PART IV

CULTURAL CONDITIONS

Chapter I Polity and Administration
Chapter II Society, Economy and Education
Chapter III Religion and Philosophy
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1. **POLITY AND ADMINISTRATION**

The study of the political philosophies and administrative institutions in Andhradesā, during the Vīṣṇukundin period is difficult, for want of relevant literature. But they could not have been much different from those prevailing about the time, in other parts of the country. Ārthasāstra literature and the relevant chapters in the Itihasa-purāṇa and Ś sacrific works provide the theoretical background for the study, but the scanty inscriptional sources have to be mainly depended on, for factual information.

I. Concepts of State and Government:

The Śāntis and purāṇas composed about the time simply recount the traditional accounts of the origin of State, that Brahma created it for the protection of Varnāśrama-dharma, the Danda being its functional force. The Śāntiparvan of the Mahābhārata explains the Danda, as the protector of the material prosperity and spiritual character of the people; and its absence or failure results in Matsyānyāya. Finally it was defied and described as of Viṣṇu.

Another theory, more concrete than the above, was the Saptāṅga theory, which explains the state as the
organic unity of seven components (aṅgas), called prakṛtis. They are the svāmin the king, amātya the Council of Ministers forming the Government in the modern sense of the State, Janapada or Rāstra representing the territory, Dūrgā the fort, kosa treasury, bala army and mitra the allies. The Vākāṭaka inscriptions vaguely allude to the Saptāṅga theory and the Viṣṇukundin inscriptions of the time of Vikramendravarm II refer to the fact that he was placed on the throne by prakṛtimandala. Obviously, the term denotes ministers, high dignitaries and the faithfull vessels among the seven components, for the rest are inanimate. Probably, the Saptāṅga theory was the modified form of the earlier theory, which enunciates that sovereignty of the State rests with the ratnina.

A. The King and Divinity in Kingship:

Kautilya's simplification of the seven organs of the State into two, the king and the kingdom, shows that monarchy came to be the recognised form of government. Obviously, it was the outcome of the consolidation of the monarchical power which was in course of time deified. Mahābhārata identifies Danda, the soul of the State with king illustrating the phenomenon. Manu says that the very person of the
king was divine, composed by Brahma, taking the eternal
elements of Indra, Vāyu, Yama, the Sun, Agni, Varuṇa and
the Moon. Nārada \(^{12}\) considers him as Indra, moving on
earth in human form and warns that even an unworthy
king should not be disrespected. The Nītisāra of
Kāmandaka \(^{13}\) reflects the same spirit in declaring that
the king should not be taken lightly, for it leads to
many troubles, both internal and external, ultimately
resulting in the dissolution of the State.

Scholars \(^{14}\) point out that the deification of the
king's person was as old as the Vedic period, when
priests devised sacrifices like Rājasūya, Ṛṣvamedha and
others for elevating the king to the rank of god on
earth. Manu's ordinance mentioned above reflects the
same spirit of the Vedic tradition. Inscriptions
report the same pattern of consolidation of the
monarchical authority and the attribution of divinity.
Some Sātavāhana and Ikṣvāku inscriptions describe the
kings as appatihate saṅkape \(^{15}\) (skt. Apratihate
saṅkalpeḥ), and the kings performed Vedic sacrifices,\(^{16}\)
The Guptas in North India and the Pallavas in South
India too performed Ṛṣvamedhas,\(^{17}\) described themselves
as of an unabated power\(^{18}\) and attributed divinity by
comparing themselves with Lokapālas\(^{19}\) or the divine
rulers of the world.
That the Viṣṇukundin rulers also claimed divinity is clear by the sacrifices performed by Mādhavavarman II and Vikramendravarman II crediting him with several others. His description of the king as to have obtained supreme authority over all the living beings by performing Sarvamedha and that he attained the status of Paramāsthi and Devātideva, fulfills the process. Likewise, Vikramendravarman II described himself as Indra in prowess. Thus, the attribution of divinity to monarchy was begun by Mādhavavarman II and the process was completed by Vikramendravarman II.

The devotionalism during the early centuries of the Christian era introduced the element of Viṣṇu in the divinity attributed to the kingship. Mahābhārata describing Danda as personification of king and Viṣṇu indicates the same development. The epilogue of Chapter 59 of Sāntiparvan explains the Viṣṇu element in the king more explicitly. The epithets such as the Lords of Wealth and Lords of Wealth and Earth, borne by the early Pallavas and the Cālukyas of Bādami reflect the same development. The later had further described themselves as ever increasing in power and prosperity by the mercy of god Narāyaṇa and they could subdue the host of their opponents under the banner of Varāha, bestowed on them by the God. These concepts signify the royal ownership on land and the Cālukyan crest symbol, Boar,
might have stood for their bearing the burden of the kingdom. The Boar incarnation of Viṣṇu was particularly becoming popular in art, about the fifth century A.D.²⁷ The Viṣṇukūṇḍins claimed for themselves possession of chivalry, principles and strength of Viṣṇu,²⁸ and often compared themselves with the god.²⁹ They had Lion as their crest symbol,³⁰ which was an incarnation of Viṣṇu, as much as Boar, the Cālukya symbol.

ii. Qualifications of the King:

Kautilya was the staunch advocate of absolute monarchy, but not of its divine form.³¹ He emphasised on the personal accomplishments and diligence of the king in discharging his responsibilities, as the essential requisites for his success. His prescription of the four essential qualifications³² for the king, 1) Noble Birth, 2) Wisdom, 3) Enthusiasm, and 4) Personal ability and the elaborate course of education and training³³ as well as the routine that kept him engaged with the State affairs for the most part of the day and night.³⁴ The Viṣṇukūṇḍi kula or gotra³⁵ probably to satisfy the Kautilya prescription of noble birth and the kings performed horse sacrifices to strengthen the claim. Perhaps, theirs was not an isolated example as several other dynasties of the period³⁶ like the Vākāṭakas, the Early Pallavas, and the Śālaṅkāyanas, assumed the dynastic appellation...
after attaining power and prestige and performed horse-sacrifices. The fact that eleven horse-sacrifices performed by Mādhavavarman II, who was perhaps, the first to claim the dynastic appellation, the Viṣṇukūndi, clearly illustrates the point.37 Almost all the later records of the family tracing the descent from the king38 just as the two branches of the Vākāṭakas claimed descent from Pravarasena I, who performed four Asvamedhas, supports the conclusion.

As for the other prescriptions, the Viṣṇukūndins39 like the other kings of the period in general, claimed that they were repositories of the three abilities, viz. the enthusiasm, wisdom and power.40

iii. Duties of the King: Rājārṣi:

Sāntiparvan investing divinity in the kingship was conditional41 and clarified its own stand42 by the statement that it was because of the sacred duty of the king to upkeep dharma. It declares that dharma, pertaining to one's own caste (jāti) or profession (varṇa) depend on the Kṣetradharma,43 or the power of the state in enforcing them. Similarly Manu ordains44 that the kingdom prospers only when the purity of castes is maintained. Apart from the reference to Matsyanyāya, Sāntiparvan dilates, at length, on the danger of moral
and spiritual laxity among the people, when the kingdom was not properly governed. Finally, it says that one has to have the king at the first instance and property and wife later, because in the absence of king, one cannot enjoy, having the other two. The Viṣṇukūṇḍin kings were known for their spotless fame to have ruled the people well, as stated in one of their inscriptions.

The kings of the Deccan and South India of the period under study had time and again declared themselves as the upholders of the caste orders. Similarly, Govindavarman was very much interested in maintaining the varṇāśrama-dharma and patronising men of high castes, though himself was a Buddhist.

The king was expected to make donations of lands and villages to temples and learned Brāhmaṇas as well as to maintain the gifts made by kings in the past. Mahābhārata says that a king who does not satisfy Brāhmaṇas by gifts would not prosper. Govindavarman and Indravarman II were givers of a variety of gifts such as lands, cows, gold, brides etc. The former built many temples and vihāras, tanks, gardens etc., of public utility and also repaired many such things of the past, while the latter established ghatikas. The numerous and various sacrifices performed by Mādhavavarman II must have been accompanied by immense gifts to Brāhmaṇas.
The Chikkullā and the Tummalagudem two sets of charters register the gifts made to religious institutions.

It may be noted that diligent discharge of responsibilities as well as liberal grants seem to have brought the concept of Rājārṣi into existence. The term stands for a king with saintly disposition and the ideal was apparently cherished as early as the Sātavāhana period. The early Pallava records often describe the kings as having had all the qualities of a Rājārṣi. Vikramandaravarma II called himself as one possessed of all the qualities of a Rājārṣi, and similarly referred to his ancestors, when their greatness was recounted. Obviously, the ritualism of Mādhavavarman II and the liberal grants made by Govindavarman and Indravarman II, in addition to their political achievements, both at war and peace, qualified them to be called as Rājārṣis. The concept seems to have become popular with the growing popularity of the epic literature, with such personalities like Bhīṣma and Yudhīśthira in Mahābhārata as well as Janaka and Daśaratha in Rāmāyaṇa. Political and sociological ideologies of the period were made transmitted through their utterances, evidently to standardise, or traditionalise them. As a result, the epics and purāṇas swelled in size with the incorporation of the Smṛti-Arthaśāstra material, sometimes even incoherently with the continuity of the narration.
iv. The Queen:

The queen was ranked among ratniness in Vedic period, but the growing absolutism of kingship, as well as the general relegation of woman in socio-economic spheres resulted in retrogression of her position. She seems to have lost the importance she had in the Vedic period and came to be reckoned only as part of the Svāmin, the king, in the body-politic of the time. However, she must be wielded some influence on the king, at least, in policy making. The role of the queen in the religious and cultural aspects of the polity can be best illustrated by the Sātavāhana and Ikṣvāku queens and queen-mothers making liberal gifts to religious institutions in their personal capacity. Paramabhaṭṭārikā Mahādevī constructing a vihāra at Indrapurā and her husband, Govindavarman, granting the gift of two villages shows the custom was still in practice, as late as the Viṣṇukundin period.

Political relations between kingdoms were usually consolidated by means of matrimonies and the Viṣṇukundin history itself offers two illustrations. Marital relations in some cases contributed to enhance the social prestige of the king, as the oft repeated Viṣṇukundin relations with the Vākāṭakas, in the former's inscriptions seem to suggest.
II. Expansionism and Foreign policy:

It has been pointed out above\(^64\) that the Visnukundins were the only power that brought political integration of Andhradeśa, after the disappearance of the Sātavāhanas. Apart from the customary description in their inscriptions that the feet of the kings shone with the radiance of the diamonds in the tiaras of numerous potentates,\(^65\) Indravarman II was especially eulogised as one who obtained suzerainty over all the Cakravartikṣetra.\(^66\) D.C. Sircar\(^67\) has pointed out that the Deccan and South India must have been looked upon as Cakravartikṣetra, while the whole Indian subcontinent was held so, in a broader sense.\(^68\) The Tummalagudem (set II) charter describing Mādhavavarman II as the lord of all the land between the three oceans and the river Revā in the North, points out to this concept, as held by the kings of the period.

ii. Royal Titles Signifying Expansionism:

Despite their claims for paramount position, the Visnukundins contented with the simple title of Mahārāja\(^69\) and even with the simpler one Rāja.\(^70\) But the titles could not be supposed to mean feudatory status, as some scholars in the past supposed.\(^71\) At the same time some other records refer to titles like
adhipati or adhirāja, held by the kings.

Sankaranarayanan suggests that the latter one denotes viceregal, or feudatory status, in an attempt to read something out of the obliterated lines in the Īpūrū (set II) plates, but the suggestion is not acceptable for the title clearly stands for supremacy over vassals.

Eventhough, the eleven Asvamedhas performed by Mādhavavarman II suggests his conquests among other things, the two epithets Paramēṣṭhi and Devātīdīvāra given to him are much significant in the context. The former can be literally understood in two ways: the first, as the Lord Creator, Brahmā; and the second, as a great performer of Sacrifices (Param means the great and īsti means a sacrifice, as well as one who offered a sacrifice.) D.C. Sircar suggests that the two epithets denote the process of deification of the king by his successors, and that he was looked upon as equivalent with God-Creator, Brahmā and as the god of gods, respectively. Pāramēṣṭhi, or the status of a Paramēṣṭhi, was referred to in the Vedic literature as a synonym to paramountcy and the term in the Viṣṇukūḍin inscriptions may as well be taken in that sense. The title Paramēśvara, held by Pulakēśin II, after his conquests, was perhaps a synonym to the Viṣṇukūḍin title.
The other title Devātideva is clearly an instance of deification of the king, though Sankaranarayanan tries to interpret it as Rājadhirāja. The title Rājadhirāja or any of its equivalents were quite unfamiliar to the Deccan and South India of the period. The Viṣṇukundin records accrediting the kings with the overlordship of Cakravartikṣetra, do not refer to this title. His argument that rāja and deva were synonyms in Sanskrit literature has no more relevance in the context, except supporting the concept of divinity of the king's person, which fact has been sufficiently explained above.

iii. Dharmavijaya and the Sāmanta System;

Eventhough, the expansionism adopted by the kings in ancient India was the political aspect of the process of Indianisation, it was seriously limited by some hard realities, apart from the geographical factors, such as the vastness of the country. Ancient Indian kingdoms, especially in Deccan and South India, with which the present study mainly concerns, were petty tribal organisations, perhaps, having had their own cultural traits and autonomous governments. The short lived Mauryan and Sātavāhana examples in the past amply demonstrated the possibility of welding them together
into a single political and cultural unit. The country remained a conglomeration of heterogenous tribal states, during and after their suzerainty as before. Hence the concept of suzerainty has to be properly understood, before it is applied to any dynasty or king, that claimed it. The concept of Dharmavijaya explains the mode of expansionism of the kings in ancient India and the suzerainty they wielded.

A. The Concept of Dharmavijaya:

The concept of Dharmavijaya has been explained in the treatises on polity in contrast to the Lobha or Æuravijaya, as the conquest by fair means, followed by the restoration of the defeated to his position. The victor would formally impose his suzerainty on the defeated and the latter would agree to pay tribute to the former, in token of his loyalty to him. The South Indian expedition of Samudragupta is a good example of the policy. Further, the victor was ordained to respect the socio-religious traditions, to patronise the festivals and amusements of the conquered people.

The terms Dharmavijaya and Dharmaśrāja one often comes across in the inscriptions of several South Indian dynasties, and kings in some of the dynasties styling themselves as Dharmaśrājas, perhaps, convey
the same meaning. The Tūndī and the Tummalagūḍem (set II) charters describe the donor king, Vikramendravarman II and his father Indravarman II, as Dharmavijayins, thus declaring that their policy of expansion was not ruthless conquest and annexationism, aimed at military aggrandizement. The records further elucidate that the Viṣṇukūṇḍins obtained the obedience of the vassals of others, by their prudence, strength and aptitude. Some petty chiefs of their neighbourhood such as the प्रथविमुल dynasty may have voluntarily submitted to their overlordship, in the manner advised by such authorities like Kautilya. The matrimonial alliances of Govindavarman and Indravarman II illustrate their conciliatory attitude with their vassals and diplomacy in the course of their policy of Dharmavijaya.

B. Sāmanta System:

The sāmanta system was obviously a result of the policy of Dharmavijaya in which the defeated loses his sovereignty, if not his kingdom. He had to pay tributes to his overlord in token of his obedience. The early Pallava inscriptions, state that they wrested the abodes of fortunes of other kings by their own valour. The Tummalagūḍem (set II) charter similarly describe that Mādhavavarman II forcibly appropriated
the title of kingship of other kings. The descriptions of the kings in terms such as their feet shone with the brilliance from the tiaras of the potentates (sāmantas) all over the earth, indicates that the loyalty of vassals was a criterion in recounting the greatness of a powerful king.

As explained above, mitra, in other words a subordinate ally, or a loyal vassal was one of the seven components of the state, prakritmandala. Mādhavavarman II described himself as one who won the strength, loyalty and faculties of the vassals, which amply illustrates the pattern of obedience expected by the suzerain from his vassals. They were expected not only to pay tributes but also to serve the suzerain militarily and administratively. The records of Vikramendravarman II report that he was enthroned by prakrītmandala, which included loyal vassals like pṛthvīmūla, who must have played prominent role in it. The same vassal uplifting the fortunes of the Viṣṇukundin house, standing by his overlord in time of crisis, amply illustrates the vassal-suzerain relations and the importance of the Sāmantas in the body-politic of the time.

The Sāmanda system forced the petty chiefs to
excessively rely on military strength, in defence of their sovereignty against the expansionism of their more powerful neighbours. Secondly, it had constrained them in fulfilling their obligations to the suzerain, viz. the payment of tribute and rendering military service. In either case, it left them no alternative, but to oppress their subjects for larger revenues, exacted in the form of heavier rate of taxation.

In addition to the subjection of the defeated chiefs to their overlordship, the victors seem to have conferred military fiefs on some powerful and faithful generals, to safeguard their interests in the conquered lands. Mādhavavarman II stationing Ranaḍuvēya in Kalinga95 illustrate the point. The gifts of lands and villages to Brāhmans and temples were another means of consolidating their hold. Both these instances show that the kings enjoyed ownership right in the conquered countries and the royal epithets such as Prthuvallabha and Śṛipṛthuvallabha support the conclusion.96 They seem to have thus, justified their collection of tribute from the vassals. The Brāhmaṇa donees and the local chiefs were acting as middleman between the ruler and the ruled and it was a salient feature of ancient Indian Feudalism, as some scholars point out.
A study of Parīhāra permitted to the Brāhmaṇa donees and mentioned in the inscriptions point out the oppression to which the people in the villages other than the gift villages, were subjected to by the kings and their military officials. The dues expected from them were not only in the form of taxes paid in cash or kind, but also in the form of several customary services.

Whatever may be the propriety in equating the Sāmanta system with Feudalism, it had a two fold evil effect on the polity. Firstly, the political authority was far removed from the people, who were increasingly subjected to their respective local chiefs. Secondly, there was the excessive reliance of the central government, i.e., the king on the sāmantas, on whose loyalty, depended his strength and stability. The fact was amply clear from the instance in the reign of Vikramendravarman II who against disloyal vassals had to heavily rely on the fidelity of the house of prthvīmūla.

iv. Religion in Relation to Expansionism:

As mentioned above, religion and ritualism were serving the purposes of the king, from at least, the latter Vedic period and the same continued into the
period under study. But more than the vague Vedic ritualism, the kings during the period seem to have found the gifts of lands and villages to Brāhmaṇs and temples as a more potent means of extending and consolidating their authority. There is reason to believe that the Viṣṇukundin records were issued from the military camps or enroute to or from battle fields. As such, they had some political significance, apart from the well-known factor that they were given to patronise religion and culture.

R.S. Sharma suggests that the gifts were the factors which promoted feudalism and royal absolutism, but D.C. Sircar disagrees with the view. However a close study of the inscriptions proves that they were made in favour of Brāhmaṇ settlers from outside. The pōlamūru plates of Mādhavavarman II registering the gift of the village pōlamūru in Guḍḍādi viṣaya to a Brāhmaṇ, who hails from Karmerāṭra is an example. Brāhmaṇs of the conquered countries might also have been granted such gifts, by the victors, in order to influence the community. In either way, the Brāhmaṇ donees were expected to preach the values of traditions such, as, the Varnādrama-dharma, the divinity of the kingship and the merit of being loyal to the king, as enshrined in epics and law books. Thus they seem to
have served the purpose of the kings by preaching
conquered countries, obedience to the king through
religious means. The gifts of lands and villages
to Brāhmans, with several parīhāras, helped the king
in consolidating his conquests, by winning the obedience
of the people.

III. Checks on Royal Power:

The foregoing analysis, might suggest that kings
of the period assumed absolute powers and that the
polity was more or less theocratic. But his powers
were limited both theoretically and practically.

A. Law: The Theoretical Limitation:

Bhārata 105 saying that the people obey the king
because of the sacred duty he has undertaken and so long
as he believes that good acts yield good results clearly
indicates that the divinity attributed to him was
conditional. He was warned that indulgence in vices,
greediness 106 and oppressive taxation 107 were harmful
for himself, his family and the kingdom.108 Mahābhārata 109
recognises regicide when there was no alternative left
for the people to dispose off an evil king. Kāmandaka 110
says that the king enjoys the kingdom so long as he
follows Dharma, which alone brings prosperity and
fame to king and the kingdom. It is thus clear that
the ultimate sovereignty in the state rests with Dharma, and with the people.\(^{111}\)

Dharma, or the sacred law was to be obtained from the śūtra and Śārīti works, which codified the traditional usages of different religions, castes, and industrial as well as mercantile guilds.\(^{112}\) Hence, the king was not usually required to make fresh laws,\(^{113}\) but was only to implement it. Nārada\(^{114}\) instructed him to enforce the laws and customs adopted by the guilds and approve their action. Brhaspati\(^{115}\) ordained him to recognise what all the guilds formulated as law and adopt it. Thus, the law-making, which was the chief factor promoting royal absolutism was deprived to the king.

The title Dharmaḥarāja\(^{116}\) and epithets like Viḍhi vihita sarva maryādesa,\(^{117}\) occurring in the Early Pallava inscriptions of 4th and 5th centuries A.D. and the title Paramedhārīmika\(^{118}\) applied to Govindavarman in the Īpūrū (set I) plates show that the kings scrupulously adhered to Dharma. The description of Mādhavavarman II\(^{119}\) also clearly points out his abilities and accomplishments that kept him on the path of Dharma.

B. Decentralisation: The Practical Limitation:

More than the scriptural injunctions, the decentralisation of royal power, affected by the Sāmanta
system and the gifts of lands and villages to Brāhmaṇas were more practical limitations on royal absolutism. The primitive tribal affiliations as well as the self-sufficient village economy, organised by different castes and professional groups, each under its own headman, made the village as an autonomous political unit. Discharging of the judicial functions by the village headman and the council of village Elite (Mahattaras) "removed a powerful engine of oppression from the control of the king." Thus, the pañcāyat system of village administration, was a potential means of local autonomy as "the loyalty of the individual member was as much, if not more, to his social group as it was to the sovereign." 

IV. Administration:

Inscriptions of the time, especially the Viṣṇukundin, are so brief that they do throw much light on the official designations and their duties, in the bureaucratic machinery. However, a general study of the records of the ruling dynasties of the Deccan and South India, of the period, supplemented by a comparative study of the systems prevailing in north India, as known from inscriptions and literary sources help in this context.
A few records of the period after to Amātyas, one of the components of the state, according to the Septāngā theory, but as an important cadre in the administrative set up. Kamandaka says that more than the king's personal ability and enthusiasm, the ministers account for the success of the state as Indra was victorious not only by his own ability, but also by the help of Bṛhaspati.

The records of the Vatsagulma branch of the Vākāṭakas show that the posts of ministers were hereditary and they were chiefly instrumental in carrying the administration, especially when the king was a pleasure-seeker like Devasena, or else a child, incapable of carrying on the administration. The Prakṛtimandala, which enthroned Vikramandravarman II must have included the Council of Ministers. Thus, they were also enough powerful to be the king-makers.

