapur Dist.	800 A.D.	„
Siva (Bhogesvara)	Velmakuru, Anantapur Dist.	—	„
Patarayani	Betapalli, Anantapur Dist.	8 cen. A.D.	„
Tirupati-Venkatesvara	Tiruchanur, Chittor Dist.	—	„
Siva	Punganur, Chittor Dist.	—	„
THE WESTERN GANAGAS			
Aditya	Siddhayanapur	—	Epi. & Arch.
Mahalingesvara	Kunthur	—	„
VAIDUMBAS			
Ramalingesvara Shrine	Valavalli, Amalpuram Tq., Cuddapah Dist.	—	„
Lokesvarabhattacha	Avitevelu		„

1	2	3	4
MISCELLANEOUS			
Surya	Jainad, Adilabad Dist.	10 cen. A.D.	Epi. & Arch.
Brahmisvara (Patalingesvara)	Alampur, Mahaboobnagar Dist.	8-10 cen. A.D.	„
Arka, Swurga, Kumara, Surya, Padma, Brahma etc., and Chandisvara, Kamakshi, Chandika, Veerabhadra	Alampur, Mahaboobnagar Dist.	„	„
Papaharesvara	Basar, Mudhol Tq., Adilabad Dist.	11 cen. A.D.	„
Somesvara	Kolanupaka, Nalgonda Dist.	—	„
Satanikota	Nandikotkur Tq., Kurnool Dist.	6-9 cen. A.D.	„
Bhairavakonda	Bhairavakonda, Nellore Dist.	—	„
Kotesvara	Madugula Palnad Tq., Guntur Dist.	5-6 cen. A.D.	„
Siva	Sattevolu, Kurnool Dist.	7-10 cen. A.D.	„
Aditya (Siva)	Jammikunta, Karimnagar Dist.	10 cen. A.D.	„
Siva (Kalamukha centre)	Minambakam	—	„
Siva	Koraprolu, Mahaboobnagar Dist.	973 A.D.	„
Siva	Kaneysvaram, Cuddapah Dist.	7-8 cen. A.D.	„
Siva	Yellaturu and Chintalamanu, Cuddapah Dist.	9 cen. A.D.	„
Chennakesava	Kodur, Cuddapah Dist.	953 A.D.	„

1	2	3	4
Chennakesava	Kalamallu, Cuddapah Dist.	8 cen. A.D.	Epi. & Arch.
Siva	Pattividu, Palanad Tq., Guntur Dist.	11 „	„
Gurazallamma	Gurzala, Guntur Dist.	—	„
Siva	Peddakancherla, Guntur Dist.	—	„
Bobbanaga Jalpesvara	Ayyangaripalem, Guntur Dist.	—	„
Siva, Agesthesvara veerabhadra	Korrapadu, Cuddapah Dist.	—	„
Buggamallesvara	Daida, Guntur Dist.	—	„
Madanagopalasvami	Narasapur, W. Godavari Dist.	—	„
Bhairava	Kurnnool Dist.	—	„
Siva	Konakondla, Anantapur Dist.	—	„
Papavinasesvara	Turimella, Kurnool Dist.	—	„
Papesvara	Turimella, Kurnool Dist.	—	„
Surabhesvara	Turimella, Kurnool Dist.	—	„
Ramalingesvara	Cumbum, Kurnool Dist.	—	„
Bhogesvara	Peddahottor	—	„
Agasthesvara	Poddutur, Cuddapah Dist.	—	„
(unnamed)	Sanjivarayanikota	—	„
Siva	Lankamallesvaram, Cuddapah Dist.	—	„
Siva	Pattividu, Palnadu Tq., Guntur Dist.	—	„

1	2	3	4
Siva	Pattipadu, Cuddapah Dist.	885 A.D.	Epi. & Arch.
Chintalarya	Tadipatri	—	„
Bhogesvarasvami	Gadigara vemula Nandyal, Kurnool Dist.	—	„
Ramlingesvara	Nandikandi, Medak Dist.	11 cen. A.D.	„
Siva	Patancheru, Sangareddy, Medak Dist.	—	„
Saptamatruka Shrine	Tiruttani, Chittor Dist.	—	„
Somesvarasvami	Gunupudi, Bhimavaram, W. Godavari Dist.	—	„
Trimurti	Dimilada, Srikakulam Dist.	—	„
Sitamma cave	Nandipura	—	„
Siva	Kanuparti	—	„
Narasimhasvami	Jammalamadugu, Cuddapah Dist.	S. 807	„
Siva	Tripurantakam, Kurnool Dist.	—	„
Kesava	Koraparu	8 cen. A.D.	„
Rockcut—caves	Manthani,	6 „	„
Nainagullu	Karimnagar Dist.		
Gaurigundam water falls	Peddepalli, Karimnagar Dist.	—	„
Kalesvaram	Kalesvaram, Karimnagar Dist.	—	„
Venkataramanesvara	Tadpatri, Anantapur Dist.	8 cen. A.D.	„
Hatakesvarasvami	Singupuram, Ganjam Dist.	—	„
Sangamesvara	Muddurti	—	„
Siva	Vadapalli, Nalgonda Dist.	—	„

1	2	3	4
Siva	Nandimandalam, Cuddapah Dist.	8 cen. A.D.	Epi. & Arch.
Siva	Vallur, Cuddapah Dist.	—	„
Vinayaka Shrine	Mahadevamangalam, Chittor Dist.	—	„
Garalakanthesvara	Pudupet, Nagari, Chittor Dist.	—	„
Siva	Morusapalle, Madanapalli Tq., Chittor Dist.	—	„
Siva	Vellaturu, Cuddapah Dist.	—	„
Siva	Paturu, Cuddapah Dist.	—	„
Siva	Pandividu, Cuddapah Dist.	—	„
Surya & Veerabhadra	Kogali, Bellary Dist.	—	„
Siva	Alasandigutti, Bellary Dist.	—	„
Siva (Lakulisa)	Pragaturu, Mahaboobnagar Dist.	8-9 cen. A.D.	„
Kamesvara	Purushottampuram, Srikakulam Dist.	—	„
Vignesvara	Bannuru, Nadikotkur Tq., Kurnool Dist.	10 cen. A.D.	„
Nagesvara	Pratakota, Kurnool Dist.	9-10 cen. A.D.	„
Siva	Pattikonda, Kurnool Dist.	—	„
Bhogesvara	Mahanandi, Nandyal Tq., Kurnool Dist.	10 cen. A.D.	„
Nagesvara	Narnuru, Kurnool Dist.	—	„

1	2	3	4
Veerabhadra	Vaddirala, Cuddapah Dist.	10 cen. A.D.	Expi. & Arch.
Siva, Ramalingesvara Bhimesvara	Satvol, Kurnool Dist.	—	„
Ramalingesvara	Markapuram, Kurnool Dist.	—	„
Siva	Lavanuru, Jammalamadugu Tq., Cuddapah Dist.	—	„
Bhairavasvami	Chintapalli, Guntur Dist.	—	„
Agastesvara	Chidipirala, Kamalapuram Tq., Cuddapah Dist.	—	„
Siva	Attaluru, Satnapalli Tq., Guntur Dist.	—	„
Lankamāllesvara Chintalaraya	— Tadpatri Anantapur Dist.		

Buddhist Centres in Āndhra Pradesh

<i>Place</i>	<i>Monument & sources</i>	<i>Date</i>
1	2	3
<i>Krishna Dist.</i>		
Bhattiprolu	Stupa	3rd B.C.
Jaggayyapet	„	
Ghantasala	„	
Arugolanu	„	250 „
Pedaganjam	Inscr. and Relics	
Chinaganjam	„	
Ranireddipalem	Stupa : vihara	
Garikapadu	„	

1	2	3
Gudimala	„ Mahachaitya and Monastery	
Goli		
Aluru	Monastery	1 cen. A.D.
Gudivada	Inscription	
Adurru	Budildings	
Muktyala		
<i>Guntur Dist.</i>		
Amaravati	Stupa, stone images Metal Buddha, Tara Avaloketesvara Bhodhisattva Padmapani Simhavadin 2-4 headed Taras Manjughosa	200 BC-200 A.D. 5 A.D. 800-902 AD
Manchikallu		
Kesanapalli		
Rentala		
Nagarjunakonda		
Goli		
Samadhanapuram		
Kapavaram		
Vaikuntapuram	Stupa	
Peddavupallam	Images of Buddha	
<i>Vizag Dist.</i>		
Salihundam	Stupa, Chaitya, images of Buddha Tara with 3 faces Votive Stupas, building Potashred Broken Inscription	2 century 5 „
Bejjanikonda		
Sankaram	Monolithic Stupas, Structures and Buildings	122 B.C.
Kodavali		

