

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

(The Thiruvengadam Temple)

Vol.I

T.K.T. VIRARAGHAVACHARYA



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By

T.K.T. VIRARAGHAVACHARYA

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FOREWORD

From time immemorial, Tirumala, the Holy Abode of Lord Venkateswara has been venerated as one of the most hallowed places. The Vedas, ancient Tamil works of the Sangam period, the pasurams of Alvars and the sankirtanas of Tallapaka poets proclaim that the Lord of Seven Hills is the most blissful Archa form of Srīman Narayana. Many great dynasties of the South, especially the Pallavas, the Cholas, the Pandyas, and the Vijayanagar emperors liberally patronised the Tirumala temple and the inscriptions found on the walls in the temples at Tirumala and Tirupati give more or less a vivid picture of the Temple and its administration from ninth century to eighteenth century.

Srī I K T Viraraghavacharya's 'History of Tirupati' which was first published in 1953 deals with the history of the temple, its layout and general administration. After closely studying the available source materials like the inscriptions, ancient records and literary works, late Srī Viraraghavacharya has meticulously brought out a comprehensive account of the temples of Tirumala and Tirupati. The author who was basically an engineer by profession combines his scientific spirit of enquiry with his traditional theistic approach to present a lucid and fairly accurate History of Tirumala Temple.

It is also our endeavour to bring out many more books on sanatana dharma, agamas, temple art and architecture, scriptural texts, besides illustrated books for our young readers. Much emphasis is also laid on reprinting some of the popular publications which were not available for several years.

EXECUTIVE OFFICER
Tirumala Tirupati Devasthanams
Tirupati

INTRODUCTION.

The History of Tirupati by the late Dr. S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar, published by the Tirumala-Tirupati Devasthanams Committee, dealt with the setting in which the sacred Temple of Sri Venkateswara existed under the administration of Hindu, Muslim and British rulers. Such mention as was possible was made, therein, of the various costly endowments and gifts to the Temple. In the present work, the author deals, in addition, with the religious, social and economic aspects of the Temple, the evolution of the norm of worship and its effect on the worshippers.

The author traces the changes that have occurred in the norm of worship *pari passu* with the development of the metaphysical and philosophical ideas of the Upanishads as expounded by Sri Ramanuja. He also traces how the Tamil Prabandhams came to find a place in the ritual, even though worship in all Vaishnavite temples were exclusively governed by the appropriate Āgamas. In separate chapters, he deals with how food-offerings came into existence as part of ritual, how endowments for the purpose were made, abused and attempted to be set right; the structural development from a one-room Koyil-Alwar to a huge Temple, the form of the Murti and the authorities therefor; and, when and how other idols were installed there. The temples of Sri Govindaraja and Sri

Ramaswami and other shrines at Tirupati have been presented to the reader in detail together with the manner and reasons for their affiliation with the main Temple of Sri Venkateswara.

A separate chapter is devoted to a retrospect of the Temple administration from ancient times setting out lucidly and cogently the manner in which the Temple was managed originally by the Srikaryakarta appointed by the Pallava Kings; then by the Sabhaiyar constituted by the village assembly of Tiruchanur during the period of the later Pallava and Chola Kings; thereafter, by the Sthanattar appointed by the Yadavarayas; and how after the Yadavarayas, the Sthanattar divided themselves into two units, one for the secular and the other for the religious administration of the Temple until it passed into the hands of the Nawab of Arcot.

The author has devoted four separate chapters to the development and zenith of the Temple, the increase of food offerings and festivals and consolidation of the religious community during the Vijayanagar reign *i.e.*, from the time of Saluva Narasimha to Sadasivaraya and the Aravidu Kings.

Separate chapters have also been devoted for the Āgamas and the Alwars and Acharyas. The author's presentation of the several forgotten portions of the Āgamas is original and will dispel the general impression that temple worship is merely pantheistic.

The work is very original and the author's deep study, of not only the inscriptions but also of the

INTRODUCTION

various sacred texts has resulted in giving a rational explanation of the various, and even minute, details of worship and endowment, the interconnections of which have been forgotten or rendered oblivious through the dim vista of distant centuries. I trust this will be the first in the line of such thought—provoking works in respect of religious institutions and hope that managements of other such institutions will have all their historic records collected and presented by competent persons to the worshippers.

The author is eminently fitted to have undertaken this work and he has done it in a way worthy of the great traditions of his family and of his personality. It is his life mission and he has placed the world under great gratitude. At this age that he should have attempted this task and finished so well speaks volumes of his sincerity and devotion to this task.

MADRAS, }
2-2-1953 } (Sd.) K. VENKATASWAMI NAIDU

PREFACE.

At an age past seventy, while I was compiling a table of latitudes and longitudes for various places in India, the Will of God slowly instilled into me the idea of writing this book on the famous temple of Tirupati or Tiruvengadam. While I was attempting to find out from ancient inscriptions the chronological methods of recording the dates and the changes in such methods from time to time, I referred to the Tirumalai-Tirupati Devasthanam Inscriptions published in six volumes. Going through the first of the volumes, the polished language and the deep piety in which some of them were couched evoked my interest in the higher aspect of the subject matter of the same. Particularly, the imprecation in Inscription No. 8 in Vol. I. caught my imagination. The devout Princess Samavai, in making endowments to the Silver Murti of Bhoga Srinivasa installed by her in 966 A.D., says "Both the feet of those who protect this Dharman shall for ever be adornments to my head" and appeals to Sri Vaishnavas in particular to protect the charity. This is very inspiring relief to the other inscriptions relating to later foundations of charity in referring to which the donors invoked curses on those who disturb them saying "Those who disturb this charity shall be incurring the sin of having slaughtered a hundred cows in Kasi." The inspiration produced by the love of mankind, the piety and humility of no less than a Princess of the time can only be felt. Such was the height of culture of our mothers and fathers in ancient India much of which has been lost but which, I dare say, could still be revived.

