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**DECLARATION**

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This is to certify that this dissertation entitled "THE KALACURI KINGDOM S OF TRIPURI AND RATANPUR-A SOCIO-CULTURAL STUDY (A.D. 700-1200)." submitted by Mr. Biswajeet Rath in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy, has not been previously submitted for any degree of this or any other University. This is entirely his own work.

We recommend this dissertation to be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

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*To*  
*my*  
*parents*

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Eiswajeet Rath.

## ABBREVIATIONS

A.A.K.	Art and Architecture of the Kalacuris
B.V.B	Bhāratiya Vidyā Bhavan
C.H.N.I	Cultural History of Northern India
C.I.I.	Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.
E.I.	Epigraphia Indica
H.T.M.	Haihayas of Tripuri and their Monuments
I.A.	Indian Antiquary.
I.E.S.H.R.	Indian Economic and Social History Review.
I.C.H.R.	Indian Council of Historical Research
I.H.R.	Indian Historical Review
I.H.Q.	Indian Historical Quarterly.
J.A.H.R.S.	Journal of the Andhra Historical Society.
J.A.O.S.	Journal of American Oriental Society.
J.N.S.I.	Journal of Numismatic Society of India.
Kar.	Karpuramañjari
Kavy	Kāvyamimāṃsā.
K.S.S.	Kathāsaritasāgara
M.P.	Mahāpurāṇa
Mitak	Mitākṣara
R.T.	Rājataranginī
Viddh	Viddhasālabhāñjikā.

# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTORY

The Kalaouri kingdoms of Tripuri and Ratanpur, offer a field of study which is yet to attract adequate attention from historians. While there is, no doubt, a voluminous literature pertaining to what may be termed as the 'political' or 'dynastic' history, there is not much interest shown by historians to clearly delineate the socio-cultural aspects of the period under review. The kalaouri records cover a period of more than four centuries, i.e., from 700 A.D. to the time of establishment of the Delhi sultanate. Unfortunately, this area has not been cultivated in any significant manner, except for a couple of historical writings in the recent past.

The Kalachuris have, more often than not, only attracted a few passing references in writings whose main focus is on a general overview of the political conditions in North India. A case in point is H.C.Ray's Dynastic History of North India.<sup>1</sup> This early work has a chapter devoted to each of the prominent ruling houses in North India from the 8th to the 12th centuries A.D., such as the Chandellas, Kalachuris, Paramaras, Chalukyas and the like. While attending to the Kalachuris<sup>2</sup>, the focus of attention is on the political exploits and conflicts with other contemporary powers such as the Chalukyas. At no point in his study has the author attempted to formulate a connected history of the Kalachuris. The arenas of society and culture do not form an intrinsic part of his study, focussing as he is on the political history of the Kalachuris. In fact, the main point of interest in his work, from the point of view of our study, lies in

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1. Ray, H.C., Dynastic History of North India, Volume ii, 1973 (Revised).

2. Ibid, pp. 897-99; 751-820

the chronological survey that he has undertaken of the Kalacuri rulers. In doing so, he has devoted separate sections to Tripuri and Ratnapur branches. With the exception of one or two fleeting references to administration and religion<sup>3</sup>, the utilization of the insriptional sources is made basically to satisfy questions pertaining to the traditional elements of history writing, such as conquests and conflicts. There is no hint of any other primary source-material, numismatic or literary, in his study. This work obviously suffers from a lack of source-material, being written as early as 1935.

V.V. Mirashi's monumental work on the inscriptions of the Kalacuri Cedi Era, contained in the Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Volume IV (parts 1 and 2)<sup>4</sup>, forms a land mark in the study of the Kalacuris, for, it draws the attention of later writers who have come

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3. Ibid, p 682-83, 793.

4. Mirashi, V.V., Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. iv, parts i and ii, Ootacamund, 1955.



forward with some credible interpretations. Apart from the meticulous arrangement of all the inscriptions of the Kalacuris, Mirashi also provides an exhaustive introduction, wherein he has provided a sketch of the various aspects of Kalacuri life such as polity, society, economy and religion. However, it must be emphasised that what he has produced is only an outline, meant to encourage further research in that direction. Somewhat more potent than the introduction to the inscriptions are the few articles of Mirashi of a more specific nature. For instance, his article on the S'iva Ācāryas of the Māttāmayura clan<sup>5</sup>, published in 1950, provides us with an insight into the life of the S'iva ācārya, and the conditions of his acceptance in the Kalacuri kingdom. This excites one into an enquiry of the religious tendencies of the times, which shall form the subject-matter for one of the chapters

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5. Mirashi, V.V., S'iva Ācāryas of Māttāmayura Clan, Indian Historical Quarterly, 26(1), 1950,

in the present study.

Following the writings of Mirashi, R.K.Lal, writing in the early sixties, provides an interesting study of the Place Names in the Kalacuri Records.<sup>6</sup> This is of immense help to us in reconstructing the historical geography of the area under study. Apart from this, however, a more singular contribution of this article is the attempt made in it to decipher the socio-religious and economic meaning of the place-names. Lal has classified the place-names on the basis of two standpoints: semantic and morphological. While the first classification helps us in establishing some connection between the place - names and various phenomena such as commercial activity, caste affiliations or professions of the local residents, names of local deities, and the like, the second enables us to associate the place - names with the 'nature' of the place, i.e., whether it was a village or a 'nagara'. P.K.Bhattacharya's His-

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6. Lal, R.K., Place - names in Kalacuri Records, IHQ, 38, pp 98-110.

Historical Geography of Madhya Pradesh<sup>7</sup> is a similarly useful survey, for, it takes note of most of the geographical references made in the Kalacuri records, and places them in the proper perspective. B.D.Bhattacharya's Survey of Historical Geography of Ancient India<sup>8</sup> provides a bibliography of the notable writings on the historical geography of the region. Both of these works, although not essentially a part of the available literature on the Kalacuris, are nonetheless useful in familiarizing ourselves with the geographical context.

In the recent past, a couple of historical writings have attempted a more incisive study than all the above mentioned works on the Kalacuris. Rahman Ali's Art and Architecture of the Kalacuris<sup>9</sup> is an attempt to carry out a critical study of the art and architectural remains of

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7. Bhattacharya, P.K., Historical Geography of Madhya Pradesh, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1977.

8. Chattopadhyaya, B.D., Survey of Historical Geography of Ancient India, ICHR, 1987.

9. Rahman Ali, Art and Architecture of the Kalacuris, Sandeep Prakashan, Delhi, 1980.

the Kalacuris. This work may be regarded as a follow-up of the much earlier treatise of R.D.Banerjea, namely Haihayas of Tripuri and their Monuments<sup>10</sup>, published in the Memoirs of the Archeological Survey of India. While Banerjea, writing in 1931, produced a record of the Kalacuri monuments, Rahman Ali has attempted a more analytical study of those records. In the first chapter of his work, Ali gives a good summary of the views of Mirashi on the social, economic and political conditions of the period. In later chapters he merely catalogues the architectural, sculptural and epigraphic remains of the Kalacuris. Nevertheless, it has some utility for our purposes as it helps in ascertaining the major religious and cultural trends in the Kalacuri kingdom. We have found the last chapter of the book too useful in so far as it provides information on the coinage of the Kalacuri kings.

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10. Banerjea, R.D., Haihayas of Tripuri and their Monuments, Memoirs of the Archeological Survey of India, No. 27.

The most recent and useful work on the Kalacuris has been done by R.K.Sharma in his Kalacuris - And - Their - Times<sup>11</sup>, published in 1980. This work is quite exhaustive, since it covers the political, social, economic and religious conditions in the time of the Kalacuris. It furnishes us with a great deal of data which may be subjected to further analysis and interpretation. The basic source material utilized by R.K. Sharma is epigraphic. Literary sources are used only for corroborative purposes and have not been utilized intensively. The first seven chapters are in the traditional mould, providing a political description of the Kalacuris. His perception follows the traditional pattern, visualising a simplistic picture of the polity, consisting of the king, the ministers and the like with no attempt to analyse the system of relationships. The chapters on society and religion are reconstructed almost entirely on the basis of the epigraphic

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11. Sharma, R.K., Kalacuris and their Times, Sandeep Prakashan, Delhi, 1980.

records. The works of Rājasēkhara and other literary sources are largely ignored.

Apart from the studies listed above, certain relevant chapters in the text books published in the Bhāratiya Vidyā Bhavan Series contain references to the Kalacuris of Tripuri and Ratnapur. However, such references as are found in The Classical Age, The Age of Imperial Kanauj and The Struggle for Empire mostly provide information concerning the political history of the Kalacuris and as such are not of much use for our purpose.

The present study is an attempt to make a more holistic approach to the Kalacuri times. Instead of being confined to the epigraphic records only which shall, of course, be an important source of information, it also makes use of the information gleaned from the literary, archeological and numismatic sources. The contemporary literature of the period under study has survived in the form of the works of Rājasēkhara and Ālberuni who

visited India in the 11th century. Rājasékharā is believed to have resided at Tripuri during the rule of the Kalacuri King Yuvarājadēva (1). We have taken into cognizance several of his notable works, viz., Karpuramanjari<sup>12</sup>, Kāvya-mimāṃsā<sup>13</sup>, and Viddha śālabhāṅjikā<sup>14</sup>. The last one was written at the Tripuri court.<sup>15</sup> Rājasékharā provides interesting information on the society and religious practices of the age. Although it would not be correct to treat his works as being primarily concerned with the cultural milieu of the Kalacuri life and times, a critical study of his works makes it quite apparent that the author was very much conscious of the society and culture in which he thrived. It has been our endeavour to use such references in our study.

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12. Translated by Lanman, C.R., Edited by Stenkonow, HOS, Cambridge, 1963.

13. Text and translation by Sharma, K.N., Edited by Dalal, C.D., and Ananta Krishna Sastri, GOS Baroda, 1916.

14. Translated Gray, L.H., J.A.O.S., 27, 1906; edited by Jitendra Bimal Chaudhury, Calcutta, 1943.

15. Mirashi, V.V., OII, Volume iv, part i, p clxxv.

The numismatic sources have been helpful in giving us some idea of the religious beliefs of the kings. Unfortunately, the absence of coins attributable to specific kings is a rather serious handicap. Only a few coins of Gangeyadeva have been identified as far as the Kalacuris of Tripuri are concerned, and some coins of the Ratanpur kings Jajjaladeva (I), Ratnadeva (II) and Prthvideva (II) have been unearthed.<sup>16</sup>

A far more comprehensive picture is presented by the numerous inscriptional records of the Kalacuris. This study was facilitated to some extent by the monumental work of Mirashi who edited and translated the Kalacuri records in the above cited volumes. We have utilized sixty-seven epigraphs for the purposes of our study. In addition, information available in some periodicals such as the Epigraphia Indica, where certain articles have appeared regarding the

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16. Ibid, p. clxxxiii.



Kalacuri records, have also been used.

The geographical area which the present study encompasses has been drawn up on the basis of the find-spots of the inscriptions, the territorial references that we come across in our sources, and the villages mentioned in the records as grants. Admittedly, to use the criteria of the find-spots of the inscriptions may not always be a proper yard stick, but the mention of the place of the issue of the inscriptions in our records removes the drawback to some extent. The northern boundary may be defined as the lower course of the Gangā, i.e., the Āllahabād to Banāras region,<sup>17</sup> while the upper course of the river Narmadā roughly corresponds to the southern frontier.<sup>18</sup> The inscriptions discovered at Kālāpāhār in Satnā district and Deori in Jabalpur district<sup>19</sup> show us the boundary on the western and north west-

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17. Refer to the inscription of the Kalacuri King Karṇa, viz., Nos. 48 and 50 (Benāras Plates), in Mirashi, V.V., *OJ*, vol. iv, part i, pp 236-49; 252-62.

18. Rahman Ali, *op.cit.*, p.23.

19. Mirashi, V.V., *op.cit.*, p.312 (no.60); Rahman Ali, *op.cit.*, p.23.

ern side. On the eastern and south-eastern frontier, the inscriptions and land grants in the region around Seorinārāyan<sup>20</sup> and Bilaigarh<sup>21</sup> in the Bilāspur district and roughly on the Mahānadi suggest the probable limits. In geographical terms, the area on the map<sup>22</sup> lying between 20° 30' N and 25° 45' N latitude, and between 79° 30' E and 83° 00' E longitude roughly corresponds to the region under study.<sup>23</sup>

The present study consists of three chapters. The first of these is devoted to an examination of the social milieu in the Kalacuri Kingdom. We have taken cognizance of the social categories mentioned in our sources, and the manner in which they were perceived during the period, specially in the region of our study.

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20. Mirashi, V.V., op.cit., No. 82, pp. 419-422.

21. Ibid., No. 89, pp. 458-62.

22. Appendix 'C'.

23. Rahman Ali has given 22° 30' N latitude as the southern - most tip of the Kalacuri area - Rahman Ali, op. cit., p.24. However, a 12th century grant mentions Salmalya, which lies between 20° 30' N and 21° 00' N latitude, refer map showing the distribution of Kalacuri grants.

While, for the most part, the study is based upon the inscriptions of Tripuri and Ratnapur, on occasions we have utilized certain records of the collateral branches where the information is found to add to our understanding. While making a chronological study of the Brahmanas, we have taken recourse to both the early as well as the later records.

While utilizing the concept of 'role' in our study, we have tried to focus on the occupational pattern for the purposes of enquiring into the conformity, or non-conformity, of the social divisions to their traditional professions. Unlike other sections of the society, the Brāhmaṇas are prominent in our sources. For this reason, a major section is devoted to the Brāhmaṇas, with specific reference to the nature of Brāhmaṇa settlements and the problem of migration. This study also includes separate sections on the Kṣātriyas, Vaiśyas and Kāyasthas. Wherever possible, we have brought out the interplay between these social categories. The subsequent section of this chapter deals with references to

women. The concluding section is devoted to the analysis of the various socio-economic identities which were, of necessity, the auxiliaries of economic life.

The next chapter attempts to portray the major religious trends which were present in the area and period of our study. In addition to the inscriptional sources, the numerous architectural monuments of the Kalacuri era, the coinage of the period and the works of Rajasekhara have been utilized for this purpose. This chapter seeks to identify the dominant forces such as S'aivism, Vais'navism, the cult of the Mother Goddess, the cult of Ganes'a, and the heterodox sects of Buddhism and Jainism. An attempt has also been made to bring to light the interaction between these differing religious groups in society. We have also looked into the socio-economic role and the management of the S'aiva mathas. In this connection, an attempt is made to gain an insight into the life of the ācāryas, their ori-

gins and mode of life, and their multifereous activities in the religious and charitable fields.

The final chapter incorporates our conclusions.

## CHAPTER - II

### SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATIONS- A STUDY OF CASTE AFFILIATIONS AND OCCUPATIONAL VERSATILITY

The division of society into categories based on fundamental variations in disposition, capacity and character is a common enough feature in many parts of the world; but the gradual evolution of a system expostulating hereditary groups existing within the confines of strongly demarcated arenas of social inter-action and simultaneously remaining within the purview of the society as a whole is a rather unique phenomenon and peculiar in the Indian context. Such divisions, in the initial stages, were

founded upon the lines of occupation<sup>1</sup>, and may be characterized as relatively 'open'. This 'openness' is particularly apparent when we make a comparison with later times which saw these divisions harden and gradually develop into exclusive hereditary caste-groups. This development was marked by a simultaneous engendering of certain regulations regarding food, marriage and the like. By the time we come to our own time-frame, the traditional differentiations based upon the four-fold division of society into Brahmana, Ks'atriya, Vais'ya and S'udra still continued, but the latter two categories were hardly visible. Besides, new groups of uncertain ranking had come up.