1	2	3
Ramatirtham Ellamanchili Peddapuram Kappavam Bavikonda Mangammavaripet Sarapalli	Stupa and Vihara and many relics	3 century
<i>East Godavari Dist.</i>		
Sarangadharametta Rampaerripalam Timmapuram Pithapuram Tatagunta Kottapalli Nelakotana Peddapuram Korukonda Jaddangi Palem Gangampalem Kodavali Talluru	Stupa, Chaitya Cave Mound Stupa Cave Stupa and Cave Monastery and Cave	
<i>Nalgonda Dist.</i>		
Tummalgudem Lingarjupalem Gajulabanda Tirmalgiri Vardhamanakota Adduru Phanigiri Nelakondapalli Yelleswaram	Inscription Stupa and vihara Relics	
<i>Kārimnagar Dist.</i>		
Dullkatta Paddabankur		

1	2	3
Rayapatnam Pashigam Kotilingala <i>Medak Dist.</i>	Stupa, Inscrs and Antiques	
Kondapur <i>Prakasam Dist.</i>	Antiques and Monastery	
Dhupadu Chandaavaram <i>Mahaboobnagar Dist.</i>	Stupa and relics	
Vaddemanu Sasangadda <i>Kurnool Dist.</i>	Stupa and relics	
Satanikota <i>Nellore Dist.</i>	Stupa and relics	
Ramatirtham Chandavolu <i>Ongole Dist.</i>	Stupa and relics	
Uppugundur Kanuparti	Stupa and relics	

Jaina Centres in Āndhra Pradesh

Place	Monuments & sources	Date
1	2	3
<i>Krishna Dist.</i>		
Guntupalli	Inscription and Sculptures	
Bezawada (Nidumbavasati)	"	
Gudivada	"	
Malkapuram	"	

1	2	3
<i>Kurnool Dist.</i>		
Adoni	Relics and Inscriptions	
Yachayaram		
Peddatabalam		
Chinnatambalam		
<i>Nellore Dist.</i>		
Malkonda	Inscriptions	3 B.C.
Atmakur		
<i>Nizamavad Dist.</i>		
Bodhan	Inscriptions and Sculptures Sculptures	9-10 cen. A.D.
Hyderabad		
<i>Karimnagar Dist.</i>		
Vemulavada	Sulptures and Inscriptions	
Gangadhara		
(Kurikyala)		
<i>Anantapur Dist.</i>		
Bagali	Inscriptions and Basadi Temples	
Rayadurga		
Chippagiri		
Konakondala		
Hemavathi		
Amrapuram		
Kombadur		
Kottaishavaram		
Gateeshwarm		
Kobpal		
<i>Mahaboobnagar Dist.</i>		
Ujjili		
Gollattagudi		
<i>Cuddapah Dist.</i>		
Vamikonda	Inscriptions	
Danavulapadu		

1	2	3
Siddhavatam	Inscriptions temples	
Peddamudiyam	Images, sculptures	
Domarandyala		
Jammalamadugu		
<i>Nalgonda Dist.</i>		
Kolamupaka	Sculptures and Inscriptions	
Tummalagudem		
<i>Medak Dist.</i>		
Alladurga	Sculptures and Inscriptions	
Tandur		
Kohir		
Chintalghat		
Patancheru		
Chilukur		
<i>Warangal Dist.</i>		
Bekkallu	Inscriptions and temples	
Hanumakonda		
(Padmakshi)		
<i>West Godavari Dist.</i>		
Penumanchali	Sculptures	
Dharmavaram		
Achanta		
<i>Chittor Dist.</i>		
Vallimala i	Caves—Inscriptions	

Some Unpublished Epigraphs and Sites

<i>District</i>	<i>Villages</i>	<i>Period</i>
1	2	3
Cuddapah	Dommaranandyala Kalasapadu Chandura	10th century

1	2	3
	Jallavallelapalli	"
	Kammanur	9th-10th century
	Bondilipalli	"
	Bhimagundam	"
	Buddayyapalli	"
	Annaluru	"
	Indukuru	7th-8th century
	Kolavalli	—
	Tippaluru	—
	Kosinapalli	—
	Muddalur	—
	Gandlur	—
	Alavalopasu	—
	Chaveluru	—
	Bedusupalli	—
	Prodduturu	Rast.
	Midutur	Telugu Cholas
	Prodduturu	"
	Kamalakur	"
	Dupadu	Satavahana
	Nandalooru	"
	Pedabalijipalli	Vidumbas
	Araveedi	"
	Pyarampalli	"
	Gorugupalli	"
	Galiveedu	"
	Satanikota	Arch. Satavahana
Mahaboobnagar	Aija	Chalukyan
Warangal	Kummarikunta	Satavahana
	Inavolu	
	Gorrekunta	
	Cherial	Rastrakuta
	Aknoor	
Karimnagar	Vilasasagar	
	Arnakonda	
	Nemalikonda	
	Kodurpaka	
	Dharmapuri	

1	2	3
Kurnool	Veldurti	10th century
	Neramika	"
	Kodumur	"
	Pyalakurti	"
	Kontalapadu	"
	Kurnur	"
	Ryachoti	"
	Kokkarachedu	S 817
	Mantralayam	
	Alampur	Tel. Cholas
	Tripurantakam	10th century
	Kothapalli	
	Kurukunda	
	Kazipuram	
	Palakunti	10th century
	Varimukkala	"
	Mulungundam	"
Medak	Gaudicharla	10th century
	Nirpor	
	Goovekor	
	Bavanche	
	Rajapalli	
	Rimaguda	
	Sangampalli	
	Kondkondla	
	Rayanaram	
	Erikal	
	Ramayampet	
	Jagadevpur	
	Allahdurga	
	Velpulakonda	
	Sankarampet	
Anantapur E. Godavari	Gooti	
	Rajahmundry	1-2 centuries 6-7 "

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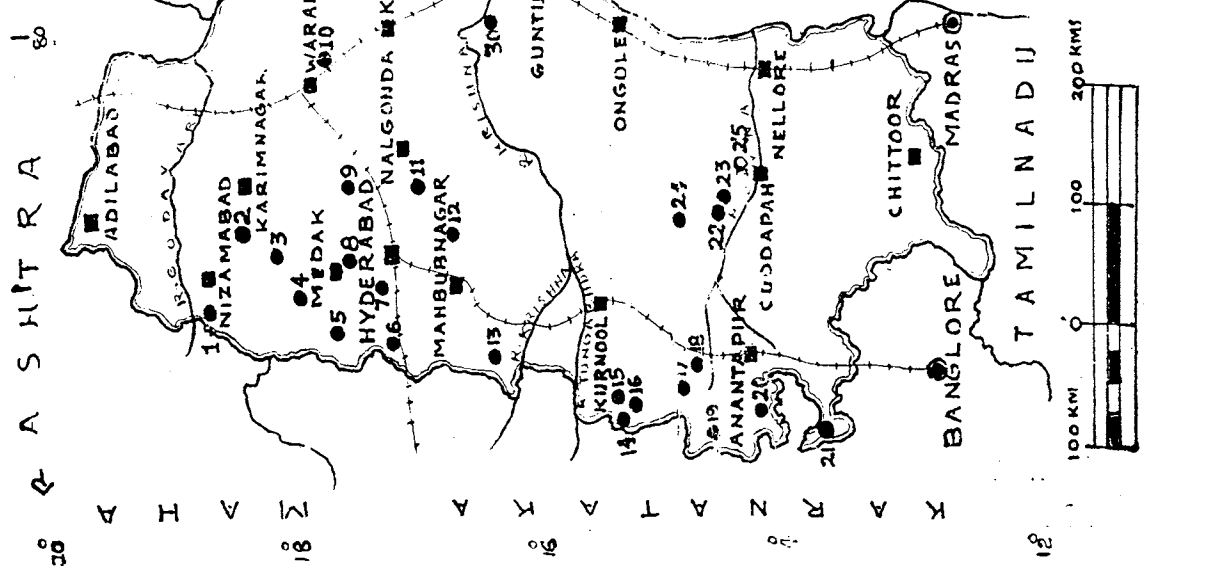
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A S H T R A