The Polamūrū plates report of officials called Mahāmātrās, whose office was a continuation from the Mauryan and Śātavāhana times. But it cannot be ascertained whether in the Viśnukundin times they enjoyed the same status and powers as in earlier days. Further this is the lone reference to such an official cadre and the evidence is not free from doubt.
The Gupta inscriptions mention a class of officials called **Kumārāmātyas** from whom important officials like Mahādandanāyaka, Mahābalādhikṛta, etc. were recruited. A recently discovered Satavahana seal from Chābrōlo reads *amātyaputta*, literally meaning the son of a minister. But, the term reminds of Kumārāmātyas and seem to be a synonym to it. As such, the office of Kumārāmātyas goes back in antiquity to the Satavahana times. The Viṣṇukundins might have adopted the system, which appears as well in Keliṅga inscriptions of the time. Altaker opined that the amātyas of the records of the Pallavas and their contemporaries in South India were probably discharging the functions as those of the Kumārāmātyas. But the evidence of Keliṅga inscriptions proves the existence of a separate cadre of Kumārāmātyas.

Some inscriptions of early Āndhra and Keliṅga dynasties report designations like Desākṣapaṭalādhikṛta, Talavara (or Taṇḍivara) and Mahātalvāra, Mahāpratihāra and Mahādandanāyaka, and Rahasādhikṛta (Skt. Rahasyādhikṛta), etc. Some of these terms also found in the Gupta inscriptions testify to the similarities in governmental organisation between the North and South during the period under consideration.
8. Local Administration:

The Vīṇūkundin records mention the territorial divisions as *visāya, rāstra* and *dēsa*, more or less synonymously. Such local names as Karmarāstra and Guddādi-visāya were current even before and continued into the Vīṇūkundin times. It is not possible to ascertain their respective sizes and whether they stood for districts or provinces. Hence it is "dangerous to draw a precise prima facie conclusion about the extent of an administrative division merely from its name." The contemporary Pallava records also mention territorial divisions as *rāstras*, but the āhāras of the Sātavāhana times, and which continued into the Śālaṅkayana period, do not appear in the Vīṇūkundin inscriptions.

The Pallava, Śālaṅkayana, and Vākāṭaka inscriptions mention official designations like *Rāthihke* (skt. Rāṣṭrika), *Desādhīpata*, and *Visapata* in connection with local administration. The term *Deśādhikta* might be a synonym for Desādhīpata and the three officials must be in charge of *Rāstra, Dēsa* and *Visāya*, respectively. The Śālaṅkayana inscriptions seem to mention Desādhīpata and Visapata alternatively, perhaps, suggesting that there was no clear distinction between dēsa and visāya.
A class of officials called \textit{adhyakṣa} appear to be in charge of some lesser divisions under Desādhikāpis and Viśayapātis. Adhikātras (officials) and Rajapurugas (men of the king) mentioned along with \textit{adhyakṣa} were perhaps a subordinate cadre of officers, from whom niyogas, niyuktas and others of equal rank were recruited. The Īpūrū (set II) plates of Mādhavavarman II addressed to Saravarājapurasas, with no specific designations supports the contention.

The officers such as niyogas (perhaps the same as naiyogikas) niyuktas and āyuktas were responsible for the maintenance of records concerning land transactions, collection of land revenue and other royal dues. The conclusion is supported by the fact that they were informed about the gift of the village and were instructed to exclude the villages from their jurisdiction of revenue collection.

The king seems to have had his orders conveyed to all villages, through sāsana saṅcarantakas or sāsana saṅcārins, who were perhaps required to carry the royal order to different parts of the kingdom. The \textit{Arthaśāstra} advises the king to employ \textit{cāras}, or spies to know the happenings in remote parts of his kingdom. The Tummalagudem (set I) charter refers to the institutions of \textit{cāras}. 
The prakrit inscriptions of the Satavahana and the early Pallavas mention a class of officials called Gumlka, (Skt. Gaulmika). Scholars suggest that he was in charge of a small troop of army, called Gulma, which was stationed in some big villages, for the maintenance of law and order in the area.

C. The Village Administration:

The royal charters of the time were mostly addressed to the villagers, headed by their headman, requesting them to receive the donees courteously and to pay all that was due to them. It suggests that the village was enjoying an amount of autonomy, by virtue of its economic self-sufficiency. It seems to have served as a potent factor in the decentralisation of political power.

The Viśṇukundin inscriptions do not refer to the village headman, as the Śālaṅkāyana records do. But the institution must have continued certainly in the period, as the village administration remains mostly the same till recent times. The headman was perhaps assisted in the administration, by a council, sometimes referred to in the inscriptions as Gramakūta, consisting the Kulaputtas (Skt. Kulaputras) and Bhata(da)manuṣas, as suggested by the Śālaṅkāyana
inscriptions. Similarly, the visayas also had
councils, composed of elders called Visayamahattaras,
known from the pōlemūru plates.

D. Revenue Administration:

Except the Tummalagūdam (set I) charter, no
other Viṣṇukundin inscription gives information about
the taxes collected from the people. The record
mentions different kinds of taxes like danda, kara,
vīṭi, udraṅga (?) bhāga and bhoga. Of these taxes the
danda seems to be the penal levy on criminals, kara
seems to be the tax on craft and mercantile guilds as
well as an agriculture. Bhāga was the royal share
in agricultural produce, where kara was not collected.
Some scholars point out that bhāga, the share of the
king was collected from State lands, cultivated by
tenants whereas kara was the tax on agriculturists, who
cultivated their own farms. Bhāga might have included
king's share in the mineral wealth and industrial
production as well as a tax on the gambling.
Bhoga was perhaps, the royalty paid on enjoyment of
position, property etc. The taxes received in kind
were termed as deya and meya, (weighed and measured)
and as hirapya, when collected in cash.

ii. The Parihāras:

Donative inscriptions since the time of the
Sātavāhanas mention some privileges of exemption, called parihāras, granted to the donees. They were sometimes mentioned as eighteen in number but no inscription mentions them in full. A study of the Parihāras, as reported by the inscriptions enables us to understand the tax-structure and royal dues prevailing at the time. Most important among them was the exemption from kara. The others were exemptions from: 1) the entry of military and para-military force; 2) the customary presentation of cows and bulls; 3) the payment of royalty on production of flowers and milk; 4) provision of grass, hides and charcoal; from the provision of pots of boiled rice; or rice and vegetables for cooking; fire wood, shelter and cots, for the king or his officers on tour; obviously when they were on tours; 5) from the payment of royalty on the purchase of fermented liquors, digging of salt and forced labour. The gift village was excluded from the jurisdiction of provincial administration and was an autonomous administrative unit.

The inevitable conclusion from the study of parihāras is that all villages, except the agrahāras, or Brahmadayas, had to pay the royalties and render the obligatory services as enumerated above. V.V. Mirashi seems to be right in suggesting that
the kings enjoyed right to receive the first born cows and bulls. The animals must have been housed in stables under officers like Vellava and Govellava. Royal gifts of cows and bulls in hundreds and thousands, as reported by the inscriptions of the time, were probably made from such collections.

Mahâbhârata ordains that the king should not tax too heavily, for he might be exposed to the hatred of the people. It emphasized on economy in administration and defence. However, it says that more can be levied on the rich, as they could pay. In general, the treatises ordain that taxation should not be arbitrary, but should be in accordance with the injunctions of the Sâstras. But some scholars observe that taxation in Ancient India was at a very heavy rate, leaving the farmer with only the bare subsistence. But the observation seems to be true with the case of crown lands, where the king collected a sizable share, but not on lands under private cultivation.

Eventhough, the law books prescribed one-sixth as the rate of land revenue, the actual fact seems to be that the rates were to be approved by the village councils.

The Sâmanta system, which obliged the local
chiefs to raise larger amounts of revenue must have heavily fallen on the agriculturist and the rates of land revenue must be different in different regions. Scholars point out several pieces of evidence that the peasant was subjected to tyranny, local chiefs appropriating the fruits of his labour, more than their due. Obviously, the canons of taxation were observed more in the breach, rather than faithful obedience.

NOTES AND REFERENCES


4. Arthasastra, VI, 1. Svāmy-amātya janapade durga kośa
danda mitrāṇī prakṛtayah. Manu replaces durgā with
purā. Kamandaka nītisāra, IV, 1, Paraspar-opakār-
īdām septāṅgaṁ rājyam-ucyate, etc. Manu, IX, 294,
(T. A. C. Burnell) "The master (king) and his
ministers, the (chief) city, the people, the treasury
and army, likewise the ally these indeed are the
seven elements (constituting what is) called a
complete kingdom."

5. Varṣadatam-abhivardhamāna kośa danda sādhana santāna
putra-pautrīnab, CII, V, No. 3, ll. 11-12; No. 4
ll. 8-9, etc.

6. Supra, pt. I, Ch. 2, note

7. Eg. Prthvimūla of the Godāvari plates, Supra, pt. II,
Ch. 4, sect. IIIA and 8 2.

8. For a detailed discussion on the theory, U. N. Ghoshal,
SIHE., pp. 303-8, and R. S. Sharma, Aspects, pp. 132-143.

9. Arthasastra, VIII, 325, rāja-rajyam-iti prakṛti
samkṣepab, p. V. Kane, HDS., III, p. 18, interpreted
the sentence as: The King is the State. See also
NIPTI., p. 299.

10. XII, 15, 2, reads, dāndasya-eva bhayād-eka Nakhādanti
parasparam and in Ch. 68, 8, of the same parvan,
Praja Rājabhayād-eva Nakhādanti parasparam.

11. V, 96 and VII, 4-10, for similar note in Saṁtiparvan,
Ch. 68, verse 43.

12. V. 20.

13. XVIII, 20-23.

15. The Nānāghat inscription of Nāgānīkā describes her husband as *apatihata cakasa* (Skt. *Apratihata Cakrasya*) *ASi*, V, p. 86 ff. l. 2. The Nāgārjunakonda inscriptions describe Vāsiṣṭhiputra Sīrī Cāntamūla, as *Apratihata Saṅkapasa* (Skt. *Apratihata Saṅkalpaasya*) *Epi. Ind.*, XX, p. 24, l. 6-7. The title is closely similar in meaning with the Gupta title *Apratihata*, which occurs in some of their inscriptions.

16. Sātakarnī I and Gautamiputra Sātakarnī among the Sātavāhanas, Vāsiṣṭhiputra Sīrī Cāntamūla of the Ikṣvākus, who performed several Vedic rituals, invariably including *Āvamedhas*, claimed the above said titles. See also above pt. I, Ch. 1, note no. 5.

17. Samudragupta was described as *Cir-oteann-Āvamedhayājīn* Mathurā stone inscription of Candragupta II, *CII*, III, No. 4, pp. 26-27, l. 4-5.


These epithets are typically similar to Dhanada
Varun-Endr-Āntaka sama, the title of Samudragupta
in his Allahābad pradāsti, CII, III, No. 1, text
ll. 26, and Lokadhāmno devasya, Ibid., l. 28 and
Dhanad-Āntaka tuṣita kopa tulyāḥ, of the same king
in his Erān pillar inscription, Ibid., No. 2, l. 3.

20. Supra, pt. I, Ch. 2, note nos. 46 and 143.

21. Ibid., Notes no. 158.

22. Verse 127. Tapasā Bhgavan-Viṣṇu-āviveśa ca bhūmipāṁ
Devavan-naradevanāṁ Namaste-yāṁ jagam nṛpa

23. The Māṅgaḻūr plates, Ind. Ant., V, pp. 154-57, text
line 16, Ömgōḍu plates, Epi. Ind., XV, pp. 246,
1. 17, reading śrīvallabhanāṁ Pallavānāṁ, meaning
that the Pallavas, who were the lords of the
goddess of wealth.

24. The Hyderabad grant of pulakēśin II, Ind. Ant., VI,
pp. 72 ff. ll. 8-9, śrīprthivivallabha, meaning
the lord of the Goddesses of Wealth and Earth.

25. Bhgavan-Nārāyaṇa ceraṇa sām-āśādita vara varāha
lāṁchan-ekṣaṇ-ekṣaṇa vaṣiṣṭ-aṣṭa mahībhṛtānām,
Hyderabad Grant, opp. cit., ll. 3-4.

26. The titles śrī prthivivallabha smack the kings
reserving ownership on land. See below note no. 96.

27. Infra, pt. IV, Ch. 4.

28. The Tummalagūḍem (set II) plates, supra, pt. I,
Ch. 2, note no. 200.

29. The pōlamūrū plates, Ibid., note no. 96. See also
ibid., note no. 227, comparing Govinda-varman with
Viṣṇu.
30. **Supra**, pt. I, Ch. 2, and 3, for the notes and discussion on the Viṣṇukundin seals and coins, and symbols thereon.

31. R.S. Sharma, *Aspects*, p. 186, observes that Kautilya does subscribe to the theory of divinity in kingship, but prescribes the theory for the conversation among the spies, to make the people believed, as an expediency of consolidation of the monarchical power.

32. *Arthasastra*, VI, 1, as *abhigāmika gūpāḥ, prajñā gūpāḥ, uśaṇa gūpāḥ and ātmaśaṃpat*. R.S. Sharma, *Aspects*, p. 33 and *HIPI.*, p. 120.


35. **Supra**, pt. II, Ch. 1.

36. About the origin of the Pālavaṇas and Gālaṅkayanas, see the author's articles in *Itihāsa*, VI, No. 2. Purāṇas report that the Vindhyān region passed into the rule of Kīšakinga Yavana, but inscriptions prove that shortly after the extinction of the Gātavāhāna rule the Vākṣṭakas were ruling the region. It may not be unreasonable to suggest that the Vākṣṭakas were Indianised Yavana.

37. Eventhough the Tummalagūḍah (set I) of Govinda varman refers to the dynasty as Viṣṇukundin, the record is evidently a later copy and thus, its contents belong to a later time.
38. *Supra*, pt. I, Ch. 2, for analysis of the genealogical statements, also see pt. II, Ch. 3, for a detailed discussion.


40. *Abhyuccita sakti siddhi sampannasya*, in the Vilavatiti (1. 4) and Udayendiram (ll. 2-3) plates. The Vēsantā grant, l. 3 refers to the qualities of the king more explicitly, as *Utsāha prabhu mantra sakti sampannasya*, and the same statement can be found in the Śomgōdu (set I) plates, l. 3. The Cālukyan records similarly speak of the kings, the Bādami cave III inscription of Māṅgeśa, l. 3 and the Aihole pradastī of Pulakeśin II, l. 15. For similar Viṣṇukundin claim, *supra*, pt. I, Ch. 2, note 171.


42. See below note no. 105.

43. Ch. 64.

44. Manu, VII, 35, see also HP, p. 152, note 5.

45. Ch. 68, vv. 30-35.

46. Ch. 57, v. 46, *Rājanaṁ prathamam vindet tato bhāryāṁ tato dhanam, Rīṇyāsanti lokasya kuto bhāryā kuto dhanam*.

47. *Supra*, pt. I, Ch. 2, note no. 171.

48. The Nāsik inscription of Gautami Bālasiri, describing Gautamiputra Sātakarni, in l. 6, as *vinivatī cātuvāna sāṅkarasa*, (Skt. *Vinivartī cātuvārṇa sāṅkarasya*). The epithet Kaliyuga *dos-āvasanna*
dharma-oddharaṇa nitya sannaddhaḥ, which appears in the early Pallava Sanskrit charters, perhaps, mean the same, as protection of caste order, when it was affected by the ills in the Kali Age.

49. Supra, pt. I, Ch. 2, note nos. 177 and 54.

50. Supra, pt. II, Ch. 3, sect. IIB.

51. Ch. 12, vv. 30-32.

52. Supra, pt. I, Ch. 2, note no. 179.

53. Ibid., note no. 53.

54. Ibid., note no. 62 and nos. 194 and 215.

55. Gautami Bālaśrī describes herself as Rājārṣivadhū, in the Nāšik inscription, Epi. Ind., VIII, N.I., no. 2, l. 10.

56. The Uruvapalli plates of Yuvamahārāja Viṣṇugopa, l. 13 the pīkirā grant of his son SīmhaVarman, l. 11 and the Vēṣantā grant of Mahārāja Sīmhevarman II, opp. cit., l. 10.

57. The Tummalagūḍem (set II) charter, Supra, pt. I, Ch. 2, note no. 211.

58. Ibid., the analysis of the contents of the record.

59. She was ranked among the Ratnins, for details, vide, U.N.Ghoshal, SIHE., pp. 303-8 and R.S.Sharma, Aspects, pp. 132-143.


61. Supra, pt. I, Ch. 2, note nos. 185 and 186.
62. The marriage of Govindavarman with Parama Mahādevī, supra, pt. III, Ch. 1, sec. IIBx.

63. Supra, pt. II, Ch. 1.

64. Supra, pt. I, Ch. 1, Introduction.

65. Supra, pt. I, Ch. 2, note nos.

66. Ibid., note no. 200.


68. Supra, pt. I, Ch. 2, note no. that the king was the lord of the entire land of ten thousand, in other words, the whole of Indian sub-continent, see also pt. II, Ch. 3, sec. IIIA.

69. Supra, pt. I, Ch. 2, notes nos. 44, 52, 66, 84, 103, 105, 138, 144, 173, 192, 195 and 198.

70. Ibid., notes nos. 72 and 75.

71. A. K. Sur, Ind. Cult., pp. 115. His view was rightly disapproved by D.C. Sircar, Ibid., p. 311.

72. Trikūtamaḷay-ādhipati, held by Mādhavavarman, the donor of the Īpūrū (set II) plates, Supra, pt. II, Ch. 2, note no. 125. The same record mentions one Vīṣṇukundya-ādhirāja, in the grant portion.

73. Sankaranarayanan, Vīṣṇukundis., p. 62,63, tries to identify the Vīṣṇukundya-ādhirāja (see above note 72), with an imaginary prince, Guṇabharta. Neither his creation of the prince, nor interpreting the term adhirāja as simply "a prince" are not acceptable. D.C. Sircar, Successors, p. 134, seems to be right in suggesting that the said adhirāja was perhaps identical with Mādhavavarman II, the donor's grandfather.
Sankaranarayanan, *Vignukundis*, pp. 220, opines more or less similar but tries to justify the epithet, by citing *Anugäsanaparvan* (*mbh*) Ch. 105, vv. 40-41, that one who was anointed after the performance of Räjasüya and performed Aśvamedha, was the ruler of the domain of Prajapati. Apastamba might also have provided for a king to become Paramäṣṭhī, by performing Paundarika, as the doctor referred to, but the ritualism could not be the criterion to decide the status of a king, if he had no power to attain the status in real. The ritualism would only glorify the achievements of the king, but itself could not be the means to it. I have shown above, Pt. III, Ch. 2, sect.I that these descriptions of paramountcy and the corresponding ritualism were accredited to the king in the time of Vikramendravarman II, in accordance with the concepts prevailing in the latter's time.

Pulakädin II of the dynasty assumed the title after his victory over Harsavardhana, the lord of North, and others and was described in the same verbose by his successors, as: *Samara dāta samohatta saṃsākta paränapati parājya-opalabdha Paramäṣvar-āpara nāmadhayaḥ*. The Karnul plates of Ādityaverman, *Epi. Ind.*, XI, pp. 66 ff. 11. 8-11, describe the king as: *Samara saṃsākta sakal-ottarapath Śāvara śrī Harsavardhana parājya-opalabdha Paramäṣvar-āpara nāmadhayaḥ*.
78. Visnukundla, pp. 220-21. He has given up this lexicographical interpretation, at the very end of the same paragraph and comes to the conclusion that it signifies the deification of the kingship and eventually the king. It can be observed that Vikramadityavarman II, who elevated Madhavavarman II to the status of god of gods, described himself as virtuous as Hara, Supra, Pt. I, Ch. 2, note no.

79. The only exception being the Early Pallava king Shivakandavarmen, who adopted the title Dharmamaharajadhiraja, in Hirahadagalli plates, l. 1.

80. Arthashastra, II, i, 382 and MBh., XII, 97, 1-2.

81. He described himself in the context, as grahapa-moksa-anugraha-sva-dharmavijaya rupa. The Allahabad pradesh, opp. cit.

82. Arthashastra, XIII, 5.

83. Vikramadityavarman II described himself in his Thummalagudem (set II) charter l. 15 and accredited Indravarman II in his Tungi copper plates as dharmavijaya. The concept was referred to in the Vilavetti grant (Epi. Ind., XXV, pp. 159, text 11, 11) and the Pipir grants (Ibid., VIII, pp. 159, text 11, 11) describing the kings as vijigur-dharmavijigur.

84. The title often comes across in the Sanskrit charters of the Early Pallavas, the Kadambas and the recently discovered Sālaṅkayana stone inscription from Guntupalli. Correspondingly Western Cālukya kings described themselves as Dharmamahādhirajas.
85. Opp. cit., note no. 83.

86. Supra, pt. I, Ch. 2, note no. 176.

87. Arthasastra, XII, 1, "The king who is weaker than the other should keep peace, who is stronger should make war." quoted by A.L.Basham, The Wonder that was India, p. 126.

88. The Māñgegūr plates of Siṃhavarman, describing him as Parākram-ākrānt-ānye nrpa śrīvallabhānām-Pallavānām.


91. Īpurū (set I) plates II, 5-6, Sva nava bala vijita sakala sāṃvant-ātula bala vinaya naya niyama satva sampannah.

92. Loc. cit.

93. Supra, pt. III, Ch. 4, sect. IIIA.

94. Supra, pt. I, Ch. 2, note no. 222.

95. Supra, pt. III, Ch. 2, sect. IVB 2.

96. D.C.Sircar, SPAAI., pp. 1-2, argues that the royal ownership on lands was only theoretical.

97. Infra, Sect. IV, D, ii.

98. The Īpurū (set I), the spurious Pālamūrū plates and the Vālpūrū stone inscription expressly state that they were issued from military encampments.
99. The Tummalagudem (set II) charter was issued by Vikramendravarman II while he was returning to his capital from a battle field. supra, Pt. I, Ch. 2, for the inscriptions! statements and pt. III, sect. IIA, for full discussion.

100. R.S. Sharma, Aspects, p. 257 and 303.


102. Text II, 22-24 describe the donor and l. 24, says that he was Karmāstre Kṛṣṇa vāstavya....


104. A.S. Altekar, SGAI., p. 51 ff. made a useful discussion on the subject. R.S. Sharma, Aspects, p. 192, concludes that, inspite of the attempts by Kautilya to emancipate polity from the thraldom of the religion, it remained so, because, of the predominantly religious character of our society.

105. MBh., XII, Ch. 59.

106. Manu, VII, 27.

107. See note no. 180 below.


109. XII, 86, 35-36. See also A.S. Altekar, SGAI., p. 102.


111. Thus, the comprehensive view of scriptures on polity is clear that the socio-economic order, the varṇārāma-dharma, in which the material and spiritual welfare of the people lies, was the supreme motto behind the Danda and the State while the king was its guard.

113. Kautilya says, *Arthasastra*, II, 10, that the king had quasi-legislative power and could issue eight kinds of royal writs. But they were all orders and grants in his routine business and not of legislative nature in modern sense, pertaining to major policy matters, aimed at any socio-political change or administrative reform. See also A.S. Altekar, *SGAI*, p. 107 and U.N. Ghoshal, *HIP*, p. 115.