As the bulk of the population lived in the villages, it would be interesting to find out what the typical village in the Kalaouri times was like, prior to our examination of the social categories 'per se'. The land-grants contain descriptions of the following

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1. M.P., 11, 38, 46 quoted in Chauhan, Kamala, *CHNI*, p.1.

type: "This village is his, inclusive of water and, mango and madhuka trees, together with its pits and barren lands, together with mines of iron and salt... together with woods, meadows and pasture lands...<sup>2</sup> This gives us an excellent idea of the constituent elements of a village. The term 'Jala-sthala', literally 'water-land'<sup>3</sup>, has been elucidated by R.K. Sharma as a phrase inclusive of tanks, wells, reservoirs, cultivable land and all that is built on land<sup>4</sup>. The phrase 'pasture-lands' (above) is usually accompanied by the term 'pariyanta', implying that the village boundary was circumvented by these pasture lands. The boundary itself was well-defined, as the phrase "...with its four boundaries well-determined..." would indicate. Apart from the cultivable land, the village also possessed bare, arid and marshy land.<sup>5</sup>

The Caste Composition of the Village: Besides the information on the chief

2. Mirashi, op. cit., No. 48, 1. 36, No.50, 1.38.

3. Ibid, p. 262.

4. Sharma, R.K., *Kalacuris and their Times*, p. 133.

5. 'Jangala anupa' of the inscriptions; Sharma, R.K., op. cit., p. 133.



physical constituents of a village it is some times possible to garnish some material on the social components of the village. The land grants to Brāhmanas<sup>6</sup> must have led to the creation of localised pockets of Brāhmaṇa inhabitants. This has led R.K.Sharma<sup>7</sup> to postulate that the population was organised on the basis of caste or community. He has referred to the exclusive Brāhmaṇa settlements of Karnavati- established by Karna<sup>8</sup>- and the anonymous one mentioned in the Bargāon inscription of Sabara.<sup>9</sup> However, we do not come across any other instance of such agrahara settlements established by the Kalacuri Kings. Further, there is no clear - out reference to settlements having been confirmed upon any other specified caste or community. In order to pursue the possibility, nevertheless, we may attempt an analysis

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6. Refer to the map showing the grants made to Brahmanas
  7. Sharma, R.K., op. cit., p. 134.
  8. Mirashi, op. cit., No. 48.
  9. Ibid., No.

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of the place-names mentioned in our records, on the line of R.K. Lal.<sup>10</sup> A village called Vaniāpafāka is mentioned in the Kahla Plates of Sōdhadēva.<sup>11</sup> This village, as the name indicates, may have been dominated by the merchant population.<sup>12</sup> Following the same logic, village Bāmhañi of the Ratanpur Stone inscription of (K)E 915<sup>13</sup> may have been a big Brāhmaṇa settlement.<sup>14</sup> Abhirapalli village mentioned in Gūrgī Stone inscription<sup>15</sup> may have denoted a settlement of Abhiras or Cowherds<sup>16</sup>; and village Nāgabala of Bilhāri Stone inscription<sup>17</sup> may have been a settlement dominated by the Nāgas.<sup>18</sup> It may be mentioned

10. Lal, R.K., place-names in the Kalacuri records, IHQ, 38, pp. 98-110.
11. Mirashi, v.v., C II, iv, part ii, No. 74.
12. Lal, R.K., op. cit., p. 101.
13. Mirashi, op. cit. No. 96
14. Lal, R.K., op. cit., p. 100.
15. Mirashi, op. cit., No. 46.
16. Lal, R.K. op. cit., p. 101. For various views regarding the meaning and antiquity of the term 'abhiras', see B. s. Suryavanshi, *The Abhiras: their history and culture*, p. 17ff.
17. Mirashig op. cit., No. 45.
18. The Nāgas were members of a tribe principally located in the Chota Nāgpur Region. The tribe derived their name from the 'Nāg' or Cobra. The legendary story attached to the Nāgasia tribe tends to indicate that the Nāgas were an offshoot of the Mundās; Russell, R.V., *Tribes and castes of the central Provinces of India*, iv, p. 258. The term may also have derived its meaning from 'Nāgbasia', denoting the original settlers of chota Nāgpur; Raizada, A., *Tribe Development in Madhya Pradesh*, p. 36.



here that the Nāgas did indeed enjoy a distinguished position in the Kalacuri times, as the very second record from Tripuri<sup>19</sup> cites Chotu Nāgaka as being in charge of the Viśaya at Kākandakuti.<sup>20</sup>

## SECTION - I

Our sources indicate that the Brāhmanas were identified in terms of the 'Sākhās', 'gōtras' and 'pravaras'. It is possible to carry out a chronological survey on the basis of the inscripational and literary references to such distinctions of gōtra and pravara. In the earlier records of the Kalacuris, distinctions based on the vedas, sākhās and gōtras are mentioned<sup>21</sup>, while in the later records surnames gradually begin to make their appearance. These surnames appear to have been formed on the basis of places of

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19. Mirashi, op. cit., No. 36.

20. ibid.,

21. ibid, p. clxiv.

origin. A few records mention the Rgvedins, and their geographical distribution shows that they were spread over a large area.<sup>22</sup> The Tripuri records do not refer to the Madhyāndina Brāhmaṇas of the S'ukla Yajurveda Sākhā, but the records belonging to the early Kalacuris<sup>23</sup> and those of Ratanpur contain several references to them. The grants containing these references have been located in Uttar Pradesh, Gujarāt, Mahārāshtra and Chatisgarh.<sup>24</sup> One record belonging to the early Kalacuris, mentions a Brāhmaṇa belonging to the Kṛśna Sākhā of the Yajurveda.<sup>25</sup> Kulañca, the home of the Sāndhilya gōtra Brāhmaṇas belonging to the Sāmaveda, is referred to in another record of the Tripuri branch.<sup>26</sup>

Apart from mentioning the vedas, gōtras, and pravaras, our records also men-

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22. Ibid. No. 56, l. 22. Gangādharasārman is mentioned in Deoli Pañcala, while No. 76, l. 26 mentions a Rgveda in village Basaha in Apāra Mandala (see Map.).

23. Ibid, No. 14, l. 21.

24. Ibid, No. 74 (ll. 41-42) mentions Tikāri, Cāndulia and other villages; No. 96, vv. 15-16 (mentions village Āvala).

25. Ibid, No. 12.

26. Ibid, No. 51. (p. 268).

tion sometimes the original place of habitation from which migration had taken place, and the surnames adopted on the basis of such migration. The last aspect is more apparent in the Ratanpur records. We shall come back to these aspects when we take up the question of migration in the later section of this chapter. But what can be noted here is that while the Kalacuris of Tripuri extended their patronage to the R̥gvedins and to the Br̥hmaṇas of the Sāndhilya gōtra belonging to the Sāmaveda, the Ratanpur branch showed a greater affinity towards the Madhyāṇḍina Br̥hmaṇas belonging to the S'ukla Yajurveda Sākhā. The records of the Ratanpur branch show a greater number of migration in to the Kalacurī Kingdom by the Br̥hmaṇas from far of places such as Sonābhadrā<sup>27</sup> in Uttar Pradesh and Kumbhāṭī in Madhya Bhārat.<sup>28</sup>

The Br̥hmaṇas, in order to distinguish themselves from other caste-groups, and to emphasize

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27. *ibid.*, No. 83.

their high status added suffixes or prefixes to their names. One notices that these titles underwent a change in course of time. While in the early records we come across prefixes like Brāhmaṇa<sup>28</sup>, Bhatta or Bhattika<sup>30</sup> and the suffix swāmin<sup>31</sup> in the later records the Brāhmaṇas assumed prefixes such as Pandita, Thākkūra, Rāuta and Gainta<sup>32</sup>, and the suffix śarman become quite common.

### **RELIGIOUS ROLE OF THE BRĀHMANAS:**

The inscriptional as well as literary sources of the period make it amply evident that the Brāhmaṇa was considered to be the source of knowledge and learning. According to Rājasékharā, "the means of purification lies through a Brāhmaṇa's feet".<sup>33</sup> The exalted status of the Brāhmaṇa is also brought out by Ālberuni who writes the the Brāhmaṇas were

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28. *ibid.*, No. 97.

29. *ibid.*, No. 14, l. 22.

30. *ibid.*, No. 13, l. 7.

31. *ibid.*, No. 12, l. 21; No. 15, l. 33.

32. *ibid.*, Nos. 48 (l. 39) ; 50 (l. 40) ; 62 (v. 6) ; 65 (l. 81ff), also in p. clxvi.

33. *Vidh.*, 111, 78-79, p. 42.

"the very best of mankind."<sup>34</sup> Alberuni also alludes to some of the economic advantages enjoyed by the Brāhmaṇa. The Brāhmaṇa, by the sheer incidence of birth, was regarded as a superior being, if we are to believe in a passage of the Karpuramañjari.<sup>35</sup>

From the available literary and epigraphic sources, it appears that the Brāhmaṇas lived a holy and religious life. The six-fold duties of the Brāhmaṇas are referred to in the Fewā plates of Jayasimha of (K) E 926<sup>36</sup> and the Pargām plates of Prthvidēva (II) of (K) E 897.<sup>37</sup> Yagna, Yājana, adhayana, adhyāpana, dāna and pratiqrha.<sup>38</sup> The performance

34. *Alberuni's India*, 11, p 132

35. *Kar.*, p. 234, where Rājasekhara speaks of a confrontation between a Brāhmaṇa and a maid-servant. On being outshone by the maid-servant, the Brāhmaṇa retorts: "Command me to a royal court such as this (where) a slave-girl sets up a rivalry with a Brāhmaṇa". The maid-servant also says: "There is no rivaling you; for you, though unlettered as the iron beam of a goldsmith's balance, are employed as a poet of balance for weighing jewels; while I, though lettered like a (common) balance am not employed in the weighing of gold".

36. *Mirashi*, op.cit., No. 65, l.8.

37. *Ibid*, No. 123, v.17

38. Referring to performance of sacrifice for themselves and others, studying, teaching, making and receiving gifts; also in Jaiswal, S., *Studies in Early Indian Social History, Trends and Possibilities*, *IHR* vol. 6, 79-80, p. 24.

of grha rites such as the pañcamahāyajñas<sup>39</sup> continued in Brāhmaṇa families, and there is evidence to show that the state encouraged them. Most of the grants made by the early Kālacuris were for the maintenance of the five great sacrifices. The continuous and unabated performance of these sacrifices was believed to contribute to the well-being of the state.<sup>40</sup> The performer of sacrifices was called the Dikshita,<sup>41</sup> and only the Brāhmaṇa maintained the sacred fire and performed grha rites. Someśvara, the Brāhmaṇa minister of the Kālacuri King Lakṣmanarāja (II) performed several vedic sacrifices and also erected a lofty temple at Karitāfāi in the Jabalpur district.<sup>42</sup>

The Kālacuri inscriptions mention two terms which may or may not have carried synony-

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39. They are explained as the teaching and study of vedas (brahmayajña), the sacrifice to the manes (pitryajña), sacrifice to Gods (devayajña), the bali offering (bhutāyajña), and the hospitable reception of guests (ṛyājña). - Suvira, Jaiswal, op. cit., p. 43, note 2.

40. Mirashi, op. cit., p. cxlvii : No. 24.

41. Ibid, p. cxvi.

42. Ibid, No. 42, v. 18.



mous meanings, Mahāpurōhita and Dharmapradhāna. Mahāpurōhita, or the Chief-priest, is mentioned in the earlier records of the Tripuri branch among the high state functionaries. He is so mentioned in the Khairha plates of Yas'ahkarna, wherein it is stated that Karna, "being guided by the family priest (mahāpurōhita), performed himself the great coronation ceremony of Yas'ahkarna."<sup>43</sup> As the Mahāpurōhita appears among the official witnesses of the royal orders regarding grants of land,<sup>44</sup> it is possible that he held some administrative position in addition to his religious one.

In the later records, we come across the term 'Dharmapradhāna'. The records of the Kalaçuri kings Jayasimha and Vijayasimha refer to this dignitary.<sup>45</sup> While V.V. Mirashi treats these two terms as synonymous and uses them interchangeably,<sup>46</sup> R.K.

43. Ibid, No. 56, v. 16.

44. Ibid, No. 48, i.35 and No. 56, i.25.

45. Ibid, No. 63, i.22 ; Appendix No. 4, v.27.

46. Ibid, pp. cxxiv, cxlii, clxvi.

Sharma refers to the Dharmapradhāna as "another official ... added to look after the department of religion."<sup>47</sup> In the Jabalpur plates of Jayasimha<sup>48</sup> both these terms occur and seem to denote \*two separate institutions. They also occur in a similar manner in the Kumbhi plates of Vijayasimha.<sup>49</sup> On the basis of the two records, one would tend to agree with the view of R.K. Sharma. In a record from Ratnapur, namely, Kharod Stone Inscription of Ratnadēva (III), there is the term 'Dharmakarmādhikakārin'<sup>50</sup> and this term may have carried the same connotation as the Mahāpurōhita, i.e., officer in charge of religious works. This term is also found in the Benāras plates of Karṇa, and is seen as the office which assigned status to groups or individuals. As Prof. Jaiswal suggests, it existed in areas where the caste hierarchy was not well established.<sup>51</sup>

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47. Sharma, R.K., *Kalacuris and their Times*, p. 86.

48. Mirashi, op. cit., No. 63, ll. 19-25.

49. Ibid, Supplementary inscription No. 4, v. 26.

50. Ibid, No. 100, l. 28.

51. Jaiswal, S., op. cit., p. 62.

Quite a few members of the priestly group were encouraged to obtain proficiency in the mimāṃsā, sankhyā, nyāya, vēdānta and other darsānas, and were even requested to engage in philosophical discussions in royal courts.<sup>52</sup>

### **BRĀHMANAS AS PRAS'ASTIKĀRAS:**

Brāhmanas also seem to have been excellent writers of prasāstis as is evidenced in several Kalacuri records. Candrēhe Stone inscription of Prabōdhasiva mentions the Dikhsita named Madhuka and his son Jēika. The poet Dhamanta, the son of Jēika, is said to have been the author of the Frasāsti.<sup>53</sup> The Gūrgī Stone inscription of Kōkkaladēva (II) carries a reference to Madhu, a son of Traiyivardhana, belonging to the Bharadvāja family, as the composer of the eulogy.<sup>54</sup> A few references show that the same Brāhmaṇa served the Kalacuri Kings through successive generations. The instances of the records of the

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52. Rahman Ali, *AK*, p. 13; Mirashi, *op. cit.*, No. 97, v. 16.

53. Mirashi, *op. cit.*, No. 44, v. 18.

54. *Ibid.*, No. 46, v. 44.

Kalacuri kings Gayākarna and Narasimha - belonging to 1151 A.D. and 1155 A.D. respectively - may be cited. Prthvidhāra is the composer in both the cases.<sup>55</sup> An interesting fact which finds recognition in both the epigraphs is the involvement of at least two other members of the Brāhmaṇa family in writing, composing and incising of the Praśastis. This particular family also seems to have served under Jayasimha, for, a record belonging to 1174 A.D., describes Saśidhara - a brother of Prthvidhara - as the Praśastikāra.<sup>56</sup> The Brāhmaṇa, Purushōttama, composed the Rewā Stone Inscription of Vijayasimha of (K) E 944.<sup>57</sup>

It is quite probable that the task of writing and composing praśastis was entrusted to a particular family which served the Kalacuri Kingdom through generations. As we have seen, at least three praśastis, covering the rule of as many as three Kalacuri kings over a period of

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55. Ibid, No. 58, v. 15 and No. 60, v. 34.

56. Ibid, No. 64, v. 48.

57. Ibid, No. 67, v. 50.

nearly a quarter of a century, were composed, written and engraved by the two brothers Prthvidhara and Saśidhara, and their father Dharañidhara.<sup>58</sup>

### BRĀHMANAS IN ADMINISTRATION:

Although our records, being for the most part eulogistic in nature, tend to present an exalted status of the King's authority representing it as being unfettered, in actual practice there were several factors which must have exercised considerable check upon the Kalacuri king. There are substantial cases<sup>59</sup> to show that the advisory element of administration represented by the councillors or ministers was a considerable factor which weighed upon the administration.