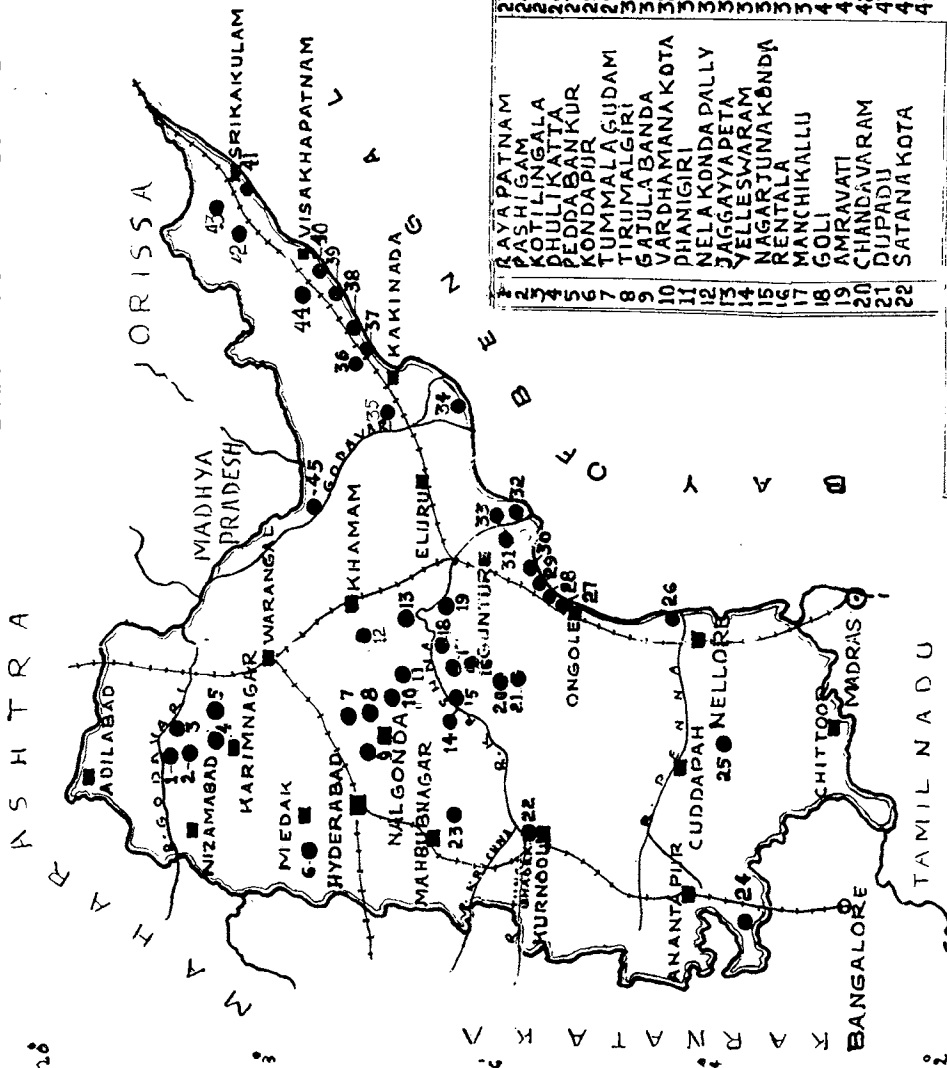
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SOME IMPORTANT JAINA SITES IN ANDHRA PRADESH



1	BODHAN	21	HEMAVATI
2	GANGADHARAM	22	JAMMALAMADUGU
3	VEMULVADA	23	DANAVALAPADI
4	ALLAHDURG	24	PEDDAMUDEYAM
5	KOHIR	25	SIDHAYATAM
6	TANDUR	26	BAPATLA
7	CHILKUR	27	CHEBROLU
8	PATENCHERU	28	KOLLURU
9	KULPAK	29	TENALI
10	PADMAKSHI	30	DHARNIKOTA
11	TUMMULAGUDEM	31	GUDIVADA
12	GOLLATHAGUDI	32	
13	UJJALI	33	
14	PEDDATUMBULAM	34	ACHANTA
15	CHINNA TUMBILAM	35	DRAKSHARAM
16	ADONI	36	BIKKAVOLI
17	KONAKONDALA	37	PITHAPURAM
18	CHIPPAGIRI	38	BHIMUNIPATNAM
19	RAYADURUG	39	RAMATIRTIAM
20	KAMBADIUR		

SOME IMPORTANT BUDDHIST SITES IN ANDHRA PRADESH



1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45
RAYAPATNAM	RAJAHMUNDRY	KOTILINGALA	CHULIKATTA	PEDDABANKUR	KONDAPUR	TUMMALAGUDAM	TIRUMALGIRI	GATULA BANDA	VARDHAMANA KOTA	PHANIGIRI	NELAKONDA PALLY	JAGGAYYAPETA	VELLESWARAM	NAGARJUNA KONDA	RENTALA	MANCHIKALLU	GOLI	AMRAVATI	CHANDAVARAM	DIUPADU	SATANA KOTA	VADZEMAN	SASANA KOTA	NANDALUR	KAMATIRTRAM	UPPUGUNDUR	KANUPARTI	PEDDAGANJAM	CHINNAGANJAM	BHATTIPROLU	GHANTASALA	GUDIVADA	ADURRU	KODAVALI	LINGARAJU PALEM	PITHAPURAM	KOTTUR	MANGAMARIPETA	BAVIKONDA	SALIHUNDAM	RAMATIRTHAM	SARAPALLY	SANKARAM	KAPAVARAM

REFERENCE

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Plate 1. Purnakalasha from Amaravati, Guntur District, A.P.

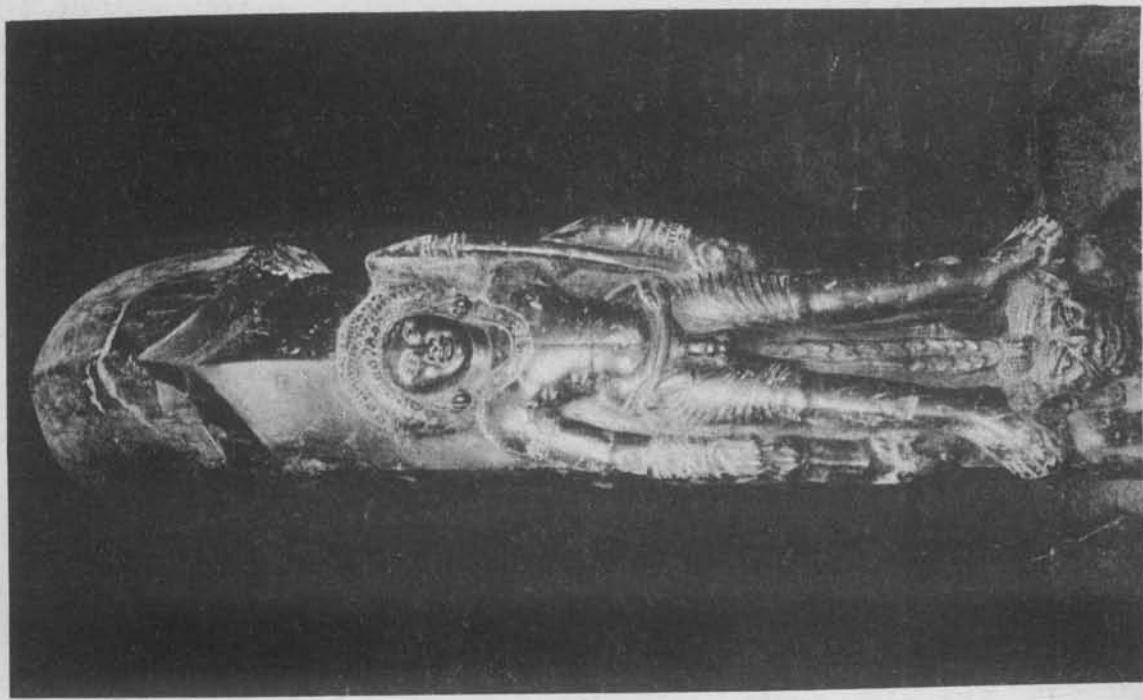


Plate 2. Śivaliṅga from Gudimallam, Chittor District, A.P.

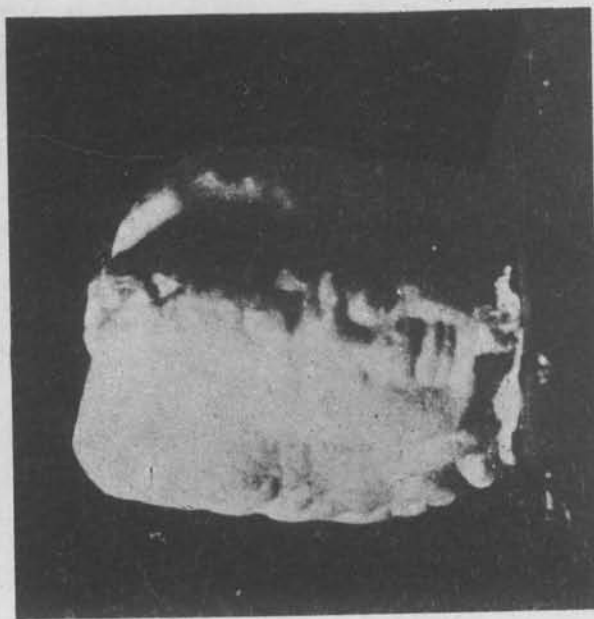


Plate 3. Early Sadāśiva from Amarāvati, Guntur District, A.P.