114. X, 2.

115. XVII, 18.

116. The Hirahadagalli plates, l. 1, Dharmamaharajadhiraja, the Mangagur plates, ll. 16-17, Udayendiram grant, l. 10, pikirä grant, l. 14, Omgogu (set II) grant, l. 17, and the Curä grant, l. 16, etc. attribute the donors of the charters, the title dharmamaharaja. It is significant to note that the Uruvapalli plates call the donor Vignugopa, as dharmayuvamaharaja.

117. The Uruvapalli plates, l. 2, the Udayendiram plates, l. 2, the Vilauatti grant, l. 2, the pikirä grant, l. 2, the Omgogu (set II) l. 3, the Curä grant, l. 3, the Sakrepatna plates, l. 3, etc. refer to this epithet.

118. Supra, Pt. I, Ch. 2, note no. 104.

119. Ibid., notes nos. 87, 89 and 106.


123. XII, 7, *Prabhāv-otsaḥa śaktibhyām mantras'aktib praśātate Prabhāvotsahavān kavyo jīte deva pūrodhaśa*.


125. The Ajanta stone inscription of Varahadeva, *CII.*, V, No. 25 ll. 9-13, reports that Devasena indulged in desired pleasures (*yath-āṣṭa caṣṭah*) leaving the administration in the hands of his minister Hastibhoja.

126. The Ajanta inscription of Varahadeva, *op. cit.*, l. 8, reports that a boy of eight ascended the throne at Vatsagulmā, following Pravarasena II and that he ruled well. The statement presupposes that the boy king was actively helped by his able
and faithful ministers, in his task. This conclusion gets support from the fact that, Varahadeva was extolling in the inscription, his own ancestors who successively served the Vakataka kings, vis-a-vis glorifying the kings of the dynasty.

127. Text 11. 29-30, mentions the ajnaptis, Hastikosa and Virako, as Mahamata. The Nasik inscription of Kanha, Epi. Ind., VIII, N.I., No. 2, mentions that a cave was excavated by a Mahamatra, who was also a sramana.

128. R.S. Sharma, Aspects, p. 288 and A.S. Altekar SGAI, p. 207. The Allhabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta, CII., III, 1. 32, mentions Harishana as Kumaramatyae, as well as Sambhivigrahika and Mahadanatanayaka. Thus the term Kumaramatyae suggests his official cadre and the two other terms indicate his official designation.

129. The seal is now in possession of Dr. B.S.L. Hanumantharao, Guntur, who has kindly informed me that it reads amatya kumara. The learned doctor has rightly interpreted the reading to be equivalent of Kumaramatyae, and not literally as the son of a minister.

130. NHIP., VI, p. 282.

131. The Bobbili plates of (A)candavarman, Epi. Ind., XXVII, p. 33 ff. 11. 19-20, mentions that the record was written by Rudradatta, who was des-aksapatal-adhikrta and son of Matrivara, the des-aksapatal-adhikrta, and was the son of
Haridatta. He was the Inspector-General of Records and seem to be the composer of copper plate grants very oftenly. A.S. Altekar, SGAI., p. 190 observes similarly.

132. Talavara is a frequently occurring term in the inscriptions from Nagärjunakonda. The Madras Museum plates of Anantaśakti varman, opp. cit., l. 20, and the Nidigondi grant of Prabhañjanavarman, Epi. Ind., XXX, pp. 112 ff., l. 16, reports that its executor, Jyaṣṭha was a Mahāpratihāra and Mahāpandanaḥyaka. The Kondamudi plates of the Brhatphalāyana king Jayavarman, Epi. Ind., VI, p. 315 ff. l. 42, gives the form of the word, as Tagivara.

133. The Nidigondi grant of Prabhañjanavarman, opp. cit.

134. The Pedavēgli plates of the Śaṅkāyana Nadinvarman II, JAHRS., I, pp. 92 ff. l. 21; the Hirahadagalli plates of the Pallava Śivaskandavarman, Epi. Ind., I, pp. 1 ff l. 50, the Vēṣantā grant of the Pallava Śimhavarman II, APGAS., No. 6, pp. 211 ff. l. 27, the Kesaribēda plates of the Nala king Aṭṭhapati, Epi. Ind., XXXVIII, pp. 12 ff. ll.13-14, were written by officers called Rahasādhikata or Rahasyādhikta.

135. Supra, pt. I, Ch. 2, for the analysis of the texts of inscriptions and also Pt. II, Ch. 2, for some discussion.


139. The Hīraḥadagalli plates of Śivaskandavarman, *op. cit.*, l. 4.


141. The Kantērū plates of Skandavarman, *Epi. Ind.*, XXV, *op. cit.*, ll. 11-12, reading Sarva niyoga niyukt-āyuktaka Viṣṇuapati mīrāh...

142. The Hīraḥadagalli plates, *op. cit.*, l. 4, refers to desādhikāta or desādhikṛta in Sanskrit.

143. Compare the statement in the Kantērū plates of Skandavarman, above note no. 141 with the similar statement in the Pedavēgli plates, *op. cit.*, ll. 16-17, reading: des-ādhipat-āyukta vallabha rāja-puruṣādibhir...

144. The Māṇgaḍūr plates, *Ind. Ant.*, V, pp. 145-57, l. 18, the Pikirā plates, *Epi. Ind.*, VIII, pp. 159-63,

145. The Pedavegi and Kollāru plates of the Śalakāyana Māndiwarman II, *op. cit.*, the Vāsanta grant of Śimhavarmān, *op. cit.*, ll. 20-21, refer to *Adhyakṣa*. The inscriptions of the Vākṣṭa king Praverasana II of the main branch, such the Jamb (*CII.*, V, No. 3, ll. 20-21) and the Chammak (*ibid.*, no. 6, ll. 21-22) mention the officers. In addition, the Pīkīra, (l. 14), the Curā (l. 17) and the Ōmōdu (set I) *op. cit.*, grants of the Pallavās of Vellore-Guntur branch also refer to the officers.


148. The officers called *Naiyogikas* are mentioned in some Pallava records such as, Nengūnerāya plates, *Epi. And.*, I, pp. 1 ff. l. 29, instead of *Niyuktas* in the similar context in the Uruvapallī plates, l. 29 of the same king. The Curā grant of Mahārāja Vijaya Viṣnugopārvarman, *Epi. Ind.*, XXIV, l. 18 also mention *naiyogikas*.

149. *Supra*, notes nos. 141 and 143.
150. The Hirahadagalli plates, l. 6, the Uruvapalli plates, l. 29, mention Saṅcarantakas, who perhaps, the same as the Sāsanasaṅcarantakas or Sāsanasaṅcārinis of many other Pallava copper plate grants, such as the Māṅgaḷūr, l. 18, the Pīkira, l. 15, the Vīḷavetti, l. 14, and Vēsantā, l. 23, charters.

151. Bk. I, Chs. X-XIII.

152. The Tummalagudam (sat I) l. 25, Cāra-bhaṭa-dūta-vallabha rājapurushair-apraṇeṣvah...

153. The Hirahadagalli plates, opp. cit., l. 5.


156. The Kāñkollu plates (prakrit), Epi. Ind., XXXI, pt. i, pp. 1-12, l. 4-5, Pidiha-gāmo Mutuyadap-pamūho-sevva-semaago; the Penugonda plates of Hastivarman II, Mūguap-pamūha gāmo, Munuda in the Pedavēgi plates, opp. cit. l. 8; Mūluda pamūho gāmo, Flōṛī plates, opp. cit., Munuda sahitā gramavakenam-ajnapayati, Kanteru plates of Nandivarman II, opp. cit., l. 5-6.

157. Sanskrit charters of the Early Pallavas some times refer to the term.
158. The Kanukollu Prakrit plates, *Epi. Ind.*, XXXI, P. i, opp. cit., l. 6, refer to Kulaputta and bhadamanussa. The Hirahadagalli plates, opp. cit., l. 7, also refer to Bhadamanussas.

159. *NHIP.*, VI, pp. 285-86 and *SGAI.*, P. 217. Text II. 18. *Viṣṇava mahattarāṇ-adhikārapurūṣāṁśa imam-artham-ājñāpayati.* Adhikārapurūṣas in the statement were obviously, the same as Rājapurūṣas, mentioned above.

160. Text lines, 24-25, reading..."udakadānapūrvakam-
atiṣṭo sanidhi s-opanidhi sa-danda kara viṣṭi
s-odranga (?) bhoga bhāga pradeya..." The
inscription is slightly damaged at the end of the
24th line, where the term s-odranga is found and
thus the reading is not quite certain.

161. Arthaśāstra, III, 1, seems to suggest that danda was
the penal levy on criminals, and at another place,
II, 35, mentions among such taxes like hirapya,
vśni, etc. For a detailed discussion, D. Das,
*EHD.*, pp. 85 ff. Sankaranarayanan, *Viṣṇukundis*.,
P. 133, takes it in the sense of a criminal levy
on the basis of evidence from *Vājīnavalkyasmrți*,
II, 204 ff.

162. Sankaranarayanan, *Viṣṇukundis*., P. 131 ff. for
different views on thenature of the tax; see

163. D. C. Sircar, *SPAAl*, pp. 5-6 and *Ind. Epi.*, P. 381
note 4. *Krayī paśūcaraṇ-ādi kṛta rajākiya bhūm-
upayoga hatako rājagrāhyah bhāgeḥ.* U. N. Ghoshal,
*IHQ.*, V, p. 277.
164. Sankaranarayanan, Visnukundis., P. 133.


166. The Nāsik inscription of Gautamputra Sātakarni, Epi. Ind., VIII, NI., No. 5, ll. 5-6.


168. A-kārādāyī mentioned in all the inscriptions of the Vākaṭaka of the time Pravarasena II.

169. A-chāta bhataprāveśya, in Vākaṭaka inscriptions, for example.

170. A-pāramāra ga-balīvaraḍa(gahapām) in the Vākaṭaka inscriptions and also in the Hīrāhadagalli plates, l. 33.

171. A-puṣpa kārāsandaḥab in the Vākaṭaka inscriptions, is equivalent to a-duḍha dedhi gahapām in the Hīrāhadagalli plates.

172. A-cār-āsenā cām-āṅgaraḥ in the Vākaṭaka inscriptions, and interpreted by D. C. Sircar, Ind. Epi., p. 397. However, V. V. Mirashi suggests that cārā means grass, as fodder to the horses of the officers, who were camping in the village.

173. A-kura yollaka vināśi khaṭṭāvāsaṃ, in the Hīrāhadagalli plates, l. 31 and Mayidavolū plates, 15-16, yollaka is prakrit equivalent of collaka in Sanskrit records, which is understood as pots for cooking. Vināśi is understood as slave and the villagers were exempted from supplying slaves for the service of the king and his officers,
D. Das, EHD, p. 77. However, D. C. Sircar interprets the term as fuel, Successors, p. 187. Hultzsch, Epi. Ind., VI, p. 87 and D. C. Sircar Successors, p. 187 and Radhakrishna Chaudhary JIH, LIII, No. 1, p. 98, interpreted the term kura as boiled rice.

174. Those are obviously the royal prerogatives to collect dues in the form of services:

175. AlavaDa klinna-kreni khansah and sarva visti garihara parihrtab, in the Vakataka inscriptions.

176. Arettha samvinaika in the Pallava as well as the Vakataka records and anromesa (Skt. an-avamarāva or free-dom from the troubles associated with unpaid labour of the entry of royal agents, according to R. K. Chaudhary, JIH, opp. cit.)


178. Hirahadagalli plates, l. 5, mention the officers. An officer who was referred to as Vallabha, in the Sanskrit charter, of the Pallavas was perhaps, the same with Vallava of the prakrit inscriptions. These officers might have had the duty of collecting the calves and maintained them.

179. The Rāmatirtham and the Tummalaṅgaṇa (set I) charters of the Viṣṇukundins, opp. cit., describe Indravarman II and Govinda varman respectively, as the givers of thousands of cows and bulls. See also Ch. 2 and 3, for more detailed discussions.

180. XII, 41, 22 and Ibid., Ch. 87, 19, pradviganti parikhyātam rājānam-ātikhādinām.
181. XII, Āpaddharma Parvan and Ṛṣjadharma-ānuśāsana Parvan, 90.

182. Manu, VII, 80 and Mbh., XII, Ṛṣjadharma-ānuśāsana Parvan, 58.

183. Harbans Mukhia, Was There Feudalism in India, p. 39, writes that the Mauryan state collected a very heavy rate of irrigation cess and 47-48, based on the rate of collecting bhāga. But, it was the due paid to the king as the owner of the soil in state lands only.


** ** ** **
2. SOCIETY, ECONOMY AND EDUCATION

Most of the writings on ancient Indian society and economy are based on the pre-conception that the precepts in the law-books and the relevant chapters in the Epic-purānic literature on the Varnārama-dharma were the actual order of the day; and that they remained more or less frozen through centuries, registering little or no change. In fact, the ancient Indian social order was a destiny and not a terminal under the process of Indianisation. The process commenced with the syncretism of Āryan and non-Āryan elements and continued into the period under study, concomitant with the emergence of the purānic Hinduism.

A. SOCIETY

I. Four-Fold Formula:

The four-fold caste order, the Varnārama-dharma remained the theoretical basis of Indian society through ages. It consists of the four castes, viz. the Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra. The individual's life was devised into four stages such as: the studenthood (Brahmacaryā), the stage of a householder (gārhaṭhyā), the hermit or a forest recluse (Vānapraṣṭha) and of an ascetic (Sanyāsin). The life on earth was deemed to be the veritable means of material
and spiritual welfare, whose aims were defined as the four purusārthas, the Dharma, Artha, Kāma and Mokṣa. The first three purusārthas, called Trīvarga, were referred to in the inscriptions of the period under study.

In fact, the society consisted a number of trade and craft guilds or corporate bodies each engaged in a particular profession. The sacred writings enjoin the upkeep of Vaiṣṇava-dharma, as the utmost duty of the king, for which purpose the State was supposed to exist. Besides, people were advised to adhere to their respective caste duties and were promised with birth within the next superior caste in future, by their diligent observance of the duties enjoined to their caste in the present life.

It is significant to note that Kautilya, who was not an ardent subscriber to orthodoxy, advised the king to exert himself in maintaining the purity of caste system. There is no doubt that the advice was to maintain social order which accounts for economic prosperity.

The Sātavāhanas, and the other ruling dynasties after them in Deccan and South India, upheld the caste system. Gautamiputra Sātakarni was described as to have
prevented the confusion of caste-orders. Some of the early Pallava copper plate grants state that the kings observed the sacred duties as ordained by law books and upheld Dharma, which was contaminated by the evils of Kali. Obviously, the description means that they upheld Varnaśrama-dharma destroyed by the heretical faiths like Buddhism. Their gifts of lands and villages to Brāhmaṇas was another instance of their patronage to Brāhmaṇical faith, in which Varnaśrama-dharma formed an essential element.

Likewise the Viṣṇukūṇḍin kings were liberal bestowers of lands and villages on Brāhmaṇas, performers of Vedic rituals and upholders of Varnaśrama-dharma. GovindaVāman is described in his Tummalagudem (set I) charter, as having evinced very much interest in up-keeping the Varnaśrama pattern, despite his Buddhist leanings.

II. Social Mobility and Indianisation:

Eventhough, the sacred literature declares the Varnaśrama-dharma as a divine ordinance and prohibited inter-caste marriages, the ancient Indian society was, in fact, far from having a rigid frame-work. The same authorities elsewhere provide for the uplift of one's caste status and include foreign elements among the
degraded and mixed castes. Obviously, there was a process of admitting others into Hindu social order and for change of one's caste status, by which the process of Indianisation was carried on. Mahābhārata mentions Ātreyas and Bhāradvājas among fierce aboriginals in North-Western India and Pāṇini refers to the Śālaṅkāyanas as a tribal oligarchy of the same region. Thus, the Bhāradvāja-Pallavas, and the Śālaṅkāyanas were originally tribals, but Indianised, before they came down to South India, in the early centuries of the Christian era. A similar instance is provided by the Ābhīra immigrations into South India, about the beginning of the period under study, from their original habitats in North Western India.

Rituals like Hiranyagarbha Mahādāna were devised and the age old rites like Ādvamedha were transformed as means to facilitate the process of acculturation. The purāṇas clearly state that Śūdra rulers in the Kali age, would perform Ādvamedhas.

iii. The Brahmakṣatras and the Rathakāras:

The Tummalagudem (Set II) charter describe that the Viṣṇukundins incorporated in themselves, the glory of Brahmakṣatras. While interpreting the statement, scholars discussed on the meaning of the term Brahmakṣatra and explained it in two ways: 1) the Brāhmaṇa who
resorted to the Kṣatriya way of living;¹⁹ and 2) the Kṣatriyas who could attain Brāhmanhood.²⁰ The former view was exemplified by the Brāhmaṇ dynasties like the Early Pallavas and the Kadambas, but none of them called themselves Brahmakṣatras. The second interpretation has, but little historical credence, because, it rests on mythological illustrations. Thus, none of the views is acceptable, even though, each of them points out the social mobility during the period.

There is reason to believe, on the other hand, the term Brahmakṣatra was a development in the process of Indianisation,²¹ just as the  āgneyas²² of medieval North India, from whom several Brāhmaṇ as well as Kṣatriya lineages of Agnikula²³ traced their origin. The concept of Brahmakṣatra was thus, the result of some newly Indianised people claimed it, before yet to specify themselves, as either Brāhmaṇ or Kṣatriya.

The Brāhmaṇical lineages claimed by such royal families like the Early Pallavas, the Kadambas and the Śālaṅkāyanas referred to above, show that the new entrants into Hindu Society in the early centuries of Christian era were interested in claiming Brāhmaṇical status. There was a virtual competition in their bid to claim Brāhmaṇical lineages and often the claims of
one dynasty were not recognised by others. The Pallavas being considered as Kṣatriyas, by their rivals, the Kadambas, despite their Bharadvāja gotra clearly illustrate the point. But the consolidation of the monarchical power and the divinity attributed to the kingship, must have sublimated the power and prestige of the king and the ruling elite and made it more attractive than the Brāhmaṇhood, which came to depend on the Kṣatriya patronage. That Brāhmaṇ Mayūrasārman reportedly relinquishing his caste duties in favour of the Kṣatriya way of living is an evidence in the context.

There appears thus, a transition in the process of Indianisation, between the Kadamba example of the 4th century and by eighth century A.D., when all the ruling dynasties, including the Pallavas and the Kadambas completely settled in the Kṣatriya status. The new entrants into Hindu society posed themselves as patrons of Brāhmaṇism and the Brāhmaṇ community, by their gifts of lands and villages, rather than claiming Brāhmaṇhood for themselves. The Brāhmaṇa concept came into existence during the time, when both the Brāhmaṇ and Kṣatriya status were luring them, and they could not choose one of them, but before the finally adopted the Kṣatriya status.
The term Brahmakṣatra in the Viṣṇukundin inscription is clearly a dvandva compound, signifying both the Brāhmaṇ and Kṣatriya status. It shows that the dynasty was very lately Indianised from a low social status, possibly from a primitive Indian stock, if not from a foreign tribe. Similar was the case of the dynasties referred to above, whom scholars customarily suppose to be Brāhmaṇ. They could exalt their caste status to Brāhmaṇhood by performing Vedic rituals mentioned above and subsequently adopted the Kṣatriya way of living. But the reference to the concept in the Viṣṇukundin inscription, perhaps, the earliest in the whole range of literary and epigraphic sources, indicate its possible origin in this part of India.

Another instance of social mobility, or the unsettled social order of the times, is the reference to the Rathakāra community. Two copper plate grants of the Śālaṅkāyanaś register gifts of villages to the community. The śūtra-smṛti literature ranks the Rathakāraś among the ignominous mixed castes; but the two Śālaṅkāyana inscriptions describe them as students of the four Vedas, formed into different gotras and carapasis, and the gift made to them was specified as Brahmadeya. They were identified with the Viśva-
Brāhmaṇa community of the present day Andhra Pradesh, who are gold-smiths by profession, but claim equality with Brāhmaṇ community. D.C. Sircar\textsuperscript{32} doubted whether the Rathakāras could master the four Vedas, forming into gotras and caranās and qualify themselves to receive Brahmadeya gifts, in the Brāhmaṇ dominated society. But the two records are silent on the gotras of the donees, which the records were expected to mention, if the donees happened to be Brāhmaṇas. These observations prove that the provisions of the Varna system, more particularly the statements on the mixed castes in law-books, was more hypothetical than practical.\textsuperscript{33}

III. Social Structure:

Inscriptions do not provide sufficient information of individual castes in the social structure of the period. However, the records of the time make references to the Brāhmaṇas, as the recipients of the grants mentioned in them, and well-versed in Vedas and other branches of sacred and secular learning. The penugonda plates of Hastivarman II of the Sālaṅkāyanas\textsuperscript{34} gives somewhat a detailed account of the characteristics and accomplishments. A few such learned members of the community were patronised by kings but most others had remained as village priests, depending on the munificence of the people.\textsuperscript{35}
The rights and duties enjoined on the Brāhmaṇ, by law books as well as the Epic-Purānic works were, the study and teaching of the Vedic lore, performing rituals and officiating when others performed them, as well as giving and receiving gifts. Some inscriptions of the time report that they fulfilled these expectations, indulged in Vedic-recitation and instruction, performing Vedic rituals like Home and kept up high morals including self-control.

Law-Books discouraged Brāhmaṇs from taking to agriculture and trade and looked down on such cases. Even the Brāhmaṇical duties such as Vedic recitation and instruction were not, apparently, confined to that community, as the Rathakāra example indicates. Thus, the Brāhmaṇ had to guard his professional interests, having to depend on the gifts of common villagers, but it is difficult to accept the view that they formed into a corporate body, similar to many professional guilds of the time. The Brāhmaṇ community was never an organised one, in the sense of a guild and at no time could it attain such a position in the socio-political fabric of the country, as the Catholic Church in Medieval Europe, or the Khāliphate in the West Asian countries. Nevertheless, they tried to make their profession richly rewarding by devising numerous vratas, involving gifts, or dānas, of immense
value. They could revise the Epic-Purānic literature in such a way, as it extols the efficacy of such gifts and rites as well as describe their elaborate procedures. 42

The Gōdāvari plates of pṛthūśūla registers gift of an agrahāra, to a group of Brāhmans, said to be Āthervānika kula. 43 It shows that specialisation in a particular Veda or a branch of knowledge was a factor moulding the community into distinct sub-castes. The frequent reference to Nāma-gotra cerama in the inscriptions of the time 44 is another example in the context. Mahābhārata says that gotras increased in number, by increased adoption of Brāhmanical customs by people. 45

Naturally, Brāhmans stood for the maintenance of the Varnāśrama-dharma, on which their professional interests depended and encouraged the state to guard it. That is how the legal, epic and purānic works that underwent editions and redactions during the period, enthusiastically defined that the very aim of the state was the preservation and maintenance of caste-based social order. In return, the Brāhmans supported the absolutism and divinity of the kingship. 46 In this process of professional consolidation, they might have absorbed such other communities like the Rathakāras,
who had similar vocation and way of life. In spite of these developments that Brahmans were far from satisfied is pointed out by the example of Mayūrasārmāṇ, referred to above.