Thus inspired, in my quest I could not find any work dealing with the structural, religious, ritualistic, economic, administrative and social developments of the temple. I have, therefore, in my humble way traced in this book how from probably an open wooden structure as might be inferred from Kulasekhara Alwar's songs, the temple has developed by stages of a single-room stone structure which was thereafter reinforced by a wall outside into its present size and magnificence, how Samavai installed the silver Murti

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of Bhoga Srinivasa with the resultant increase of worshippers; how the Vaikhanasa Agamic form of worship yielded itself to the present form from the time of Ramanuja; how social equality was put into practice and achieved to a great extent by the adoption of Nammalwar's Tiruvoimōḷi, during religious gatherings and festivals, inculcating the Bhakti form of worship; how the taxation policy of the state was framed from time to time with a view to developing the temple and the cult it stood for with particular reference to the taxes that existed; how food offerings were introduced tackling successfully socio-economic problems; how endowments were conceived, founded and administered by various classes of people at various stages of development with various objects; how the administration passed by stages from state control to popular control, from the Madaptyadar appointed by the King to the Sabhaiyar or committee chosen by the King and later to the Sthanattar chosen by persons interested in the institution and the shape things took up to the present day through the Muslim and British rule.

In order to set forth the structural and ritualistic significance of the temple, I had to study the Agamas in their original as there is no work dealing with the subject in any of the popular languages. I have endeavoured to present in English, with as much detail as possible, the significance of the Agamic forms in a separate chapter. Likewise, I have devoted separate chapters for the Alvars and Acharyas and their influence on the Temple and on the spread of Srivaishnavism. In separate chapters, I have dealt with the historical connection of the various rulers of the land with this Temple.

I am grateful to the Lord who enabled me to complete a work which, from its nature and volume, would have been too formidable to attempt at any age, with decaying health and an eye-sight which has almost failed. In writing this work, the one thing I tangibly felt is that, if He wills nothing is impossible. He gave me the steadfastness, energy, eye-sight and the willing and affectionate co-operation of eminent men and good friends who never felt tired to give me suggestions and some of whom sat for hours with me doing tiresome work. I shall be failing in my duty if I do not specially

PREFACE

thank Dr. B. S. Baliga, the Curator, and Sri M. C. Subramanya Iyer, the Assistant Curator, Madras Record Office, for the advice and suggestions they gave me from the time I began this work. I have also to thank the Hon'ble Justice Sri P. V. Rajamannar, the Hon'ble Justice P. Rajagopalan and Sri V. K. Narasimhan of *The Hindu* for reading through the first draft of the book and giving me encouraging advice. I feel highly grateful to Sri C. Rajagopalachariar, the Chief Minister of Madras, and Sri K. Venkataswami Naidu Garu, the Minister for Endowments, to the former for the Foreword and the latter for the Introduction to this book. The Members of the T. T. Devasthanam Committee with Sri Venkataswami Naidu Garu as the President have encouraged me by taking it as a Devasthanam publication. The present Board of Trustees and their Chairman, Sri V. S. Thyagaraja Mudaliar, have evinced keen interest in getting the work completed. Sri C. Anna Rao Garu, the very energetic and talented Executive Officer of the Devasthanams, has been continuously taking deep interest in the publication without which it could not have been completed so early. My thanks are also due to Sri Parthasarathy Bhattacharya for reading through the chapter on Temples and Agamas and giving useful suggestions. Sri D. T. Tatacharya, M.O.L., has not only been going through the proofs carefully and giving valuable advice but also has been seeing to my properly interpreting the Siddhantha aspect of temple worship. Sri T. R. Narasimhan, B.A. the Superintendent of the T.T.D. Press has been largely responsible for having the work executed in the Press and for getting the blocks of the drawings and pictures carefully prepared. Sri P. Chenchuramiah, the Devasthanam Draftsman, prepared the important drawings and the tracings for making the blocks. My sincere thanks are due to them. Lastly, I have to say that no thanks can adequately express my deep debt to Sri M. Narasimhachariar, Assistant Public Prosecutor, Chittoor, for sparing continuously a portion of his valuable time for correcting my manuscripts, giving instructive suggestions and, in short, for dealing with this work as his own.

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HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

(*The Tirumala, Tirupati Temples*)

CHAPTER I

TIRUMALA, TIRUPATI AND TIRUCHANUR.

Geography, Topography and Topology.

TIRUMALA has always been known by its ancient name Vengadam (Tiruvengadam); and the Hill on which the Temple stands was known as the Vengadam Hills. Tirupati owes its importance to having been, from the date of its founding, a necessary adjunct to Tirumala. Sri Ramanuja is said to have done this about the beginning of the twelfth century A.D. But the precise date cannot now be ascertained directly with any degree of accuracy. There was obviously a very petty village with a small shrine of Sri Parthasarathy Swami even before Sri Ramanuja's advent. There is, however, neither inscriptional evidence nor tradition about this. Tiruchanur, known in ancient days as Tiruchchokinur and Tiruchchukanur, is more ancient than Tirupati, although it cannot claim the same antiquity as Vengadam. Chandragiri is another place about 7 miles West of Tirupati and about 5 miles South of the Hill; and the road from Chandragiri affords a second access to the Tirumala Temple.