Plate 4. Earliest Natarāja in South India from Caves of Magalrājapuram, Vijayawada, Krishna District. A.P.

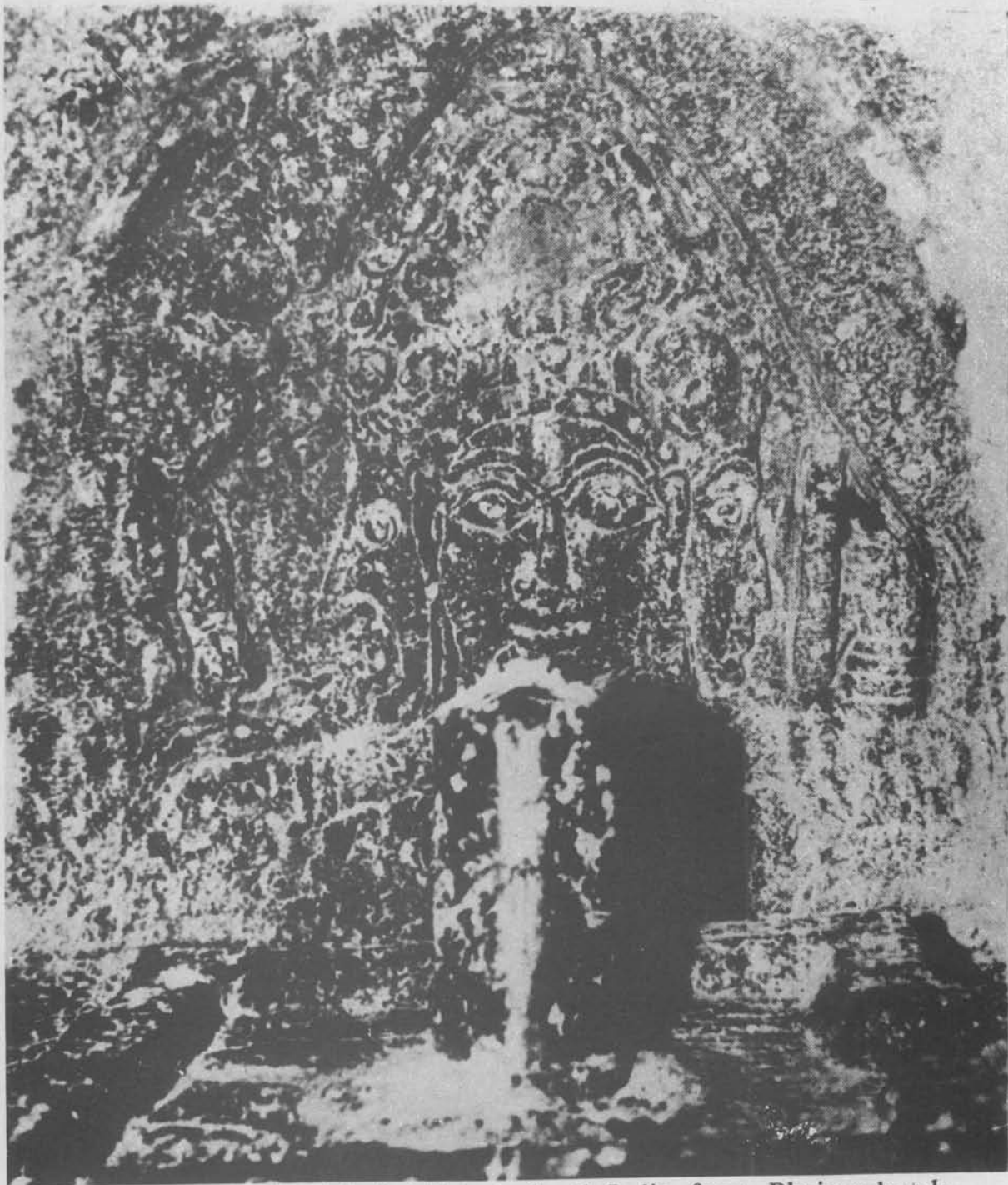


Plate 5. Early Mahēśa Mūrti in South India from Bhairavakonda caves, Nellore district, A.P.



Plate 6. Early Śiva from Victoria Jubilee Museum, Vijayawada,
Govt. of A.P. Kṛṣṇa, District, A.P.



Plate 7. Arjuna's penance pillar from Indrakīla Vijayawada, Kṛṣṇa district, A.P.

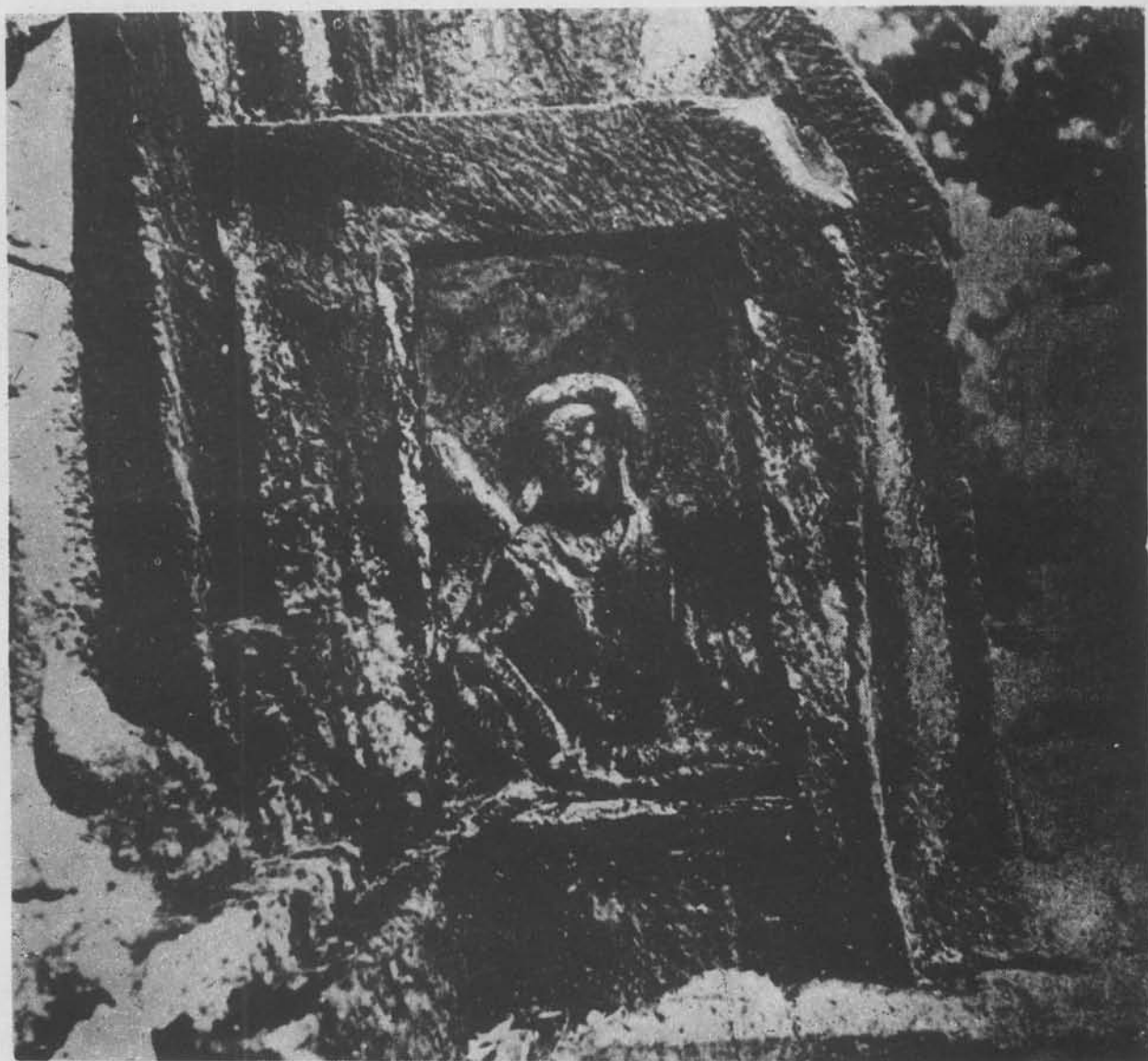


Plate 8. Earliest Lakuliṣa in South India from Bhairavakonda,
Nellore district, A.P.