About other castes, inscriptions do not refer to their social position or economic professions and nothing more can be understood than the theoretical speculations. However, the foreign hordes such as the Sākas and the Ābhīras after their shortlived political fortunes might have settled down to agriculture and cattle-rearing. It might be one of the reasons for the expansion of agriculture during the period, to which attention is drawn below. Thus, the Vaiśya and Śūdra sections in the society might have grown in numbers.

8. ECONOMY

Eventhough, literature and inscriptions scarcely throw light on the economic system as well as the condition of the country, there need not be any doubt in supposing that the geographical factor, conditioned the ways of life of people. Despite the fact, that there was a decline of Roman trade, the settling down of several foreign hordes such as the Sākas and Ābhīras in Ṛndhradēsā, from about the beginning of the fourth
century A.D. account for sudden spurt in the expansion of agriculture.

Inscriptions of the time mention gifts of lands and villages, to Brāhmaṇas and temples. In addition, kings of several dynasties made gifts of hundreds of thousands of cows, bulls and others. The Vīṣṇukundin king Govinda Varman was one among them. Though the gifts were reportedly made for the merit of the donor, or his parents, they cannot be considered simply as part of sixteen Mahādānasa, mentioned in the Purāṇas and made for purely religious reasons. Ostensibly, the gifts were made to encourage agriculture and cattle-rearing. Kings used to reclaim land, at times, with state investment, collect the first born calves, as a tax and distribute them among the new settlers. Obviously, the number of villages must also have increased under the stress of expanding agriculture. The royal gifts of lands, cows and bulls often together, indicate that agriculture and cattle-rearing went hand-in-hand. In fact, Śālaṅkāyana inscription ordain the Vraja-pālakes, or the cattle-rearers to cultivate the gift land.

Some early Pallava inscriptions enumerate the boundaries of the gift villages, though not so elaborately as do some Eastern Cālukya inscriptions.
of a later date. However, the details suggest that there was some system of land survey and fixing of the boundaries of land under cultivation. Inscriptions refer to two types of land measurements, the first being the hala and the other nivartana. Literally, hala means a plough, perhaps, it stood for the unit of land that can be tilled by a single plough. However, the extent of area denoted by these terms does not seem to be precise and differed from region to region.

As mentioned above, the gifts of lands and villages by kings, as also the epithets they held, suggest that they had the ownership rights on land, however theoretical it might be. The gifts were made usually under Bhūmicchidra-nyāya, an important method of land reclamation, by cutting forests and bringing the fallow land under cultivation. The donees, as they stood for Brāhmanical way of life, were instrumental in settling the Indianised folks in Varnāśrama-dharma promoting the agriculture oriented economy. Arthasastra suggests that the state used to reclaim land by its own investment by employing convicts and war-prisoners. The land thus prepared for cultivation was assigned to peasants for life term, on condition of payment of kara, the land revenue. The war-like nature of the kings exhibited in the inscriptions of the period possibly explains
their bid to secure as much of cultivable lands, and prisoners as possible so that they add to the economic prosperity of the state.

B. Feudal Trend in Economy:

Some recent researches into socio-economic aspects of ancient India are emphasised on the manifestation of feudal trends, in 4th and 5th centuries. They argue that the peasant in ancient India was subjected to an excessive exploitation and the fruits of his labour were appropriated by the state, or its agents the Brāhmaṇa temples, and the royal officers, who received the land and village grants and military fiefs from the state. The well-defined caste rules and property rights, by the legal works, they argue deprived the peasant mobility as well as freedom to enjoy, or dispose the land, except for religious purposes. They suggest that the peasant condition was no better than that of a serf in Medieval Europe, tied to the soil against his free will, "Vistī", or the forced labour exacted from the villagers, other than in some gift villages, amounted to corvée, of the European Feudalism. It is also suggested that the Vistī, the obligatory service by villagers reduced the employment of hired labour in agriculture, while the peasant labour in other than the gift villages was forcibly exploited by evil
The Tummalagudem (set II) charter refers to the existence of Vigti.69

But D. C. Sircar70 has pointed out that the peasants enjoyed considerable amount of security as land holders and cultivators and the donees in the case of gift villages were entitled only to collect deya and maya which otherwise went to the state.71 He opined that gifts of villages to Brähmans and temples are not the same as the feudal fiefs72 for they did not enjoin the grantees to serve the state militarily. Obviously, the Brähmans and temples were not suited for that purpose. Thus, he has concluded that feudalism in ancient India is a misnomer.73 A more or less similar conclusion has been arrived at, by some other scholars as well,74 on a different line of investigation.

However, it has been observed above that the Brähman donees served the State, though not militarily75 and their rights on the deya and maya dues from the village peasantry made them the intermediaries between the king and the tiller of the soil in feudal sense. Their rights over the hidden treasures of the land and exercising some administrative power to which the people were committed was again a feudal feature.76 More than the socio-economic changes, as N. S. Yadava77 suggests it is the rise of petty states and the emergence of the
Sāmanta system that brings in feudal system, even when the standards of peasant life remains unchanged.

Even the empires such as those of the Sātavāhanas were the result of several autonomous tribal organisations having been loosely integrated, and the organisations, in their turn, were groups of several self-sufficient and self-governing villages. The village autonomy under the predominance of the local chiefs was perhaps, the potent factor that promoted rather than prevented feudal trends. As pointed out by B.N.S. Yadava such forces of decentralisation fostered feudalism in ancient India from which Andhra country does not seem an exception.

The Eluru plates of the Śalāṅkāyana king Vijayadevavarman registers a gift of land, together with addhiva manussas (Skt. Ārdhika manuyas). The term is also found in the Hirahagegalli plates of the Pallava king Śivaskandavarman. They are taken to be the cultivators appointed on the basis of sharing half-the-produce. The Pedavēgi plates of Nandivarman II of the Śalāṅkāyanas ordains the vrajapalakas of the village of Arutore, to cultivate the land gifted by him to a temple. These instances prove that the gift of land accompanied the gift of cultivators too.
Even though, they were not deprived from holding the land, they were committed to the service of the donee.

C. Trade and Industry:

The inscriptions mainly suggesting the agrarian predominance during the period under study, against the flourishing merchant and artisan guilds as found in the inscriptions of the preceding Sātavāhana and Iksvāku periods might suggest total disappearance of trade and industry in the country. The decline of Roman trade no doubt, was a severe setback to the arts, crafts and industry, but their total disappearance need not be inferred. Some smṛti works of the Gupta times, deal with such topics as the constitution, powers and functions of craft and trade guilds. The reference to Kavacakārabhoga in an early Pallava grant suggests that the region was famous for the manufacture of armours (kavaca) and the industry was probably localised there. Another Pallava charter of about the same time, throws more interesting light on the condition of industries and the workers forming into guilds. It enumerates metal (loha) leather (carmā) workers, shop-keepers (śānapāyakas), silk weavers (pattakāras) among others and professional groups like nāpitas (barbers).

A Śālavākyana inscription refers to Kuleputtas (Skt. Kuleputras) as members in the village councils.
The literacy output of the period was in Sanskrit. It is important to suggest that the May have been the same as the great Vishnu purana monsoon. The dynastic particulars are not known, but it may not.

The activity entailed by a number of pieces by a king called Madhavavarmen 96 that the first among them to have been discovered in the period under study. It is important to note that the early medieval times must have been too early in the Ayeyarwady's early hundreds, and the panakoneule valley, 94. Such trade and credit gilding as the Taikka University, 93 surrounding commercial activity in Eastern Archaeological 92 seem to have found another encouraging factor, in the 91. Industrial activity in ancient and urban area of the time, and commercial and decorative of Roman trade, probability the commercial and decorative were flourishing in Kushan area, even faster, the reappear as a result of Kushan successes. These results suggest that industrialisation and trade

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Vindhyas,  with the exception of Vidarbha under the Vakataka. Hence, no sacred or secular literary composition can be assigned to the period, except for the Chikakala plate of Vikramaditya, which is being studied. However, some inscriptions of the period, including those from the Chikakala plate of Vikramaditya, show that Telugu was fast becoming the means of expression, and its usage in inscriptions was becoming frequent.

A Sanskrit work on prosody, called Janasayya, dedicated to Vatsya, was attributed to the reign of Vatsya. But, as shown above, that no Vikramaditya is said to have enjoyed the patronage of a Madhavavarman, the title of Janasayya, 100 and the work cannot be ascribed to this period. Inspite of its reference to Kālidāsa and other poets, it cannot be considered as a production of the Vikramaditya period, 101.

But, the Tumulalagām (set II) charter, ascribed to Vikramaditya, 102 shows that the king had at least, a patron of poets. He might have had a taste for poetry. The grant portion of the inscription, together with some other records of the time, such as the Kittučērī grant, exhibit fine literary expressions in the country in the time.
The Academy of Sciences, or Veda by study and the Foundation of Indian Science, is a group of such teachers such as Bharadwaj, Vasista, Kavya, etc. The former uses the light of sensation or Vedas, Vedagya and Bharadwaj to develop action and the latter uses the light of sensation or Vedas, Vedagya and Bharadwaj to develop action and the study and instruction of the sacred learning. It is said that they were said to have been pronounced with the script written on the intellectual accomplishment of the intellectual development. It is said that they were said to have been pronounced with the script written on the intellectual development. It is said that they were said to have been pronounced with the script written on the intellectual development.

After the Vijnankarana, there is a reference to the development of the Vedanta, but some of these are found by Indraneela. It is said that these are the only such references. It is said that these are the only such references. In addition, there are references to the Vedanta in the literature of Bharadwaj and the general social purpose and the general development of Bharadwaj to achieve the intellectual development. It is said that the land grants to Bharadwaj indicate the royal...
who formed as Upādhyāya kula and Arthavani kula obviously, being the instructors in Atharvaveda. Some of the Vedic schools such as Taittiriya, Chandoga, and others were mentioned in the inscriptions and Vedāṅgas, such as Niroga and Chandovicita. The term Niroga, is not clear in its purport, but might have stood for Nirukta, as all the other terms in the epithet denote different branches of sacred learning and especially followed immediately by Chandovicitia, which was another Vedāṅga. Some of Brāhmaṇa descendants appear to be versed in two or more Vedas and masters in smṛtis such as Āpastamba, Hiranyakaśi and others.

The record indicates another development, the study of Itiḥāsa-Purāṇa by Brāhmaṇa on par with the Vedic lore, though it was essentially the popular literature. It was obviously the effect of the spread of Purānic Hinduism and Brāhmaṇa appear to have popularised themselves by instructing the people in their own media, in matters of socio-religious patterns. Accordingly, the purānic literature must have taken amended and enlarged forms to serve the needs of the Śūdras and Women, who had no access to Vedic study.
The epithets in some inscriptions of the time, like एगती तरका and सहास्रातरक, while describing the donees, are much discussed as to their import. The latter was, perhaps, identical in meaning with ग्रहितसाहस्र. These terms seem to signify that the donees were graduated in assemblies of scholars, of eighty (एगती) and thousand (सहास्र) strong, as they literally seem to suggest.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Romila Thapar, AISH, p. 125.
2. S. Radhakrishna, Religion and Society, p. 50.
3. Mbh., XII, Ch. 12, 17; Ch. 15, 3 and Ch. 296; and Manu, II, 224. The pōlamūru plates of Mādhavavarmen, I, 3, Vidhived-upacita Trivargasya.
4. Supra, pt. IV, Ch. 1, sect. I. Viṣṇu, III, 3; Āpastamba, II, 10.27, 18-19 and Nārada, XVIII, 14, and that the order was to be kept up by means of Danda, Vāyupurāṇa, I, 57, 55-58 and Mbh., XII, 15-35, see also supra, pt. IV. Ch. 1, sect. A and C.
8. D.C. Sircar, Epi. Ind., XXXII, p. 89, writes that the epithet suggests the Pallava hostility to heretical faiths like the Buddhism.
9. Supra, pt. I, Ch. 2, note no. 177.


12. *Bhīṣma Parvan*, Ch. 9, 64-69 enlists the uncivilised (Mleccha) and curing (kūra), people of the country and verses 68-69 mentions Ātreyas and Bhāradvājas. For a similar account *Vāyu purāṇa*, XIII, 40-42 and D.C. Sircar, *Geography*, p. 35.

13. *IV*, 1, 99 and *IV*, 2, 58, suggest that they were a tribal organisation in North-Western India.


16. *Supra*, Pt. II, Ch. 1, and below Pt. IV, Ch. 3, s *Mbh.*, XII, 71, 16. says that a sinner of a king is purified by performing āsvamadha, apart from proclaiming his paramountcy.

18. Supra, Pt. I, Ch. 2, note no. 190.

19. N.Venkataramanayya, APGRAS., No. 40, P. 25, and V.S.Pathak, Ancient Historians of India, P.164. They cited the examples of the Early Pallavas and Kadambas, who never claimed themselves as Brahmakṣatras.

20. S.Sankaranarayanan, Vignakus. , p. 25, suggests that the term denotes Brāhmans who adopted Kṣatriyahood, as well but soon reverted to the former view, based on some purānic mythologies of little historical credence.


22. Ibid., p. 114 ff. as exemplified by the dynastic accounts of the Pratihāras and Cāhamāṇas, also pp. 165-66.

23. Ibid., The Pratihāras, Cāhamāṇas, Chandelas and Solāṅkis of medieval Rājput dynasties, claimed Agnikula status of Kṣatriyahood.

24. Supra, pt. IV, Ch. 1.

24a. The Tālgundā inscription, Epigraphy, VIII, P. 24 ff. 11. 4-5 clearly says that Mayūradarman, being enraged at the insult from the Pallavas at Kāñcī,
left aside the darbha and sacrificial laddies, to take the weapon, with the view of conquering the earth.

25. In this connection, reference may be made to an epithet in the Pallava Sanskrit charters, as svabala-ajit-ajita Kṣātra taponishe, which, perhaps, denotes that the kings claimed Kṣatriya status, notwithstanding their Bhrādvaśa lineage, which has not received sufficient attention of scholars.

26. Asvamedha and Hiranyagarbha Mahādāna, see above, notes nos. 10 and 15.


28. Baudhāyana, I, 17.5, says that the Rathakāra was the progeny of a Vaidya by a Śūdra woman, Vaikhānasa āmārtta Āṭra, X, 13, says that he was the issue of Brāhmaṇa woman, by her Kṣatriya paramour.

29. The Kānukollu prakrit grant, ll. 13-14, mentions the donee as Rathakāra cātuṣvaṣja (skt. Rathakāra Cāturvaṣja).

30. The same record describes the donee, ll. 10-13, as sān-ānuggha samathasa nana-gota caraga tapp-sañjhāya niratassa aggahāra Rathakāra Cātuṣvaṣja.


32. Ibid.,

33. The detailed discussion on mixed castes, as reported by various Sūtra works as given by S.C. Benerjee, DSOD., pp. 127-130, supports the conclusion.
34. Below, sect. 3.

35. A.L. Basham, *Wonder that was India*, p. 141.


37. The Īpūrū (set II) plates, I, 8, describe the donees as Yama-niyama svādhyāya kriyā sampānnaḥ. *Põḷamūru* plates give them as scholars in Vedas and Vedāṅgas, I, 26 and svā karm-anuṣṭhāna para. The penugongā plates of the Śālaṅkāyana king Hastivarman II, describe the Brāhmaṇa donees as Yajana yajña-ādhyāyānādhyāpānā dāna pratigrahā gātakarma nīrādā(tā)nām, II, 9-10. The Tāṇḍivādā plates of Prthvīmahārāja, *Gpi. Ind.* XXIII, pp. 88-97, II, 10-14, as: Śruti smṛti pārādārśivānab yathāvad-anuṣṭhit-āgniṣṭhōmaḥ-ādi kriyā pūtatmano. The Gollāvallī plates of the same king, II, 9-11, describe the donees as Veda vedāṅga pārāgāyā gātakarma nīratāya, yama niyame parśvanāyā purāṇa Rāmāyaṇa Dharmasāstrādy-āneka vidyā pārādarśīnāḥ. It is thus clear that a few highly accomplished Brāhmaṇas, who were mindful of their duties were patronized by kings.


39. Even though Brāhmaṇa was allowed in legal literature to pursue trading as an āpaddharma, a great many variety of articles were prohibited for trade by him, in such a way that almost all the commodities of popular demand were out of his sphere. For a detailed analysis of the literature in this connection, see S.C. Banerjee, *DSQD.*, P. 130.

40. R.C. Hazra, *Purānic Records*, p. 244, note no. 3.
41. Caroporate Life, pp. 316 ff.

42. R.C. Hazra, Purānic Records, pp. 246 ff. describes elaborately the numerous vratas involving immense gifts to priests, as explained in different Purānas.

43. DJBRAS., XVI, loc. cit.,

44. Infra, Sect. 3, Education.

45. XII, Ch. 296, vv. 17-18, that there were only four original gotras of Brāhmaṇa, viz. Āngirasā, Kāśyapa, Vāsiṣṭha and Bhṛgu. The remaining gotras were the results of people adopting Brāhmaṇical profession and lineages named after ancient sages.

46. Supra, pt. IV, Ch. 1.

47. Itihas, VII, 2, pp. 8 ff.


49. Supra, pt. I, Ch. 2, note no. 170.

50. Infra, pt. IV, Ch. 3.


52. Arthasastra, IV, 55 ff., that lands prepared for cultivation by state investment and allotted to taxpaying peasants. See also D.C. Sircar, SPA., p. 3. He quotes Vīgguśmṛti, V, 183 that the lands were renewed in the family of the peasant after his death, Indian Epigraphy, p. 176.

54. The Uruvapalli plates of Yuvamaharaja Visnugopa, ll. 18-25, the Omgodu (set II) plates of his son Sihamarvarman, ll. 18-20 and the Curæ copper plate grant of the latter's son, ll. 18-22 etc.


56. The Pedavegi plates, ll. 12, 13, 14, 15 and the Kantarı plates, l. 10 and the Kollāri plates l. 10, of the Sālankīyana king Nandivarman II and the British Museum plates of Carudevi, l. 9 and the Uruvapalli plates, l. 18, and the Curæ grant, l. 23, etc.

57. For some explanations of the term nivartana, JAHRS., I, pt. i. pp. 102, note no. 5 and D.R. Das, EHD., pp. 44-45. According to the latter, its measure varies between two and a half to five acres of modern land measure.

58. Supra, pt. IV, Ch. 1, sect. IID.

59. D.C. Sircar, SPA., pp. 1-3, for a discussion on the question of land ownership in Ancient India.

60. Brāhmaṇas were granted lands that were to be reclaimed and in such cases, they were entitled to the whole of the product, with no obligation to pay dues to the State. D.C. Sircar, SPA., opp. cit., p. 4.

inscription of Gautamiputra Satakarni, *Epi. Ind.*, VIII, Nasik inscriptions No. 5, l. 4, mentions Rājakaś khetaṁ, or the land belonging to the State, exemplifying the procedure.


66. Supra, pt. IV, Ch. 1, sect. Revenue system.

67. R.K. Chaudhary, *JPRS.*, LIV, pp. 115, opines that the rise of feudalism served a deadly blow to the institution of slavery. See also below, B.N.S. Yadava, The Problem, pp. 20-21, that viṣṭi was almost synonym to Pāsavyr̥ti, or servitude and it reduced the need of hired labour, p. 39.


69. L. 24, Sa danda kara viṣṭi s-odranga bhāga bhoga pradeya.

71. Ibid., p. 6, and for similar opinion, Harbans Mukhia, *Was There Feudalism in India*, p. 44, note no. 2.


73. Ibid., pp. 17-19.

74. *Was There Feudalism in Ancient India*, by Harbans Mukhia, presidential address to Indian History Congress, 1979, Section II, held at Waltair.

75. Supra, pt. IV, Ch. 1, sect. IID.


77. The Problem, p. 19 and note no. 1.


79. *Contra* *SPA*, p. 15, on the basis of the observations by D.R. Das, *JIH*, I, p. 211.

80. The Problem, p. 19, note no. 1. He points out that the political changes, notwithstanding the socio-economic set up being constant, tends to feudalism.


82. Ibid., I, pp. 1 ff. 1. 39, addhika cattāri 4.


86. Luder's List, Nos. 1133, 1137, 1162, 1176 and 1180 mention different artisan guilds, but they were mentioned in inscriptions of Western Deccan, belonging to the Sakes and Abhíras. Sātavāhana Sañcika (Tel.) Ed. M. Ramarao, p. 117 for the application of the information as pertinent to the Sātavāhana period.

87. Nāgārjunakonda Inscriptions, Epi. Ind., XXXV, IB, p. 6, reports the guilds of Pāmikā and Pūvikā formed by the betel leaf and flower sellers respectively.


89. The Candalūr plates of Kumāra Viṣṇu, Epi. Ind., VIII, pp. 233-36, l. 16, Karmarāstra kavacakāra bhoga. The record is assigned to about A.D. 545, vide, Itihas, VI, No. 2, p. 35.

90. The Vilavetti grant, ll. 17-20.


92a. Luder's List. Nos. 987, 995, 1000, 1024, etc. mention the donors of the Kanheri caves as Nagama (Skt. Naigama) or members of Naigama.

93. *SII.*, VI, Nos. 149 and 152, the term means that the community had comprised 6f one thousand member-families.

94. For a discussion on the organisation of this mercantile community and its expansion into Andhradesa of the medieval times, K. Sundaram, *Economic and Social conditions of Medieval Andhra, 1000 to 1600*.

95. *SII.*, IV, No. 1021.

96. K. Sundaram, *Economic and Social Conditions of Medieval Andhra, opp. cit.*, citing the manuscript Manuvamśa-purāṇa. Perhaps the name of the king might be suggesting a faint memory of the great Viṣṇukundin king, and he might have encouraged their trading enterprise.

97. pt. I, Ch. 2, note no. 37. A stone inscription from Čezerla mentioning Viśamesīdhi and another from Vipparlā, issued by Jayasimha I, both from the present day Narsaraopet Taluk of Guntur district are among the earliest Telugu inscriptions. Both the Cālukya kings ruled the country shortly following the Viṣṇukundins.


100. *supra*, pt. II, Ch. 3.

101. *EDA*, opp. cit., see also Appendix 3, below.

102. *supra*, pt. I, Ch. 2, note no.

103. The Kānukollu plates (Prakrit) ll. 14-15; the Dhārikāṭūrā plates, l. 11, refer the gifts as agrahāras. The Rāmatīrtham plates of Indravarman, l. 6; the Gōdāvari plates of Prthvīmüla, l. 26; the Polamūrū plates of Mādhavavarman II, l. 27 and the Tāṇḍivāgā plates of Prthvīmahārāja, ll. 20-21, also report that the gifts were agrahāras. Several Early Pallava copper plate inscriptions, eg. the Uruvapalli plates, l. 27; Māṇgaḍhur plates, l. 28; the Vīḷavetti plates, l. 21; the Pikira plates, l. 19; the Curā grant, l. 28; the Vēsantā grant, l. 20 mention the gifts as Brahmādasyas, or made according to Brahmādeva maryāda.