In the Karitalāi Stone inscription of Lakshmanarāja (II)<sup>61</sup>, the Brāhmaṇa Bhākamis'ra is

58. Ibid., Nos. 67 (vv. 50-51) ; 64 (v. 48) ; 58 (v. 15).

59. Rewā inscription of Karna (Mirashi, op. cit., No 51) and the records of Yasāh Karna state how the decision regarding succession to the throne rested with the ministers. Sometimes, ministers were handed over the charge of the entire administration- Mirashi, op. cit., Nos. 42, v. 6 ; 90, v. 25 ; 96, v. 21. Influence, was, however dependent on the personal character of the minister ; Sharma, R. S., op. cit., p. .

60. Refer to the table depicting the caste of ministers.

61. Mirashi, op. cit., No. 42, p. 187f.

not only mentioned but is also the subject of eulogy in five<sup>62</sup> out of the forty-two verses preserved. The term 'mantripradhāna' is used for him.<sup>63</sup> His influential position is clearly evidenced by this record. He appears to have multi-tereous functions, administrative, social and religious. It is stated in this record that the king "attained prosperity free from all deficiency",<sup>64</sup> through the Brāhmaṇa Mantripradhāna. In the subsequent twelve verses,<sup>65</sup> Someśvara, the son of Bhākamiś'ra, is eulogised as the 'mantrin' of the king. The degree of influence which Someśvara exercised upon the king Lakshmanarāja can be gauged from the fact that the king himself is said to have shouldered the palanquin of his mantrin Someśvara on one occasion.<sup>66</sup> Someśvara is said to have:

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62. Ibid, vv.2-6.

63. Ibid, v.6.

64. Ibid.

65. Ibid, vv.7-18.

66. Ibid, v.17.

“felt no doubt in (interpreting) the Vedas;  
who was a capable master of grammar;  
who was inconceivable in logic;  
who had a superior intellect in the  
interpretation of tantra works;  
who was the foremost in v̄edānta (and),  
clever in remembering poetic compositions.”<sup>67</sup>

These lines, show that the Br̄ahmaṇa combined his political duties as the mantrin with socio-religious functions. Several records belonging to the Ratanpur branch also contain references which show the Br̄ahmaṇa minister in a similar light. Not only is the Kalacuri king said to have “ruled without trouble”<sup>68</sup> through the efficacy of his Br̄ahmaṇa plenipotentiary, but also “obtained great mental happiness.”<sup>69</sup>

Besides the socio-religious and

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67. Ibid, v.7.

68. Ibid, No. 90, v.25.

69. Ibid, No. 96, v.21.

political functions, Brāhmanas also played an important role on the battle-front. The Kharōḍ inscription of Ratnadēva (III) of (K) E 933<sup>70</sup> speaks of the Brāhmaṇa Mahāmātya Gangādhara as being responsible for destroying the many enemies of the king and thereby freeing the kingdom:

“When the treasure was exhausted, the elephant force weak, the people were scattered, the country was infested by famine and reduced to a pitiable state, he (Gangādhara), by the might of his policy, rendered the kingdom of his lord Ratnadēva (III) ... Having vanquished multitude of his foes every where by his (Gangādhara's) policy, the illustrious Ratnadēva (III) has freed the kingdom from all troublesome persons.”<sup>71</sup>

Sōhadēva is mentioned as the minister of Prthvidēva (I) of the Ratnapur Kalacuris.<sup>72</sup> In this reference, along with the one in the Karitalāi inscription of Lakshmanarāja (II) - to which we

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70. Ibid, No. 100.

71. Ibid, v. 25-27.

72. Ibid, No. 90, v. 14.



have alluded earlier<sup>73</sup>-we come across an intriguing statement which indicates that ministership was hereditary in some specific instances. The Karitalāi inscription states: "having obtained him (Bhākamisra) as the Prime Minister (Mantripradhāna), the illustrious Yuvarājadēva (I) attained prosperity,<sup>74</sup> and later in the same record Somes'vara is mentioned as the son of Bhākamisra who succeeded him as the "foremost minister."<sup>75</sup> Similarly, in the Konī stone inscription, Sōdhadēva is said to have been made the "hereditary minister"<sup>76</sup> by the king Prthvidēva (I). The record further points out that Sōdhadēva's grandson, Purushōttama, was appointed to the post of Sarvādhikārin<sup>77</sup> by Ratnadēva (III).<sup>78</sup>

The heredity factor was, it may be

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73. Ibid, No. 42.

74. Ibid., v.6.

75. Ibid. v.18.

76. *Kramasamāgatapāty bhava / Kramajanma Karōtpātra*: Mirashi, op. cit No. 90 v.14.

77. *Sarvādhikārin* has been translated as 'minister plenipotentiary' by R.K Sharma (op. cit., pp.73-74).

78. Mirashi, op. cit., No. 90, w.22-23.

noted, not confined to the Brāhmanas alone.<sup>79</sup> Further, while it was admittedly an important factor, it was not the all-pervading one. Proved efficiency was also an essential criterion.<sup>80</sup>

Among the other high functionaries was the Rājguru, who appears to have been consulted in important matters of the state. In the records from Tripuri, the Rājguru is included in the list of state functionaries; more particularly, in the Jabalpur plates of Jayasimha<sup>81</sup> and the Rewā inscription of Vijayasimha. In the Ratanpur records, on the contrary, the Rājguru does not find a place among the functionaries of the state. The importance occupied in the field of administration is reflected in the Jabalpur stone inscription of Jayasimha of (K) E 926, where in Vimālaśiva, described as

79. Refer to the table showing caste affiliations of the ministers. Malayasimha and his ancestors were Ksatriyas.

80. Kōṇī inscription states that Purusōttama, the *Sarvādhikārin* of Ratnadēva had four sons, but the eldest did not succeed him as *Sarvādhikārin*. As Ratanpur inscription tells us, the *Sarvādhikārin* was his Mandālika Brahmadēva who was invited from Tālāhari *mandala* and made the chief minister-Mirashi, op. cit., No. 96, l. 20. Similar instance in case of the sons of Gangādhara Mir., op. cit., No. 100 v. 29. Also in Sharma, R.S., op. cit. p. 74.

81. Mirashi, op. cit., No. 64; v. 39; no. 67, v. 50.

"foremost among the Brāhmaṇas"<sup>82</sup>, is eulogised as follows:

"...showing exceeding great vigilance in looking after all royal affairs, the indefatigable leader ... through proficient in fine arts, shows the play of his power against the enemies ... though he is always employed (by the king) in many suitable affairs, he nowhere shows slackness in obligatory and occasional religious rites ... has made (even) the most distant people pay taxes."<sup>83</sup>

It is quite clear from these verses that the office of the Rājguru was not confined to strictly religious functions only, as is generally assumed. It would be far more accurate to say that the Rājguru carried out a combination of political, economic and ecclesiastical functions.

The record quoted above<sup>84</sup> furnishes us with the names of several Śaiva ācāryas who

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82. Ibid.

83. Ibid., vv.39-44

84. Ibid.

served the Kalacuri kings as their Rājguru; as many as twenty-nine verses are devoted to them.<sup>85</sup> The Rewa stone inscription of Vijayasimha<sup>86</sup> is a similarly illuminating record. The Rājgurus were granted several villages and land, if we are to go by the copper-plate records and characters. The Mālkāpuram pillar inscription, in particular, is relevant in this context: it is mentioned that Sabhāvas'ambhu of the Golaki matha received a gift of three lakhs of villages from the Kalacuri king Yuvarājadēva (I). This statement might very well have been a flight of poetic imagination, for, if correct, this would mean one-third of the total revenue of Dahala.<sup>87</sup> However, even if the figure is exaggerated, it nevertheless shows the important position and the high pedestal on which the Rājgurus were mounted.

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85. In these 29 verses, Śaiva ācāryas are named in verses 4-7, but their names are now lost. In vv. 16-17 we are told about Puruṣaśiva; in v.v. 9-10 Vimālaśiva and Vāstuśiva are mentioned; Puruṣaśiva's disciple Śaktiśiva is mentioned in v. 18, and Kirtiśiva in vv. 21-26; Vimālaśiva is eulogised in as many as 18 verses, from v. 27 onwards.

86. Mirashi, op. cit., No. 67.

87. Rahman Ali, *AAK*, p. 18; also in Mirashi, *Śaiva Ācāryas of the Mātāmayura Clan*, *IHQ*, 26(1), '50, p. 12.

We shall further examine this point in the chapter on religion.

Brāhmaṇas also figure on a couple of occasions as the 'Dūtakas', i.e., the communicators of royal orders about grants to the office of the Sāndhivigrāhika. Although neither of these records belong to the Kalaouri Houses of Tripuri or Ratnapur, they are not totally out of context here. At least one of them, viz., the plates of Jayābhaṭṭa,<sup>88</sup> belongs to the eighth century A.D. which lies within our purview. The record speaks of "the Bhaṭṭa, the illustrious Dēika" as the Dūtaka.

A retrospective glance over the preceding few pages would show that the Brāhmaṇas quite often adopted professions or occupations which one normally would not associate with the traditional connotation of the term 'Brāhmaṇa'. Apart from the function

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88. Mirashi, C 11, No. 24.

89. Ibid., I.49.

of Purōhita, to which Ālberuni has alluded,<sup>90</sup> the Brāhmaṇas adopted certain professions which were, traditionally, the preserve of the Ks'atriya. It would be interesting to enquire into the possible explanation for what seems like the erosion of the water-tight division of society into the four groups. One probability could very well be the increasing dependence of the king on the Brāhmaṇas for moral justification to rule. This dependence may have involved the reciprocation of the services rendered by the Brāhmaṇas through certain tangible rewards. The grant of land was one of the ways through which such reward could be conferred, and the grant of political offices could very well be another. In fact, we come across references, to which we have alluded, wherein even the important office of mantripradhāna was made the hereditary preserve of a particular Brāhmaṇa family.<sup>91</sup> This is in conformity with

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90. "There is always a Brahmana in the houses of those people, who there administers the affairs of religion and the work of piety. He is called '*Purohita*' - *Alberuni's India*, 11, p. 132.

91. *Mirashi*, C 11, vol. iv, No. 42, v. 6.

the view of Sukrākārya, who permits the appointment of a Brāhmaṇa as Senāpati in case of non-availability of a suitable or capable Kśatriya.<sup>92</sup>

Records contain several statements to show that the Brāhmaṇas were engaged in occupation such as agriculture and trade. Ālberuni refers to the Brāhmaṇas as traders in times of distress.<sup>93</sup> He points out that the Brāhmaṇas preferred to appoint Vais'yas who transacted business in their name. Yet some Brāhmaṇas tried their fortune in trade of cloths and betel-nut.<sup>94</sup>

#### **BRĀHMANAS AS INTERMEDIARIES:**

An analysis of the grants made during this period sheds interesting light on the Brāhmaṇas acting as landed intermediaries. Out of the thirty-one grants made out during the early period, as many as twenty-six were made to the Brāhmaṇas, and three to Hindu temples.<sup>95</sup> The

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92. *Sukra*, 11, 865-866; Chauhan, op. cit., p. 4.

93. *Alberuni's India*, ii, p. 132.

94. *Ibid.*

95. *Mirashi*, op. cit., p. cxlix.

main aim of these grants was the continued performance of the five great sacrifices. Turning our attention to the records of the Kalacuris of Tripuri, out of the fourteen records which refer to grants of land,<sup>96</sup> all except two<sup>97</sup> are made to Brāhmanas. In some of these grants, a number of villages are given to one Brāhmaṇa family.<sup>98</sup> The Gūrgī stone inscription of Kōkkaladēva (II) refers to as many as eighteen villages or fields, while the Karitalāi inscription of Lakshmanarāja (II) refers to the grant of six villages.<sup>99</sup> The grant of such large villages or land to the Brāhmaṇa must have presented the latter with considerable opportunity to act as powerful intermediaries. Religious institutions (mathas) and groups of Brāhmanas owning as many as eighteen villages could not hope to manage them

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96. Viz., No. 42, which refers to the grant of 6 villages ; No. 44 ; No. 45 ; No. 46, which refers to 16 villages and 2 fields ; No. 48 ; No. 50 ; No. 52 ; No. 56 ; No. 57 ; No. 60 ; No. 63 ; No. 64 ; No. 68 ; No. 70.

97. No. 52 which is a grant to monks ; and No. 60.

98. Mirashi, op. cit., Nos. 42 and 46.

99. Ibid. No 42.



without employing intermediaries who may have been remunerated by means of grants of land or revenue thereof.<sup>100</sup> It is distinctly expressed in the land grants that the donee was free to cultivate the land himself or to get it cultivated by others.<sup>101</sup>

### THE PATTERN OF MIGRATION:

In the beginning of this chapter, we had spoken of the rather large number of records from the Ratnapur branch which contain information about migrating Brāhmaṇa families. In most of these cases, we are fortunate to have all the relevant details concerning the places of emigration and resettlement. Apart from the Ratnapur records, a few records belonging to the early Kalaçuri Era and the Tripuri House also present cases of migration of Brāhmaṇas. The table<sup>102</sup> presents these records in a chronological sequence, and on its basis we shall attempt an analysis with reference to ſuch questions as the

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100. Sharma, R.S. *Indian Feudalism*, p.186.

101. Mirashi, op. cit., p.clxix.

102. Refer to the table showing the cases of migration, (APPENDIX 'B')

pattern of migration and the reasons for such mobility.

The references show that the Brāhmaṇas came from far-off places such as Sonābhadrā or Śrāvaṇābhadrā in Ūttar Pradesh, and Kumbhāṭi in Central India. What would possibly have been the cause for such migration? In almost all of the cited cases, the places which became the new residences of the Brāhmaṇas were either situated in, or were in close proximity to, the Kālacuri capital.<sup>103</sup> This sort of a tendency could serve only one purpose for the migrating Brāhmaṇa families, i.e., obtaining the patronage of the royal court, or, as R.N.Nandi puts it, "clientele support."<sup>104</sup> To cite an example, the Brāhmaṇa Padmanābha emigrated from Śrāvaṇābhadrā, won admiration at the court of the Kālacuri capital (Ratnapur) by his skill in astronomical calculations. He is said to have been the beneficiary of a grant, viz., village

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103. Refer to the map showing the villages in the Kālacuri kingdom.

104. Nandi, R.N., Client, Ritual, and Conflict in Early Brāhmanical Order, *IHR*, Vol. vi, '79-'80, p.89.

Cicola as reward.<sup>105</sup> In several instances, Brāhmaṇas are specially invited by the Kalacuri kings and granted large villages and land.<sup>106</sup> This speaks of the influence of the Brāhmaṇas in the Kalacuri kingdom, be it either in their priestly capacity or in the realm of economy and administration. In fact, our records reveal that many of the Kalacuri kings adopted a regular policy of setting Brāhmaṇas in their kingdom; patronage given to the latter by the former attracted many Brāhmaṇas from distant places to the Kalacuri country. For an example, the Kalacuri king Karṇa is said to have established a new village, called Karṇavati exclusively for Brāhmaṇa residents.

Migrations, thus appear to have taken place due to a combination of two factors which were, essentially, complementary to each other: the need for the Brāhmaṇas to obtain royal patronage, and the policy of the Kalacuri kings to establish Brāhmaṇa settlements by inviting

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105. Mirashi, op. cit., No. 83.

them from far-off places. The combination of these two factors seems to have borne fruit particularly in the eleventh and twelfth centuries A.D., since all but one of the migrations have taken place in these two centuries.

## SECTION-II

### THE KŚĀTRIIYAS

The Kśātriya is primarily identified in early sources as the ruling section of society, concerned with defence and the protection of the rest of the society. However, by the time we come to our period of study, the Kśātriyas had diversified, as in the case of the Brāhmaṇas, into a variety of occupations. While continuing to be at the helm of affairs in the political arena, our sources also project them as *praśāstikāras* or poets, councillors, giving alms and paying devotion to the Brāhmaṇas. They also seem to have taken up the profession of *sutradhāras* on some occasions.<sup>106</sup> We shall come back to this aspect at a later stage in some detail. However, at this point of time, it may

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106. Chattopadhyaya, B.D., *Origin of the Rājputs : the political, economic and Social Processes*, *IHR* iii, 1976. p.77.

be suggested that by the early medieval times, a significant change was under way within the ranks of the traditional ksatriyas which saw at least some of them assume less exalted offices. As E.D. Chattopadhyaya writes, the prime-mover towards such an undermining of the political status of the early ksatriya categories may have been the rise and subsequent proliferation of the Rājputs.<sup>107</sup> It is, therefore, imperative to take up the allied questions such as the origin of the Rājputs and the various myths associated with such claims, the different socio-economic and political processes involved in the engendering of these claims, and their fructification in the light of the Kalaouri records. Since the process was not isolated and covered a much wider spectrum including several contemporary north-western and central Indian powers, it is also necessary to make occasional references to the sources pertaining to these pockets of power so as to render a greater clarity to the rather vexed question of the emergence of the Rājputs, which has been a debatable subject among scholars for long.