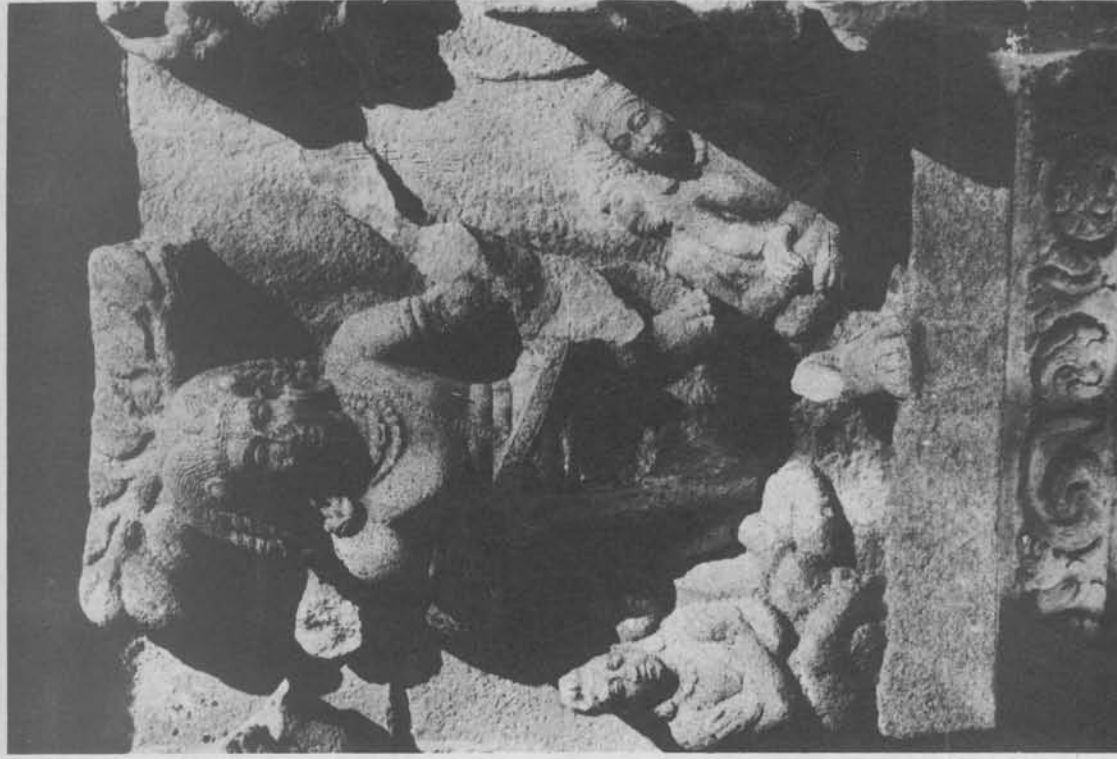


Plate 9a. Dakṣiṇamūṛthy from Alampūr, Mahaboob
Nagar district, A.P.



Plate 9b. Lakulīśa seated from Mukhalingam,
Vijayanagaram district, A.P.



Plate 10. Early Visnu from Yellēśvaram Mahaboob Nagar district, A.P.

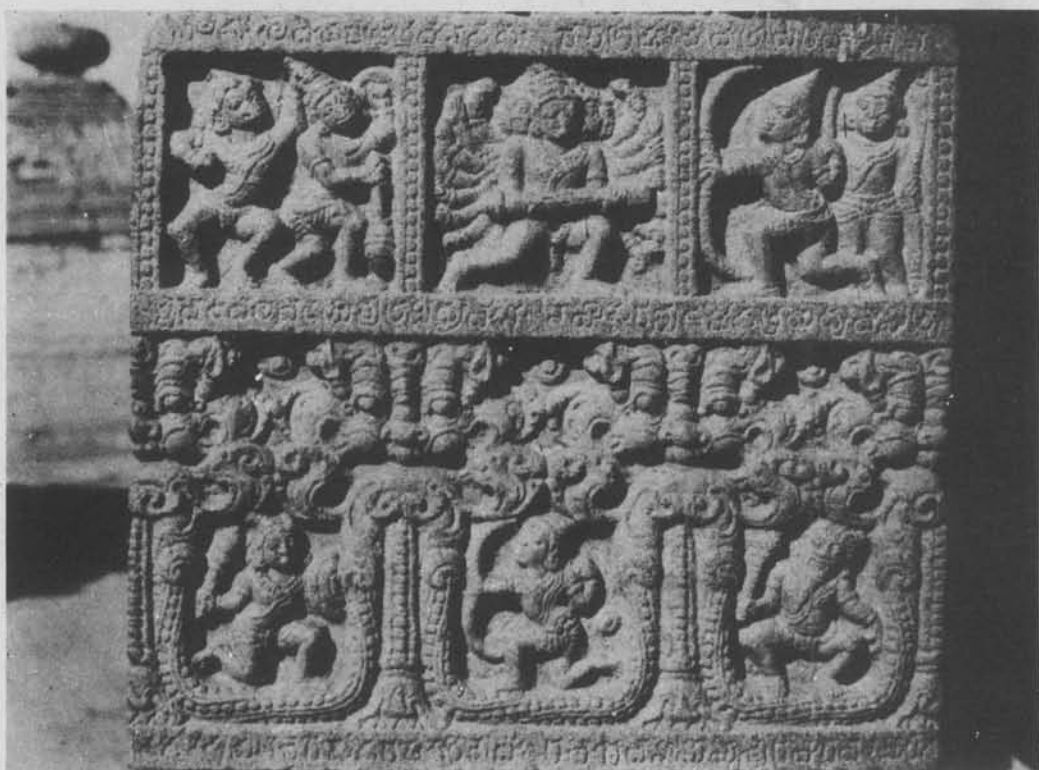


Plate 11. Scenes from Rāmāyaṇa, Papānasi temple, Alampur, Mahaboob Nagar, district, A.P.

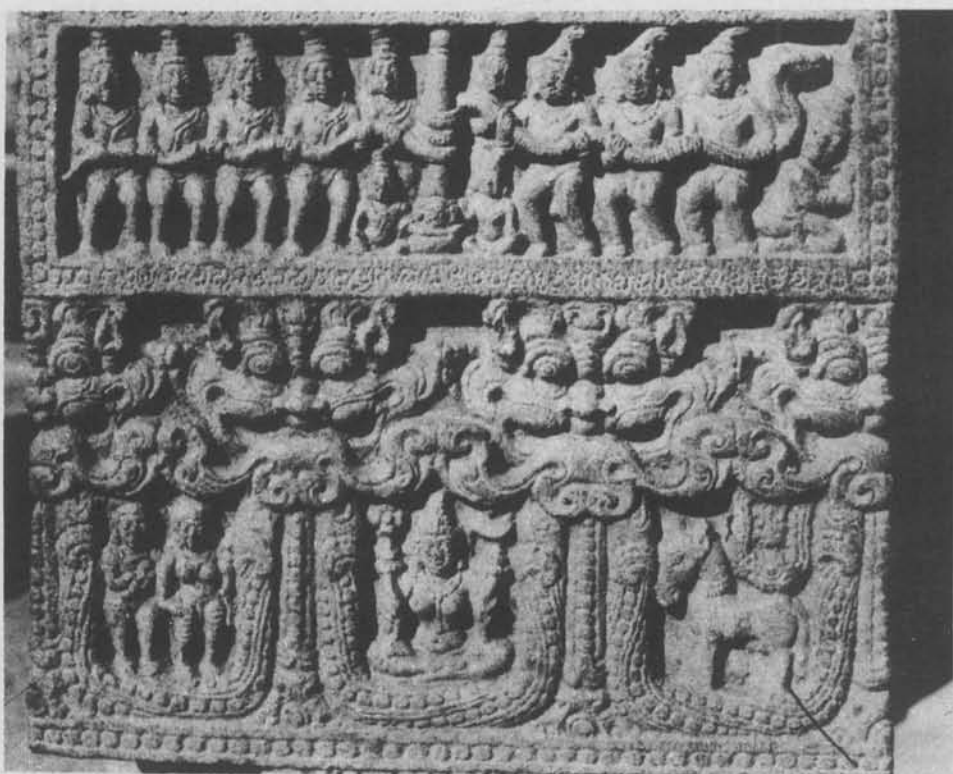


Plate 12. Scenes from Kṣīrasagaramadhana Alampur, Mahaboob Nagar, district, A.P.



Plate 13. Plaque depicting ponchaviras for the first time in South from Kondamūdi. Guntur district, A.P.



Plate 14. Saraswati from Mukhalingam Vijayanagaram district, A.P.



Plate 15. Lakṣmī on Lalāṭbimba—door of temple from Mukhalīṅgaṃ; depicting Navagrahas and flying Gandharvas, Vijayanagaram district, A.P.