106. The Nidāmarru plates of Jayaśīmha I, l. 12, describe the donor as Chatikāsāmānya.

109. Text ll. 24-26. Upādhyāyakula saṁbhūtabhyo
   Nāṇāgotrebhyas-trīcatvārīmedād-ādharvanika
   kulabhya-grahārīkṛtya dattab.

110. The Rāmatīrthā plates, l. 8, the Pōlamūrī plates,
   l. 24 of the Viṣṇukundina and the Pīkirā grant,
   l. 16 of the Early Pallavas.

111. The Tāṇḍivāḍa plates of Prthvirāharāja, l. 19 and
   the Māṅgādūr, l. 24 and Viḷavēṭṭi, l. 17 of
   the Early Pallava king Śiṅhavarman.

112. The Pangondā plates, opp. cit.

113. Niroga has been taken to mean the Science of Medicine,
   K. Satyanarayana, *A Study of the History and
   Culture of the Andhras*, P. 227.

114. The Tūndi plates of Vikramandaravarman II, l. 27, and
   the Māṅgādūr plates, ll. 19-25.

115. The Māṅgādūr plates, Ibid.

116. The Māṛṭūrā plates of Pulakesin II, ll. 24-26 and
   Tāṇḍivāḍa plates, opp. cit.

117. The Māṛṭūrā plates, ll. 28-29.

118. G. S. Gai, *Epi. Ind.*, XXXIII, P. 293, ff. opined
   that the term signifies scholarship in Śāmaveda
   which was supposed to have thousand branches.
   Sankaranarayanan, *Prof. P. B. Desai Felicitation
   Volume (1971)*, p. 63 ff. interpreted it as scholars
   in eighty or thousand tarkas, respectively. D. C.
rightly that the terms stood for the mode of the examination system, in which the said scholars were graduated.

119. The Mārturā plates of Pūlakēśin II, l. 27.

3. RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

The period under study witnessed far reaching religious developments, viz., the manifestation of the Purānic Hinduism and the Mahāyāna Buddhism. They were under the process in the early centuries of the Christian era, the process was the compromisation of the traditional Vedic and Buddhistic cultures with the vital elements in the popular faiths and practices, affected by devotionalism.

I. The Devotionalism:

The devotionalism, or the doctrine of Bhakti was essentially popular and pre-Vedic in origin, and provided an easy way of salvation to one and all, considering no difference of race, caste and sex. Hence, social equality was its key-note and it required no ritualism and austerities. It required only implicit belief in one's personal god, intense love and devotion to Him and the devotee committing himself to His care. It was the outcome of the practical outlook of the common man, seeking at the same time, material prosperity as well as the spiritual peace, for which the subtle philosophical speculations and complex dialectics were not satisfactory means.
Thus devotionalism could replace caste based Vedic ritualism which involved animal sacrifices and the early Buddhism which laid great emphasis on severe austerities and self-abnegation as the sole means of attaining Nirvāṇa. It gave enough importance to Trivarga, which aimed at material prosperity, within the limits of Dharma, and emphasised on social equality and could attract the intruding foreign hordes and the primitive folks of the country. Thus, it was the main force behind the process of Indianisation, the cultural integrity of the country. The implicit devotion and self-surrender to one's personal god seem to have served the purpose of the socio-economic and political orders of the day. The absolute monarchy became acceptable, with the deification of the king, in terms of Viṣṇu and the economic exploitation by the local chiefs, explained above, was unquestioningly obeyed. Even the Vedic rituals and the Varnāśrama-dharma were acceptable as the former were transformed non-violent and the latter having been declared as divine ordinance.

II. The Buddhism:

Buddhism was favoured in Andhradesa, almost from the life time of the Teacher and several places such as Amaravati, Nagarjunakonda, Guntupalli, Sālihundam etc.,
were among the chief centres of the religion and art in the country. Even though, none of the royal dynasties that ruled the country was Buddhist, the kings were well-disposed towards the faith and patronised it by liberal donations to Saṅgharāṣeṣa. A recently discovered stone inscription from Guṇḍupallī speaks about the gifts made by the Śaṅkāyana king Nandivarman II. Dāmodaravarman, an Āñanda-gotra king described himself as the devotee of Saṃyaksambuddha. The Viṣṇukundins, who succeeded them and the Pṛthvīmūla dynasty which allied with them appear to have been Buddhists. The two Tummalagudem charters and the Keṭṭucharuvu grant of Harivarman report the construction of vihāras and register gifts made for their maintenance.

As early as the Nāgarjunakonda inscriptions of 3rd century A.D. the Buddha was apotheosised as the Supreme Lord, Lokottara who could annihilate the woes in the material or the phenomenal world, represented by the forces of Mara. He was often described as: Jīta kāmabhāva bhaya harisa desa daṇḍa Mara bala dāputaṇa pasamaṇa karasa. The vihāras of the place became the centres of devotional worship of the Buddha and contained his images for the purpose. Similarly, the two sets of Tummalagudem charters allude to Him as ...
the god (Bhagavat), who showed the path to Nirvana out of his enlightenment and compassion, who annihilated the woes of samsara, comprising the birth, old age, death as well as attachment, hatred, passion, etc. The Kattucheruvu grant describes Him as the sage (Muni) whose lofty renown was like the pleasant light emanating from the moon of his auspicious fame, because of his invincibility against the armies of Mara, that competed with the highly swinging waves of the Southern ocean that pours water on the world.

Further, the Tummalagudem (set I) charter extols the Divine nature of the Buddha and reports about his worship in the Vihara, to which it registers the gift of villages. The Buddha was described in the usual triple formula; first that he was strong by the ten strengthening powers; secondly that he was highly enlightened by the four Vaisradyas; and thirdly that he was a well-embellished personality by the eighteen Avenika Dharmas. He was seen bedecked by the thirty-two auspicious marks of a Mahapurusa, on his body. He was further praised as one who emburdened himself with merit and all the essential elements of enlightenment, accumulated and utilised through countless aeons, to salvage the mankind, that is immersed
in such woes of the world like birth, old age, death, sorrow, etc. He was the dispeller of attachment, hatred, passion, birth and death. He was highly enlightened of all the knowable knowledge, unimpeded by envelopes. The record mentions that Govindavarman granted the gift of two villages, for producing flowers, incense, lamps, etc., that were required for the worship of the Buddha. Some bronze images of the Buddha, discovered at Amaravati dateable to fifth century A.D. are supposed to be for private worship of the abbots of the vihāra and were taken out in street processions on festive occasions.

Another purpose of the gift, mentioned in the record, was to provide food, shelter, medical facilities etc., to the Buddhist community (Aryasaṅgha) of the vihāra. The community of monks was described as the travellers on the three yānas, to the places of Supreme Merit, or the world of the Buddha, on the path laid down by him; and they belonged to the four corners of the earth. These descriptions suggest the spirit of communion in the Saṅgha, between the Hinayāna, Mahāyāna and the pratyeka Buddhayaṇa and they could freely take shelter in the same vihāra, while they undertake tours all over the country, preaching the gospel. They dedicated themselves to constant non-attachment (to the
world), character, discipline and firmness in conduct, accrued by studying, listening to the sermons by sermon monks), thinking, visualising, meditating, concentrating and by attainments. Construction of the vihāra would bestow merit on the person concerned, and his, or her parents and would remove all the woes of poverty to all.

Govindavarman, the donor of the record was described as a Buddhist, in unmistakable terms. But some scholars doubt the genuineness of the record and say that the kings of the dynasty were performers of Vedic rituals and devotees of Śrīparvatsvāmin. But the description of the king in the charter, leaves us in no doubt, that the king was an ardent Buddhist, in the process of becoming a Bodhisattva. He obtained Mahābodhi, by studying, digesting and meditating on all the Śastra, (obviously, Buddhistic) sacrificed his entire merit (sakṛtsarvasva tyāgin) and allowed all his lawfully earned wealth to be enjoyed by the Bhikṣus, dvija, anātha, yācaka, vyādhita, dīna, kṛpāṇa people. The worship of the Buddha, called anuttarapūja and becoming an adept in the pāramitā or dāna or sacrifice were requisites in the process of an individual attaining the state of bodhisattva. Some scholars suggest that the record might have been drafted by the
monks of the vihāra and as such the virtues of the king were extolled in terms of Buddhism, but the view cannot be accepted.32

Another significant development during the period, is the emergence of Vajrayānism, as the natural outcome of the innovations in the Buddhist philosophy and practice, by the Mahāyānism. Apart from a vast body of Buddhist literature pointing to Āndhradesa as the sacred land of the cult, the deification of the Buddha, as early as the Ikavāky period or even before and his worship in the form of five Dhyānibuddhas was prevalent in Āndhra country, during the period, about 5th and 6th centuries A.D.33 Apart from the concepts of void, symbolising the Supreme Truth, and of Bodhisattva the embodiment of Mahākaruna which together lead to the annihilation of soul or the realisation of Nirvāṇa,34 the socio-economic developments of the time were equally responsible for the emergence of the new cult. The rapid expansion of agriculture brought the primitive fertility cults to fore, whose gods and goddesses were to be accommodated in the pantheon and in their train, the practices of the cults, involving drinking and sexual intercourse were also accommodated. The worship of Dhyānibuddhas and their female counterparts, called saktis, and other attendants, which led to the moral depravity in the Saṅgha, resulting in the ultimate decline of the
of the Buddhism, was its outcome.

III. Purānic Hinduism:

The emergence of Purānic Hinduism was so revolutionary, that it might be described as the introduction of a new religion.35 The primitive Totemistic and Zoomorphic cults which were rationalised by the devotionalism came to be absorbed by the Vedism. The result was that the popular godheads were elevated to the status of Supreme gods and goddesses, having been identified with Upaniṣadic Brahman. In return, the Vedic ritualism and caste-based socio-economic order, of course, after suitable modifications were adopted by the Devotional cults. Life was defined in terms of Trir̥ṣa, or the puruṣ̥artha, and the śrauta and śaṁśta regulations of Varnāśrama-dharma and the ritualism based on that, such as the Pañcavaijñāna and sixteen saṁskāras,36 and others came to be the practices of the new religion as well. Even such Vedic rituals as the Śāvamedha, puruṣāmedha, etc., were continued to be performed, but mostly by kings.37 They came have become non-violent and apparently purificatory ceremonies. The dialogue in Mahābhārata38 between gods and sages, the former demanding animal offerings and the latter preparing only to offer symbolic animals made of
flour (pīṭepāsa) is a clear illustration of the point. Obviously, ahimsā, the core of devotionalism was responsible for the change.

The eleven horse sacrifices performed by the Viṣṇukūḍin Mādhavavarman II, might point out to his military successes, but more significant is the description that he removed himself from the impurities of the world by taking svabhṛtha baths after eleven Āśvamedhas. It clearly points out the purificatory nature of the rite, during the time, which might have enabled him to elevate the social status of his family.

Inscriptions of several dynasties of the time, including the Viṣṇukūḍin, accredit at least one of the kings, with the performance of a number of Vedic sacrifices such as: Āśvamedha, Vājapeya, Purusamadha, Rājasūya, Yūdhyā, Sodāsi, Atirātra, Āptoryāma, etc. Thus, the kings seem to have vied with each other in performing them especially Āśvamedha. It appears that such lists of sacrifices were more customary statements, than records of actual performance, perhaps copied from one dynasty by other.

Since the time of the Sātavāhanas, the Itihāsa-purāṇa literature and the neo-Brahmanism, better called the purānic Hinduism were popular in Andhradesa.
kings of the period called themselves Rājārājas, and compared themselves with such purānic personalities as Rāma, Ambarīsa, Vainya etc., who were celebrated Cakravartis, in that body of literature. The Gāthāsaptasāti gives reference to houses decorated with portraits of the purānic heroes and scenes depicting purānic stories. The sculptures at Undavalli and Mogalrajapuram cave temples belonging to Viṣṇukundin time depict the āvatāres of Viṣṇu and other scenes from purānic mythology, testifying to the popularity of the lore in Andhra country of the time.

Uratas and dānas occupy a very important aspect of purānic Hinduism and Purānas enumerate sixteen Mahādānas and procedures of making them. Mahābhārata explains that by giving away gold, cows, lands etc., to Brāhmaṇas and temples, one would be relieved of sins and get fame. Gifts of lands and cows were frequently made by kings, almost in all early dynasties, and the Viṣṇukundin kings also claimed to have made such gifts. D.C. Sircar has suggested that Gosahasra was one of the sixteen Mahādānas, and not simply thousand cows. The frequent occurrence in the inscriptions, of the gifts of lands and gosahasra suggests that the kings were particularly interested in them, not only from the religious point of view but also to promote the agricultural
expansion in the economic setup. Another frequently performed Mahādāna, by the kings of the period was Hiranyagarbha, which bestowed a nobler birth and superior caste status. It was obviously a veritable instrument in the process of Indianisation, elevating the caste status of the ruling families of foreign and aboriginal origin.

Pious acts like excavation of tanks were encouraged as they would please devas, men, gandharvas, menes, yakṣas, etc. Govinda-varman in his Tummalagudem (set I) charter claimed to have constructed a number of tanks, besides repairing many to working condition.

A. Vaiṣṇavism:

Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism are the two important of the devotional creeds. Some scholars suppose that the early Andhra country shows the predominance of Brāhmaṇism with Śaivite leanings and Vaiṣṇavism is not found anywhere, and the view has become more or less traditional. Some modern scholars even sought to prove those kings, who explicitly declared themselves as Paramabhaṅgavatas, to be Śaivites. A closer observation of the available evidence shows that the case was as much in favour of Vaiṣṇavism as of Śaivism.
Most of the Early Pallava kings who ruled southern Andhradesa were perhaps, Vaiṣṇavites and some of them clearly described themselves as Paramabhaṭāvatas⁵⁸ or as the devotees of Bhagavat⁵⁹ which term was generally applied either to Viṣṇu or to the Buddha⁶⁰ than to others. Mostly, the personal names in the dynasty were "Śīṃha" and "Gopa," either prefixed or suffixed by the term "Viṣṇu." The former stands for the Man-Lion incarnation and the latter, for the Cow-herd incarnations of Viṣṇu. The former was especially becoming popular in Andhra country of the time.⁶¹ The Sanskrit records of the dynasty, invariably begin with the sacred formula "Jitam Bhagavata," which is essentially Vaiṣṇavite.⁶² The British Museum plates of Cārudevi⁶³ and the Uruvapalli plates of Yuvamahārāja Viṣṇugopa⁶⁴ register gifts of lands to Vaiṣṇavite temples. Among the Śālaṅkāyanas of Vāhō, Hastivarman II of the penugonda plates,⁶⁵ was an ardent devotee of Nārāyaṇa and Nandivarman II was a Paramabhaṭāvata.⁶⁶ The Pedavāgi plates of the latter registers his gift of land to a temple of Viṣṇu.⁶⁷ A recently discovered Nāgarjunakōṇḍa inscription of an Abhira king Vasuṣeṇa⁶⁸ records the event of installing an image of Aṣṭabhujaśvāmi, whom D.C. Sircar⁶⁹ has rightly suggested to be a form of Nārāyaṇa-Viṣṇu. The Viṣṇukūṇḍinas were also Vaiṣṇavite,
except for the two last members in the dynasty, as the identification of their tutelary deity Śriparvatasvāmi clearly suggests.

B. Śriparvatasvāmi:

The name Śriparvatasvāmi, clearly means the god on the hill called Śriparvata, whom Kielhorn identified with Mallikārjuna-Siva on Śrideśam. Śriparvata-Nāgārjunakonda was not known, when Kielhorn wrote on the Viṣṇukundins. His conclusions were accepted by most of the historians, and some had even gone to the extent of equating the Vedic rite puruṣāmedha, performed by Mañḍavavarman II, with the worship of Bhairava, which involved hūman sacrifice. Even after the discovery of Śriparvata-Nāgārjunakonda, scholars continued to maintain the same theory. One recent writer held the Viṣṇukundins as Viṣṇaśāivites, obviously mistaking the epithet Paramānāhādeva.

After the discovery of the Rmatīrtha plates, which refers to the Vākāṭaka relations of the dynasty, K.Gopalachari suggested that Śriparvatasvāmi was perhaps, a Hindu deity, especially a form of Viṣṇu, whose abode might be Śriparvata-Nāgārjunakonda. Recently, N. Venkataramanayya rejected the identification of Śriparvatasvāmin, and D.C.Sircar has also doubted it.
notwithstanding his earlier view. In his recent note on the dynasty, he has more explicitly suggested that the deity must be a form of Viṣṇu. There is absolutely no evidence to conclusively suggest that the Śrīśailam was ever included in the Viṣṇukundin realms, as none of their inscriptions refer to the region nor any coin of the kings so far discovered.

On the other hand, the Viṣṇukundins claimed to have ruled over the region of Śrīparvata, which was none other than Nagarjunakonda, the famous centre of Mahāyāna Buddhism. The symbols on the seals of their copper plate grants and coins are more Buddhist and Vaiṣṇavite than Śaivite; and Govindavarman and Vikramendravarm were described as devout Buddhists. Hence, the tutelary deity of the dynasty was plausibly the Buddha, on Śrīparvata, who was devotionally worshipped in the caityas and vihāras of the place.

Some scholars suggest that either Kārtikēya, or Śiva, for whom temples were dedicated at Vijayapuri might be identical with Śrīparvataśvāmin. But the suggestion cannot be accepted, for none of their inscriptions contains any supporting statements, including the seals appended them. The coins of the dynasty do not bear any symbol, related to the Kārtikēya
cult. Again, it has been pointed out that the temples dedicated to Brahmanical deities of the place were within the fortifications of Vijayapuri, or on the neighbouring hills, like Nodagiri and Sadagiri, but the Buddhist establishments clustered around, only Sripurva, on the outskirts of the city. Hence, the Sripurvasvamin can be identified only with the Buddha on Sripurva.

B.S. L. Hanumantharao has rightly concluded after a detailed analysis of the evidence and various theories on the identification of Sripurvasvamin, that the deity was the Buddha, on Sripurva, but worshipped as an incarnation of Visnu. The declining Buddhism was lending its life to Hindu devotional cults such as Vaisnavism and Saivism and the symbols on the Visnukundin coins and the seals appended to their charters were pronouncedly Vaisnavite. Some of their inscriptive statements suggest the Vaisnavite bias of the kings, as the descriptions of the kings in the Tummalagudem (set II) charter that he imbued the greatness of Visnu, both in prowess and principles, the comparison of Govindarman with Govinda (i.e. Visnu) in his qualities, personality and wealth, and his queen with Lakshmi, both in the manner of her birth and in becoming the chief queen of Govindarman. The
description of Mādhavavarman II, in his spurious pōlamūrũ plates, as equal to Kesava in strength points out that at the time of its composition, after the disappearance of the dynasty, the kings were considered Vaishnavaite.

The above conclusion apparently conflicts with the description of the last two kings of the dynasty as paramāheśvara, and as devotees of Śriparvatasvāmin. But surely, the reference Śriparvatasvāmin was only by custom, at the time and does not specify the sectarian loyalty of the kings. The analogy of the Śāleṇkāyana kings, both Saivite and Vaishnavaite, describing themselves as the devotees of Citrarathasvāmi clearly illustrates the point.

C. Saivism:

The worship of Śiva in the form of linga and the usage of bull as his vehicle, goes back to the time of the primitive fertility cults and the worship of agricultural gods and goddesses. It was one of the predominant faiths of Ancient Āndhradesa, for whom temples were dedicated as early as the early centuries of Christian era have been exposed in the excavations at
Nagārjunakonda, and more recently in the excavations at the village of Virāpuraṁ, in Kurnool district. The latter assigned to the late Satavāhana period are perhaps, the earliest known temple remains in Andhra country.

The Ikṣvāku king Čāntamūla and the Ānandagotra king Attivarman were Śālvites and the latter worshipped Śiva as the creator of the three worlds, suggesting the Śālvite syncretism with Vedism and the Upanisadic Brahman. The Śālaṅkeyanas had the Bull as their crest symbol and described themselves in general, as the devotees of Citrarathasvāmi, the Sun-god. Vijayadeva-varman, the donor of the Eluru plates explicitly called himself as Paramamahesāvara. The cults of Skanda-Kārtikeya and Sun-worship were absorbed by Śāivism in the early centuries of the Christian era, and the puranas approved of the development.

The last two kings of the Viṣṇukundins were clearly Śālvites and described themselves as Paramamahesāvaras. Vikramendra-varman II gifted a village to a Śālvite shrine which housed the god Tryambaka, in the name Somagiri Śvara, described as the Lord of all the three worlds, whose Jatamakuta was cleansed by the whitening rays of the boy-moon.
The seal of the Tūndī plates of the same king bears the emblem of a Bull\textsuperscript{110} and the fact may again speak of his Śaivite leanings. The Bull-type coins with partial legends and assigned to the Viṣṇukūṇḍina\textsuperscript{111} were perhaps issued by Vikramendraavarman II.

The cult of Vināyaka, or Gānapati was one of the components of Śaivism, whose worship was originally a fertility rite.\textsuperscript{112} A number of plaques from different places in Āndhredaśa, datable to c. A.D. 500, show the popularity of the cult and its syncretism with Śaivism.\textsuperscript{113} His worship must have gained popularity with the expansion of agriculture during the period, beginning in early centuries of the Christian era.\textsuperscript{114} Mādhavavaran II installed an idol of Vināyaka at Vālpūrū, as his inscription from the place reports.\textsuperscript{115} Sankaranārayanan\textsuperscript{116} writes that the śrauta literature prescribes the installation of an image of Vināyaka at the commencement of war operations. In that case, he may have been worshipped as a war-god as well, as he was originally a malvolent deity, leading the destructive forces of Maruts.\textsuperscript{117}

D. Sakti-Worship and Tāntricism:

The Sakti cult which evolved out of the primitive fertility cults had its association with Śaivism. It
contribution was Tantricism, another movement similar to that of Devotionalism, which subjected all the religions of the land to its influence. The first of the major religions which came under its impact was Buddhism. It was followed by the devotional Theistic cults, comprising the purānic Hinduism.

The Mother-Goddess, in the form of naked torso, called nagnakabandha, receives worship even to this day in some corners of the country. The discovery of such an image, named Hārīti, at Nāgarjunakonda shows the prevalence of the cult in the Kṛṣṇa valley, during the Ikṣvāku period and perhaps continued even after. It may be noted here that one of the names of Pārvatī, Aparnā, meaning that her loins were not covered by leaves, connects her with the primitive Mother-Goddess cult, of some aboriginals.

In Vaishnavism, Ṣekti came to be the consort of Viṣṇu in the name of Śrī, or Lakṣmi. Her representation in the form of Śrīvatsa symbol with human head, seated in a lotus, in some plaques datable to the period under study, clearly suggests her fertility nature. But the absorption of fertility cults in Vaishnavism is more pronounced in the worship of Saṅkarṣaṇa and Ākāśaṃśa. The very name Saṅkarṣaṇa and his weapon, Hāla, or Musala,
clearly points to his connection with agriculture and fertility rites. Ekānāmē a black goddess, closely similar to Durgā-Kāli, was a goddess of agriculture.