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107. Ibid.

The underlying reason for the debate may be traced to the fact that scholars 'inter-alia' are working with varied points of view. Thus, we have different theories concerning the origin of the Rājputs. The natural inclination of the administrator-cum-historian in colonial India prompted several writers to attribute the origin of the Rājputs in India to the migration and settlement of foreign invaders, i.e., Scythic, S'ākas, Kus'ānhas, Pāhlavas, Hunas, etc. in India, who came to be assimilated within Indian society.<sup>108</sup> These theories encouraged a critical examination from many Indian historians, who advocated an indigenous origin of the Rājputs.<sup>109</sup> Several Indian historians have also argued that the Rājputs represented a mixed caste in early medieval India.<sup>110</sup>

In order to understand the process of emergence of the Rājputs, it is essential to view our sources with an eye on the political and socio-economic milieu in the Kalacuri kingdom. As in the case of the time-

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108. Smith, V.A., Tod, James., Sinha, S., State formation and Rājput Myth in Tribal central India, *Man in India*, xlii, no. 1., p.35-80.

109. Vaidya, C.V., *History of Medieval Hindu India*, ii, Ojha, G.H.,

110. Sharma, D., ed. *Rajasthan Through the Ages*, i,

honoured *varna* categories, "Rājput" is known to have been assimilative in character and recognized as a means of transition from the tribal to state formation,<sup>111</sup> and this aspect is particularly relevant in the area of our study since it lies in the essentially tribal belt of central India. The inscriptions of the Kalacuri Kings, like those of some other contemporary powers, show an anxiety to search for, and provide, a Rājput-Ks'atriya connection. Hence, we have several references to their being Haihayas of the Lunar dynasty.<sup>112</sup> Such claims to either the 'Solar' or the 'Lunar' dynasties became a fairly wide spread phenomenon in the period under study, and were manifested in the attempt to provide respectable geneologies, for the most part concocted, of their families. Thus, the Kalacuri inscriptions trace the geneology to the Lunar dynasty and to legendary heroes such as Kārtavīrya Saḥaśrarjuna. The fact that such ambitious claims do not make an appearance in the early Kalacuri records, but only in the records belonging to the 10th century onwards, would indicate

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111. Sinha, s., op. cit., p.

112. Mirashi, v.v., op. cit., No. 45, v.8; No. 48, v.3; No. 50, v.3ff; No. 60, v.7; Sinha, s., op. cit., p.47.

some synchronization between the emergence of the Kalacuris as a major, independent territorial power and the claims to a Rājput-Kśatriya status. In fact, the geneological details are visible in the epigraphic records of most ruling clans during or after the process of transition from feudatory to independent status.<sup>113</sup> Once the Kalacuris emerged as a powerful force wielding both political and economic control over a fairly large territorial area, there developed " an atmosphere of excessive sensitiveness" about their social rank and position, thus giving rise to the need for an exalted geneological recognition. This process of investing a fictitious and fabricated descent in active collaboration with the Brāhmaṇas was only one of the overt means through which recognition was sought to be achieved, others being:(i) a deliberate policy on the part of the ruling family to invite "Brāhmaṇas of the right kind" from distant places with sufficient remunerative motivation in the form of land grants; (ii) to bring out in strong relief-and to make no secret of-the observance of the traditional Brāhmaṇic rituals; .(iii) and to realize marriage-

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113. Chattopadhyaya, B.D., op. cit., p. 77



alliances with some recognised Rājput families.<sup>114</sup> All of these traits are visible in the Kalaçuri records, their practice being made feasible with the support of economic and political power. We have already perceived of the influx of several Brāhmaṇa families from distant places such as Sōnābhadrā (Śrāvaṇabhadrā) in U.P. and Vaiśali in North Bihār.<sup>115</sup> The inscriptions also testify to the practice of traditional Brāhmaṇical rites.<sup>116</sup> The marriage network sought to be established by the Kalaçuris with some of the recognized Rājput families is also evident in our sources. The alliances were made with the Guhilā royal family and the candēllas. Thus, Gayākarna, the Kalaçuri King, tied the nuptial knot with Ālhānadēvi, a princess of the Guhilā family,<sup>117</sup> and a similar event took place between Kōkkaladēva and Nāttadēvi,<sup>118</sup> the latter hailing from the candēlla clan. Marital links such as these were possibly aimed at developing a greater affinity between the Kalaçuris and the recognized Rājput families, and could not have

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114. Sinha, S., op. cit., p. 53

115. See section on Brāhmaṇa migrations ; also Appendix. 'B'

116. Refer Below, chapter III, section on Brahmanism.

117. Mirashi, op. cit., No. ; Chattopadhyaya, B.D., op. cit., p.74 ; I.A., xvi, 345-55.

118. Mirashi, op. cit., No. 48, v.8 ; Sharma, R.K., op. cit., p.11.

been without significant political bearings.<sup>119</sup>

The term *rājaputra* finds place in quite a few inscriptional records for the period, and it has been suggested <sup>120</sup> that a gradual change was taking place in its connotation in so far as it possibly extended over a larger group than the accepted meaning of 'son of the king.' In the Kalacuri inscriptions, *rājaputra* occurs in the list of officials provided<sup>121</sup>, but it doesnot appear to have replaced the other terms designating various offices.

From the above study, it would appear that the emergence of the Kalacuris as an independent territorial power engendered a need to legitimize their social rank and position, and this process may be linked to the tendency of tracing the dynastic origin to legendary Ks'atriya lineages. The eleventh and twelveth centuries thus witnessed attempts to draw up linkages with es-

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119. Chattopadhyaya, B.D., op. cit., p.74.

120. On the basis of an examination of some epigraphs, Prof. Chattopadhyaya suggests that the term *rājaputra* come to replace the list of officials of earlier records, thereby meaning that the ranks of officials circulated among those groups who were claiming to be Rājputs as well ; Chatopadhyaya, B.D., op. cit., p. 77-78.

121. Mirashi, op. cit., No. 50, l.33., where the *rājaputra* is mentioned as one of the witnesses of a grant.

established Rājput clans, and the ruling families associated themselves more and more with the term 'Rājput' in preference to the traditional 'Kśatriya'.

Going back to the occupations not normally associated with the Kśatriya but which were, none the less, taken up by several members belonging to Kśatriya category, let us first look into the Kśatriya's role as the councillor of Kings. As the table depicting the caste-affiliations of the Kalacuri ministers shows, at least three personages from this social category acted as ministers and augmented the *mantrasakti* of the Kalacuri King. The Rewā inscription of Vijayasimha informs us about a *mantrin* named Jaṭa who, in the initial portion of the record, is described as the ancestor of Malayasimha of the Kśatriya lineage.<sup>122</sup> We also hear of two other ancestors of Malayasimha, viz., Yaśahpāla, the *mantrin* of Gayākarna, and Candrasimha, the *Gṛhikamantrin* (Home Minister) of Vijayasimha.<sup>123</sup> However, the appointment of Kśatriyas as ministers does not seem to have been a regular practice with the Kala-

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122. Ibid., No. 67.

123. The three Kśatriya councillors mentioned are Jaṭa, Yaśahpāla and Candrasimha.

curis, Since all the three *mantrins* mentioned above belong to one single family, and occur in the same record. Furthermore, if we are to make a comparison with the Brāhmaṇa ministers on the basis of the table cited above,<sup>124</sup> it is easily perceived that the 'spread'-in terms of time and the number of inscriptions - is far greater in the case of the Brāhmaṇa ministers. Again, the terms indicating ministership of the Brāhmaṇa are much more flattering as against the less grandiose titles of the Kṣātriya (or, for that matter, the Vaiśya and Kāyastha) ministers.

True to the traditional mould of the Kṣātriya, Kirtisimha and Malayasimha were powerful feudatories who distinguished themselves on the battle-field and helped quell the rebellions of Sulaks'ana and Vikrama.<sup>125</sup>

In the literary sphere, it seems that the Kṣātriya could attain a degree of mastery over the vēdas and proficiency in sanskr̥t and prakṛt languages, but there is no evidence to show that they could become teachers as well. Alberuni says that while the "kṣātriya

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124. Appendix 'A'.

125. Mirashi, op. cit., No. 87, v.10.

reads the Vēda and learns it," he "does not teach it." 126

Like the few Brāhmanas, the art of composing *prasastis* seems to have attracted the Ksātriyas as well. The Māllār stone Inscription of Jājjaladēva (II) refers to one Kumārapāla, "born in the race of Sahasrarjuna". He was apparently the composer of the record.<sup>127</sup> At least three other records mention the same individual in a similar role. The Kharōḍ inscription of Ratnadēva (III) describes Kumārapāla as being renowned as a poet "born in the Haihaya family".<sup>128</sup>

In conclusion, it might be said that the period under study saw the Ksatriya deviate into what may be called 'non-ksatriya occupations' in quite a few instances. However, the Ksātriyas were second only to the Brahmanas in the social hierarchy. In this sense, we do not see any major departure from the preceding centuries. The superiority of the Brāhmaṇa is shown in the Rewā inscription of Vijayasimha, which states that the qualities of the Ksātriya minister Candra-

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126. *Alberunis India*, II, p. 136.

127. Mirashi, *op. cit.*, No. 96.

128. *Ibid.*, No. 100, v. 42.

129. *Ibid.*, No. 47, v. 58.

simha were "conferred by the boons of the Brāhmaṇas, so that he protects the bodies of the twice-born."<sup>130</sup> This also shows that "twice-born" came to be synonymous with the Brāhmaṇas.

### SECTION III

#### THE VAISYA

The Vaiśya is placed after the Brāhmaṇa and Kṣatriya in the social ladder by the *smṛti* literature and the *purāṇas*. However, he is nowhere explicitly mentioned in the Tripuri records, and we have only vague references to this *varṇa* in a few records belonging to the 9th and 10th centuries.<sup>131</sup> The Bilhāri stone inscription clearly implies a difference between the vaiśya and the sūdra, as Yuvarājadēva (II) is said to have differentiated all the four castes from each other.<sup>132</sup> Evidence of this kind is, however, not available elsewhere in the Tripuri records. Moreover, Alberuni, writing in the 11th century, asserts that "between the two classes (vaiśya and sūdra) there is no great

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130. Ibid., No. 67, v. 12.

131. Ibid., No. 37, l. 1; No. 45, v. 69.

132. Ibid., No. 45, v. 69.

difference.<sup>133</sup> The fact that the *śūdra* is not mentioned in our sources except for the Rewā stone inscription of Karṇa in connection with the origin of the Kāyastha caste, (to which we shall refer in the following section) lends credence to the belief that the *sūdra* was no longer visible as a specific category.

While the *vaiśya* is hardly mentioned, we do hear of certain occupations and activities which one would normally associate with the *vaiśya*. Thus, we hear of the *Śresthin* or merchant Dāmodara in the Makundapur record of the eleventh century.<sup>134</sup> In a later record, the merchant community is cited as the managing authority in the affairs of the court of justice of the local *pañcakula*.<sup>135</sup> Apart from these singular references, we do not hear of this community in the annals from Tripuri. We may, however, attempt an analysis of the evidence for the activities such as trade and commerce, the occupation traditionally ascribed to the *vaiśya* category. Both epigraphic as well as literary sources throw some light upon the existence of towns which served as the focii of the organization of trad-

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133. Alberunis India, II, p. 134.

134. Mirashi, op. cit., p. 235.

135. Ibid., No. 72, v. 9.

ing activities. Thus, the Karitaī stone inscription of Lakṣmaṇadēva informs us of the existence of the *dēsi* or guild of liquor-sellers.<sup>136</sup> The same record also mentions a trade in betel-leaves conducted by the 'chief of *vāg-ulikās*' and the *pāyātis*.<sup>137</sup> Both of these trading bodies were required to make donations to the temple prior to their engaging in commercial activities. This practice of making donations to the religious institutions quite possibly extended to the entire trading community, although information is not available on other trading communities.

However, our sources give us some idea of the articles which formed the basis for the daily transactions carried out by the trading groups. Rājas'ekhara's *Viddhas'ālabhañjikā* acquaints us with the flourishing market places which catered to all the basic necessities of life,<sup>138</sup> and the articles brought to these market places or *mandapikās* are enumerated in a Tripuri inscription.<sup>139</sup> The merchant community had to surrender a

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136. Ibid., No. 42.

137. Ibid.

138. Viddh., iv, p.130.

139. Mirashi, op. cit., No. 45.



part of their profit in the form of various assessments and taxes.

Moving on to the Ratanpur branch, we hear of two geographical places which may have been associated with the merchant community. First, we come across a town called *vanīāpattāka* which was, as R.K. Lal presumes, named after the predominantly merchant population.<sup>140</sup> Then, the town *Vaninarājan* is mentioned in the Ratanpur record of *Jājjaladēva*, and probably denoted a merchant-town.<sup>141</sup> The same record elsewhere refers to the *śresthin* *Yāśa*, who is described as *Ratanapura pradhāna* in the *Amōda* plates of *Prthividēva* (1), and is said to have made a land grant to a *Brāhmaṇa* along with two other leading citizens of Ratanpur.<sup>142</sup> This is one of the rare instances when a private individual is said to have made a land grant, and indicates that the merchant community, too, extended patronage toward the *Brāhmaṇas*. The two records cited above are separated by a period of thirty-five years, and apparently the *śresthin* *Yāśa* remained 'in charge of' Ratanpur for the entire span of

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140. Lal, R.K., op. cit., p.101.

141. Ibid.

142. Mirashi, op. cit., No. 77, v.12.

time.

If we have thus far given the impression that the vaiśya is to be identified completely and totally with the merchant community, it would be erroneous. A record of the Ratnāpur Kalacuris tends to show that the term vaiśya continued to denote a specific rank of certain communities and was used as a mark of identification. The Akaltārā inscription refers to an outstanding vaiśya family which was evidently important enough to be the subject of eulogization in as many as five epigraphs. These provide the family-tree of the illustrious feudatory of Ratnadēva (II) named Vallabharāja. At least three of his ancestors served the Kalacuris in different capacities, viz., Devarāja, Rāghava and Harigaṇa. Rāghava is described as "a famous minister of kings". Vallabharāja himself is the subject of eulogy in several verses where a graphic picture is provided of his multifereous activities on the field of battle and on the socio-religious front. It would thus appear that personages from the Vaiśya lineage distinguished themselves both as ministers and as feudatory kings who accompanied their lord in the field of battle.<sup>143</sup>

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143. Ibid., No. 84; No. 85; No. 87; No. 95.

## SECTION - IV

### THE KĀYASTHAS

The inscriptional sources generally do not indicate the caste affiliations of the persons mentioned therein, and the names, with a few exceptions, are usually not indicative of the social status of the person. However, there is at least one record of the Kalacuris which not only mentions the person as a Kāyastha, but also goes on to furnish a genealogy of the Kāyastha lineage. We shall come back to this interesting, and somewhat intriguing, epigraph a little later.