Plate 16. Kumāra-Mukhalīṅgaṃ, Vijayanagaram District, A.P

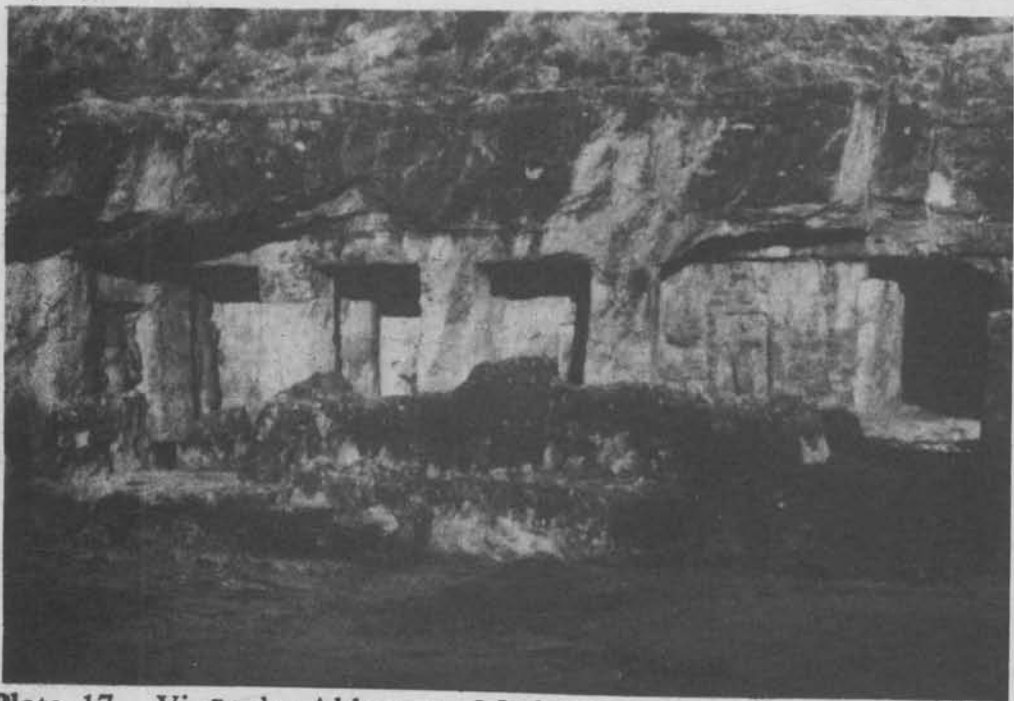


Plate 17. Vināyaka-Akkanna, Madanna caves Vijayawada, Kriṣṇa district, A.P.



Plate 18. Early Sati Stone from Nāgarjunakonda
Guntur district,

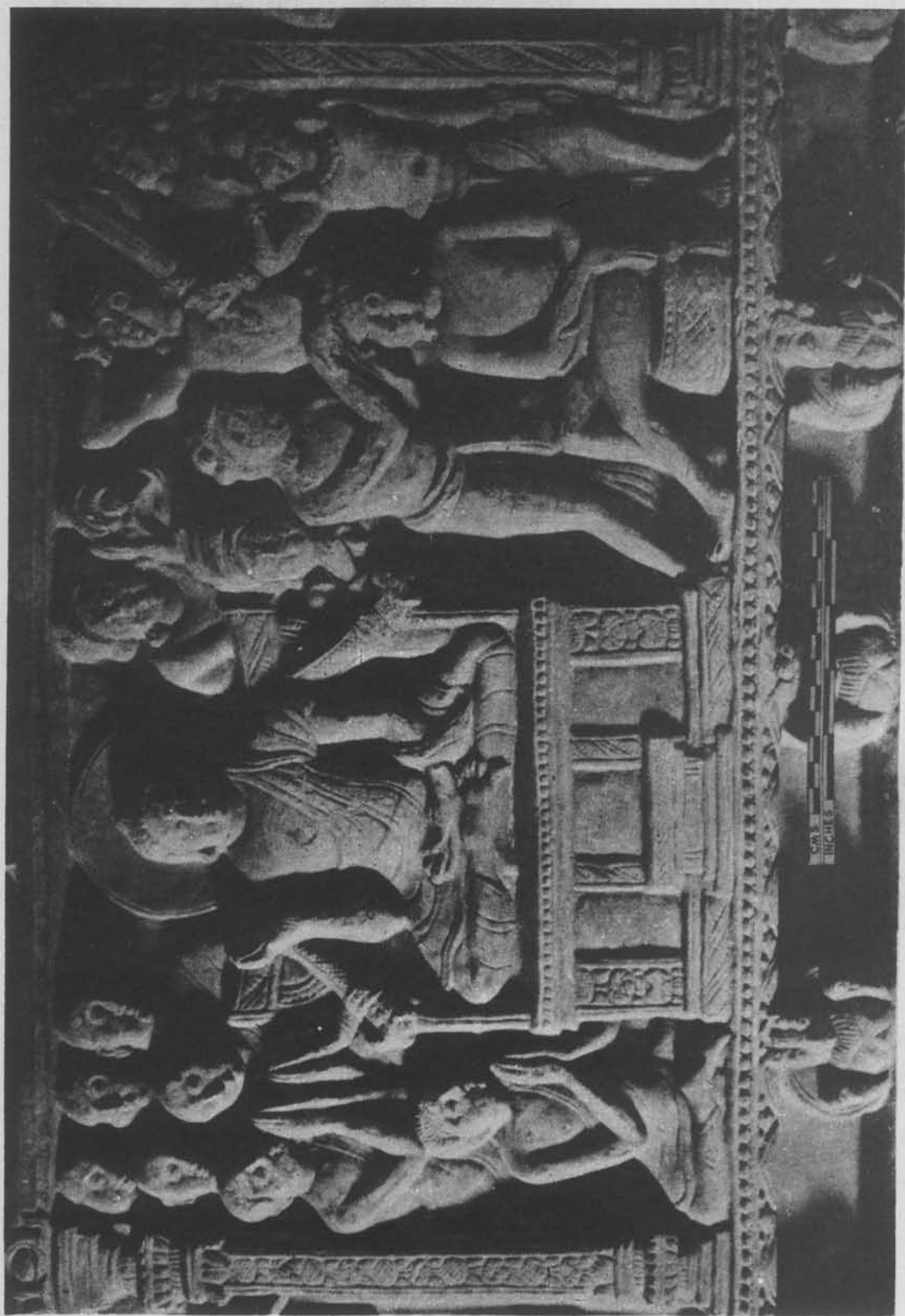


Plate 19. Ceremony of initiation into Buddhism from Nāgarjunakonda
Guntur District, A.P.



Plate 20. Worship of Stūpa by Hīnayāna Buddhists—Amarāvati, Kṛṣṇa district, A.P.