The predominance of the godheads of fertility cults and agriculture in the two principal religions of the period, has to be accounted for their popular influence on the religious systems. The growth of agriculture as well as the Indianisation of the primitive aboriginals, who originally worshipped such gods and goddesses, must have brought them into the pantheons of major religions. The frequently used decorative motifs of Pūrṇakumbhā, and the Lotus in the Buddhist, and slightly later in the Hindu art explains the incorporations of the concepts of fertility cults in the religious art of the period. It can be recalled that Pūrṇakumbhā is depicted on the Viṣṇukunḍin coins.

IV. Syncretism in Religious Developments:

The religious developments, both Brāhmanical and Buddhist, were more or less contemporaneous and thus, there was a remarkable correspondence in the evolution of their respective pantheons as in philosophies. The common socio-economic background in as much as the impact of devotionalism was responsible for the correspondence.
Buddhism adopted the solar worship of the Vedic origin, and Buddha came to be called as Ādityabandhu. Of the five Dhyānibuddhas, Vairocana and Amitābha were clearly solar in their nature and the cult of Avalokiteśvara was the Buddhist adaption of Sun-worship. The name Avalokiteśvara sounds like Dr šiguru, one of the names of Śiva and his visiting the plains of pretas, with food and drink for them and restoring their normal figures make him more or less akin to the latter. These were several other gods in the Buddhist pantheon whose forms and attributes were very much like those of Śiva.

The doctrine of ahimsā, together with social equality, single-minded devotion to the God, render Buddhism closely similar to Bhāgavatism. The early Buddhists worshipping the foot-prints of the Buddha had correspondence to the Vaiṣṇavite veneration of the Supreme and the highest step (Paramapada) taken by Viśnu according to Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa. The very word Narāyaṇa means "the path of human beings (nāres)" obviously for the amanicipation, and the "the refuge of human beings." Both the meanings well compare with the Buddhist ideas of taking resort in the Buddha (Buddham āraṇam gacchāmi). In fact, Lalitavistara calls the Buddha as Narāyaṇa, Mahānārāyaṇa, and Mahāpurusa.
The wheel as the object of worship symbolises Dharma, propounded by the Buddha. As an attribute of Viṣṇu, called Sudarśana, meaning the good, or right philosophy, of point of view, it was symbolical representation of the Vaiṣṇavite philosophy. The purānic tradition that Viṣṇu destroyed asuras, by wielding the Sudarśana, has thus to be understood as an allegory of Vaiṣṇavite victory over some pseudo-religious systems of the time.

The erection of pillars in honour of the Lord, as done by Bahuṛutiya at Śripurva, was similar to the Vaiṣṇavite practice, or erecting garudāy pillars. It was a common adaptation by both the Buddhists and Gāgavatas of a primitive custom, or erecting memorial pillars.

The concept of Ādibuddha as the source of five Dhyāṇibuddhas, being the anthropomorphic forms of five Skandhas can be compared to the Vaiṣṇavite theory of the four Vyūhas, as emanating from Para Vāsudeva. Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa and Guhyasāmaja Tantra, etc. that deal with the concepts of Mahāyāna pantheon were a later contemporary to their composition with the development of the Vaiṣṇavite doctrine of Vyūhas. The description of Avalokiteśvara in the Buddhist work, Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara Kāraṇḍavyūha, as a cosmic body, the source
and the goal of the entire universe and is similar to that of Kṛṣṇa in Gita. The correspondence between Buddhism and Vaiṣṇavism worked for a rapprochement which culminated in the admission of Buddha into Vaiṣṇavism, and thus into the Hindu pantheon as an incarnation of Viṣṇu. The development was sanctioned by the Varāha and Bhāgavata Purāṇas of about A.D. 500. Brhatasamhitā (c. A.D. 500) in its chapter in iconography, lays down rules to prepare the image of the Buddha, that he must be seated on a lotus, like the Creator, Brahmā.

The religious syncretism, has not only brought about the Buddhist-Brahmanical reapproachment, but also brought the Trimūrti cult into existence. Both Śiva and Viṣṇu being identified with the Upaniṣadic Brahmā, both having evolved themselves from the primitive cults associated with fertility as well as the Men worship, their agreement with each other was not difficult. Some of the rock-cut temples at Mogalrājapuram and perhaps, the second storey of the famous Undavalli shrine were apparently intended to house the three principal Hindu deities, in their having three small shrines cut into the back wall. The caitya windows which adorned the cornice of many caves at the places also contain the figures of the Hindu Trinity, with their consorts. The idea was more emphatically presented in
the composite form of Trimūrti at Ellora and Elephants of the Rāṣṭrakūta times.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. D.C. Sircar, HCIP., II, The Age of Imperial Unity, p. 432, note no. 1 and Suvira Jaiswal, Vaishnavism, pp. 37-39, that the term Bhakti is derived from the root bhaj, meaning to devise. She traces the origin of the concept of Bhakti, thus, from the primitive group living, when all the members in the tribe equally indulged in gathering food and dividing it among themselves.

2. The story of the Brāhman Pāvari, Suttanipāta, verse, 1019, and RA., P. 54.


5. Supra, pt. I, Ch. 2, analysis of the texts, notes nos. 186 and 200.

6. APGAS., No. 6, pp. 241 ff.


8. Epi. Ind., XX, Apsidal Temple inscription, F.

10. Ll. 15-16, reading: Jāti jara marana sōk-ādiṣu bahu saṁsāra duḥkha nimegna sarva sattvān-taranāya...


13. The Tummalagūdem (set I) plates, l. 14. The ten bales were described in Mahāvyutpatti, 38.14 ff. Lalita vistāra, 52, 403.1; Saddharma pungarika, 81.3. For a list of the ten bales, see E.J. Thomas, The History of Buddhist Philosophy, p.149.


15. The Tummalagūdem (set I) plates, l. 14, Astādāśa-Āvēnikadharma sam-alaṅkṛta mūrtā. The Āvēnikadharmas were special or extraordinary attributes possessed by the Buddha, described in Mahāvyutpatti, sec. 9, Mahāyāna Sutrālaṅkāra 187, Sātasāhaṣṭrikā Prajñā Pāramitā, 1450, Daśabhūmikā Sūtra, 13.26 and 17.17 etc. For an analysis of the Dharmaś, H. Kern, Manual, p. 63.

16. The Tummalagūdem (set I) plates, l. 15. Dvātriṃśa-an-Mahāpurusa laksana var-opalakṣitaśaya. H. Kern, Manual, p. 62, explains the thirty two features of Mahāpurusa and that they were external, or physical features of the Buddha, which he shares
with Cakravarti and described in Suttanipata, p. 102 and Apanasamhita, Ch. LXIX. Also see T.N.Ramachandran, Buddhist Brozes in Madras Government Museum, p. 28.

17. The Tummalagüdem (set I) plates, ll. 15-16, in continuation of the sentence quoted above in note no. 10. taraṇāy-ānaka kalpa-āsahkhyaṇya- opacita pūnya jñāna sāṁbhāra bhārasya. The term asahkhyaṇya denotes a figure calculated as, one followed by 206 cyphers, by L. de La Vallee Poussin, quoted by Hardayal, BDSSL., p. 78 and a kalpa, or a mahākalpa as it was also called, including many antara-kalpas, lasts for 320 million years. Ibid., p. 79. He has thus concluded, that the career of a Bodhisattva covers, a time equal to four times of nine hundred sixty thousand million billion billion billions of years.

18. The Tummalagüdem (set I) plates, ll. 17, Apagata rāga dveṣa moha janana maraṇa duḥkhasya.

19. Ibid., ll. 17-18. Apratihant-āverana sakala jñeya jñāna sāmyak-sāmbuddhasya. After removing Klesāvarana, the worldly sorrows, one could see Pudgala sūnyata. But only after removing the Jñeyāverana, the Dharma sūnyata or the Supreme Reality can be visualised. That is the realisation of Tathātā. Nalinaksha Dutt, HCIP., III, The Classical Age, pp. 377-78.

20. Text ll. 22-23 and B.S.L.Hanumantharao, RA., p. 95.

21. Ibid.,

23. The Tummalagudem (set I) plates, ll. 18-20. Continuing the sentence quoted under note no. 19...


25. Ibid., ll. 18-19. Nirved-virāga sīla sīkṣa dhṛta-guṇa-ādhyyaya śravaca cintana bhāvana dhyāna samādhi sampatya-ādi guṇa gareṣṭ-anuttara...

26. Text ll. 2052, continuing the sentence quoted under note no. 25, above, reading...saṅgha-uddiṣṭya tyēga paribhog-ānvaya-aupadhiśkaṇca punyakriyā vastvabhā nivartayissva mātāpito sarva
sattvānāṁ-ca nihilā dāridrā yā duḥkh-opacāmanā
hatob svasyā agramahīṣyā...

27. *Itihāsa*, VII, No. 1, p. 14, see also above pt. II, Ch. 3, sect. II B.


31. The process was analysed in a great detail by Hardayal, *BDDBSL*, pp. 500 ff and for various stages in the worship, pp. 54-58. See also Kern, Manual, p. 66 and Hardayal, *BDDBSL*, pp. 172-74, for the Dāna pāramī in the process of one becoming a Bodhisattva.


34. Nalinaksha Dutt, *HCIP*, III, The Classical Age, p. 385, that saṃsāra, or the phenomenal world was a superimposed vision on Suprema Reality and thus a reality. The Vajrayānist had thus took it as means of Suprema Realisation, which he defined as Mahāsukhā, *Cult. H. Ind.*, IV, p. 264 and 267. Mahāsukha can be obtained by sexual union, Elliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism* II, p. 123.

36. The pānca-yajñas were, Brahmāyajña, Daivāyajña, Bhūta yajñā, pītra yajñā and Nr yajñā. Manu, III, 81, says: One should honour the seers by study of the Veda, the gods by offerings, manes by funeral oblations, man by food and beings by offerings. For a detailed analysis of the concept, Cult. Her. Ind., I, pp. 254-55.

37. Vide supra, Introduction, note no. 5, also see below, note no. 40.

38. Narayānīya Section of Śaṅtiparvan, for a discussion, Suvira Jaiswal, Vaiśnavism, pp. 117-18.

39. Supra, pt. I, ch. 2, notes nos. 43, 71, 91, 110, 118 etc. Similarly, Pulakāśīn I was described as Advamedh-āvabhrtha snāna pavitrākrta śirasāḥ, in the Bādāmi cave III inscription, opp. cit., ll. 1-3.

40. The records of Vikramendravarman II ascribes Mādhavavarman II, a number and variety of sacrifices, Supra, pt. I, ch. 2, notes nos. 45, 139 to 143 and 196. Similarly, Pravarasena I, the Vākāṭaka king was credited with the performance of four Advamedhas, Agniśṭoma, Aśtoyāma, Śūkthya, Sodāti, Atīrātra, Vājapeya, Pṛhaspatisava and others in the records of Pravarasena II, CII, V, nos. 3 and 6 ll. 1-2, Pulakāśīn I, in the Bādāmi cave III and the Mahākūṭa pillar inscriptions, Ind. Ant., VI, pp. 363 ff and XIX, pp. 7-20 was credited with Agniśṭoma, Agnicayana, Vājapeya, Paungarika, Bhausuvarna and Advamedha. It is interesting to note that the king claimed for himself in his own inscription, Epi. Ind.,
XXVII, pp. 4-9, the performance of Āśvamedha and other as well as Hiranyagarbha ceremony, but not so many variety of rituals as attributed to him by Maṅgeśa. If the term 'other' in his inscription stands for all these rituals, cannot ascertained.

41. The lists of sacrifices attributed to the kings but perhaps an imitation of the accreditations by Vikramadevaravaman II to his great-grandfather, Maṅhevaraman II, or vice versa. Supra, pt. III, Ch. 3, sect. A, for the Visṇukūndin-Cālykṣyan relations.

42. See above pt. IV, Ch. 1, sect. I, iii.


44. B. S. L. Hanumantharao, RA., pp. 215.

45. Infra, pt. IV, Ch. 4.

46. Supra, pt. IV, Ch. 1, note no. 51. Also Kūrma Purāṇa, I, 28, 17 Dānam-ekān-Kalauyuge, that making gifts is the only way of piety in the Kali age, is an echo of Manu, I, 86, that in Kṛtā age, the chief virtue is declared to be austerity, in the Treta, knowledge, in the Dvāpara sacrifice, and generosity is the only duty in the Kali age. Matsya Purāṇa, Ch. 206 and 230, promise that gifts to brāhmaṇa would ensultre pleasure and prosperity to the donor,
bestows on him health, wealth, a beautiful wife and children on earth and Brahmaloka or Viṣṇuloka after death, R.C. Hazra, Purānic Records, pp. 249-50.

47. *Mbh.* Anuśāsanika parvan, Ch. 57, 17, Kīrtibhavati dānena.

48. The Anandaḍāra king Attivarman was described in the Meṭṭēpāḍu plates of Dāmodaravarman, *Epi. Ind.*, XVII, pp. 327 ff. 1. 2, as to have made evandhya gosahasras. The Hirahadagalli plates of the Early Pallava king Śivaskandavarman described himself as the giver of go-hala sata sahassa-ppadāyise. The Ikṣavāku king Cāntamūla was described in many inscriptions with the same import.

49. The Viṣṇukundin king Govindavarman was described in Ipurū (set I) plates, as the giver of gosahasras, supra, pt. I, Ch. 2, note no. 104.

50. D.C. Sircar, Successors, p. 50 and 60. For the significance of the gift, apart from religious, supra, pt. IV, Ch. 2, sect. B I.

51. Supra, pt. IV, Ch. 2, sect. Economy.

52. Viṣṇukundin Madhavarman was a Hiranyagarbha prasūta, supra, pt. I, Ch. 2, notes nos. 90, and 109. The Anandaḍāra king Attivarman was also born of Hiranyagarbha, Gōraṇṭa plates, *Ind. Ant.*, IX, pp. 102 ff. The Western Cālukyan king Pulakēśin I, of Bādāmī, was another who performed the rite, Bādāmī inscription opp. cit. l. 3.
53. Mbh., Anugäsenika parvan, Ch. 57 verses 7-8, Caturthänäm bhütänäm tatākam-upalaksatī Tatākänica sārvāni didanti priyam-uttamam Deva manusāh gandharvāh pitero yakṣa rākṣasāh Sthevarānica bhūtāni samārayanti jalāseyām

54. Supra, pt. I, Ch. 2, note no. 179.

55. N.Venkataramanayya, APGAS., No. 40, P. 41.

56. Even the Earlier writers like K.V.Lakshmanarao, B.V.Krishnareo and others opined similarly. The term Paramabhagavata, as they suggest would also signify Śaivite leanings, because Panini refers to Śiva Bhāgavatas. But it is too much to rely on this point, because the two terms Paramāmahāvāra and Paramabhagavata, as claimed by some kings in one and the same dynasty should have distinction in their religious affiliation.

57. I.K.Sarma, Bhārati, 1978, August, p. 30, on the same ground as K.V.Lakshmanarao (JTA, XI, (Tel.) nos. 2-3, p. 118). The former tries to prove even a Vaiṣṇavite king to be a Śaivite. See below note no. 69.

58. The Vasantā grant of Śimhavarman II, APGAS., No. 6, p. 211-38, I. 16, clearly describes him as Paramabhagavata. Similarly Yuvarāja Viṣṇugopa described himself in his Neguṅgerāya, (Epi. And., I, pp. 1-8, I. 18) and the Uruvapalli (Ind. Ant., V, pp. 59-53, I. 14) plates, that he was a Paramabhagavata.
59. Most of the Sanskrit charters of the dynasty describe the donors, as well as their ancestors, conventionally as: Bhagavat-pād-ānudhyāta or Bhagavad-bhakti sadbhāva sarva kalyāṇasya.


61. Viṣṇugopa, ŚimhaViṣṇu, etc., were the frequently occurring names in the dynasty.

62. D.C. Sircar, Select Inscriptions, I, P. 412, fn. 2, that it was perhaps the shortened form of the verse, sometimes quoted in the Early Kedambas inscriptions, which reads as: jītam-bhagavātēna Viṣṇūya yaśa vakeṣāi śrīsaya bhāti devadēca nabhipadma-pitāmahaḥ. The verse is so strikingly similar to the verse, that occurs in the opening line of the Tummalagudem (set I) charter, that suggesting one of them would have inspired the composition of the other. See also, J.N. Banerjea, RAA, P. 20.

63. Epi. Ind., VIII, pp. 143-6, 11, 7-8, Dālūrē Kulimahatāraka Devakulasa Bhagavan-Māravaṇassa.

64. Text 11. 26-27... Nivartanāni Kendukura Viṣṇuvarma senāpati kṛte Viṣṇuhara devakulaśya devabhogāṁ kṛtvā...


67. The Pedavegi plates, 11. 10-11, Trilokanāthaśya Viṣṇugopa svēminabh... Devahālam kṛtvā...


72. C. Minakshi, *Administration and Social Life under the Pallavas*, p. 217 and note no. 43.


77. *Supra*, Pt. II, Ch. 2, note no. 29.


79. *Successors*, p. 123, accepted the suggestion by Kielhorn.

80. *Itihas*, VII, No. 1, p. 15.


82. The Tummagudem (set II) plates, 1.26, *supra*, pt. I, Ch. 2, note no. 217, see also pt. II, Ch. 1, sect. IIC.
83. Supra, pt. I, Ch. 3, sect. II.

84. Ibid., Ch. 2, notes nos. 193, 194 and 199.


86. The kings who were devotees of Skanda-Kārtekeya claimed so, in their inscriptions, *Infra*, note no. 100.

87. Generally the coins of a dynasty contained the symbols sacred to their religion, such as the bull on the Sālāṅkāyana coins, B. D. Chattopadhyaya, *CCSSS*, p. 9 ff. and the Garuḍa on the Gupta coins, J. N. Banerjea, *RAA.*, p. 18.


90. Supra, pt. I, Ch. 2, note no. 191.

91. Ibid., note no. 218.

92. Ibid., note no. 211.

93. Ibid., note no. 93.

94. Ibid., analysis of the Chikkullā, Rāmatīrthaṇḍa and the Tūndi plates.

95. Vijayadeva Varman, the donor of Elūrū plates was a Paramaṃhāesvara and also a devotee of Bhagavat-Citrarathasvāmi. Again Nandivarman II, the donor of Pedavāgī and Kollērū plates was a Paramaḥāgavata, but at the same time the devotee of Citrarathasvāmi.


98. The present writer is very much obliged to Dr. B.R. Subrahmanyam of Nagarjuna University, for the kind information on the excavations conducted by him, at the village of Virāpuraṇ, whose report is awaiting publication. He has dated the temple site to late Sātavāhana times, on the basis of numismatic finds therefrom.

99. Even though, the famous Gudimallam linga is dated on stylistic grounds to 1st century B.C., S.K. Saraswathi, A Survey of Indian Sculpture, p. 59, the temple is dated on similar grounds to the close of 8th century A.D., Percy Brown, Indian Architecture, I, p. 83. Hence, the Virāpuraṇ temple has to be taken as the earliest Brāhmaṇical temple remains, so far known in Andhra Pradesh.

100. A number of inscriptions from Nāgarjunakonda, issued by his successors, EpJ Ind., XX, describe him thus. Eg. the Ayaka pillar inscription, C 3, ll. 3-5, reads: Maharājasa Virūpākkhapati Mahāśaṇa parigahitasa...

101. Ind. Ant., V, pp. 102-3, ll. 1-2, Bhagavata Vaṁkedvar-ādhivasinas-Tribhuvanā kartuk Śambhas-carvasa Kamala rajah-pavitrika...
102. The Kolleru plates Ind. Ant., V, p. 75 ff. text.
1. The pedavagi plates, ll. 5-6; the two
Kanteru plates, JTA., XI (Tel.) nos. 2-3, p.
125 ff. ll. 1-2 and p. 126, ll. 1-2; The
Dharikatara plates, Epi. Ind., XXXVI, No. 1,
p. 1 ff. ll. 1-2 and the Eluru plates Ibid.,
XI, p. 35 ff. text ll. 1-2.

103. R. Subbarao, JAHRS., I, p. 95 and B.V. Krishnarao,
EDA., p. 350 and D.C. Siroor, Successors, p. 82.

104. Hultzsch, Epi. Ind., XI, p. 36 wrote that he saw
a mound among the ruins of Vangî which was told
by the locals as the ruined temple of Citrarahavâmi.
All the subsequent writers accepted the
suggestion that the god was the sun-god. Even-
though, Sun was a Rigvedic god, his worship in the
form of icon, has been traced back to Persian


106. B.S.L. Hanumantharao, RA., p. 270.

107. Supra, pt. I, Ch. 2, notes nos. 55, 58 and 76.

108. Ibid., Note no. 59, opp. cit.

109. Ibid., text ll. 21-23.

110. Epi. Ind., XXXVI, No. 1, p. 7 and plate, facing
p. 12 and R. Subrahmanynam, APGAS., No. 8, p. 2.

111. Supra, pt. I, Ch. 3, note no.


114. For the note on the expansion of agriculture, *supra*, pt. IV, Ch. 2.


118. Elliot, *IBB*, p. 126, writes that the Tāntric elements entered into Buddhism, through Hinduism, though in some cases there may have been direct contract with the aboriginal cults, the sources of such elements. B. Bhattacharya, *Introduction to Buddhist Esotericism*, Intro. P. xix, has on the other hand, rightly viewed that Tāntric mantras appeared in Hinduism, rather suddenly. But in Buddhism, there was a gradual process of development. This clearly shows that the Hindu Tāntricism was simply the imitation of the much earlier Buddhist Tāntric development. See also *Cult. Her. Ind.*, IV, pp. 260-61, and L. M. Joshi, *Studies in Buddhist Culture of India*, p. 11, that Tāntric developments can be noticed as early as the composition of Mahāyāna texts like *Saddharma Pundarīka* and *Suvarṇa Prabhāsa*, of first century A.D. or B.C.

The image was associated with the Triratna symbol, offered bangles and worshipped as a giver of children. Another such image was noticed at Saṅkāraṁ, another Buddhist site of early centuries of Christian era, A. Rea, ASR., 1907-08, p. 164. These instances show the Buddhist association with the Mother-Goddess cult in early times.

D.C. Sircar, Religious Life, pp. 103-4, points out that one of the branches of Ābāras, called Nagnāsābaras worshipped a naked Mother-Goddess, while the other branch, called, Pārṇāsābaras, worshipped her, as having her loins clothed by a leaf. The Buddhist goddess, Pārṇāsābari was perhaps, related to the latter and Nagnāsābari, or Aparna must have entered Saivism.

Several sculptured plaques from Pedamudiam show her in such a manner. See below, Pt. IV. Ch. 4.

Mahābhārata, XIII, 132, 8-11, says that Saṅkāraṅga-Baladeva was an incarnation of Śeṣa-Nāga. Thus, his worship was connected with ophiolatry, which in its turn was connected with fertility rites. Suvira Jaiswal, Vaishnavism, p. 54. The god was a heavy drunkared whose eyes rolled in a state of peripheral inebriety, as Viṣṇupurāṇa V, 25, describes. Obviously, the deity was the personification of the rural life, the aspirations of the agriculturist, of raising bounteous harvest and enjoying life in merry. His wife Revatī was considered to be the personification of a children's disease.
Vaisnavism, p. 58. Most of the Mother-Goddesses worshipped even to this day in Andhradesa, were presiding deities on such diseases like smallpox. Thus, the cult of Saṅkarṣaṇa was the result of hopes and fears of the rural masses.