The Kāyasthas have been generally taken to represent the 'writer's class', and terms such as the *Lēkhakas*, *Lipikāras*, etc. have been used synonymously and interchangeably.<sup>144</sup> Going by the available source-material, perhaps it is correct to say that the Kāyastha was, in the pre-Gupta and Gupta periods, a functionary whose primary occupation was the composition of *pras'astis* and other documents. Thus, initially the term 'Kāyastha' designated professional or occupational group, more than a social or 'caste' entity. The Kāyastha is

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144. Gupta, Chitrlekha. "The Writer's Class in Ancient India", *IESHR*, vol. 20, (2), 1983, p.191. Harisena, a Jaina writer of the 10th century, used the words *Lēkhaka* and *Kāyastha* as synonymous, Chauhan, K., op. cit., p.11.

described variously as "an officer appointed by the King to write public documents,"<sup>145</sup> "as accountant or scribe",<sup>146</sup> etc. It is the literature belonging to the post Gupta (Early Medieval) period that ascribes to the Kāyastha duties other than the writing and compiling of documents, and we begin to hear of Kāyasthas as collectors of taxes<sup>147</sup> and officials.<sup>148</sup> By the time we come to the period of our study, the Kāyasthas had diversified into a number of occupations, and his identity with the "writer's class" had, for all practical purposes, receded into the background. This is not to say that the Kāyastha relinquished the occupation traditionally ascribed to him in our lexicons; we still hear in our records of numerous pras'astis composed by the Kāyastha. The change that may be marked, however, is the occupation of some of the highest political offices available in the Kalacuri Kingdom.<sup>149</sup>

As a matter of fact, it is essentially this last factor that led to the invention of a respectable gene-

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145. Visnu..., VII.3 in Chauhan, op. cit., p.11.

146. Vijñeswar mentions this; Mitāk., I.332-336.

147. New I.A., 1938-39, p.740, where an 11th century commentator of Yajñavalkya is quoted.

148. R.T., IV, 90.92, 621-29, in Chauhan, K., op. cit., p.12.

149. Mirashi, op. cit., No. 51; No. 77, v.32.

alogy for the Kāyastha. This desire to gain some social respectability in the eyes of the general populace is very much akin to a similar anxiety on the part of the ruling family, to which reference has already been made above. The legendary genealogies were validated with the help of the Brāhmaṇas. Search for a lineage link indicates that the Kāyastha had ceased to be merely an occupational group, and gained the attributes of a caste. In the Kalaçuri records, we come across the Rewā stone inscription of Karṇa, dated to 1048-49 A.D.<sup>150</sup> which provides the story of the origin of the Kāyastha caste. The record itself is in a rather mutilated and badly preserved condition, and several lines are lost. Nevertheless, enough survives to illuminate - and, in a manner of speaking, confuse - the historian. The second part of the record<sup>151</sup> is particularly relevant. Apparently, the inscription refers to the genealogy of the Kāyastha ministers who rendered service to the Kalaçuri Kings through generations, and the very first verse asserts that these Kāyastha ministers were 'dvījas' or 'twice-born'.<sup>152</sup> A statement to the same effect is to

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150. Ibid., No.51.

151. Ibid., w.34-59.

152. Ibid., v.34.

be located in the *smṛticandrikā* where the *gaṇaka* and the *Lēkhaka* are said to be '*dvījas*' by birth.<sup>153</sup> while theoretically a '*dvīja*' signified a member of the first three varṇas, usually the term implied a Brāhmaṇa. Kalhāṇa, too, refers to one Brāhmaṇa Kāyastha, '*dvīja* S'ivaratha by name.<sup>154</sup> Romila Thapar also points to the possibility of the Brāhmaṇa identity of the Kāyastha.<sup>155</sup> This theory, that the Kāyastha belonged to the Brāhmaṇa lineage, is followed up in the following verse by linking the Kāyastha family with the holy sage Kācara<sup>156</sup> and the legendary Brāhmaṇa village of Kulāñca. Such an association of the renowned Brāhmaṇa villages with the genealogy of the Kāyastha in the inscriptions is also to be found in the records of other ruling families.<sup>157</sup>

The claim that the Kāyastha family descended from a Brāhmaṇa lineage is, however, negated in the succeeding lines of the Rewā inscription, which attribute a sūdra status to the Kāyastha. It is stated that a man, born of the fourth caste (*turiya janma*), propitiated

153. Gupta, Chitrlekha, op. cit., p. 197

154. Ibid., p. 198

155. Thapar, R., *Ancient Indian Social History*, Delhi, 1978, 137.

156. Mirashi, op. cit., No. 51, v. 35.

157. Gupta, Chitrlekha, op. cit., p. 199-200.

the sage Kācara on the banks of the holy river (i.e., Ganges) and was blessed with a son who became the progenitor of the Kāyastha caste.<sup>158</sup>

It is curious that, as Mirashi writes, two conflicting theories have been put forward in the same record. In an apparent effort to reconcile the contradictory statements, Mirashi explains the compound '*turiya janma*' as '*turiya rtham (Yajñartham) janma Yasya sañ*', i.e., one who is born for the performance of a sacrifice, a Brāhmaṇa.<sup>159</sup> Thus, he regards the Kāyasthas as of Brāhmaṇa origin. However, as Mirashi himself acknowledges elsewhere,<sup>160</sup> the phrase '*yo-bhumin deva-pada-pansu-pavitra maullit*' suggests that the son did not belong to the caste of the "earthly Gods", i.e., Brāhmaṇas. A non-Brāhmaṇa origin of the Kāyasthas has been expostulated from many quarters. Chitrlekha Gupta<sup>161</sup> points to the association of the Kāyastha with Buddhism, and thereby indicates that the Kāyasthas were essentially non-Brāhmaṇas. The Kāyasthas of Bengal are

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158. Ibid., p.

159. Mirashi, op. cit., p. 167, foot note 3.

160. Ibid.

161. Gupta, Chitrlekha, op. cit., p. 195 This was possibly only applicable to Bengal Kayasthas, and may not have been true for other regions.

accepted as Śūdras. In fact, the term Śūdra came to encompass several essentially different groups such as the potters and other artisans, Kāyasthas, barbers, etc. Sometimes, it has also been suggested<sup>162</sup> that the Kāyasthas had a close material link with the merchant community in the pre-Gupta period and, with a decline in trading activities, both the merchant community as well as the kāyastha came to be included in the Śūdra Varna. However, the proximity which the Kāyastha enjoyed with the ruling family presented ample opportunity for him to play a powerful role in society and administration. Consequently, the need arose for them to emerge from the confines of the Śūdra category. This need was sought to be satisfied through the fabrication of suitable genealogies with the participation of the Brāhmaṇas. In fact, the genealogies reflect a conscious and deliberate effort on the part of the Brāhmaṇas to involve themselves in the legendary stories attached to the origin of the Kāyastha. Thus, we hear of recognized Brāhmaṇa villages such as Takkārikā and Kulañca,<sup>163</sup> and also of the purification of the progenitor

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162. Ibid., p. 149

163. Ibid., p. 200



of the Kāyastha caste by the "earthly Gods" (Brāhmanas).

While the origin of the Kāyasthas is shrouded in confusion, the Rewā stone inscription shows that the Kāyasthas had emerged as a clear social category by the tenth and eleventh centuries. This period also saw the crystalization of a number of sub-groups of the Kāyasthas. Thus, in the Kalaçuri kingdom we hear of Kāyasthas of the *Gayda*<sup>164</sup> and *Vāstavya*<sup>165</sup> families. The earliest mention of the Kāyastha in the Kalaçuri records is to be found in the Bilhāri Stone inscription of Yuvarājadēva (II), belonging to the last quarter of the tenth century.<sup>166</sup> There is, however, no mention of the specific family to which this Kāyastha belonged. The later records, belonging to eleventh and twelfth centuries, invariably carry the familial name of the Kāyasthas. For the purposes of our study, the Rewā Stone inscription of Karna and the Ratanpur Stone inscription of Jājalladēva (1)<sup>167</sup> have to be viewed together, for, both these records carry references to the same Kāyastha

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164. Mirashi, op. cit., No. 51.

165. Ibid., No. 93, v.v. 8ff.

166. 975 A.D., Mirashi, op. cit., p. 208.

167. Ibid., No. 51 and No. 77.

family. The latter of these two records says that its composer belonged to the same *Gauḍa* family from which the Kāyastha Minister of Karna had hailed:

"The Kāyastha, the illustrious ... born in the Gauḍa family, the foremost of those whose council vies with (that) of the preceptor of Gods (who was the councillor) of the illustrious Karna... composed this... eulogy on Jājñaladēva"<sup>168</sup>

Since the above record belongs to 1114 A.D., it may be supposed that this Kāyastha was a representative of the generation following that of Karna's Kāyastha minister. The relationship may have been that of father and son.<sup>169</sup> The Ratanpur Stone Inscription of Prthvidēva mentions Ananta pāla and his son Tribhuvanapāla as hailing of the *Gauḍa* family. The latter of the two seems to have been the composer of the record.<sup>170</sup>

Apart from the *Gauḍa* Kāyasthas, the *Vāstavya* family also offered their services to the Kalacuri Kings. An interesting point to be noted is that the Kāyasthas

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168. *Ibid.*, No. 77, v.32.

169. *Ibid.*, p.411.

170. *Ibid.*, No. 96, v.42.

belonging to the *Vāstavya* family find mention almost exclusively in the records of the Ratanpur House. As in the instance of the *Gauda* family cited before, several of the Kalaouri records from Ratanpur were either composed or written by members of the same *Vāstavya* family. The family of Kirtidhara may be cited as a lucid example. A record of Prthvidēva (II) mentions a son of Kirtidhara, belonging to the *Vāstavya* family, as the writer of the *pras'asti*<sup>171</sup>. Although the name is lost to us, he might have been identical with Supata, who wrote another record barely a year later for the same Kalaouri King.<sup>172</sup> A subsequent grant of Prthvidēva (II), dated to mid 12th century, was written by Vatsarāja, another son of Kirtidhara.<sup>173</sup> Vatsarāja is mentioned in similar terms in the Ghōṭija Plates<sup>174</sup> issued in the same year. Nineteen years later a son of Vatsarāja, viz., Dharmarāja, is cited as the *pras'astikāra*<sup>175</sup>. It may be recalled that Kirtidhara himself was the writer of the Ratanpur Stone inscription of Jājalladēva.<sup>176</sup> Apart

171. Ibid., No. 89, v. 24.

172. Ibid., No. 90. The important position of the *pras'astikāra* is brought out in v. 5 of the record.

173. Ibid., No. 91, v. 21.

174. Ibid., No. 92, v. 26.

175. Ibid., No. 99, v. 26. Dharmarāja is also mentioned in his military capacity.

176. Ibid., No. 83, v. 35.

from this family of Kirtidhara, we hear of several other names belonging to the *Vāstavya* family as writers or composers of *prasāstis*.<sup>177</sup>

### KĀYASTHAS IN ADMINISTRATION

What we have discussed so far is in connection with the conventional occupation of the Kāyasthas as *prasāstikāras*. However, what distinguishes the Kāyastha in early medieval times from the Kāyastha in the ancient period is the role of the Kāyastha in the arena of council as also on the battle front. The Rewā stone inscription of Karna, which has been referred a number of times, provides a genealogy of the Kāyastha Ministers who flourished in the time of various Kalaouri kings. The earliest figure is that of Prabhākara who apparently gained recognition under Lakṣmaṇarājadēva.<sup>178</sup> Someśvara<sup>179</sup> seems to have followed Prabhākara, but the badly mutilated condition of the verses does not permit us to ascribe him to any Kalaouri king in particular. The next identifiable figure is associated with

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177. Ibid., No. 91, v. 21; No. 92, v. 26; No. 94, v. 28; No. 97, vv. 23-24; No. 99, v. 26; No. 108, v. 13, etc.

178. Ibid., No. 51, v. v. 41-43.

179. Ibid., v. 46.

the Kalacuri king Karna. This personage served Karna in the administrative field, and he is also mentioned as the *prasastikāra* of the record. Kirtidhara is also mentioned as a councillor of Jājalladēva(I).<sup>180</sup> The Kāyastha also seems to have gained the warrior status. Dharmarāja is described in the Kharōḍ Stone inscription of Ratnadēva as the one, "who is to the crowd of hostile warriors as fire is to fuel..."<sup>181</sup> The Kalacuri records show that the Kāyastha, quite often, combined the duties of a *prasastikāra*, an administrator and a warrior. The same person is very often cited as the *prasastikāra* in one verse and as a leading plenipotentiary in the political realm in another.<sup>182</sup>

## SECTION - V

### WOMEN IN THE KALACURI KINGDOM

A study of the social conditions of the period would hardly be complete without dealing with the position and status of women. This question has attracted a number of studies, mostly descriptive and only a few analytical, from scholars pursuing the societal study

180. Ibid., No. 83, v. 35.

181. Ibid., No. 99, v. 26.

182. Ibid., No 51, v. 50 and v. 58.

of various historical epochs. The status of women and their role in the ritualistic, juridical and similar aspects has been viewed through the aisles of time. In the context of our present study, the available sources project the women in various fields of social activity, but some caution has to be exercised in forming our conclusions. The inscriptions, essentially being a projection of the royalty, should not necessarily be taken to be a source reflecting the state of women in the society as a whole. However, in the absence of any other source, except for the fleeting references made by Rājasekhara and Alberuni, we may make certain comments of a general nature on the position of women 'vis-a-vis their married life, the prevalence of the custom of *sati* and public life.

We get several references to the queen in various capacities. It seems that the queen had the right to grant land or villages to Brāhmaṇas and others. The earliest such reference that we come across is in a record of Lakṣmaṇarāja, dating to the mid-tenth century.<sup>183</sup> His queen is described as the donor of an

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183. Ibid., No. 42, v.32.

entire village<sup>184</sup> to the temple. While on this occasion a prior permission from the king was necessary, a later inscription belonging to the last quarter of the century does not carry any reference to such permission,<sup>185</sup> although as many as seven villages are said to have been donated by Nōhalla, the queen of Yuvarājadēva (II). Such charitable undertakings by a queen on her own initiative may also be attested through a record from Ratanpur, where queen Rambhāla seems to have made a lovely lake.<sup>186</sup>

In the field of education and literature, we have to rely mostly on the references made by Rājas'ekhara to women literatures. He asserts that women, too, became poetesses like men and were found well-versed in sciences. Some famous poetesses such as Vijayanka, have been highly acclaimed by Rājas'ekhara and have been compared with *Saras'vati* herself.<sup>187</sup> Rājas'ekhara's own wife named Avantisundari, a ks'atriya by caste, seems to have been an accomplished lady. Her opinion has been quoted thrice<sup>188</sup> in the *kāvya-mīmāṃsā*. It

184. Ibid.

185. Ibid., No. 45, v. 40.

186. Ibid., No. 98, v. 38.

187. Altekar, *Position of Women*...p.

188. *Kavya*: pp. 20, 43, 57.

would thus appear that she had composed some work on rhetorics.

However, as far as the question of higher education was concerned, the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* would lead us to believe that it was confined to royal, official, rich and well-to-do families and to the class of dancing girls.<sup>189</sup>

There is one interesting record that shows the religious patronage extended to Buddhism by women. We are told in an eleventh century inscription that Māmaka, wife of Dharmes'vara, caused a copy of the *Aṣṭasahas'rikaprajñāpāramitā* to be written, so that it could be recited by the Order of Venerable Monks.<sup>190</sup>

Women were highly honoured as mothers. The Candrēhe stone inscription of Prabōdhasōva refers to Amārikā, from whose womb the Brāhmaṇa Dharmasata was born. Dharmasata is mentioned as the *praśastikāra*<sup>191</sup> Another record of mid-twelfth century refers to the queen-mother Ālhāṇadēvi, who gave birth of Narasimhadēva, the kalacuri king.<sup>192</sup> The same Ālhāṇadēvi

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189. Altekar, op. cit., p.

190. Mirashi, op. cit., No. 52, l. 8.

191. Ibid., No. 44, v. 18.

192. Ibid., No. 60, v. 24.



is cited as the donor of land and other charitable undertakings in her role as the queen-mother. A similar idea is conveyed in a record of Vijayasimha, wherein obeisance is paid to his mother, the "*Mahārajñi Gosāl-adēvi*".<sup>193</sup> These are instances of the queen having survived her husband and making grants of land during the reign of her son.