A glance at the map usually attached to the ¹ M. & S.M. Railway guide will show that a Metre gauge chord line from Katpadi junction to Renigunta junction and thence to the Gudur junction connects Tirupati with the Broad gauge S.W., N.W. and N.E. lines of that railway system, all converging towards Madras. To follow the modern practice of locating places, we may state that

| | | |
|------------------------|-----------|-------------------|
| Tirumala is in Lat. | 13°-41' N | Long. 79°-21' E. |
| Tirupati is in Lat. | 13°-38' N | Long. 79°-25' E. |
| Tiruchchukanur in Lat. | 13°-36½' | Long. 79°-27' E. |
| Chandragiri is in Lat. | 13°-35½' | Long. 79°-19½' E. |

1. Now it is called Southern Railway and there is Broad gauge from Renigunta to Tirupati.

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

Tirupati is served by a railway station which is located at almost the south-east end of the town. Tiruchanur has a railway station about two miles away from the village. Chandragiri Railway Station is practically between the Tirumala Hill and the village of Chandragiri. To reach Tirupati pilgrims have to change from the Broad gauge to the metre gauge at Katpadi, Renigunta or Gudur.¹

The traditional **ascent to the Hill** has been from Tirupati, crossing a series of seven hills or ridges by a pathway paved mostly with rough sandstone boulders, although in later years cut-stone steps were introduced where steep ascents and descents have to be negotiated. Even this ascent has now become antiquated owing to the construction of a metalled motor road within the past ten years. While the ascent by foot along the old route would take 2½ to 3 hours, the travel in a motor vehicle does not take more than an hour. The Government of Madras² are now running daily a regular bus service for pilgrims from Madras to Tirupati and back. The old route is still being used by people who are too poor to pay the motor fare or who have taken a vow to ascend on foot. The foot path route is provided with electric lighting.

The old route entails more physical exertion and subjects pilgrims who are unable to walk the entire distance to the vexatious behaviour of the dholiwallahs who are engaged to carry them. But it has the distinct advantage that the pilgrim has ample opportunity to admire the beautiful landscape presented to his view from various points during the ascent. “³The remarkable and highly picturesque scenery is due to the great mural scarps into which the massive quartzite beds have been worn. The quartzites are generally very massive and semivitreous in texture and occur in thick beds, which often show but little lamination. The prevalent colours of the quartzites are pale greys and drabs,

1. Now there are direct express trains from Madras, Vijayawada, Hyderabad, and Puri.

2. Now Buses are operated both by the Governments of Andhra Pradesh, Tamilnad and Karnataka from various places.

3. Taken from the North Arcot District Manual

all weathering to shades of buff or pale orange. The principal lines of scarp face the south. In places we find bare walls standing vertically." After the steep and arduous ascent of the first hill, the pilgrim approaches the big tower (Gopuram) known as the *Gali Gopuram*—which however came into existence only in 1628 as the gift of Matla Anantaraya. If from here the pilgrim turns back facing south, he sees laid out before him a fine landscape with the railway line and the river Swarnamukhi traversing the plains, with a number of tanks dotted all over the road, winding its way through, and the towers of the temples in Tirupati and Tiruchanur raising their heads above the houses. To his left is the huge mass of quartzite blocks rising vertically.

Walking further along, he has an easy ascent with here and there level country to break the monotony. On either side there is rich vegetation. At the Avāchāri Kōna (or Ammayār Kāneru) he meets with a sharp descent into a ravine followed by a difficult ascent on the other side known as the 'KNEE BREAKER'* hill. This ravine is one of the loveliest sights and the pilgrim rarely fails to halt for 15 to 30 minutes to enjoy the scenery and to refresh himself. Nearing the top of this ascent there is a small mantapam and shrine of Sri Ramanuja called Bhashyakar Sannadhi, which has a tradition connected with it. The tradition is that it was at this mantapam that Sri Ramanuja daily studied under his uncle Tirumala Nambi the various esoteric meanings of the Ramayana. It was also at this place that Sri Ramanuja was received by his uncle Tirumala Nambi with all Temple honours when he visited Tirumala after he was given the distinctive titles of Emberumānār, etc. There are a number of mantapams all along the route. There is also a deep step well, the Muggu Bāvi. A little further to the left and away from the track is a structure called the *Ghanta Mantapam*, where tradition tells us there used to hang a bell which would be struck as soon as Naivēdyam for Tiruvēngaḍamudayān was performed each noon. It was only after the hearing of this gong at Chandragiri that Sri Ranganatha Yādarāya took his day's meal. Close to the Avāchāri Kōna there is the elephant path from the Chandragiri side for elephants to go to Tirumala.

* முழங்கால் முறிப்பான்; மொகூர்கோட

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Within the last half a century many coffee hotels have sprung up along this ancient path to Tirumala. The disadvantage is that the pilgrim has to pass endless rows of professional beggars all along the route. Some fan you for a pie, some sing your praise for a like amount. There are men exposing to view their ugly sores, some real and but many more faked. There are fakirs resting their body on pikes fixed into a plank of wood. Here are beggars of all types and all ages. If one has the patience one may make an interesting study of common ways in which the human mind works and the depths to which poverty can sink a human being. Just before the Brahmotsavam, a regular caravan of these men gather on the hills. The poor house feeding has been an additional attraction.

The pilgrim who goes in a **motor vehicle** misses not only much of the beautiful natural scenery but also this study of human nature and its ways. The old route is all exhilarating while the new motor route is all excitement, excitement caused by the too many hairpin bends and sharp curves. At every turn one's attention is riveted on one's safety and stability rather than on the scenery even if he can see it.¹

Long before Tirupati had its birth, **Tiruchchukanur** (the modern Tiruchanur) was a village of importance during the centuries of Pallava and Chola rule. It had a village council or Sabha, which managed the affairs of the Tirumala Temple also. It is about 2 miles south of Tirupati and on the banks of the Swarnamukhi River. The numerous spring channels excavated from time to time along its bed served to keep up wet cultivation in this area. It was practically the last point, on the old highway (Vadakuvali), connecting the Tamil country of Tondaimandalam with the region to the north of the Hills known as the land of the Vadugars. But circumstances made it imperative that Tirupati should be made more important by artificial means, such as making it obligatory for anyone having any dealings with the Tirumala Temple to keep a house in Tirupati.