124. She is identified with a goddess called Ekādaśā, mentioned in Lalitavistara, p. 390 and Vīṣṇu Purāna, II, 8.02 calls her as Amāvāsyā and Śivādṛtī, Suvarṇa Jaiswal, Vaisnavism, p. 67.

125. IHQ., 1959, p. 192 ff. Suvarṇa Jaiswal, Vaisnavism, p. 127, identifies her with Śītā, whose very name was connected with agriculture. Daśaratha Jātaka says that Śītā was the sister of Rāma, but married by him. Mahābhārata which says were as born out of the austerities of Narāyaṇa and identifies the two, respectively with Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa, accounts the former's marriage with Subhadra, the latter's sister. She receives worship as the consort of Kṛṣṇa and Baladeva, at Puri in Orissa. See also Vaisnavism, p. 33.

126. Supra, pt. I, Ch. 3.

127. Hardayal, BDDBSL*, p. 48. The worship of Amītābha is traced by some scholars from foreign influence, Elliot, HB*, p. 29.


129. Ibid., p. 48.

130. Elliot, HB*, p. 13 and also Hardayal, BDDBSL*, p. 48.
131. B.S.L. Hanumantharao, RA., P. 127.

132. Supra, note no. 38.

133. R.G. Bhandarkar, VSMR., P. 33 and D.C. Sircar, Religious Life, pp. 2-3. C. Sivaramamurthy, Amaravatî Sculptures in Madras Government Museum, P. 60, that the Buddhist veneration to the feet of the Lord, was an imitation to the reverence to Paramapada of Vedic lore.

134. Suvira Jaiswal, Vaishnavism, P. 34, quoting Ṛbh., Udyogaparvan, V, 68.10, writes that Narâyana was the refuge of all nāras (mortals) and Ibid., XII, 328.35, Narānām-ayam āksaramātanaḥ.


136. Chs. XV, 202 and 221; XVI, 221; Ch, XXII, 353 and XXVI, 426.

137. It is interesting to note that a pāñcaratrā text, Sudārśana saṁhitā, deals with meditation on mantras and expiation of sins. S. N. Desgupta, HIP., III, P. 23 and D.C. Sircar, Religious Life, p. 37, for the view that the common factors in the Buddhist and Vaishnavite reverence to the Wheel, as a point of rapprochement between the two religions.

138. Ancient India, No. 16.

139. Luders list no. 669. The Beesnagar, pillar inscription of Halidorous.

140. In a series of lectures delivered by Mr. John Irwin, the erection of pillars was itself a cult, universally practised.
141. B. Bhattacharya, *Cult. Her. Ind.*, IV, P. 263, that *Manjuśrī-mūlakalpa* of the first or second century A.D., was the earliest work on *Mantrayāna*, or the Tāntric Buddhism. It describes the forms of deities, *mandalas* (mystic circles), and *mudras* (poses), of the faith. *Guhyasamāja Tāntra* has been dated to about third century A.D. and considered to have derived the material freely from *mūlakalpa*. The *Vyūha* doctrine of the Vaiṣṇavism is found in the *Mora* inscription, of first century A.D., in its developed form, even though the *Nānāgahāt* inscription of *Nāgānīka*, of second or first century B.C., is also considered as referring to the doctrine in a rudimentary form, D.C. Sircar, *Religious Life*, p. 35 and D.S.L. Hanumantharao, *RA*, P. 244. But J.N. Banerjea, *RAA*, P. 13, supposed that the *Vṛṣṇī* heroes were still worshipped as independent gods by the time of the *Nānāgahāt* inscription.


** ** ** **
4. ART AND ARCHITECTURE

The Viṣṇukūṇḍin contribution to art and architecture has been one of the neglected subjects of study due to interalia, the absence of proper evidence to assign any monument to their period. However, their describing themselves as builders of many temples and vihāras cannot be dismissed as an empty boast. Their glorious heritage of art and architectural activity in the preceding Satavahana and Ikṣvāku periods and their close relations with the Vākaṭakas, whose time witnessed the vigorous activity of rock-cut art and architecture at Ajanta, must have inspired them to artistic and architectural undertakings. Secondly, the devotional cults of the period, centred on image worship must have necessitated construction of temples and vihāras, as the one built by the chief queen of Govindavarman at Indrāpurā.

The temples and vihāras of the Viṣṇukūṇḍin period are not mostly extant and the attribution of some cave-temples to the authorship of the kings is a matter of controversy. However, a brick temple now stands at the village of Čhēzerlā, in Guntur district and a few rock-cut temples on either side of the river Kṛṣṇā, in the coastal strip, are assigned by scholars to the Viṣṇukūṇḍin period. The cave-temples were once considered to be the works of the Pallavas.
I. Constructional Architecture:

The temple at Chēzerlā, called the Kapotasāvara temple is a brick building, in gajapṛsthā or apsidal form and decorated by a large caitya window on the front. Thus, it presents a Buddhist appearance. Scholars in the past believed that independent Hindu temple architecture, especially in the apsidal form, had its beginning about the first quarter of the 6th century A.D., based on the preceding pattern of Buddhist architecture and that the Calukyas were the pioneers in the enterprise. They had also suggested that some early apsidal temples including the one at Chēzerlā, were Śaivite conversions of Buddhist caityas, hiding the original barrel-valuted roof with ribs, by means of flat stone slabs. But the Nāgārjunakonda excavations exposed several brick-built temple lay-outs of apsidal plan. In fact, the brick-built temples appear, at least, from the late Sātavāhana period. Thus, the above view can no longer be accepted.

However, it might be true that, the apsidal form, was a Buddhist innovation and was popularised by their adoption of the form in constructing caityagrhas. Thus, the apsidal form of the temples at Nāgārjunakonda as well as at Chēzerlā, was, perhaps, due to the predominance of
the Buddhist influence over the region. The bricks of the same measurement, 42.7/22.8/7.5 cm, used in the construction of the temple are obtained at a number of places in Andhradāsa, connected with the Viṣṇukūḍins.8 The recent clearing operations at the site yielded some carved pillars of pulana lime stone, with label inscriptions of 4th and 5th centuries A.D., similar to the pillar discovered at Gunṭupalle, with a Śālaṅkāyana inscription of about A.D. 450.10 Thus, the Chēzerlā temple has to be taken as a Hindu shrine since its origin and that it received patronage of the Ānandagotra and the Viṣṇukūḍin kings, who ruled the region. They were not intolerant of Buddhism to affect its conversion.11

The Kapoteśvara temple, as seen at present, consists of a Mukhamandapa and the apsidal garbhagṛha, intervened by an antarāla. But from the difference in the pattern of plinth, the garbhagṛha, appears to belong to an earlier period, than Mukhamandapa.12 The latter might belong to the Viṣṇukūḍin period, while the original construction goes back to about 3rd century A.D.

The pattern of ceiling in the temple is quite analogous to that in such early examples as the Lāḍkhān temple at Aḥole, flat stone slabs laid on the two side walls, supported by two rows of pillars in the
interior. Hence, there is no reason to suppose that the ceiling could have hidden the original, that belonged to a caityagraha. The walls are plain on their exteriors, but have a heavy cornice, kapota moulding, above which the vaulted roof is laid. The kapota is very much similar to that found in the cave-temples of Vijayawada and Mogalrajapuram, which supports the date of construction of the Mukha-mandapa, as suggested above.

A miniature kūta, or a temple model, flanked by figures of vidyādharas is set into the caitya-arch that decorates the facade of the temple. The pillars in the Mukhamandapa are square in section, but octagonal in the upper parts, surmounted by brackets with semi-circular profiles, similar pillars can be found in the caves at Sānkāraṇ, belonging to about the same period. The bases and the upper parts of the pillars are decorated with half-lotus medallions, as on the thabas, of the Amarāvatī railing.

Some scholars have recently suggested that the Rāmalingesavara and Bhimalingesavara temples at Satyavōlu, assigned to Cālukyan idiom, originally belong to the Viṣṇukūḍin period. The suggestion is based on the presence of horned dvārapālas, on either side of the entrance of the sanctum sanctorum, which is definitely a
a non-Calukyan feature. But the spires of the two temples are in the north Indian Rēkha-Prasāda style, which was the principal form of spire of the Calukyan temples at Aihole, Pattadakal and Alampur. Some scholars assign the Alampur temples to 11th and 12th centuries, based on the form of sikhara, as it is the feature of Orissan temples of the time. Eventhough, such a late date to Alampur temples cannot be accepted, that the form of sikhara was originally Viṣṇukundin contribution, and that it spread to Kauṭāka and Orissa, from Alampur and Mukhalingam is equally unacceptable in the present state of present knowledge.

II. Rock-cut Architecture:

There are a number of cave temples clustered on either side of the river Kṛṣṇā, are in two groups. The first group is situated in the modern town of Vijayawada and the other at the village Undavalli, respectively on the left and right banks of the river. In addition, a few caves at Sanēkāraṁ in Visakhapatanam district seem to belong to this period, while those at Guṇṭupallī received some patronage, though not constructed by the Viṣṇukūṇḍins. Caves in the Kṛṣṇā valley are Brāhmaṇical, while those at the two other places are Buddhist. Another group of caves has been discovered at the village, Adavisomanapalle,
in Karimnagar district\textsuperscript{22} and yet another group was noticed at Bhokardān in Aurangabad district,\textsuperscript{23} both being similar in technique and style as those in the Kṛṣṇa valley.

A. Saṅkārām:

The Buddhist caves at Saṅkārām varying dated between pre-Christian\textsuperscript{24} to the early medieval times, may be taken first in the series, in the order of geographical location. A few of them belong to Mahāyāna Buddhism and present the images of Bodhisattvas and Dhyānibuddhas, which are of concern in this context. They are mostly caityas, rectangular in plan, resembling cave no. IX at Ajanta.\textsuperscript{25} The caitya caves nos. 1 to 3 in the series are almost identical in the decoration of the facade, their doorways ornamented with makara-toranas, resting on pilasters, surmounted by caitya-arches. The arches are purely decorative in purpose, sheltering the figures of Bodhisattvas. The Caitya no. 1 has a votive stupa in its rear end. Cave No. 2 is two storied, both the storeys standing identical in decoration of the facade, but for a slightly projecting porch. The facade of its upper storey slightly recedes back,\textsuperscript{26} and in its rear has a cell, housing a seated Buddha in Dharma-cakra-pravartana mudra.
The pillars in cave no. 1 are square at the base, octagonal in the upper parts, surmounted by kumbhas and brackets with terangā profiles. The ceiling is decorated by a large lotus medallion. Temple no. 4 is a small and simple hall, with the figures of Buddha carved on the back wall. The caves nos. 5 and 6 are viharas, with pillars of high bases, square sections and tapering shafts. They are surmounted by ghaṭa motifs and brackets with semi-circular profiles. It has been observed that this pillar might be the precursor of the more developed patterns employed at Ellora and Jogeshvari.

The depiction of Buddha in dharmaśakrapravartana mudra is post-Iksvaku in the Buddhist art of Andhradesa and the presentation of dhyānibuddhas and bodhisattvas show a fairly developed doctrinaire of Mahāyāna iconography and has to be assigned to fourth and fifth centuries A.D. Salihundā, which is further to the north of Saṅkaraṇ was another centre of worship of dhyānibuddhas, belonging to the same period. The influence of the art traditions of Ajanta and Ellora on the site supports the conclusion, which was perhaps, due to the Viṣṇukundin relations with the Vākāṭakas. At the same time, the conventional motifs from the art of Amarāvatī, such as the lotus medallions were continued in the decoration of the temples.
B. Caves in the Kṛṣṇa Valley:

A group of five cave-temples at Mogalrājapuram and two others in the slopes of Indrakīlādri, at Vijayawada, show the pattern of development of the rock-cut architecture in the region. Some of them are small and simple in plan and more primitive in workmanship, than the bigger ones, complex in design. The design and execution of the caves has reached a level of precision in the Akkanna-Mādanna cave at Vijayawada and the main cave at Undavalli, perhaps, due to some external influence. If the growing number of cells be taken as a feature of development, some of them at Mogalrājapuram having a single cell might be assigned to an earlier date than those with three cells.

The caves of this group, in general, constitute a pillared verandah, to the back wall of which the shrine and in some cases a row shrines are carved in. Some of the caves have on either side of the entrance to the sanctum in some cases to the cave itself, the figures of doorkeepers. In some cases, perhaps later in date, the verandah in front of the shrines has developed into a hall with more than one row of pillars. The pillars are massive, and square in section, but for an octagonal middle portion. The pillars are surmounted by corbels,
sometimes plain and in some cases fashioned with scroll pattern. Generally the walls and pillars are plain, bearing no ornamental or figure sculptures, but in some cases, the exteriors of the shrine walls show carvings of divine figures. Some decorative sculptures as well as scenes from Epics and purāṇas are carved on the faces of cubical parts of the pillars in Undavallī cave. Some caves have a heavy cornice; the absence of which might suggest an earlier date for excavation, while in some examples, the cornice is decorated by caitya-arches. The caitya-arches show a pattern of decoration by the addition of spade-shaped finials, and figure sculpture, usually of the Brāhmaṇical trinity, with their consorts are carved in their inner hollows. A frieze of geese or the dwarf yakṣas was sometimes carved above the cornice, in low relief.

The rock-cut temples in Tamil country of the Mahendra style show identical pattern of ground plan, form of pillars, cornice adorned with caitya-arches with figures sculptures set in, as of the above mentioned caves of Āndhradeśa. Besides, there are similarities in respect of decorative motifs and other sculptures, the first being the figures of dwārapālas, exactly similar in form and postures, to those in the caves of the Kṛṣṇā valley. Secondly the sculptures frieze of
geese, above the cornice also compare very well. Further, the sikharas of the rathas are very much similar to those of the votive monolithic shrines carved in the vicinity of the cave temples of Undavalli, which fact appeared almost as a trademark of the Pallava workmanship of the caves. Thus, the caves in Kṛṣṇā valley were grouped together with the caves in Tonḍaimandalam, excavated by Mahendravarman I and usually termed as of Mahendra style. On the basis of his Mandagapattu inscription the Pallava king has been supposed to have invented the rock-cut technique and that the caves in Kṛṣṇā valley were his early experiments, when he ruled over the southern Āndhradesa.

A label inscription, Utpattipidugu in Vengi alphabet of 7th century A.D., is found on the Undavalli, the Akkanna-Mādanna, the caves at Bheiravakaṇḍa and on those in Kerimnagar district in Āndhra country, as well as the Snokardhān caves. Titles with the Telugu suffix pigugu are known to have been held by the Pallava king Narasimhavarman I. Thus, the term Utpattipidugu has been suggested, as yet an unknown title of the Pallava king and he must have spread the technique after improving over that initiated by his father. He was supposed to have had the opportunity of moving round the country, where cave temples labelled with the inscription,
Utpattipidugu, following his conquest of Vatapi and occupation of the country for some time. In the alternative it was suggested that some feudatories of the Pallava king like the Telugu Coles, must have caused their excavation and got the label inscribed on them.

J. Dubreuil suggested long back that the cave temples in Krishna valley were perhaps the works of the Viṣṇukundins and the same was more forcefully argued by B.V. Krishnarao. The theory was not accepted at that time for want of sufficient evidence but inter-state relations during the period and the dynastic history of the Viṣṇukundins as known at present render the theory, the most plausible. A comparative stylistic study of the rock-hewn architecture of Andhra, Kalinga and Tamil countries supports the theory.

C. Theory of Mahendra Style: Refuted:

The Pallava authorship of the caves in Krishna valley is not possible, because in the first place that Mahendravarman I, who supposedly initiated the new technique, had so brief a period of authority over Andhradesa that he could not have experimented in so numerous excavations as in the Krishna valley. The
Mandagapattu inscription found in Tamil country can only suggest the introduction of the style in that country, but not in Andhradesa, which had the tradition of rock-cut architecture, far earlier than the caves under discussion. Surely, he must have been inspired in this enterprise by the caves excavated in the region, by the Viṣṇukūṇḍins, rather than the other way round. The cave temples in Tamil country exhibit more maturity of workmanship than those in Kṛṣṇa valley and must be later than the latter group. Mahendravarman might have taken sculptors from Andhradesa to Tondaimandalam, who had already completed the stage of experimentation in Andhradesa.

Secondly, there is no evidence what so ever, in support of the surmise, that Narasimhavarman I occupied and ruled coastal Andhradesa and the distant region of Bhogavardhana. Hence, his part in the spread of the Pallava style of rock-cut architecture over the entire Deccan plateau cannot be admitted. Again, the fact remains that the label is not inscribed on any of the rock-cut monuments of Tamil country, which can be confidently assigned to his authorship. Hence, the term Utpattipidugu is not unlikely to be an unknown title of the king. Some scholars suggest that it was the pilgrim label of a Pāsupat-ācārya, who visited the cave temples. But all the caves, so inscribed, cannot
be said to belong to Śaivism and especially, the Undavalli cave is clearly Vaiṣṇavite. Hence, none of the explanations seems satisfactory.

The term Utpattipidugu, was, perhaps, the guild mark of stone carvers. The term pidugu, or the thunder bolt was the weapon of Indra, by wielding which he was said to have cut mountains. The similar label inscription in Telugu, reading Tolucuvāṇā, has been discovered recently at Ksaragutā, whose meaning is the same as that of Utpattipidugu. Hence, the term must be a Sanskritised form of the Telugu name of the stone-carvers guild.

Some scholars who recognised the impossibility in substantiating the theory of the Pallava origin of the cave-temples, try to attribute the caves to the Eastern Caḷukyan work, including the caves at Bhokardhan. If they were the authors of these rock-cut temples, they must have been inspired by the similar works at Bādāmi and Aihole, even before they came to rule over Coastal Āndhra. It is significant to note that the Bhokardhana caves, in spite of the territorial proximity to the Western Caḷukyan and Rāṣṭrakūṭa centres of art and even politically formed parts of their realms, have very little in common with them. On the other hand, they are identical in the simplicity of plan and style of art, with the
Pallava-Vêngî group of caves rather than with the Câlukyan and Râstrakûta. The Câlukyan caves at Bâdami are larger in plinth area, more complex in plan and far refined in workmanship, than the caves of smaller and simpler plan and crude workmanship in most cases in Krsna valley. 47

The Viññukundins have claims to be the authors of the rock-cut temples under mention. They described themselves to have beautified all the corners of Daksinâpathâ, by constructing temples and vihâras. 48 Their Vâkâṭaka relationship seems to have inspired them to continue the rock-cut traditions of Andhradesa, in preference to the brick-building tradition of the past. 49

The existence of a carver's guild during the time, whose label inscription, reading Tolucuvâṇḍu, is an evidence in favour of the brisk activity of art and architecture of the period.

It has been rightly pointed out 51 that in dating the caves in Krsna valley and in particular, the cave-temple at Undâvalli scholars in general, conveniently overlook the tradition of rock-cut architecture of Andhradesa and search in Tamil and Kannada countries for the source of inspiration. In order to understand the real significance of the rock-cut architecture of Andhradesa, a comprehensive look on the course of its development in Deccan, Andhra and Kâlingâ is necessary.
Dr. Mate has rightly pointed out the fact that the Pallavas could not have been the originators of the technique in Andhradeśa and that the cave complex in storeys with receding floors was more of Kalingā influence than the Buddhist vihāras and the Hindu temple of Kalısanātha at Ellora. In fact there is an example of such earlier attempt at Saṅkērām obviously modelled by some still earlier storeiyed caves in Kalingā. It was the architecture of Āndhra and Kalingā carried to such centres of Deccan as Ajanta and Ellora, where storeyiéd caves and the octagonal pillar styles of Nāgārjunakonda and Saṅkērām are found. Even the general from of pillars, with cubical upper and lower members and the octagonal middle parts, is found in some caves of Kalingā. Even the simple lay out of some early cave temples in Kṛṣṇa valley, with a shrine or row of shrines and a pillared verandah, is the plan commonly adopted in the vihāras excavated in Kalingā country. It was perhaps identical with the plan of early temple building in its formative stage in Kṛṣṇa valley, adapted in the rock-cut architecture as well. Subsequently the storeiyed scheme might have come in the train.

The Āndhra-Kalingā relation in the field of architecture was not sudden and temporary. As early as the first century B.C., both countries had the traditions
of rock-cut architecture, and in all probability, there existed exchange of techniques and styles as aided by continuous political relations. From the time of Khāravela’s invasion on the Sātakarni’s dominions, as early as the Sātavāhana age, both countries had close political relations. An inscription of Khāravela is found at Guntupalli and the rock-cut monuments of the place must have been patronised by him. Following the invasion by Khāravela, an Airā dynasty ruled over the regions at the mouth of the river Kṛṣṇā in the early centuries of Christian era. Subsequently the Śālaṅkāyanas of Āndhra country had a long time of political contact with Kaliṅga country and the Viṣṇukundins could conquer the country and subject and to their suzerainty. These facts clearly suggest the possibility of the continuous flow of styles of art and architecture between the two countries. The Śālaṅkāyana and the Viṣṇukundin kings, by virtue of their relations with Kaliṅga, could have brought new systems of architecture, suitable to the requirements of Brāhmanical constructions in Āndhradesa. The techniques of art and architecture might have impressed the Pallavas, who had perhaps no knowledge of creating permanent edifices to their gods, might have carried the techniques together with the technicians, after the disappearance of the Viṣṇukundin rule.
At the same time, such later features of architecture, as the hāra of śālas and kūtas above the cornice and the provision of pedestal for nandi in some examples should not be overlooked. The label inscription Utpattipidugu in alphabet later than the Viṣṇukundin period and the Cālukyan crest symbol carved on the base of a pillar in the second storey of the Undavalli cave are also points that cannot be missed as they clearly show the Cālukyan hadd, as laid on the caves. As pointed out above the development in ground plans in some late excavations in Kṛṣṇā valley, such as the cave at Undavalli, was obviously the result of Cālukyan influence, which can also be seen on the sculpture of the period. The influence must be the result of the warfare between the Early Cālukyas of Bādami and the Viṣṇukundins during fifth century.60 The Eastern Cālukyan contact with the Rāṣṭrakūtas of Deccan in subsequent time must have brought the aforesaid developed styles of architecture and decorative motifs to Andhra country. The ground and upper storeys of the Undavalli cave, as pointed out above, were not parts of the original scheme and might be the results of Cālukyan enterprise. The addition of the hāra of śālas and kūtas above the cornice of the third storey of the cave might also be the Cālukyan work, when they could have got their crest symbol carved on a pillar.
Of late, the fact that the Viṣṇukūṇḍina could have favoured Vaiṣṇavism, is being recognised by scholars and they could have extended patronage to Brāhmaṇical art and architecture with a Vaiṣṇavite bias. The caves of the Kṛṣṇā valley are apparently dedicated in most cases to the Brāhmaṇical Triad and the cave at Undavalli is replete with Vaiṣṇavite sculptures, besides being dedicated to Viṣṇu. Some earlier scholars preferred to see that the cave was Śaivite, as suggested by the forms of dvārapālas. It is very curious to give such an importance to figures of dvārapālas, as determinants of the Śaivite or Vaiṣṇavite nature of the cave, ignoring the colossal Ānantaśāyī panel, and thus the view cannot be accepted.