The role of the queen-mother shown above would indicate that the practice of the age-old custom of *sati* was not a regular feature even in the royal household. However, the prevalence of the custom in the Kalauri Kingdom is exemplified in a few inscrip-tional records. Thus, we are told in the Khairhā Plates of Yasāhkarna that the Kalauri King, Gayākarna, "at-tained salvation...together with his hundred wives..."<sup>194</sup> Another obvious instance of *sati* is provided in the Ratanpur record which refers to three queens who fol-lowed their husband as *satis*.<sup>195</sup>

The prevalence of this custom among the general population is not attested to by our sources. However, a literary source approximately belonging to our period

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193. Ibid., No. 69.

194. Ibid., No. 56, v. 12; No. 57, l. 10.

195. Ibid., No. 98, v. 33.

has been quoted by a recent work<sup>196</sup> to show that *sati* was a general practice followed by the devoted wife of every rank. However, as we have already seen, *sati* was not a compulsory practice even in the royal family. Alberuni recognises such exceptions when he says that the custom did not apply to women of advanced years and those who have children.<sup>197</sup>

Finally, let us examine the role of married women. References are available both for the royal couple as well as for the lay population. Inscriptions testify to several queens taking an active interest in the affairs of administration, and acting as an influential factor upon the king. The influence of Nōhalla on Yuvarājadēva is indicated in the Bilhāri Stone Inscription, where the king is said to have "attained indescribable splendour through her,"<sup>198</sup> and that of *Thākuraññiudayā* in the Rājim Stone Inscription of Prthvidēva(II).<sup>199</sup>

Apart from the royalty, the wives of some officials, too, are seen to have had a say in the glory of their husbands. Thus, Lakhamā, the wife of the

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196. *KSS*, quoted in Chauhan, K., op. cit., p. 148.

197. *Alberuni's India*, II, p. 155.

198. *Mirashi*, op. cit., No. 45, v. 39.

199. *Ibid.*, No. 88, v. 7.

Brāhmaṇa minister Nimbadeva, is eulogised in a verse of poetic exuberance as the only source of virtue and the cause of the prosperity of the family.<sup>200</sup> In a similar vein, Rambhā, the wife of the Kāyastha Ratnasimha was respected by the family. The two wives of Devagana, the son of Ratnasimha, are also the subject of praise.<sup>201</sup> The last reference indicates that among the upper echelons of society polygamy was practised.

While it would only be natural to perceive the afore-mentioned verses as only a reflection of poetic exuberance on the part of the *prasastikāras*, nevertheless the existing social reality might not have been drastically different. The role of women vis-a-vis their husbands was certainly a positive one, and this is attested by Alberuni's remark on the counselling power of women. He writes that the advice of the wife was quite often sought for by the menfolk in times of emergencies and whenever a matter came up for consultation.<sup>202</sup> On the other hand, women also had certain duties towards their male counterparts. As Rājasekhara

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200. Ibid., No. 90, v.18.

201. Ibid., No. 93, v.12.

202. *Alberuni's India*, I, p.181.

says in the *Viddhasālabhañjikā*, the wife was to render unquestioned obedience to her husband, even at the cost of her personal comforts.<sup>203</sup>

## SECTION VI

### Occupational Groups:

Our sources indicate the existence of occupations in the field of textiles, metallurgy, masonry, and the like. From such references, it is quite obvious that there must have been several socio-economic groups engaged in such activities. The surviving remains of the art and architecture of the Kalacuris attest to the existence of stone-workers.<sup>204</sup> Besides these indirect references, we have clear mention of certain professional groups such as *sūtradhāras*, the *Lōhakāras*, the *mooj*, and the *vāgulikas*

As we have already seen in an earlier context, the land grants refer to the "mines of iron". The iron industry was a particularly thriving activity. Alberuni refers to the makers of certain iron-weapons such as

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203. *Viddh.* IV, p.57.

204. Rahman Ali, op. cit., p.

arrows, spear-points, swords and knives.<sup>205</sup> Several inscriptions confirm this. While the sword is referred to in the Bilhāri stone inscription of Yuvarājadeva(II),<sup>206</sup> the spear and arrow find place in the Rewā stone inscription of Vijayasīmha.<sup>207</sup> The Lōhakāra or black-smith enjoyed a particularly prominent place, lending his hand to a whole gamut of activities. The constant political conflicts with various contemporary powers further heightened his utility. The fact that the Lōhakāra or black-smith is mentioned on several occasions by his personal name<sup>208</sup> speaks for the importance of his profession.

Another occupation that must have attracted a substantial section of the working people was weaving, and auxiliary services such as dyeing.<sup>209</sup> The weaver himself, however, is not mentioned in the records. The weaver does not seem to have enjoyed a high status in society. Alberuni has classified certain social categories as untouchables on the basis of their occupation. The weaver is included in it, along with the shoe-

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205. *Alberuni's India*, I, p. 61.

206. *Mirashi*, op. cit., No. 45.

207. *Ibid.*, Appendix No. 4.

208. *Ibid.*, No. 65, ll. 18-19.

209. *Vidya*, I, 34; Chauhan, op. cit., p. 191.

maker and the fisherman.<sup>210</sup>

The *śūtradhāra* or artisan has been repeatedly mentioned in the kalacuri inscriptions, and quite often his personal name is mentioned too.<sup>211</sup> On certain occasions, the artisan is the subject of praise.<sup>212</sup> The incising and engraving of *prasāstis* seems to have been a family affair, in which several members of the family partook. The Tewār Stone Inscription of Gayākarna and the Bhēraghāt record of Narasimha mention Mahidhara as the "foremost of artisans"<sup>213</sup> who incised the stone. The same Mahidhara's son Nāmadēva is eulogised as the "crest-jewel of artisans who has adorned"<sup>214</sup> the Jabalpur inscription of Jayasimha. Apart from the artisan, a related group comprised of the architect. These two were clearly distinguished from each other. As in modern parlance, the architect was the one who conceptualised and planned, and his plan was executed by the artisan. Thus, we hear of the

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210. *Alberuni's India*, I, p. 101.

211. Mirashi, op. cit., No. 45, v. 86, which mentions Nōnna, the son of the *Śūtradhāra* Sangama; No. 46, v. 46, which refers to *Śūtradhāra* Mādhave; No. 47, v. 58 in which *Śūtradhāra* Sāmbhuka is mentioned; etc.

212. Ibid., No. 58, v. 17; No. 60, v. 36; No. 64, v. 49.

213. Ibid.

214. Ibid., No. 64, v. 49.

architect Pithe who was conversant with "the science (taught) by Visvakarmā," and immediately following is the reference to the artisan Mahidhara.<sup>215</sup>

finally, we hear of the *mooli*, generally interpreted as the shoe-maker. However, he does not emerge in our inscriptions until the fourteenth century or even later.<sup>216</sup> Although this record lies beyond the period of our interest, we may have a look at it as it contains the lone reference to the *mooli*. The person who is called '*mooli*' must have belonged to the thirteenth century, since his grandson had the record engraved. The inscription itself refers to the building of a temple dedicated to *Nārāyaṇa* together with a *mandapa* by Devapāla, grandson of Jasāu, a *mooli* by profession.<sup>217</sup> This shows that a descendant of a *mooli* became prosperous enough to have a temple erected.

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215. Ibid., No. 60, v.v. 36-37.

216. Ibid., No. 108, l.10.

217. Ibid.

## CHAPTER III

### RELIGION

Religion has been at the vanguard of societal interactions, and has served as an able reflector of the moral and ethical inclinations of Indian society from the earliest historical epoch up to contemporary society. Such a religious colouring to most societal obligations was an even more integral part in the lives of the people in the period of study than it is today.<sup>1</sup> A factor that heightened the stimulus - response relationship between the religious overtones and the socio-political and ethical activities of the royalty and lay inhabitants alike was the advent of the undercurrents of Tantricism, which coloured and engulfed most of the religious followings such as Vaisnavism,

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1. According to Alberuni, 1/9th of the income was given as a gift to religious minded people-*Alberuni's India*, II, p 149.



Saivism; Buddhism and Jainism, and added a new dimension to the existing religious fervour.

While the heterodox sects of Buddhism and Jainism were only just flickering with the smouldering remnants of their influence in small pockets, Brāhmanical forces not only enjoyed a prominent but also a predominant position over other religious sects prevalent during the period under study. In fact, it is interesting to note that by the 10th and 11th centuries, a trend towards reciprocity among the different religious forces had come into being, although such signs of reciprocity were more visible in the case of the heterodox sects. For an illustration, theistic tendencies had crept into Jainism and Buddhism on the analogous lines of Brāhmanical sects of Saivism and Vaiṣṇavism.<sup>2</sup> This development is substantially portrayed by the architectural and sculptural remains of the Kalaouris of Tripuri and Ratnapur. In fact, we shall, in the course of our study of the major religious trends, intermittantly refer to the material remains of such manifestations of religious activity of the Kalaouris.

### **HINDUISM**

Hinduism of the 10th century or thereabouts was not

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2. Chauhan, K. *CHNI*, p.p.167-168

necessary identical with vedic culture and religion, the practice of which still persisted with some amount of fervour. We have already seen in an earlier chapter the instances of brāhmadēya villages, some of which were the outcome of a substantial influx of migrating Brāhmaṇa families into the Kālacuri Kingdom.<sup>3</sup> We have also seen the prevalence of the pañcamahāyajñas or five great sacrifices, the maintenance of which required the large number of land grants made out to the Brāhmaṇas. A Ratanpur record uses a character from the R̥g Veda, viz., vala or vritra, to refer to Bhujabala, an arch enemy of the Kālacuri King Jājñadēva.<sup>4</sup> The same record describes the grantee as having mastered the six v̥edāngas and being familiar with the duties of the Udgatrī (priest).<sup>5</sup> We come across similar references indicating the continuation of vedic rituals and practices.<sup>6</sup>

Epigraphic, and to some extent literary, sources indicate that by the 9th - 10th centuries, Hinduism had divided itself into three principal streams: Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism and Śaktism. We shall look into each of these

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3. *Op. cit.* Vol. iv, Nos. 42, 56, 43, 1.2. etc. Also, refer to the section on migration, Chapter II.
  4. *ibid.*, No. 82, w. 8-9.
  5. *ibid.*, w. 10-13.
  6. *ibid.* No. 82, w. 8-9.

in some detail.

## ŚAIVISM

During the period under review, it was Śaivism which was quite obviously the predominant and most popular force, exerting and exacting respect from the lay worshippers and moral and material support from the royal household. The inscriptions provide ample evidence of the patronage extended to Śaivism. Most of the Kalacuri Kings were styled as parama-mahēśvaras, i.e., devout worshippers of Mahēśvara.<sup>7</sup> Vāmadēva, identical with Vāmasāmbhu according to V.S.Pathak<sup>8</sup>, is described in the Kalacuri epigraphs as "paramabhāṭṭaraka Mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-Vāmadēva". The influence of Śaivism may be seen among the officials too. The Bargāon inscription of Sabara tells us that his Baladhikṛita or commander was named Śāiva.<sup>9</sup> On occasions, the Kalacuri King is described as "Rudra incarnate". Most of the epigraphs that we have examined commence with an obeisance to Śiva.<sup>10</sup> All these are

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7. Karna, Yaśah Karna, Narasimhadeva, Jayasimha and Vijayasimha adopted such a title.

8. Pathak, V.S., *Śaiva Cults*..., p.2

9. Mirashi, op. cit; No. 43, 1.1.

10. *ibid*, No. 35; No. 36; No. 44; No. 45; No. 58; No. 60; NO. 64; No. 77; No. 84; No. 85; No. 90; No. 93; No. 96; No. 97; No. 98; No. 100.

indices to show the prominent role of Śaivism in the Kālacūri Kingdom. Our sources also show the existence of several sects of Śaivism, such as the paśūpata, Kapālika, Siddha and Śaiva Siddhānta. It would be worth while to look into each of these ramifications of the Śaiva faith more closely.

### **The Paśūpata Sect:**

The 10th century saw the Paśūpata sect as being very popular. The Bilhāri stone inscription of Yuvarājadēva (II) describes the King as "always engaged in the worship of Srikantha." Srikantha is believed to have founded the Paśūpata School.<sup>12</sup> The Paśūpata devotees concentrated more on the "attainment of omniscience, freedom from samsara, control over souls in bondage, these being the attributes of Mahēśvara, with whom they tried to be at one..."<sup>13</sup> A 12th century inscription of Gayākarna carries a reference to Bhavātējas as having attained union with Śiva through his knowledge of the systems of Āgama, Yōga, Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika.<sup>14</sup> The following couple of verses further highlight the accepted practices for the Paśūpata ascetic.<sup>15</sup> The

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11. *ibid.*, No. 45, v.69.

12. Pathak, V.S., *op. cit.*, pp 4-8

13. Chauhan, K., *op. cit.*, p.171

14. C 11, iv, No. 58, w.5-6.

15. *ibid.*, No. 58, v.8.

proficiency in the pañcartha system alluded to in the above verses was one of the basic philosophical tenets of the paśupati sect. This system encompasses the inculcation of the five subjects or categories which find place in these verses, viz., kāraṇa, or cause<sup>16</sup>; yōga<sup>17</sup>; viddhī, righteousness or religious practice<sup>18</sup>; and Dukānta or cessation of miseries.<sup>19</sup> Another element which is closely interwoven into the paśupata philosophy is the eight-fold form or the eight 'bodies' of śiva. Apart from the Tewār inscription, reference to this aspect is available in the Bhērāghāt inscription of Narasiṃha of (K) E 907--1155 A.D.- and on the Seōrinārāyan record of Jājjaladēva (II) of K(E) 919.<sup>20</sup> These eight forms have been elucidated by Pathak<sup>21</sup> as (i) Sarva, (ii) Bhāva, (iii) Tsana, (iv) Rūdra, (v) Vgra, (vi) Bhima, (vii) Paśupati and (viii) Mahādēva, and by Mirashi as (i) Sun, (ii) moon, (iii) fire, (iv) earth, (v) the sacrificer, (vi) water, (vii) air and (viii) ether (ākāśa).<sup>22</sup>

Besides Bhavatējas, the paśupata ascetics in the

16. *ibid.*, v.1; Pathak, p. 14.

17. *ibid.*, v.5-6-, v.8/v. 11; Pathak, p 15.

18. *ibid.*, v.8.

19. *ibid.*, v.6, Pathak, p.14.

20. *ibid.*, No.60, E.1. Vol. II, p 7ff.; No.98, v. 2.; Appendix 3, v.2.

21. Pathak, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

22. Mirashi, V.V., *op. cit.*, p.318, foot note 3.

Kalaçuri Kingdom were also represented by his (Bhavatēja's) disciple named Bhavabrahmān, who caused a temple of Śiva to be put up<sup>23</sup>; in fact, the inscription itself was discovered in the vicinity of the temple. The Bhēraghāt inscription of Nara-simhadēva or Ālhānadēvi mentions the paśupati ascetic Rudrarāsi of Latā lineage, expressly asked to be in charge of the management of the temple - comple endowed by Ālhānadēvi.<sup>24</sup> The names of the paśupata ascetics have some common element in the adoption of the prefixes and suffixes. On the strength of corroborating evidence from other contemporary records, V.S.Pathak<sup>25</sup> shows that the kalānana ascetics have names ending with 'rāsi' (such as Rudrarāsi, above), while the ascetics hailing from the ananta gōtra have the title of 'bhava' (such as Bhavatējas and Bhava-brahmā, above) as their prefix.

#### **The Kaula and kapālika sects:**

While our inscriptional sources are silent regarding the practice of these sects and do not yield any tangible information concerning their philosophical outlook, there seems to be very little room for doubting the existence

23. *ibid.*, No.58, v.14.

24. *ibid.*, No. 60, vv.27-31.