Chandragiri is the next village to demand notice. It came into existence, at any rate into notice, from the time of Sāluva

1. A Second Ghat Road also was constructed and opened to traffic in August 1974.

Mangi Deva, the great grandfather of Sāluva Narasimha and one of the Generals who served under the command of Virakumāra-Kempanna during the campaign launched to shatter the Sultanate of Madura. This was in the second quarter of the fourteenth century. It grew into a big town with its fortifications and Mahals as the fortified town of the Sāluvas and the Vijayanagar Kings. It has since shrunk in size and importance. Where extensive mansions once stood there are green fields to-day. The old fortifications, the moat and the Mahals are today only relics of their ancient glory. The Railway station is about a mile to the north of the village. The stories connected with the place will be referred to later.

From the point of view of the Temple, it is the **Tirumala Hill** that should receive our attention in a larger measure. The temple and the small village surrounding it are so situated that there are four recognised pathways leading thereto. We have already referred to those from Tirupati and Chandragiri. There is a third from Bālupalli on the east (Māmandur Hill Road) from near the Mamandur Railway station. The fourth is from Nagapatla side on the west. There are other footpaths also such as the one from Karakambidi, which played their part in the 18th century and the forest path connecting Talakōna on the extreme west of the Hill to the Tirumala Hill. These can best be seen by a reference to the annexed map of the Hill.

The Hill is but a part of the mountain range designated as the Eastern Ghats. It may be taken to start from the Anamalais in the extreme south of the Madras state and to traverse the Coimbatore District, the eastern frontier of Mysore territory, through the Salem and the present North Arcot Districts, before entering the Chittoor District at Palamaner. It takes a direction somewhat east of North upto the **Talakona Water Falls**, where there is a deflection towards the east till it reaches Tirumala. To the east of Tirumala it ends in a gap through which the M & S M Railway Broad gauge (N W) is laid. The length of this bit of the Eastern Ghats may be taken to be about 12 miles between Talakona and Tirumala, as the crow flies. The actual forest path along the

crest of the Hill may be about 20 miles. This portion seems to have been considered very holy from time immemorial. As evidence of this we see even today that the Kōna (water course) commencing from the Talakōna Falls on the extreme west is called the Pāpavinasam-Kona. The water course on the eastern end is also called the Papavinasam Kona. This bit of the Hill, in spite of indiscriminate felling, is thickly wooded and contains valuable red saunders wood and other varieties used for building purposes. There are said to be rare herbs of medicinal value all over the hill and particularly in the ravines. The highest peak of the hill on the Talakōna side is 3,583 ft. above Mean Sea level. Nārāyanagiri Peak which is south-west of the Tirumala Temple is 3,622 ft. high.

The Talakona Falls and the Vāgu seem to be the natural result of the wrench which the Hill was subjected to by the sharp turn from north to east. The level of the hill on the north is about 3,583 ft, east and south about 3,800 ft. The waterfall itself is at 2,650 ft. with a drop of 80 ft. The level country to the west of the hill, through which the Ry. line from Pākāla to Dharmavaram passes, is about 1,800 to 2,000 ft. above sea level. The hill has a sharp slope towards the plains. There is a Siddheswara temple on the plains and close to the hill on the west. This waterfall, being the first one on the hill, is known as the Talakōna Falls.

Intimately associated with the Temple of Tiruvengadamu-dayān are two kōnas on the Hill. One is called the Pāpavināsam (obviously the eastern one) and the other the Avāchāri vanka. The former drains the part of the Hill which may be said to be to the north of the Temple and the latter the part to the south, rather south-east, of it. Both are important on account of the many sacred Tirthams thereon.

THE PAPA VINASAM VANKA:—This Vanka has many rivulets as its feeders, draining the northern and the southern slopes. The annexed map will make this clear. Even otherwise the latitude, longitude and the height above M.S.L. shown hereunder will give an intelligent understanding of the course of the Vanka and the places where the sacred waters (Tirthams) are met with. Many of these are rarely visited by the ordinary pilgrim.

GEOGRAPHY—THE PAPA VINĀSAM VANKA

| Tīrtham. | Lat. N. | Long. E. | Height. |
|--------------------------------|-------------|-------------|---------|
| Flowing from N.W. | | | |
| Pasupu Tīrtham .. | 13°-43'-30" | 79°-19'-30" | 2950 |
| Kumāra Dhāra .. | 13°-43'-45" | 79°-19'-40" | 2700 |
| Rāmakṣṇa Tīrtham .. | 13°-44'-15" | 79°-20'-45" | 2250 |
| Tumburu Kona .. | 13°-44'-30" | 79°-21'-20" | 2250 |
| Flowing from S.W. | | | |
| Jābāli Tīrtham .. | 13°-41'-40" | 79°-20'-15" | 3000 |
| Ākāsa Ganga .. | 13°-42'-50" | 79°-20'-30" | 2700 |
| Pāpavināsam .. | 13°-42'-55" | 79°-20'-30" | 2000 |
| Sanaka Sanandana Tīrtham .. | 13°-43'-40" | 79°-20'-25" | 2000 |

(Note.—The seconds given in Lat and Long are only meant to show the relative position of the Tīrthams).

The Hill here slopes from 3200 ft. to 2000 ft.

The most noteworthy ones are Tumburu Kōna, Ākāsa Ganga and Pāpavināsam.

Tumburukona is a very interesting water-fall in the east, more easily approached from Māmandur Railway Station. "Here is a canyon into which the water precipitates itself and then flows along a smooth granite bed, with some extraordinarily deep circular pools at intervals, full of fish. The vegetation near the mouth of the entrance to the canyon is very dense and the scenery charming."¹ The tradition is that many Rishis used to live there. It is now a favourite haunt for tigers and other wild beasts. At one spot there is a cave which is supposed to lead to a secret passage to the temple. But what is more worthy of notice is the tradition that when the idol of Sri Ranganātha was finally conveyed to Tirumala to avoid desecration by the iconoclastic Muslims during their invasion of the South in the early part of the 14th century, the idol is said to have been dropped down a deep ravine along

1. Taken from the N. A. District Manual

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with the bearer and to have been worshipped there for some time. There is said to be a small mantapam in the middle of the water-course which may have been the place referred to in the tradition.