8. Sculpture and Iconography:

Because of the unostentatious and austere execution of the caves in Kṛṣṇā valley, not many examples are available for the study of sculptural art of the period. Divine images and scenes from Epic and puranic accounts carved in a few later excavations and a number of sculptured plaques discovered in different parts of Andhradesa, present some useful material for the present purpose. The art displayed by the plaques show different idioms having been at
work. One of them\textsuperscript{63} shows the continuation of the preceding Ikṣvāku style of carving, but most others, especially those from Padamudiyam present a somewhat primitive, rather amateur form of art. Some other plaques and sculptures show a style,\textsuperscript{64} influenced by the neighbouring Cālukyan. As a matter of fact, the sculpture in the cave temples presents a more refined work than the plaques. Especially the work at Undavalli is outstanding. It is perhaps datable to the closing part of the Viṣṇukūṇḍin period, when they had bitter wars with the Cālukyas.

The sculpture of the period in general shows only a weak element of the Amarāvatī and Nāgarjunakonda idioms. Human figures of the two schools are noted for the elegance of pose, slim and delicate bodies animated movements.\textsuperscript{65} In contrast the art of the period is completely permeated by religion and somewhat dry in appeal, lacking the aesthetic quality of reflecting the natural gaiety of life. Scholars point out\textsuperscript{66} that since the age of the Guptas, the art came to depict a supra-mundane bliss as embodied in the forms of divine images, of the emerging cults, under rigid standards in respect of their forms. But at the same time the continuation of the traditions of Amarāvatī and Nāgarjunakonda by the Viṣṇukūṇḍins\textsuperscript{67} and even by their
successors, as signified by the adaptation of the motifs of ornamentation, cannot go unnoticed. The lotus medallions and पुर्णकुम्भा on the pillars and pilasters, the cāitya arch, the railpatterns and the row of animals etc., on the facade of the caves as well as their interiors belong to the Buddhist art of Amarāvatī and Nāgarjunakonda.

IV. Sculptured plaques:

The sculptured plaques depict images of cult gods and goddesses. They are more significant in respect of iconographic formulae, than the aesthetic standards. There is presentation of Nārasiṁha, the Man-Lion incarnation of Viṣṇu. Some plaques depict him only as an animal.⁶⁸ There is representation of Lākṣāmi in almost all the plaques from Pedamudiyan in the form of Śrīvatsa symbol,⁶⁹ seated in a full blown lotus. In one plaque she has human face. These facts show that the forms of such divinities as Nārasiṁha and Lākṣāmi were not yet fully anthropomorphised and still remain in the animal or symbolic forms. Another significant fact is that the gods and goddesses, except in a few instances, are attributed only one pair hands, showing that concepts of their divinity were yet to become precise.
Of the sculptured plaques, the Pañcavīra panel, carved on a rectangular lime stone piece, discovered at Kondamotu in Guntur district, may be accounted first, because of its style of carving being much closer to the preceding Iksvāku style and therefore, assigned to 4th century A.D. It depicts the figures of Pradyumna, Viṣṇu, Vēṣudava, Sāṅkaraśāna and Anirudha, with the figure of Narasiṁha at the centre, larger and more prominent than others. Thus, the panel clearly shows the popularity of the Vaiṣṇavite pantheon and the synthesis of a Lion worshipping cult with it, in Andhra country of the time. Narasiṁha is depicted essentially as an animal, seated in frontal posture, with his genital organ prominently represented. Two upraised human hands holding Saṅkha and cakra are shown above his fore legs and śrīvatsa symbol is depicted on his mane, signifying the presence of Lakṣmī. Except Narasiṁha all other figures are shown standing, their bodies being slender roundly modelled, with short shoulders, high chests and attenuated waists resembling hour-glass. Their faces are nearly square, flushy, with prominent eyes, stub noses and pouting lips.

This form of modelling and the ornamentation by kirītas, beaded hāras, kevūras etc., are typically Iksvāku, reminiscent of the art at Nagarjunakonda.
Another plaque, also from Guntur district, discovered recently at the village Konidena, may be described. It is dated to 5th century, but bears no resemblance to the one described above and supposed to belong to a different idiom. It portrays from right to left the three faced and seated Brahma in lalita pose, raising his right hand in cinnabala and left hand placed on his thigh. His heads are oval shaped and his faces are with high arched eye-brows, slightly elongated and prominent eyes, long and pointed nose and pouting lips. He has a heavy and flabby chest and a pot-belly, differentiated from the former by a band. Next to him is Siva represented as linga. Its form closely resembles that, at Gudimallam, but shorter in height and more massive in volume with a conical cover at the top. It is placed on a pedestal which has a recumbent nandi. Next to the Sivalinga is an ugly female figures with highly disproportionate limbs seated on an object which looks like a naked female torso, with legs doubled up and wide open. She has a full blown lotus with prominent calyx, instead of head, large breasts, too slender a waist and lean and rigid hands. Obviously this goddess must be a primitive Mother Goddess of fertility cult as symbolised by her lotus head. A youthful male figure is depicted by her side, with two slender and loosely hanging limbs and
wearing kundalas, valayas and kayuras and an under garment. Following him is the Man-Lion incarnation of Visnu, with two human hands instead of the two fore legs. But they are arranged in such a way that recumbent quadrapeds get their fore legs closer to their torsos to recline on them. His lion-face seems to have been considerably conventionalised. This plaque showing Hindu Trinity, together with Universal Mother, reflects the spirit of synthesis of devotional cults during the period.

Another plaque carved on line stone datable to 5th century A.D. comes from Madugula in Guntur district, may be referred to. It depicts Siva in his family and attendants. Siva is depicted as seated on a couch, which is slightly pressed down by his weight. The couch is held up by a dwarf. The deity is four handed, seated in a relaxed mood in ardhaparyanka. Two of his hands hold trisula and a naga. His head dress is Jataabhara, bedecked by flowers and the crescent moon. He wears petrakundalas, a beaded necklace, sarpavalayas and a three banded yajnopavita. A short under garment as his dress is suggested by incising three lines close to each other. Even though the limbs of his body are not proportionate, his calm and serene face with a gentle smile lends charm to the figure. Parvati stands in tribhanga, by his right side holding him by her left
arm and a small infant in her right arm rested on her lips. Her beautifully arranged braid is adorned with pearls, while she wears elaborate kundalas and a necklace with large pendant. On the left of Śiva a male figure appears with folded hands in devotion, wearing a makuṭa, with his head slightly bent in a graceful manner. Some scholars take this figure to be Skanda, but there is no suggestive clue for the identification. It is unlikely also for the infant in the arms of Pārvatī cannot be otherwise identified except as Skanda. 79 Ganesa is presented as seated left to the above mentioned standing male figure with a single pair of hands and with no makuṭa. He has a disproportionately large elephant head and potbelly, while the hands and legs are too small and slender. One significant fact is that he hold a bowl of modakas by his left hand, grasping them with his trunk.

Notwithstanding the fact that the figures of disproportionate Śiva and Ganesa, the carving of the plaque in bold belief and the modelling of the figures of Pārvatī and the standing male figure on the left of Śiva in round forms with proportionate limbs and in graceful and animated postures is reminiscent of the Ikṣvāku idiom.

There are some other pieces of sculptures from
Madugula, depicting a four armed Viṣṇu, two armed but three faced Brahma and two armed Śiva. Three hands of Viṣṇu carry Śaṅkha, cakra and gada, while the fourth hand gracefully holds his hanging apron, or uttariya. The cakra in his upper right hand is in the prayoga position, or the edge oriented to the spectator. It is like the wheel on the Viṣṇukundin coins and also the Wheel of Dharma, carved on the pedestal, on which Buddha is seated in Cave no. 1 at Ajanta. The conception of the deity is grand, but the execution is marked by some heaviness of form and rigidity of pose. The same remark applies to the figures of Brahma and the other gods who look earthly than divine. Śiva is carrying a parāśu in one hand, a feature of the early images of Śiva, reminding the image on the shaft of Gudimallam linga. He is ornamented with necklaces, waist bands and armlets.

A number of plaques were recovered from the village of Padamudiyam in Cuddapah district of Southern Andhra desa, showing an amateur sculpture, in unnaturally close and parallel curves indicating a heavy drapery, unusually long and loose limbs and too elongated and apparently infirm personalities. A few of them however, show somewhat better modelling of forms one of which presents from right to left
Geneva, three faced Brahma, Narasimha, Siva represented in the form of linga, Lakshmi with human head, but Srivatsa symbol forming her torso and Mahisasamardini. Except Mahisasamardini, all other deities in human forms have only each pair of hands and thus are iconographically antique. But the figure of Narasimha totally in human form has large-sized human face which though looking ferocious shows remote resemblance to lion's face. Ganesa and Sivalinga full-blown lotuses as seats.

B. Sculptures in Temples:

A few early sculptures carved in lime stone are found in the precincts of the Kotesvara temple at Cazara. One of them is a two armed Ganesa, identical with that found on the sculptured plaque from Madugula, mentioned above. Another figure is of Surya, with a tall crown, studded ear-rings, beaded necklaces and heavy boots, typically in the form of udicya vega, as prescribed by early literary authorities on iconography. His tall oval face, straight eye-brows, long slender nose and small pouting lips are reminiscent of the style of Konidena plaque, described above and also of the Buddhist bronzes from Amaravati of the same period.

The votive shrines from Yelusa with figures of Siva, Visnu, Arthanarishvara, Somakanda, Harihara and
others show the trend of sculpture of the sixth century A.D. The figures are depicted as standing rigidly with oval faces, prominent eyes, slender noses and pouting lips as of the plaques from Konidena and other places described above. Figures of Viṣṇu hold śaṅkhā and cakra, the latter in prayoga manner.

Finally the art in the rock-cut cave temples of Vijayawada and Undavalli deserves attention. The figures are badly weathered and further disfigured in the process of restoration and preservation. But they show beyond any doubt a finer modelling with proportionate limbs and a superior iconographic concept as suggested by four arms attributed to most of the deities.

The badly mutilated Naṭarāja sculpture on the facade of cave no. 4 at Mogalrājapuram gives an idea of elegant modelling in easy flowing contours and overflowing vitality in the pose. It has eight hands, four on each side and dwarf apaṃāra puruṣa is shown below the feet of Śiva whom the deity tramples. It is supposed to be a synthesis of northern tradition of showing a number of hands as at Elephants, and the southern style in presenting the apaṃārapuruṣa. It may not be unreasonable to take this sculpture belonging to a time later than of the Viṣṇukūḍin, when the Eastern Cālukyas
attempted a retouching of the caves, with their knowledge of the art of the Deccan.

The figures of dvārapālas on the facade of some caves are neatly modelled with high chests, slim waists, broad hips and easy as well as graceful poses. They rest their left arm on their clubs and the right hand as fashioned as Katihasta. The bull's horns on their head dress are taken to be suggestive of an aspect (āmsa) of Nandi.

The manner, in which the lions and elephants in their full fleshy forms and animated movement on the pillars as well as on the entabulature on the facades of the caves is a fitting example of Andhra craftsmanship, inherited from the art of Amaravati. The bas-reliefs in the cave no. 4 at Mogalrājapuram, such as Gajendramokṣa, Kṛṣṇa suckling Pūtana etc., are carved in small medallions, after the Amaravati tradition.

Larger but square panels in the cave at Undavalli such as Trivikrama, Somaskanda, and Narasimha not only show attenuated forms but also and animated movements with a fine touch of naturalism and elegance. The technique of narration is a true continuation of the Amaravati tradition, presenting only important scenes with important charters. The panel depicting Sītā in Aśokavana, is especially important here. The posture
of seated Sītā in reminiscent of several such seated female figures in the art of Amarāvatī. These sculptures from Undavalli, especially the panels depicting Varāha and Narasimha, are precursors to similar carvings in the Pallava art at Mahabalipuram.

Finally the colossal bas-relief of Anantaśayana may be noted in brief. It is the image of Viśṇu depicted as reclined on seven-hood Saṣa-Nāga. It measures 17 feet long. Brahmā seated in a lotus, that emanates from the navel of Viśṇu, is shown above the composition, at the level of the roof. Two huge male figures of about 8 feet height are carved at the feet of Viśṇu, representing Madhu and Kaṭabha. The sculpture shows the modelling of figures in the same idiom as the plaques and sculptures from Mādugula, with large and prominent eyes, long but stub noses and pouting lips. The figure of Viṣṇu shows somewhat disproporionate limbs and massive form, but he is depicted in smiling mood, unperturbed by the attack of the two demons suggesting the experience of inner bliss. Some scholars93 opine that this panel was inspired by Mahāparinirvāṇa scene, in the cave no. XXVI, at Ajanta. But this suggestion is unlikely for the totally different nature of the two representation. The massiveness of figures and rigidity in the posture of Viṣṇu make it probably earlier than the Ajanta example.
NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Supra, Pt. I, Ch. 2, notes nos. 179, 194 and 216.

2. Ibid., notes nos. 186 and 220.

3. A.H. Longhurst, ARASI., 1913-14, p. 38, wrote that Buddhist art in Anadradesa flourished up to the beginning of the 7th century A.D., and it was followed by temple building activity of the Hindus, when the Calukyas of Kalyana began to construct temples in coastal Andhra country. He has dated the conversion of the Cæsarla temple to 7th century.

4. Ibid., p. 39.

5. Ind. Arch. Rev., 1957-58. The remains of Puṣpabhadrāsvāmi temple among the finds in Nāgarjunakonda valley were apsidal in plan. Obviously, it could not have been a Hindu adaptation or conversion of an originally Budhistic construction. See below note no. 7.

6. The excavations conducted by Dr. B.R. Subrahmanyan of Nagarjuna University, Guntur, at the village, Virāpuram in Kurnool district yielded the remains of a brick temple, square in plan. It is dated by the learned Doctor on the basis of the later Sātavāhana coinage, to about the second century A.D. This discovery carries further back, the age of Hindu temple building.

7. K.V. Sounderarajan, Glimpses of Indian Culture, II, p. 22. But, in spite of this evidence and arguments to prove that apsidal construction was not alien to Hinduism, some scholars customarily
hold the Cēzerlā temple as a conversion from a Buddhist caitya, Itihas, III, No. 1, pp. 24-25. See also below note no. 11.

8. Bricks of same size were discovered in the excavations at Kīsarasaguttā, which is a Viśnukundin site, K. Ramamohan Rao, Bhārati (Tel.) 1977, August, pp. 29 ff.


10. Bhārati (Tel.) 1978, August, opp. cit. See also the author's article in Itihas, VIII, No. 2, pp. 17 ff. For a brief discussion on the date of Nandivarmam II, the donor of the record.

11. One of the kings in the line, Dēmodaraverman, in his Mattepādu plates, opp. cit., described himself as Bhagavataḥ, Samyak-sambuddhaseya pād-ānudhyātseya... Eventhough, the invocation to Buddha may suggest the king to be a Buddhist, as T. V. G. Sastry, Itihas, III, No. 1, pp. 24-25 supposed, the record itself registering gifts of land to a number of Brāhmans who were described as (ll. 4-5) Nāmagotra caraṇa tapasa-svādhya yā niratēbhyah, with the aim of securing merit to the members of the king's family, for seven generations, past and future (1. 5) and himself describing (11. 2-3) as the son of one who performed the rites of Gosahasra and Hiranyagarbha, was clearly Brāhmical rather than Buddhist in religious disposition. The Prakrit terminals in the names of the Brāhmans donees of the record have nothing to do with Buddhist influence. There is absolutely no evidence to say that Dēmodaraverman constructed
the Buddhist caitya at Cezerla and it became a saivite shrine, in course of time.


17. Ibid., plates nos. 1, 2, 5, 6, 7 and 8, for the spires on Alampur temples.


19. An inscription of the Bādami Calukyan king Vijayaditya, of his 18th regnal year says that the prākāra was built by him under the instruction of his preceptor Īśānācarya svāmi, Telangana inscriptions (Tel.) II, p. 8.

20. N. Venkataramanayya, UMEI(NV), p. 76.

21. A pillar inscription has been discovered at Cuṇṭupalli which speaks the liberal patronage of the Śaṅkāyana king Nandiverman II. Supra, note no. 10.

22. R. Subrahmanym, APGAS., 8, p. 42, that the group of caves in the vicinity of the village, Ādēvi Somana palli in Karimnagar district.

23. They were identical in plan and execution as the caves of Vijayawada and also bear the label inscription, Utpattipidugu.

25. *Ibid.*, pl. XX, gives the ground plan of cave no. IX, at Ajanta. Surely the identity of the plan suggests some correspondence between the two centres of Mahāyāna art, in respect of technique and style.

26. The cave at Undavalli is of similar plan of storeyed conception with receding floors. See below.

27. The lay out of the cave compares well, with the Mogalrājapurāṇa caves, with single shrine and images of deities carved on the back wall of the cell.


29. *Ibid*.

30. *Supra*, pt. IV, Ch. 3.

31. *Ibid*.

32. The two caves remotely suggest the possibility of Cālukyan influence in art and architecture. See below.

33. However, construction of temple complexes with a number of cells was not unknown before the age of Viṣṇukundina, as some of the remains at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa suggest.

34. *Supra*. This feature led some scholars to ascribe the two temples, Rāmaḷiṅgaśvara and Bhīmaliṅgaśvara, to Viṣṇukundin period.
35. A.H. Longhurst, MASI, No. 17, p. 23.

36. Ibid., p. 30.

37. Epi. Ind., XVII, p. 17, that he claimed to have constructed lakṣit-āyatanā to Brahm-Eśvara-Viṣṇu, without using brick, mortar, timber and metal. The inscriptions read as:
1. Etad-anistakam-adram-malo
2. ham-asudham Vicitracittana
3. nirmpit-nnpnena Brahm-F
4. evra Viṣṇu lakṣit-āyatanaṃ


39. APGAS, No. 21, p. 11.

40. The Pallavas, pp. 33-35.

41. B.V. Krishnarao, EDAD, p. 560 ff.

42. As per the statements in the Tummalagūdām (set II) plates, Simhavarma IV, or his son (father of Mādhavavarma) Śimhavīṣṇu were defeated by Vikramandāvarman II and only after the disappearance of the Viṣṇukūḍīn rule, about A.D. 570, the Pallavas could have occupied the Kṛṣṇā valley. Again in the year A.D. 617, or slightly later the coastal Āndhra country passed into Cālukyaṇa rule, following the invasion of Pulakeśīna II. The interval is only less than half a-century.

43. Percy Brown, Indian Architecture, pp. that the Guṇṭupalli caves and following them the early caves at Sāṅkēraṇ, are dated to the first century A.D. and first century A.D., respectively.


47. The cave complex at Undavalli shows a tendency of development in lay-out, seemingly under the influence of the Calukyan architecture. But its earlier stages can be observed in the Akkanna-Madanna cave and the cave no. 4, at Mogalrajapuram, where the pillar ed verandahs transforming into pillared halls. Thus, the development seems to be gradual and local, simultaneous with the developments in Karnata.

48. See above note no. 1.

49. K.V. Soundararajan, *APGAS.*, No. 21, p. has admitted that the Vaisnukundins by virtue of their Vakateka relations had more claim to have been the excavators of the caves in Krшna valley.

50. *Bhārati* (Tel.) 1978, August, p. 32.


53. The Vaikuntha and Rāni-ka-Nur caves in the series at Khendagiri are storeyed excavations, with receding floors. The former is dated by
Fergusson, *Cave Temples*, p. 70, to a time about 200-150 B.C. and the latter to the first to the first century B.C. The latter has a courtyard as in the case of the Undavalli cave complex.

54. *Epi. Ind.*, XII, 1. 4, says that he sent his cavalry and elephant forces over the region of Kannabennā (river Kṛṣṇā) and terrorised Mūsīkānagara and destroyed pithumā, another town in Sātevāhana empire.


56. *Epi. Ind.*, XXXII, pp. 82-87, the inscription of Aira Mānasada from Vālpurū.

57. See the author's article published in *Itihas*, VIII, No. 2, p. 25 for the Śālekhāyana relations with the dynasties of Kaliṅga.

58. *Supra*, pt. III, Ch. 2, and Ch. 3.

59. It appears that some of the earliest caves in the Kṛṣṇā valley were probably excavated in the time of the Śālekhāyana.

60. *Supra*, pt. III, Ch. 3, for the Čālukya-Viṣṇukundin relations.

61. A. H. Longhurst, *MASI*, 17, p. 29, that Anantadesayana panel and other Viṣṇavite sculptures are found in many Śaivism shrines of the Pallava period and it does not make the cave at Undavalli, exclusively Viṣṇavite. The head dress of the
Dvārapālas indicate a particular Śaiva cult, for which Undavalli was supposed to be a strong hold.

62. Supra, such as the Akkanna-Madanna, Undavalli and similar others indicate some Cālukyan influence from Bādāmi.

63. The Panchavīra panel from Kōmūtu, ARGAN, No. 16, see below for its description.

64. The plaque and some loose sculptures from Mēbugulē are in this idiom. The Anantasēyi relief in the Undavalli cave also is apparently in this style of sculpture, characterised by the modelling the figures which slender but strong limbs, with a tendency to roundness, squarish faces, flushy faces, prominent eyes, stub noses and pouting lips.

65. S.K.Saraswathi, A Survey of Indian Sculpture, p. 82.

66. Ibid., p. 121 ff. that the art from the times of the Guptas rises above the 'passionate addiction to the mundane world,' and the idea of the divine image conceived in human form "elevates it, theoretically at least to a super-human level and adds its possibilities in this direction," Obviously, the change has to be accounted to the impact of the emerging Purānic Hinduism. See also A.K.Coomaraswami, opp. cit., p. 72.

67. B.Rajendra Prasad, ASI, AP., p. 68.

68. Supra, pt. IV, Ch. 3.

70. *APGAS.*, No. 16.


72. Probably this factor indicates his nature of being a fertility god, of primitive zoomorphism. The prominent representation of Narasimha among the traditional Vaishnavite Vyūha gods indicates that a zoomorphic, Lion-worshipping tribe of Andhradesa, must have turned to Vaishnavism and their deity admitted into the pantheon of the cult.


74. B. Rajendra Prasad, *ASI, AP.*, p. 68. However, I. K. Sarma sees that the sculpture beaded with distinct mark of Iksvaku craftsmanship, *op. cit.*

75. B. Rajendra Prasad, *op. cit.*, p. 68, but I. K. Sarma has described it correctly as guhyā, *op. cit.*

76. Hence, they work more like legs and similarly shown as the two hand legs.


78. B. Rajendra Prasad, *ASI, AP.*, p. 68.

79. C. Sivaramamurthy, *op. cit.*, p. 13, seems to have more reasonably identified the infant in the hands of Pārvatī as Skanda.
However, the gentle smile in the faces of the deities, especially of Brahma suggests the enjoyment of inner bliss as found in the images of Buddha at Ajanta and in the Gupta school of art from Sarnath, though the heaviness of the body and rigid postures still signify the earthly qualities.

Vimānas with Natarāja figures on fronton came to be the fashion of Cālukya temples of a later date and in this an attempt analogous is apparent. K.V. Soundararajan, *Indian Temple Styles*, p. 125.