25. Pathak, *op. cit.*, p.19; ft. notes 1 and 2.

of the kapālika sect as a living entity during the period under review. Literary sources, such as Rājasékharā's Karpuramañjari, refer to the followers of this sect. The Karpuramañjari tells us that this system "combined pleasure with salvation, religion with indulgence in wine and women, and repute for piety with most unrestricted sensuality."<sup>26</sup>

### **The siddha sect:**

The siddha sect is referred to in the Rewā inscription of Vijayasimha of K(E) 944--close of 12th century--which describes the pedigree of Malayasimha, apparently a feudatory of the Kalacuri King.<sup>27</sup> Malayasimha, apparently has been enlogised as a "successful yogin" or "siddhārtha yogi."<sup>28</sup> A verse tells us that, "having performed fierce and painful penance, the siddhas go to high heaven..."<sup>29</sup> Malayasimha erected a shrine of Rāma, and paying obeisance at the shrine seems to have precluded the practice of various hardships for the attainment of 'visvapada'.<sup>30</sup> This record opens with a rather intriguing invocation of

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26. *Kar.*, Act v, p.235

27. C 11., No.67, v. 4 ff.

28. *ibid.*, v.42

29. *ibid.*, No.44; No. 45; 1.22; No. 45, etc.

30. *ibid.*, No.67, v.27; Sharma, R.K, Kalacuris and their Times, p 224; Pathak, Saiva cults...-p. 27.

Manjughośa, the Buddhist God of learning. This has led Pathak to accept Manjughośa as part of the pantheon of the siddha scholl.<sup>31</sup>

The Śaiva siddhānta sect:

We have already briefly touched upon the śaiva Ācāryas of the Māttāmayura lineage in an earlier context (vide chapter on social differentiations...). Māttāmayura, the chief sect of this clan, has been identified by Mirashi with kadawāhā near Ranōḍ, where the remains of as many as fourteen Brāhmanical temples and a monastery have been discovered.<sup>32</sup> The Śaiva Ācāryas received special attention and patronage from the Kalaouri Kings, and this is illustrated in atleast three records from the Tripuri House: namely, the Bilhāri, candrēhi and Gūrgī inscriptions, where-in the geneology of the Śaiva Ācāryas of the Māttāmayura clan is provided. A particular impetus in this direction seems to have been imparted in the reign of Yuvarājadēva (I), who invited the Śaiva Ācāryas from distant places. This is reflected in the candrēhe inscription which was put up by prabhodaśiva, who belonged to the Māttāmayura Lineage and

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31. Pathak, op. cit, p.27.

32. Mirashi, op. cit, p.; Mirashi's views do not find concurrence with V.S. Pathak - Pathak, op. cit, p. 33, ft.nt 1 and 2



was a contemporary of the afore-mentioned king. The successors of Yuvarājadēva (I), viz., Yuvarājadēva (II) and Kōkalladēva (II), carried on the processs. Thus, we find in each of these three records the geneology of the S'aiva Ācāryas:

Purandara

Sikha śiva (v.4)

Prabhāvaśiva (v.5)

Prasāntaśiva (v.6)

Prabhōdhaśiva (v.9)

Prabhāvaśiva, who was the spiritual preceptor of Yuvarājadēva (I) was evidently invited to the Kalacuri kingdom and given large gifts. The Gūrgī inscription records that Yuvarājadēva (I) made Prabhāvaśiva to accept a monastery.<sup>33</sup> Prasānta śiva is said to have caused the building of a temple dedicated to his country and placed incharge of the monastries of Vaidyanātha, and Nauhalesvara.<sup>34</sup> Cudāśiva, the Ācārya who precedes Hṛdayaśiva in the geneological table, may have been

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33. Mirashi, op. cit., No.44, v. 16.

34. ibid., No.45,v.57

identical with an analogous figure of the Gūrgī record.<sup>35</sup> The Śaiva Ācāryas seem to have been well provided for by the Kalacuri court. As many as twenty-two villages are mentioned by name as grants made out for the maintenance of the Śaiva ascetics and their beneficer, Yuvarājadēva (I). The permanent character of the grants is made abundantly clear.<sup>36</sup> A late record of the Ratnapur House mentions a grant made out in similar fashion to Is'vārasiva, "a crest-jewel of Śaiva Ācāryas."<sup>37</sup>

Several of the Śaiva Ācāryas formed a more or less contiguous line of succession, from the time of Yuvarājadēva (II) onwards, as the royal preceptor or 'Rājguru'. We have already investigated the role of the Rājguru in his religio-political capacity in an earlier context. At this juncture, it would perhaps be not out of place to have a look at the geneology of the Rājgurus who served under various Kalacuri Kings:

Sabhāvaśambhu (Prabhāvaśiva)

Vāmaśambhu (Vāmadēva)

(contemporary of Yuvarājadēva (II) )

35. *ibid.*, No. 46, 1. 18. Both Mirashi and V. S. Pathak suggest the identification of Cuḍās'iva with Sikhas'iva in the Candrēhe inscription.; Mirashi, *op. cit.*, p. cliii.

36. *ibid.*, No. 46, w. 35-43

37. *ibid.*, No. 102, w. 19-20.

Vimālaśiva

(contemporary of Kōkalladēva (II) )

Vāstuśiva

(contemporary of Gāngeyadēva)

Rudraśiva

(contemporary of Lakṣmi-Karna, Yaśahkarna)

Puruśaśiva

(Yaśahkarna's contemporary)

Saktiśiva

(contemporary of Gayākarna)

Kirtiśiva

(contemporary of Narasiṃhadēva)

Vimālaśiva

(contemporary of Jayasiṃha)<sup>38</sup>

### VAIṢṆAVISM

Like Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism too played an integral role in

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38. Mālkāpūram inscription, *JAHRS* IV, pp. 147 ff; Jabalpur inscription of Vimālaśiva, No.; also NO ; Pathak, *op. cit.*, p.50.

the religious life of the country. Epigraphic, as well as archeological, evidence show that the representation of Viṣṇu in His various cosmic forms was quite popular. Four inscriptions of the 10th century, all belonging to the reign of Yuvarājadēva (I), illustrate that the Kalacuri Kings, <sup>far from being religious</sup> bigots, extended patronage to both the dominant

religious forces of Śaivism and vaiṣṇavism. We have already witnessed the extent of moral and material support enjoyed by the śaivites from Yuvarājadēva. An amātya of the same king, viz., Gōllaka, is cited as the one on whose behest the figures of the fish, tortoise, and boar were carved, associated with the Avatāras of Viṣṇu.<sup>39</sup> The inscriptions themselves are incised within temple complexes dedicated to viṣṇu. Thus, the first of these inscriptions is incised on the inner wall of the Fish temple, located 65 miles west of Rewā.<sup>40</sup> Sculptural remains and epigraphic records lead us to presume that besides the cosmic forms of fish, boar and tortoise, those of the vāmana,<sup>41</sup> Narasimha,<sup>42</sup> Rāma,<sup>43</sup> Paraśurāma,<sup>44</sup> and

39. Mirashi, op. cit., No. 38, No. 40, No. 41.

40. ibid., p. 182.

41. ibid., No. 40, v.1 and v.20; No. 48, v.27; No. 63, v.16; No. 106, v.12; Appendix 3, v.25.

42. ibid., Appendix 5, v.2; Sharma, R.K, op. cit., p.219.

43. ibid., No. 48, v.4; No. 67, v.13; No. 88, v.10; No. 90, v.20.

44. ibid., No. 56, v.26.

Kriṣṇa<sup>45</sup> were also popular in the period under study. From Ratnapur, one particular image of sthānika Viṣṇu has been discovered, depicting the dasavatāras on its lateral side.<sup>46</sup> At Bilhāri, an exclusive temple dedicated to the Varāhavatāra has been identified.<sup>47</sup> Besides the depiction of the dasavatāras, sculptural remnants also exist of the images of Garuḍa, the vāhāna of Viṣṇu.<sup>48</sup>

While most of the Kalacuri Kings, as we have seen, assumed titles to show their devotion to Śiva, it is interesting to note that Sankaragaṇa (II) styled himself as 'parama-vaishava', i.e., a devout worshipper of Viṣṇu.<sup>49</sup> One of his feudatory chiefs, Sabara, erected the Nārāyaṇa temple at Bargāon.<sup>50</sup> An 11th century inscription of Yaśahkaṇṇa traces his pedigree to the "lotus-navelled God," i.e., Viṣṇu.<sup>51</sup> Transferring our attention to the Ratnapur records, the Rājīm Stone inscription of Prthvidēva (II) opens with obeisance to Viṣṇu.<sup>52</sup> Ratnadēva (III)'s Prime Minister, Gangādharma,

45. *ibid.*, No. 86, v.17; No.93,v.14; No.106,v.3; Sharma, R.K., *op. cit.*, p.219.

46. Rahman Ali, *AAK*, p. 124ff; Sharma, R.K., *op. cit.*, p.219.

47. Banerjee, *HTM*, pl. xx1, p. 94; Rahman Ali, *op.cit.*, p 126.

48. C 11, No 39, which is incised on a pillar with a broken figure of Garuḍa - Mirashi, *op. cit.*, p.183

49. *ibid.*, No. 42, v.33.

50. *ibid.*, No. 43, 1.3.

51. *ibid.*, No.56, v.1.

52. *ibid.*, No. 88, v.1.

caused a large mandapa of Sauri (Viṣṇu) to be constructed at Kharōḍ.<sup>53</sup> There are a couple of instances to show that besides the royal house, the more prosperous professional individuals were also involved in temple building activity. The Makundapur record of Gāṅgeyadēva of K(E) 772, i.e., 11th century tells us that the śreṣṭhin Dāmodara constructed a temple of Jalāsayana, i.e., Viṣṇu.<sup>54</sup> A record, although later than the period under study, is similarly enlightening. This inscription too opens with an obeisance to Nārāyaṇa, and refers to the building of a temple for the God by a shoe-maker. The inscription itself was found within the Viṣṇu temple.<sup>55</sup>

### **Representation of the Consorts:**

An accepted and popular means of representing the Gods in the inscriptions and sculptural motifs was to portray them along with their female counter-parts, such as, Śiva-Pārvati and Viṣṇu-Lakṣmī. Thus, Vapulla, a general of Karna, and his wife built a temple dedicated to Śiva and installed four images within: Lakṣmī with Nārāyaṇa and Ūmā

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53. *ibid.*, No. 100, v.32

54. *ibid.*, No. 47, 1.2.

55. *ibid.*, No. 108, vv.9-10; Sharma, R.K., *op. cit.*, p.218; Rahman Ali, *op. cit.*, p.

with Mahēśvara.<sup>56</sup> The Kalaçuri royalty, as also lesser officials, did not hesitate to draw up an analogy between themselves and the dēvine couple. Gayākarna and Ālhānadēvi have thus been compared with Śiva and Ūmā.<sup>57</sup> The records from Ratanpur are also replete with similar statements,<sup>58</sup> and this practice was not limited to the royal couple; on the contrary, it was adopted even by lesser mortals.<sup>59</sup> Coins and the seal-matrix of the Kalaçuri Kings, Gāngeyadēva, Karna, Yasāhkarna and Vijayasimha carry images of the Gods and their consorts.<sup>60</sup> The coins of Gāngeyadēva, for instance, carry an image of Pārvatī.

This brings us to a discussion of the cult of the Mother Goddess.

## ŚAKTISM

Śaktism or the worship of the Mother Goddess was evidently popular form of religious activity in the period under review. Both literary as well as epigraphic sources contain

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56. Mirashi, op. cit., No.53, w.11-20

57. *ibid.*, No.60,w.22-23.

58. *ibid.*, No. 76, w. 9-10, Where Ratnarāja (1) is compared with Vis'nu; No. 77, v.18, where Rājalla and Prthvidēva (10 are compared with Laks'mi and Vis'nu; No.84,v.8, where a similar comparison is made with Jājalladēva and Lāchchhaladēvi.

59. Mirashi, op. cit., No. 93,v.12

60. Rahman Ali, op. cit., p 139.

references to the worship of the Mother Goddess in various forms such as Pārvati, Ambikā, Sarasvatī and Lakṣmī. The cult of the Mother Goddess became particularly important from the latter part of the 10th century onwards. The Paikōre inscription of Karna records the dedication of an image of an unnamed Goddess by the Kalacuri King.<sup>61</sup> A later record belonging to the 12th century refers to a ghāt and temple complex of Ambikā built by the son of a Mahārājanaka named Jalhāna.<sup>62</sup> This act is said to have freed (from the bondage of worldly existence) the whole tribe of the Rāutiās.<sup>63</sup> A temple of Pārvati is mentioned in the Ratanpur inscription of Prthvidēva (II). Temples of Durgā have likewise been cited in the Seōrinārāyan and Kharōḍ inscriptions. The latter of the two seems to indicate that the locality where the temple was built came to be called 'Durgā' after the Goddess.<sup>64</sup> The Mother Goddess in her more sensual form, i.e., Sarasvatī, was also worshipped as "the Goddess of learning,"<sup>65</sup> and as one "who moves about in all (four) directions, assumes four forms, and

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61. *Ibid.*, p. 168, Banerjee, *HTM*, p. 100

62. *Mirāshi*, op. cit., No.62, ll. 4-5.

63. *ibid*

64. *ibid*, No.100, v.35

65. *ibid.*, v.18



is the cause of (the attainment of) the four objects (of human life)".<sup>66</sup> As Mirashi explains, the four forms are Para, Pas̄yanti, Madhyāma and Valkhāri.<sup>67</sup> Saras̄vati is also conceived as the Goddess, "Who, by various forms of speech, conducts the intercourse (of men), and by attaining the slightest portion of whose' elegance even for a short time, men may attain very great honour in assemblies."<sup>68</sup>

Images of Saras̄vati have been recovered from within the precincts of the Rewā temple.<sup>69</sup>

### MINOR RELIGIOUS SECTS

Besides the major religious sects, Saivism, Vaishnavism and the cult of the Mother Goddess, our sources attest to the worship of several minor Hindu deities, who were represented in the anthropomorphic form and <sup>revered</sup> by the common populace.

Both the Tripuri and Ratanpur sources contain references to the cult of Ganapati. Obelance is paid to

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66. *ibid.*, Appendix 3, v.6

67. *ibid.*, p. 641, foot note 3.

68. *ibid.*, NO. 60, v.6.

69. Rahman Ali, *op. cit.*, pp. 150-51.

70. Mirashi, *op. cit.*, No. 49, v.1; No. 60, v.5; No. 90, v.4.

Ganapati as the protector, "the elephant-faced" God and as "the God of two mothers."<sup>70</sup> All these are references to Ganapati as a separate entity although we come across references to him along with other deities.<sup>71</sup> Images of Gaṇeś'a have been recovered from the Virātes'vara temple at Sōhagpur (11th century),<sup>72</sup> Candrēhe, Rewā, Māribāgh and Bhērāghāt.<sup>73</sup> Of these, the most notable rendering is that of nṛtya-murti, or the dancing figure of Gaṇeś'a, found in the region of Rewā and Bhērāghāt.<sup>74</sup> Ganapati was also conceived as "one who grants all desired objects and destroys obstacles."<sup>75</sup> Kārtikēya is regarded as Ganapati's brother and the "six-faced commander-in-chief of the Gods."<sup>76</sup> He is described as "the son of the daughter of the mountain in the inscriptions,<sup>77</sup> and was generally paid obeisance on the 8th day of the month. Another Brāhmanical deity that was venerated was Sūrya, temples for whom were built by Ratnadēva (III).<sup>78</sup> The eclipse of the sun, like that of the moon, was regarded

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71. *ibid.*, No 53, l.1; No. 106, l.1.  
 72. Banerjee R.D., *op. cit.*, pp. 49-50.  
 73. Rahman Ali, *op. cit.*, p. 115f.  
 74. *ibid.*, p. 116.  
 75. Chauhan, K., *op. cit.*, p. 177.  
 76. Mirashi, *op. cit.*, No. 93, v.20.  
 77. *ibid.*, No. 100, v.35.  
 78. *ibid.*, No 89, v.16; No.90, etc.

as an auspicious and holy occasion on which religious works of merit were undertaken. Thus, as we have seen earlier, several Kalaburi land grants were executed on the eclipse of the sun.<sup>79</sup> Sūrya images have been discovered at places like Bhēraghāt, Tripurī, Ellhāri, and Karitalāi.<sup>80</sup> We shall refer in the following section to Brahmā, whose popularity seems to be on decline since he is not mentioned as an independent deity in his own right, but only in the company of other deities.