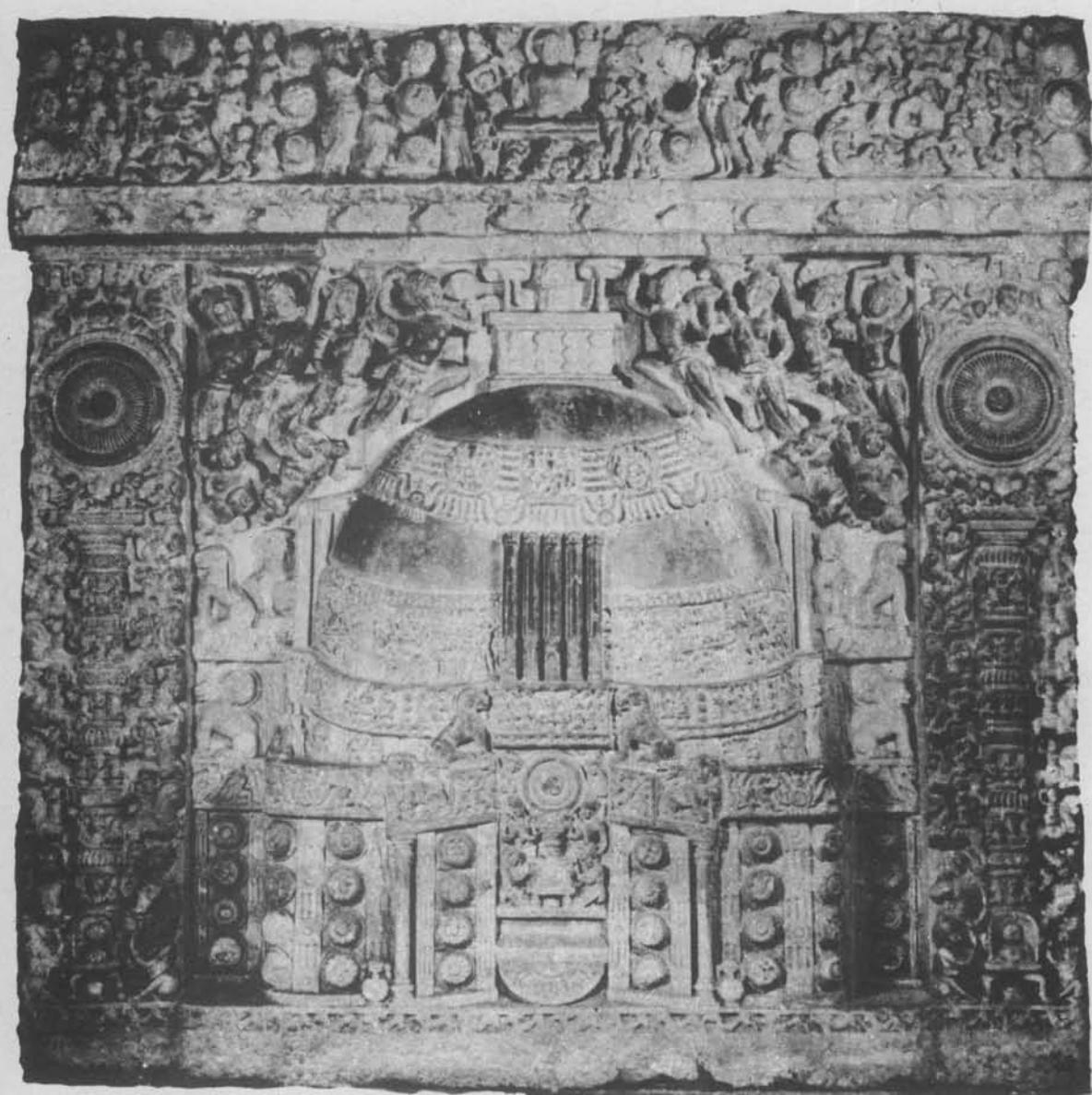


Plate 21. Hinayāna and Mahāyāna mode of worship's Buddhism.

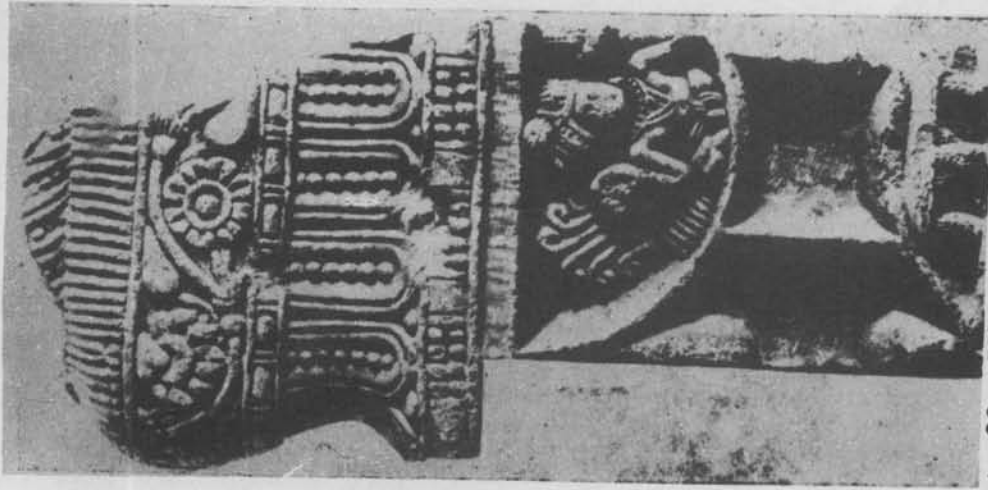


Plate 22. Kinnara from Amarāvati,
Guntur district, A.P.

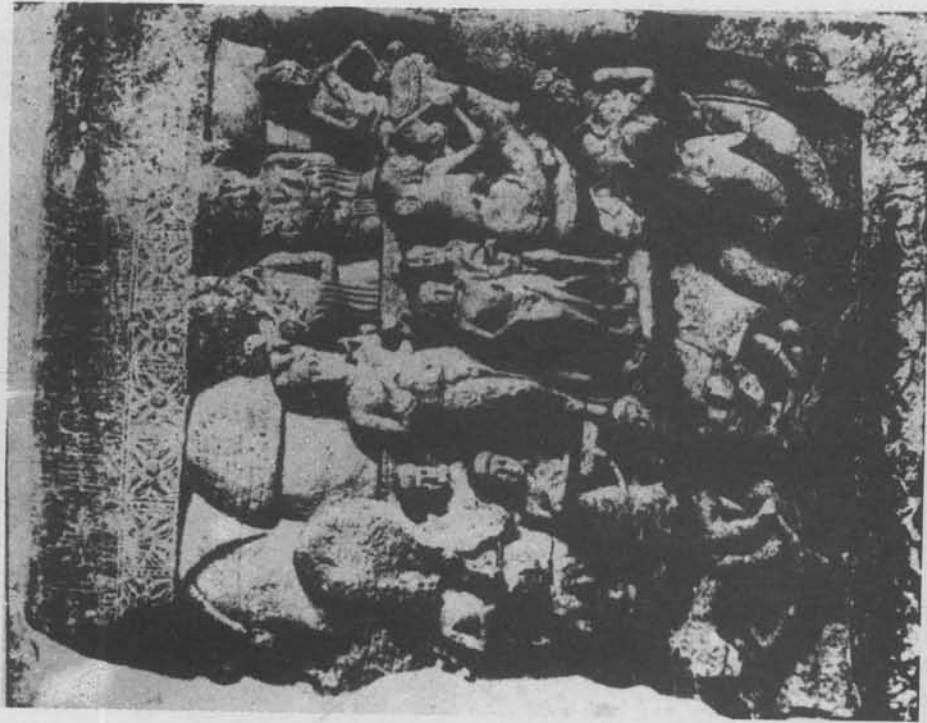


Plate 23. Vanadevata from Amarāvati, Guntur
District, A.P.



Plate 24. Vardhmāna from Biccovolu East
Gōdāvari district, A.P.

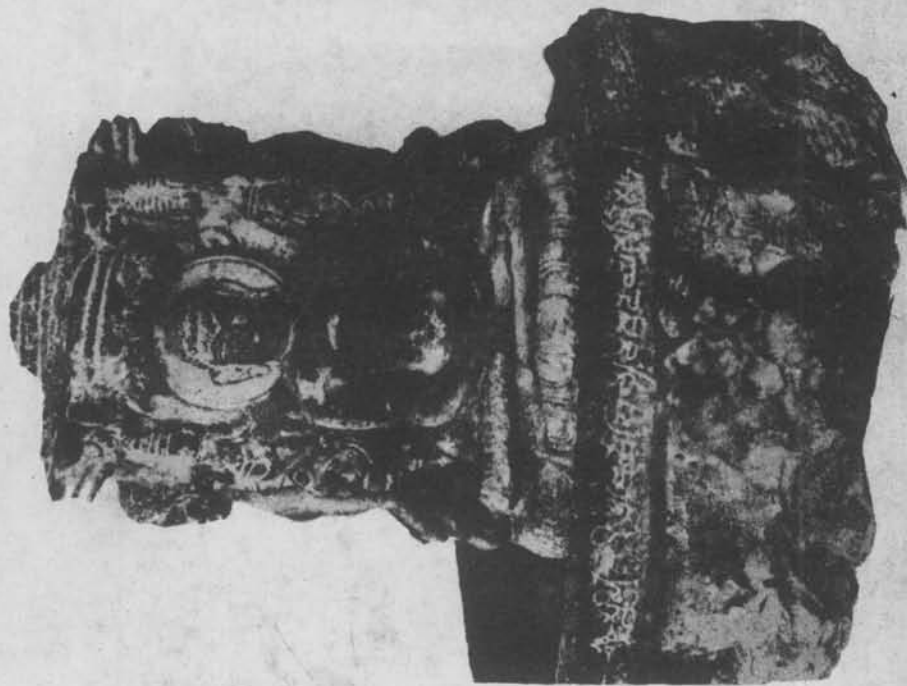


Plate 25. Chaumukha from Dānavulapōdu
Cuddapah district, A.P.