The **Papanasam** is a waterfall and pool about 3 miles from the temple. A bath there is supposed to cleanse one of all sins. The ensuing water is supposed to get discoloured in proportion to the intensity of the sins committed. Tradition has it that Sriman Tirumala Nambi used to fetch water from this place for the daily Tirumanjanam and worship of the God, until one day God tested the intensity of his devotion by appearing as a hunter and asking for some water to quench his thirst. When it was refused, he thrust an arrow and drank off all the water. The unsuspecting Tirumala Nambi found the pot empty when he reached the temple. But he found that the God had also received his Abhishekam. When next he went to fetch water the hunter told the old gentleman that there was an equally pure water source much nearer and shot an arrow which touched the spot, whence the **Akasaganga** began to flow. Since then water is said to be brought from this nearer source. Tradition connects both Akāsa Ganga and Pāpavin^rsam. So pilgrims go invariably to bathe in both these places.

The Pāpavināsam Vēnka crosses the M. & S. M. Railway line at about a mile south of Bālupalli and 3 miles north of Māmandur Railway Station.

AVACHARI VANKA: This Vanka, at any rate, the southern confluence, takes its source from near the place where the old foot-path and also the present motor road to Tirumala cross it. It runs practically eastwards and crosses the M & S. M. Rly line (Broad gauge) after traversing Karakambadipālayam. It receives the waters from the Gogarbhram and the Vaikuntha Tīrtham and the north and from the Sesha Tīrtham and Sitamma on the south.

| Tīrtham. | Lat. N. | Long. E. | Height. |
|-------------------|----------------|-------------|---------|
| Gogarbhram | .. 13°-41'-05" | 79°-21'-20" | 2500 |
| Vaikuntha Tīrtham | .. 13°-40'-40" | 79°-22'-0" | 2200 |
| Sesha Tīrtham | .. 13°-41'-25" | 79°-23'-20" | 1950 |
| Sitamma Tīrtham | .. 13°-41'-55' | 79'-23'-30" | 2500 |

GEOGRAPHY—AVACHARI VANKA

Bhīma Tīrtham and Alṅvār Tīrtham are two distinct waterfalls on the Tirupati side of the Hill

| Tīrtham | Lat N | Long E | Height |
|---------------|------------|------------|--------|
| Bhīma Tīrtham | 13°-39'-20 | 79°-23'-0 | 2100 |
| Alvar Tīrtham | 13 -39 -20 | 79°-25 -15 | 700 |

These are the principal sacred waters on the Hill. It will be observed from the map that as in the case of Talakōna Falls, even here the waterfalls have been caused by the contortions to which the Hill has been subjected by the twist towards NE on the Venkatagiri side. The Tīrthams are more numerous at the eastern end of the Hill. But at both the west and the east ends the sacred waters go under the name "Pāpavināsam". This lends support to the traditional meaning attached to the term Vengadam as applied to this portion of the Hill, viz., that it burns away all sins (Pāpam). There are many legends which the puranas have concocted for the edification of the pious and credulous pilgrim.

Before we take leave of the sacred Tīrthams, we may as well notice a parallel in the case of the Ahobilam Hill Temple. The hill there by some sudden twist sheared into two branches at a place very near to what is now known as "Jwāla Nrisimham". As in the case of the Pāpavināsam canyon in Tirumala, there is a grand canyon there also whence the mountain rivulet known as "Bhavanāsanī" emerges, whose source it is extremely difficult to approach. The hill on either side has a deep vertical cut of several hundred feet depth. The scenery is one of great beauty with ferns hanging in wreaths of long length. On one side of this cliff there is a narrow foot path leading up to the small shrine called Jwāla Nrisimham (already referred to) and there is a very cool trough of water close by. Ascending to the top we have what is called "Ukku Sthambham" (Iron Pillar) set up by some unknown hand, which some women and men also perambulate to beget children. It is considered a very sacred region. There may be many more places like these all along the Eastern Ghats wherever the hill has been at some remote time in the past subjected to violent convulsions.

The Tirumala Hill has had several other names given to it. These are Sesha Saila (or Seshāchalam), Garudāchala, Venkatādri, Nārāyanādri, Vrishabādri, Vrishādri, and Anjanādri. Each of these names is associated with some fable or other which in these days of enlightened views on religion need not be dwelt on at length. Some of these will however be referred to while dealing with old traditions relating to the sanctity of the Hill. In the inscriptions the hill is referred to only as Vengadam of Tiruvengadam down to the 15th century A.D.

Topography of the Tirumalai Temple.

The earliest notion of the topography of the place where the Mula Murti or Dhruva Beram was found standing (for He was not installed by any human hand), was that He was on the summit of the Hill or Uchi. This has to be inferred from the words used in Silapadhikaram:—

“வேங்கடமென்னும் ஒங்குயர் மலையத் துச்சிமீமிசை”

It must have been due to this notion that He was also named “Uchchiyilnirān” (He who stands on the summit). The rice measure for food offerings was also for several centuries known as the “Uchchiyilnirān-kāl” (the Kāl or kalam of Uchchiyil Nirran). This notion appears to have persisted, or was adopted as the legacy of tradition? till about the middle of the 13th Century A.D. Owing to a better knowledge of the topography of the hills surrounding the temple, the realisation that the temple was actually on a much lower level than its surroundings became more general in later days. For we find in the middle of the 14th century that the processional deity had been styled “Malai kuniya Ninran” standing where the hill bowed low and the grain measure was also renamed Malai Kuniya Nirān-Kāl. We have no means of knowing whether the capacity of the new measure was any different from that of the old. The Hill Temple measure was however always different from that used in the Tirupati Temple which was once called Arumolidevan and subsequently Chālukya Nārāyanan-kāl. Although the term “Malaikuniya Ninran”

appears in the inscriptions only from 1354 A.D. we have every reason to believe that the real low level of the temple floor was known at least two centuries earlier. This assertion is made from the fact that one of Periya Nambi's disciples had the surname "Malai Kuniya Ninran" which must have then been one of the appellatives of the God in Tirumala. Periya Nambi himself was one of Sri Alavandār's disciples and his birth is taken to be in 937 A.D. Malaikuniya Ninran's birth would have been some time in 980—90. It is not unlikely that he took part in the construction of the skeleton temple, when it must have been felt that the level was lower than the surroundings and that effective drainage arrangements were necessary. That may account for the surname he got