### THE CONCEPTION OF TRINITY

The conception of the trinity or 'Tridēva' may be seen in a record of the 9th century A.D. The Karitalāi inscription of Lakṣmaṇadēva begins with an invocation to Dhrūhiṇa (Brahmā), Upendra (Viṣṇu) and Rudra (Śiva).

The worship of the two principal Gods, Śiva and Viṣṇu, together, is another trend that is visible in our sources. We hear of a temple of Sankara-Nārāyaṇa,<sup>82</sup> and also of an individual named Jasānanda who was a devout worshipper

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79. Banerjee, R.D., op. cit., p. 91; Rahman Ali, op. cit., pp. 152-54.

80. Mirashi, op. cit., No. 37, u. 1-4.

81. ibid., No. , v.

82. ibid., No. 83, v.17.

of both Mahesvara and Visnu.<sup>83</sup>

### THE PAÑCĀYATANA CONCEPT

This concept manifested itself in the enshrining of the five popularly worshipped Gods within the a main temple-complex. The deities incorporated in the pañcāyatanapūjā were Visnu in his various forms, Śiva, Devi, Gaṇeśā and the Sun. This concept is believed to have received a boost in its popularity through the activities of Śaṅkarācārya.<sup>84</sup> In the context of our present study, the earliest reference resembling the practice of the pañcāyatanapūjā is found in the Gūrgī inscription belonging to the eleventh century, and subsequently installed the image named Srivatsa, surrounded by four smaller shrines.<sup>86</sup> From Ratanpur too we come across a five-shrined temple, built by Purushōttama, the Sarvādhikārin of Prthvideva (II). Unlike the Rewā record, the names of the deities are legible: Durgā, Gaṇapati, Sarasvatī.<sup>87</sup>

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83. *ibid.*, No. 46, w. 11-12.

84. Kane, *History of the Dharmasāstras*, ii, p. 716-17.

85. Mirashi, *op. cit.*, No. 53, v.13. The names of the deities installed are lost, except for those of Lakṣmi - Nārāyaṇa.

86. *ibid.*, No. 90, w. 32-33.

87. *ibid.*, No. 52, v.1.

## BUDDHISM AND JAINISM

Both Buddhism and Jainism had lost their hold on most parts of northern India by the 10th century, and were confined to relatively tiny geographical spheres of influence. However, it would be incorrect to presume that they had ceased to be influential. Archeological findings have shown that these two heterodox sects enjoyed some amount of popular influence in the Kalacuri Kingdom. The Sārānāth Stone inscription of Karna (11th century A.D.) begins with veneration towards the Buddha as the "dispeller of all darkness".<sup>88</sup> The same record refers to "the Great Monastery" and the monks *patrikā* and *Monōratha gupta* of the order of venerable monks. A lady worshipper of the Mahāyāna doctrine seems to have caused a literary work of some merit and made donations towards the monastic establishment.<sup>89</sup> This is an instance of the involvement and participation of women in literary and religious activities. The Ratanpur inscription of Jājjaḷadēva (I) contains references to the works of *Dinnāga*,<sup>90</sup> the well known Mahāyāna scholar. The Buddhist doctrines of *Kṣhaṇa*, *sāmānya* and *Pramāna*

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88. *ibid.*, u.8-12.

89. *ibid.*, No. 77, v.28

90. *ibid.*, No. 84, v.25; No. 85, v.21

are alluded to in a later record of the Ratanpur Kalacuris.<sup>91</sup> The Kōṇī inscription of Pṛthvidēva (I) refers to an individual named Kasala who "Knows the three ratnas and whose intellect is well-known in (expounding) the multitude of the Āgamas of Śrīṅghana (the Buddha)...."<sup>92</sup> The three ratnas, referred to in this present verse, were the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Saṃgha.<sup>93</sup>

A host of images connected with Buddhism have been unearthed in various places within the Kalacuri Kingdom. An image of Sitā-Tārā has been discovered at Gopālpur, a short distance away from Bhēragḥṭ. Sitā-Tārā is the first form of Tārā, who occupies a position in the Buddhist lore similar to Durgā in the Hindu pantheon.<sup>94</sup> The same site has yielded four other images of the Bōdhisattva Avalokiteśvara. From Tripuri (mod-Tewār) itself several images belonging to the Mahāyāna school of Buddhism carry inscriptions informing us of the patronage extended to Buddhism. As in the Sārnāth inscription of Karna, here too we hear of a Mahāyāna nun named Dhānuva who lived in the 11th century A.D. and caused

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91. *ibid.*, No. 90, v.37

92. *ibid.*, p. 473, ft. note 5

93. Rahman Ali, *op cit.*, p 173-74

94. *ibid.*,

several artistic works of Buddhist sculpture to be executed in and around the Kalaçuri capital of Tripuri. The trading and mercantile class was in particular devoted to Buddhism and donated Buddhist images.<sup>95</sup>

During the period under review, Jainism seems to have disappeared for all practical purposes from northern India, and was confined to pockets of western India. However, Kalaçuri records pertaining to the Jaina faith do exist. The Bahūriband inscription of Gayākarna is itself inscribed on the pedestal of the statue of the Jaina Tīrthankara Sāntinatha, and this statue still survives.

The statue was put up by a person named Mahā(Bhō)jja, who belonged to the 'Gollapurva-Āmnāya'. This term refers to a Jaina family, and Mirashi draws attention to the existence of several Jaina families belonging to the Gollapurva-Āmnāya in contemporary Madhya-Pradēsh.<sup>96</sup> The image was consecrated by Ācārya Subhadra, who hailed from a branch of the Digambara Sect.<sup>97</sup>

Tripuri seems to have been a focal point for Jaina activities in the Kalaçuri Kingdom. Numerous sculptural

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95. Mirashi, op. cit., p. 311; No. 59

96. *ibid.*, p.310; *I.A.*, vol.xx1, p. 73

97. Rahman Ali, op. cit., p. 166; Banerjee, R.D., op. cit., p. 106; Sankalia, *New I.A.*, 1939, II, p. 500.

remains associated with Jainism have been discovered in and around this Kalaouri capital. Images of Nāminātha, Nēminātha, Parsvanātha and Mahāvira, the 21st, 22nd, 23rd and 24th Tirthankaras, are among the notable finds in this region.<sup>98</sup> The influence of Tantricism can be gauged from the introduction of female deities in several Jaina motifs. Images of Sāsanadēvis have been discovered at Sohāgpur.

It is interesting to note that most of the material remains which serve as supportive evidence for Buddhism and Jainism in the Kalaouri country are confined to the geographical limits of the Tripuri Kingdom. Sites associated with Buddhism are those of Bhēraghāt, Gopālpur and Tripurī (Tewār), and those with Jainism are Jabalpur, Rewā, Bīlhāri, Karitāī, Sohāgpur and Bahūriband. Except for a reference to the Buddhist doctrines mentioned above, the Ratanpur records do not yield any other archeological or epigraphic evidence relating to Buddhism or Jainism.

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98. Rahman Ali, *op. cit.*, p. 168; Banerjee, *op. cit.*, p. 100.



## CONCLUSION

An effort was made in the preceding pages to present as complete a picture as available from the limited sources pertaining to the Kalacuris. This study was not aimed at examining each singular aspect of what is generally included within the purview of the term "cultural history". Thus, we have delimited our study to an inquiry into the social and religious life in the Kalacuri times, and excluded certain spheres of cultural activity such as food and dress habits, marital institutions, education and the like. These later aspects could not be taken up due to the limited parameters of the present work.

The period between the 8th and the 12th centuries is notable for two outstanding features; firstly, it represented a new height in the process of the fragmentation of state power, and secondly, the advent of the Muslim power and its establishment. The first trend saw, as its corollary, an increasing dilineation of authority and a change in the existing socio-economic relations.

The period saw an almost complete obliteration of the

rigid line of demarcation between the various caste-groups vis-a-vis their assigned occupational quarters. No longer was the Brāhmana to be identified as a rigid and exclusive religious entity. On the contrary, he diversified into, and permeated through, all sorts of occupational barriers. The need for such diversification may be understood in terms of financial distress which forced some members of the upper caste groups to take up professions such as trade and agriculture. This further indicates that although the Brāhmanas were still the occupants of the top rung in the social ladder, some sections of the Brāhmanas failed to maintain their erstwhile exalted status and had to take recourse to professions which were seen as 'ungainly' for their position.

The post Gupta period saw the emergence of the Kāyasthas as a significant social factor, and by about the 10th century they had amalgamated into a caste, possessing several sub-groups. The Kālacuri records show that some of the major political offices were occupied by members from this social group. This was not to imply, however, that they relinquished their traditional occupation; they were still visible as pras'astikāras and several inscriptions were authored by them.

The presence of the śūdra is hardly felt in the Kālacuri

records. He is mentioned on a few occasions as a part of the *caturvarṇa*, and only once as a separate entity (in the Rewā inscription of Karna). In all probability, the Śūdras had substantially improved upon their erstwhile position of isolation, and economic prosperity might have led to such improvement. The fact that they are hardly ever mentioned in our sources tends to support the theory that the sudras had more or less amalgamated with the vaiśyas for all practical purposes, and no significant difference lay between the two.

At least in theory, untouchability was very much a reality in the period under review, but in practice, this might not have been enforced in the strongest of terms. Alberuni mentions the list of untouchables and divides them into two groups on the lines of their professions. He includes the *'moci* (shoe-maker), fisherman, and weaver in the first group, and those engaged in the menial services in the second group, which was lower in status. A rather late record shows that the *'moci* had considerably ameliorated his position, and was no longer viewed as an entity isolated from society. The record apparently exhibits the power of financial affluence as a medium for social acceptability.

The economy was marked by a surfeit of land-grants

made out in favour of both religious and secular groups. Out of the 57 identifiable areas in 27 epigraphs as grants, as many as 39 are made out in favour of the former group, i.e., the Brāhmanas. The fact that an overwhelming majority of these grants lie within a radius of about 50 Kilometres speaks for the extent of influence which the Brāhmanas may have enjoyed.

In the realm of religion, S'iva was the deity *parexcellence* of the Kalaouris, and S'aivism retained a prominent position for itself throughout the period under review. This, however, did not presuppose a deliberate relegation of other religious forces such as Vais'navism, S'aktism, Buddhism and Jainism, all of which are in evidence, albeit in varying degrees. Inscriptions divulge information on three sects of S'aivism: the Pas'upata sect, reputedly augmented by S'rikanṭha; the Siddha sect, and the S'aiva Siddhānta sect. The ascetics belonging to these sects received patronage from the Kalaourī Kings, particularly the S'aiva Ācāryas of the Mātāmayura clan who served the Kalaouris through a period encompassing more than a couple of centuries.

A substantial number of grants were made in favour of the Ācāryas, which in effect served as the chief source of resource mobilization for the management of the *Mathas*, which

played a significant socio-economic role in the Kalacuri Kingdom. The large number of benefices for the maintenance of the *Mathas* naturally entailed a practical problem for the *Ācāryas* who were to act more or less as the custodian of the *Mathas*, viz., the problem of management. The surmounting of such a problem called for the introduction of a tenant-holding group, although no concrete information is available, and it is only a matter of conjecture.

Viṣṇu, too, was a deity who commanded considerable support from both the royalty as well as the laity. The most popular form of worship was manifested in the *daś'avatāras* or the ten cosmic forms.

Both Buddhism and Jainism were struggling for their existence, and were, for all practical purposes, on their way out, although the final blow would not come until the establishment of Muslim rule in India. Both of them had developed theistic tendencies, and sculptures depict the introduction of female counter-parts to the male representatives. Moreover, there was a tendency to merge with the forces of Hinduism. Thus Buddha was included as an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu, and the Rewā inscription of Vijayasimha - which describes the pedigree of the *siddhāratha yōgin* Malayasimha - strangely opens with an

obeisance to Manjughosa the Buddhist God of learning.

All of the major religious followings existed side by side, and we do not come across any hint of animosity between and among these religious creeds. On the contrary, there is plenty to suggest the existence of a feeling of mutual acceptability. As early as the 9th century, an inscription mentions all the three major deities, viz., śiva, viṣṇu and Brahmā, in succeeding lines. Again, Kaṛṇa - who describes himself as *paramamahēśvara*, begins one of his inscriptions with an obeisance to the Buddha. One of his generals named Vapulla, together with his wife, built shrines dedicated to Lakṣmī Nārāyaṇa and Mahēśvara-Ūmā. We also come across references where the same individual is described as a devout worshipper of *both* Mahēśvara and Viṣṇu. Even the sculptural depictions, on occasions, exhibit the proximity between the various deities.

## APPENDIX-"A":

## CASTE AFFILIATION OF MINISTERS

REFERENCE	TERM INDICATING MINITERSHIP	NAME	CASTE IDENTITY
<i>CII, Vol. iv No. 42.</i>	<i>Mantri pradhana</i>	Bhakamisra	Brahmana
<i>CII, Vol. iv No. 42.</i>	<i>Mantrin</i>	Somesvara	Brahmana
<i>CII, Vol. iv No. 90</i>	<i>Servadhikarin</i>	Purusottama	Brahmana
<i>CII, Vol. iv No. 90, v-14</i>		Sodhadeva	Brahmana
<i>CII, Vol. iv No. 100</i>	<i>Pradhanamalya</i>	Gangadhara	Brahmana
<i>CII, Vol. iv No. 67</i>	<i>Mantrin</i>	Jata	Ksatriya
<i>CII, Vol. iv No. 67</i>	<i>Mantrin</i>	Yasahpala	Ksatriya
<i>CII, Vol. iv No. 67</i>	<i>Grhikamantrin</i>	Candrasimha	Ksatriya
<i>CII, Vol. iv Nos. 84, 85, 87, 95</i>	<i>Saciva</i>	Raghava	Vaisya
<i>CII, Vol. iv No. 51.</i>	<i>Saciva</i>	[Prabha]kara	Kayastha
<i>CII, Vol. iv No. 51.</i>	<i>Saciva</i>	Somesvara	Kayastha

APPENDIX - "B" :

MIGRATION OF BRAHMANAS

REF.	DATE	NO. OF IMMIG.(S) NAME/GOTRA	PLACE OF ORIGIN	MIGRATED TO AREA	REASON OF MIGRATION
<i>CII, Vol. iv No. 26</i>	7th Century	Bhagas'vamin of Sharadvāja gōtra	Vijaya Aniruddhapura, the capital of Traikutaka Kings, identified with Treyanna near Baroda	Village Balisa in the Treyanna Ahara	
<i>CII, Vol. iv No. 48</i>	11th Century	visvarūpa of kausika gōtra	Vesala or Vaisali, the one-time Licchavi capital, identified with Basarh in Vaisali district of N. Bihar	Srusi, in the Visaya of Kasi, identifiable with Sursi, near chunar in Mirzapur. The village lies on periphery of Banaras	
<i>CII, Vol. iv, No. 51</i>	11th Century	Sandhila gōtra	Kulāncā is mentioned as the home of the Sandilya gōtra Brāhmanas		
<i>CII, Vol. iv No. 74</i>	Begining of 11th Century	14 Brāhmana families.	From eleven places :	Land situated in the subdivision of Tikaria in the dist. of Gunakala.	
<i>CII, Vol. iv No. 83</i>	Begining of 12th Century	Mahāsōna of vatsa gōtra	Sonabhadra (mod. Sravanabhadra) near the city of Kanauj (U.P.)	Cincatala (mod. Cicoli) in Bilaspur dist.	
<i>CII, Vol. iv No. 83</i>	Begining of 12th Century	Padmanabha	Sravanabhadra, near Kanauj.	Ratanpur, Kalacuri Capital.	Invitation
<i>CII, Vol. iv No. 88</i>		<del>Deva</del>	Ayōdhyā		
<i>CII, Vol. iv No. 91</i>		Devas'arman of Candratreya	Tikāri	Avala in Madhya Mandala	invitation

F (10/11)





map 11 Distribution of rainfall, mountainous  
**LEGEND**  
 River System and Stream  
 Topographical Contour  
 Road or other communication  
 Relief of the map, etc. as shown by  
 the contour lines

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