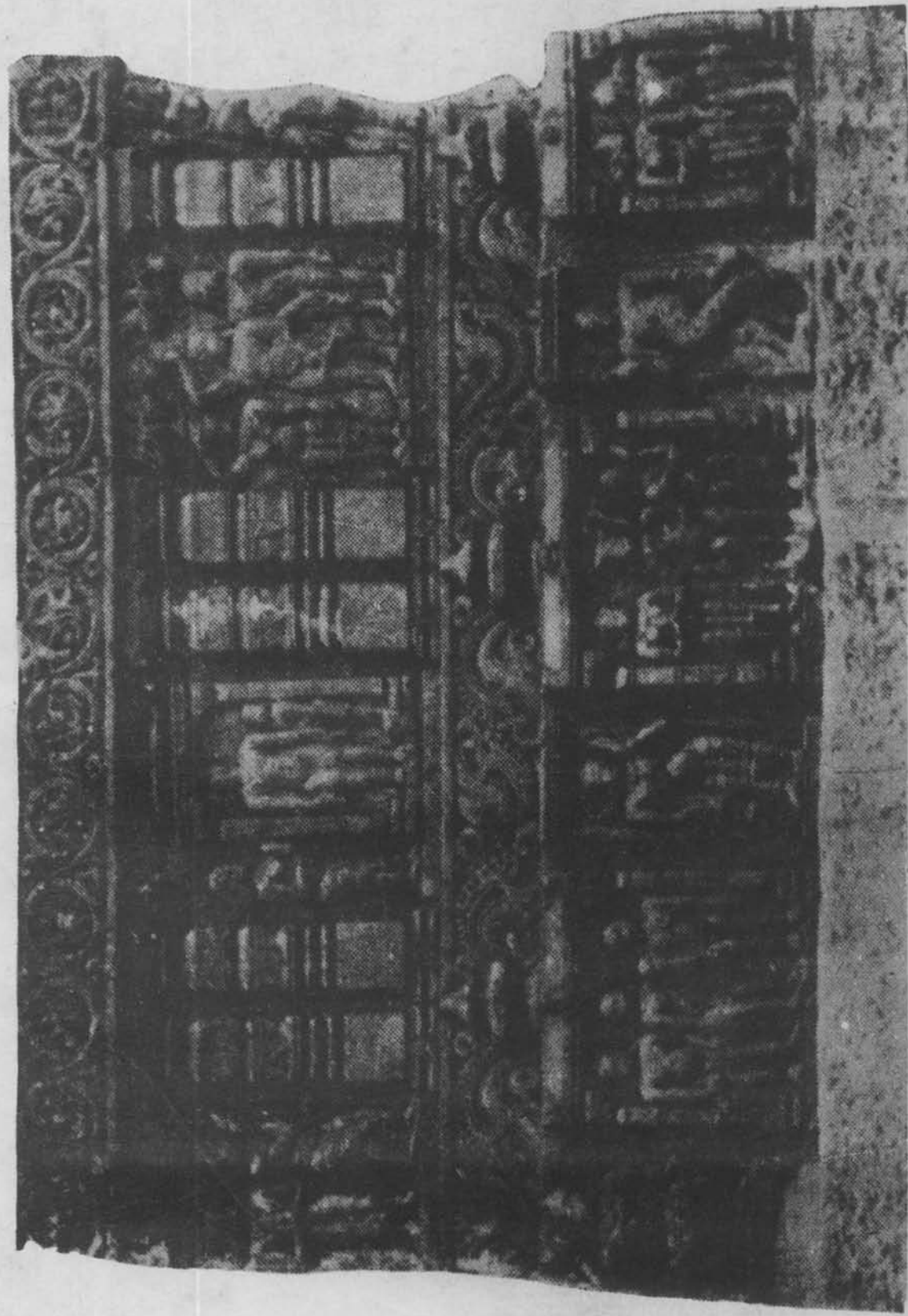


Plate 26. Jinālaya, Jaina teachers, Jaina devotees and practices from Kambadur, Anantpur district, A.P.

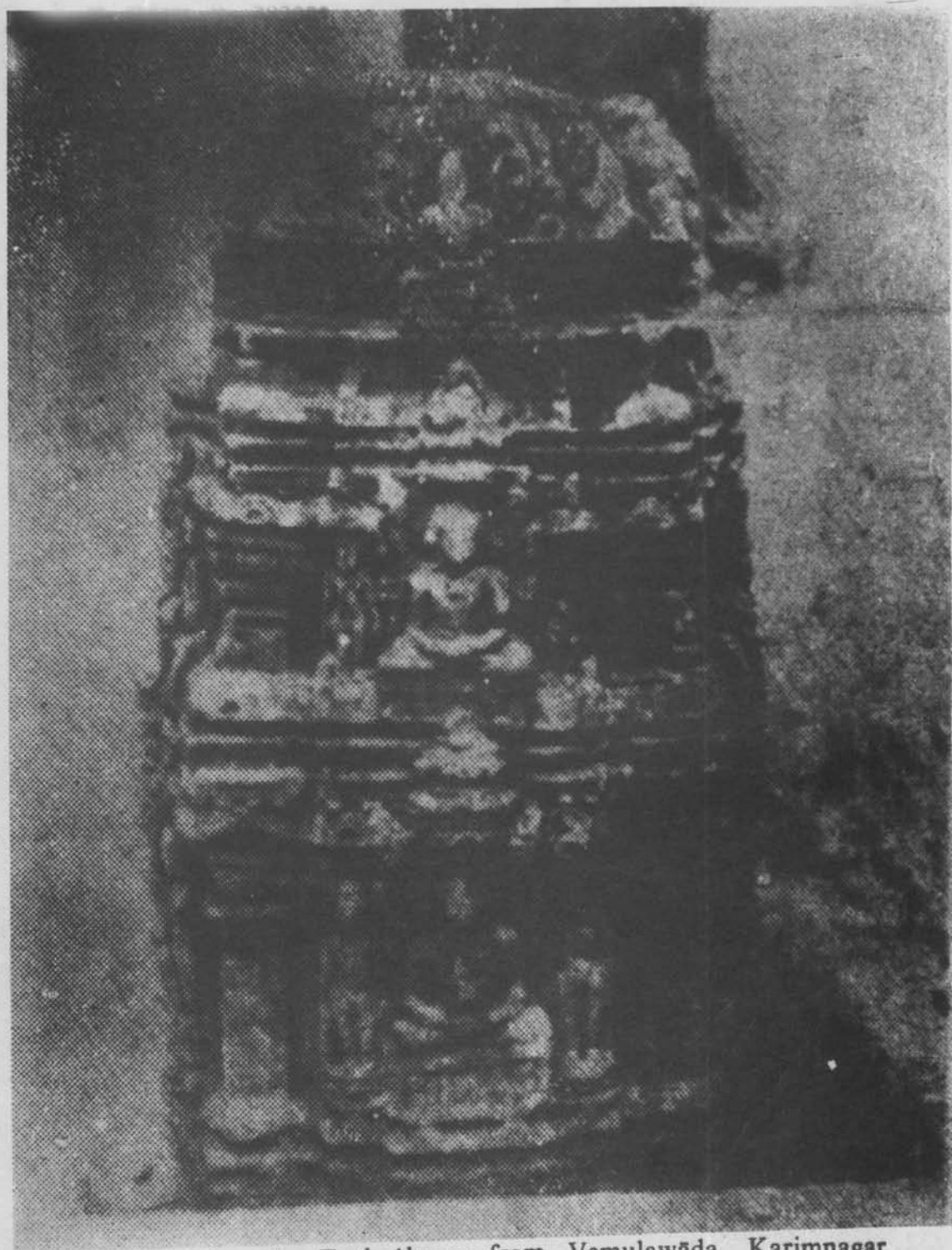


Plate 27. Chauviśa Tirthaṅkaras from Vemulawāda, Karimnagar district, A.P.

Dr. P. Arundhati, M.A., Ph.D. a distinguished indologist and an archaeologist was born in 1942 at Telaprolu a placid village in Krishna District of Andhra Pradesh. She took her B.Sc. degree from Science College, Osmania University, Hyderabad. She obtained her M.A. degree in Religion and Culture from the same University in 1966. Her academic zeal for research engaged her in her doctoral thesis entitled "*Religious life and thought in Āndhra Deśa from Satavahanas to 1000 A.D.*" and she was awarded Ph.D. degree by the Osmania University in 1984 for her outstanding thesis.

Her academic interest are varied and her specialisation includes the subjects on art, culture, Religion, crafts and archaeology. She acquired vast experience in various professional fields. She served in various capacities as Assistant Curator, Excavator, Registering Officer and presently the Administrative Officer in the Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi. An academician, museologist, archaeologist and an administrator she made her mark with notable distinction.

She keeps herself engaged in academic pursuits with her wonted scholarship and sensitivity. She is member of many learned bodies in India like Andhra Pradesh History Congress, Museums Association of India, Crafts Museum, New Delhi etc.

Her independent excavation at Nag-nur in Karimnagar district is very much rewarding and her archaeological exploration in many of the Telengana districts yielded potential results. Her unfailing love for Religious studies warrants approbation from all the lovers of indology.

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