To the north of the Temple the hills rise to 3426 ft. where there is a trigonometrical station. A little further near the Jabali Tīrtham the level is 3177 ft., to the east the hills rise from about 2250 to 2750 ft., to the south to 2920 ft. and in the south west the Nārāyanagiri rises to 3620 ft. These figures will give an idea of the hollow in which the temple is situated. No wonder that the place has been malarial. For water supply the small village around the temple depends on the pond called Alvār Tīrtham, which receives its supply from the surrounding country and the subsoil springs. A tank called 'Murtināyakan Cheruvu' on the hill to the north-west has so porous a bed that it retains very little water. The construction of a reservoir by damming up a part of the Papavinasam Kōna and conveying water therefrom by conduits has now been undertaken.

The drainage of this low lying village of Tirumala (the Temple in particular) is an urgent problem, not less than that of fresh water supply

TOPOLOGY.

This short account of the topography will be incomplete without its complement topology. It is therefore being dealt with in brief. As a matter of fact, topology has been in no small measure responsible for the immunity which this temple enjoyed, while almost all the others in South India were desecrated by the merciless hand of the Muslim invader. So long as the fate of the country depended on the rivalry and mutual jealousy of the Hindu rulers, there was no question of the interests of the temple being affected adversely, whoever became the ruler. We shall see from the inscriptions that each successful invader contributed his own share to the prosperity of the temple. The manner in which the topography of the country and the Hills made invasions by men of alien religious faith affect the fortunes of this temple will have to be briefly reviewed here. The success in this direction was also in no small measure attributable to the sagacity and ready wit of the people of Tirupati and those in the direct management of the temple. The quickness with which they comprehended the psychology of the alien invaders and the readiness with which they dangled before them a recurring revenue from the temple made the invaders realise that it was better not to cut the udder that yields an unfailing supply of milk.

It is worth repeating here that the Eastern Ghats enter the Kangundi Zamindari in the south-west of the district, and passing northwards gradually bend towards the east as far as the Tirupati Hills. Here the range is broken by a long valley which passes northwards into the Cuddapah district by the villages of Karakambādi and Māmandūr. The M. & S. M. Railway (N.W. line) passes through this gap. East of the Māmandur valley, the Ghats once more rise, and follow a north-easterly course until they enter the Nellore district from the Kālahasti Zamindari. This range of the hills separates the Bālaghāt or Mysore plateau from the Pāyan Ghat or the low country.

Numerous passes lead from the lowlands to those above the ghats. The three more important ones are the Kallūr, the Mogilī and the Saiyana Gunṭa passes. The Karakambādi pass on the

eastern end is the fourth which assumed historical importance in the 18th century. There is also the Nāgapatla ghat road leading to Bhākarāpet which has some importance. All these can be seen on the annexed map of the Hills. These passes afforded facilities for invaders. The fortunes of the temple were not affected adversely until the Dāmalcheruvu Pass and the Karakambādi Pass gave opportunities for the invaders to gain access to Chandragiri and Tirupati.

The Kallūr pass in the Chandragiri Taluk runs along the Dāmalcheruvu valley and through Kallūrpālayam to the Pilēr Taluk. The Trunk road from Madras to Cuddapah runs along this route.

The Mogili Pass is in the Chittoor Taluk and through it passes the road from Madras to Bangalore. The rise of the ghat is gradual. The Saiyanagunta Pass leads from Gudiyāttam to Palamanēr, where it joins the road from Mogili. The ascent is steep. The old route to Bangalore via Nāyakkanēri Ghat on the western borders of Gudiyāttam taluk is too steep.

Malik Kāfur's invasion of Southern India in 1310 A.D., although it carried fire and sword as far as south Rāmēswaram, did not in the least affect the Tirumala Hills and the surrounding country. Nor did the changing fortunes of the Chōlas, Pāṇḍyas, the Hoysālas and the Vijayanagar Kings make any difference to the prosperity of Tirumala. Things however took a disastrous turn after the overthrow of the Vijayanagar Kingdom in the battle of Talikota in 1565 A. D. As the result of a treaty between Shah Jehan (the Emperor of Delhi) and the Bijapur Sultan, Vellore passed into the hands of Bijapur and **Chandragiri was acquired by Golkonda in 1636 A.D.** The next adventurer to these parts was Sivāji, who as the result of an arrangement with the Sultan of Gōlkonḍa, made an expedition into the Carnatic to recover from his brother Venkāji the possession he got from their late father Shahji. He entered the Carnatic by the Kallūr Pass in 1676 A.D. and captured Vellore, Arni and even Gingee. But he had to retrace his steps on an urgent call from his ally, the Gōlkonḍa Sultan. Sivāji proclaimed himself king in 1674 A.D. In 1684

A.D., we find an envoy of his turning up in Tirumāla as a devotee, and offering not cash, but a gold 'kanṭhi' for an endowment. Sivāji died soon after and Gingee was also retaken by Aurangazib's General, Zulfikar Khan in 1694 A.D.

Passing over the intervening period of history, we find **Raghoji Bhonsle advancing in 1740** to the head of the Ghats and ready to descend along the Kallur Pass. Dost Ali opposed him at a spot in Dāmalcheruvu where the hills close in and an embankment across was got repaired for effecting the defence. Raghoji defeated the Muslim and slew his son. Raghoji is said to have retired from the Carnatic with a crore of rupees, representing one year's revenue. We know that **Raghoji endowed Srinivasa with some very costly jewels** which are still in existence. The turmoil in the Carnatic had as one of its results the assignment of the revenues of the Tirumala Temple to the British Government in Madras. **In 1753 an audacious adventurer by name Muhammad Kamal** marched to Tirupati from Nellore (where he was engaged in pillaging and plundering) and the British got alarmed at the prospect of their losing the revenues from Tirupati. He was, however, captured and executed after a fight on the plains of Tirupati. Muhammad Kamal must have come by the Karakambādi Pass.

In 1757 the Maharatta General, Balavant Rao crossed the plateau of Mysore, and camped at Kaṣapanattam, at the head of the Kallapulla ghat in Palamanēr Taluk. He did not however turn his army against Tirupati, but scoured Vaniyambādi, Āmbur and Vellore. In the same year a party of Mahāratta horsemen under the command of Gopal Rao came down the Kallūr Pass to Damalcheruvu and demanded of the British two lakhs of rupees as compensation on some grounds. When this was refused he is stated to have diverted his attention to Tirumala to plunder the Temple. This however is hard to believe. He might have paid his obeisance and made some presents also. What was more likely is that the British who had called for his help would not reimburse him for his waiting when they found his help unnecessary. He would naturally have gone up to the Sthānattār, narrated the perfidy and secured from their hands, willingly perhaps, one year's revenue which was due to the British. Subsequently when the

revenue was demanded they might have told the British that Gopal Rao plundered the temple. The true history of this temple can be written only after a careful study of the old records.

In August 1757 one Nazibulla visited the fort of Salava and threatened to take away the offerings made by pilgrims during the next Brahmotsavam. As the revenues of Tirupati were assigned to the British, they sent a detachment of the army to Tirupati to make sure of their revenue. But Nazibulla turned back as many pilgrims as he can, after perhaps divesting them of their belongings. In 1758 another brother of the Nabob, Abdul Wahab, made another bid for the wealth of the Temple. But the English were careful enough to foil this attempt. He however took possession of the fort of Chandragiri and waited for an opportunity. Bussy on his way back from Hyderabad halted at Tirupati and wrested from the lessee of the temple the year's revenue, while Nazibulla from Neilore and Abdul Wahab from Chandragiri helped him in this (October 1758).

The Maharatta Chieftain Gopal Rao who had been called back urgently by Balaji Rao left behind his Captain Narayana Sastri, who stayed at Karakambadi. **In July 1759 with the help of the Palegar, he ascended the Tirumala Hill and reoccupied the temple.** The English sent 300 sepoys and 15 Europeans. But it was found that only about 80 sepoys belonged to the castes which are permitted to ascend the hills. These went up and "there was hard fighting before the temple and many lost their lives on both sides." A second reinforcement was sent. But even this contained mostly men who cannot ascend the hill so the English Commander Major Calliand attacked Karakambādi village instead and consigned it to the flames. Narayana Sastri had to retreat. The renter of the temple was reinstated by the English. The renter during these years under the Nawab of Arcot, the French and the English successively was one Dorai Srinivasachari who considered it a sacred duty to outbid muslim competitors with the main object of preventing a muslim from having an opportunity to ascend the Hill.

When the Second Mysore War broke out in 1779, and Hyder drew a belt of destruction from Pulicat in the North to Pondicherry in the south and another belt of about a dozen miles radius round Vellore, sacked and burnt everything inside these limits (Hyder Kalābham). Colonel Bailie was asked to hasten from Guntur via Kalahasti and Tirupati. The Colonel considered this route dangerous and went by a route nearer to the coast. Thus Tirupati and Tirumala were saved from fire and sword.

After the battle of Sholinghur in 1781 and prior to the siege of Vellore in 1780-81, Hyder was in person at the Kallūr Ghat to intercept supplies of grain going to the English at Vellore and was helped by the Zamindars of Kālahasti and Karvetnagar in this. The Poligars also were in league with him. So Tirumala and Tirupati were left undisturbed. Muhammad Ali's brother handed over Chandragiri to Hyder. During the whole of 1781, although Sir Eyre Coote was within easy marching distance of Chandragiri he never did so. It was in the possession of Abdūl Wahab. Coote does not appear to have been aware of its importance. In 1782 Hyder redeemed the fort of Chandragiri and sent Abdūl Wahab as prisoner to Seringapatam. Hyder died at Narasingarāyanpet near Chittoor, where his tomb remains to this day. It is indeed strange that he never allowed his men to ascend the Tirumala Hill or to plunder the temple.

In 1791 Lord Cornwallis (Governor General) himself took command of the army in the Third Mysore War against Tippoo and feigning to ascend the Mysore plateau by the Nayakaneri Ghat, diverted his march at the last moment and passed through the Mogili Ghat.

On 31st July 1801, the whole of the Carnatic passed into the hands of the English. But the poligars of the Chittoor District continued to give trouble. These were driven into the jungle, but they continued to harass and plunder pilgrims going to Tirupati. The roads leading to Tirupati had to be regularly patrolled by a body of sepoys. Even martial law had to be proclaimed against the insurgent poligars.

The Tirumala temple passed into the hands of the English for direct management in 1801. The Moyne Jāpta of that period will show to what meagre rations the daily food offerings to Sri Venkatesa had been reduced at the time.

All these incidents are mentioned in a sketchy manner to show that the sanctity of the Temple and the Vengadam Hill was fully respected by the Muslims and the English alike in spite of the fact that the topography of the Hills was such that military operations were carried on time after time within a few hours' march of the temple and right at the foot of the Hill itself. This topology of Vengadam looks like a fairy tale and adds considerably to the **topolatry** of everything connected with the Hill and the Temple. History tells us more than all the fables depicted in the numerous Puranas. What impression of sanctity this unique immunity from desecration would have created in the whole of South India, and even in the Deccan South of the Vindhya, can best be imagined.

There is, however, another side to this picture which we cannot afford to ignore. The traditional sanctity of the Hill and the Deity thereon had perforce to be preserved by payment of an annual subsidy of about two lakhs of rupees every year. The old system of management of the temple seems to have gone out of use and a renter was appointed by the Nawab of Arcot to collect the revenues of the temple. The last we hear of the existence of Sthānattār was in an inscription dated 19th March 1684 in Telugu language and script, when Raja Sri Sivarāja Ramachandra Yādamātara Dabirsa and Timmanayyengar made an endowment by payment of a gold kanthi and not cash. From another inscription dated 15-6-1638 we find that Sri Rangaraja Maharaya (with all the old Prāsastis of the Vijayanagar Kings) was considered the ruling sovereign. These inscriptions are in Telugu which is the language of the country. We also find from the history of South India that as the result of a treaty between Shah Jahan and the Sultan of Bijapur in 1636, Bijapur and Golkonda became more independent and that by the year 1656 Vellore passed into the hands of Bijapur, while Golkonda secured Chandragiri. In the inscription

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dated 16-3-1684 the Sthānattār do not mention any one as the ruler of the country, which only means that they did not choose to recognise the Sultan of Golkonda.

When Asaf Jah set himself up as the Nizam of Hyderabad effectively in 1724, Daud Khan was appointed by him as Nawab of the Carnatic. The Tirumala temple would in consequence have come under his sway. It must have been from about this date (1724 A.D.) that an arrangement was made by which the Tirumala Temple had to pay every year two lakhs of rupees to the Nawab as subsidy. There was no molestation of the temple as a result. We find mention of this source of revenue when in 1753 Muhammad Kamal marched to Tirupati to plunder the temple and the British had to send a detachment to ward off the attack, since the revenues of the temple were assigned to the English under some arrangement between them and the Nawab.

How was this amount to be made up every year? The renter had to devise a scheme for realising the amount and earn some more for his services. A levy was made on pilgrims who resorted to the temple. Before bathing in the waters of the Aḷvār Tirtham and the Swami Pushkarani, every pilgrim had, according to custom to recite certain verses in Sanskrit which a Brahmin purohit would do. This right to dictate the mantrams was leased out and the lessee levied a fee per head. So also when according to custom a pilgrim wanted to have his head shaved in Tirumala. When camphor had to be lighted a fee of one rupee was levied. For attending Archana a fee of seven rupees and so on for every item of worship. When an ornament or cloth was presented to the deity for perpetual wear, an amount equal to the value of the article had to be paid. This is called Vartana. When a food offering was made by a pilgrim, an amount equal in value to the offering had to be deposited in addition to the cost of the food offering. Through all the centuries down to about 1750, we hear in the inscriptions no other sacred waters on the Hills excepting Ākasaganga and Pāpavināsam. Several new ones were made sacred and legends extolling the sanctity of each had to be manufactured.

Near the Gōgarbham Tirtham there is a round stone known as "Kshētra Pāla" about which there is no mention in any of the inscriptions. It was made a place of great sanctity for settling disputes. Oath was administered at this place before lighted camphor to swear to truth and a fee (heavy enough) had to be paid to the temple to be allowed to do this. An iniquitous system for which there is neither traditional, sastraic nor moral sanction, was sedulously cultivated, which benefited the renter, the Nawab and perhaps a few of the temple functionaries. When in 1801 the temple passed entirely into the hands of the Court of Directors in England, this system was continued in its entirety. The renter system was abolished and direct management stepped in. The system which the English inherited from the Nawābs is told in full in an article published in the Asiatic journal for 1831 which is given as an appendix. The Gazetteer published in 1847 (Pharoah & Co., Madras) states: "The Brahmins maintain that the Hindu Princes allowed the revenues from this source to be entirely expended on the spot in religious ceremonies and that the Mussalmans first appropriated the produce to their own use. During the early wars between the English and the French nations in India, this source of revenue was one of the first fruits of British conquest." How much revenue the English Government derived from 1804 to 1843 when in the latter year they had reluctantly to pass on the administration to a still more hungry Mahant, we have never been told. When the Mahants were cleared out and the T. T. Devasthanams Committee stepped in, the iniquitous system was continued as before, nay the rates were revised to bring in more revenue. The concomitant evils of subordinates influencing pilgrims in all manner still continues. Is it not time that this enforced levy of fees for worshipping God is removed and voluntary contributions are made the rule? There will then be less of corruption and more freedom of worship for the penniless man and the multi millionaire alike. We may scan the published inscriptions from end to end and fail to find even a scrap of evidence, direct or inferential, to show that at any time before the temple passed into the hands of Muslims there was any levy of fees for offering worship in the manner a pilgrim desired to do.

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The instructions issued by Lord Clive in 1800 A.D. to the Nawab of Arcot in connection with the arrangements to be made for affording conveniences to Rajah Raghottama Rao, one of the principal ministers of H. H. the Nawab Nizam-ul-Doulah Asafjah Bahadur of Hyderabad, during his pilgrimage to Tirumala are worth repeating in this connection. They will clearly show that pilgrims were subjected to compulsory levies and were harassed. Raja Sri Mysore Tirumal Rao was deputed on behalf of the British Government to perform the duties of hospitality as if Lord Clive himself was present. The temple was then under the full control of the Nawab of Arcot.

“(1) All offerings of dresses or jewels which may be made by the said Raja to the Deity must be preserved in the wardrobe of the Pagoda dedicated to Balaji; and no person must prevent the Deity from being arrayed and decorated with the said dresses and jewels.

(2) You must not appropriate any part of the offerings which may be made by the Raja to the Deity.

(3) The said Raja must not experience any kind of molestation or interruption in his devotional visits or in the festival ceremonies in compliment to the Deity.

(4) You must select and allot a commodious and suitable habitation for the said Raja and his followers.”

“It is likewise ordered that you do not demand any duty or custom either from the Raja or any of his followers but consider them totally exempted from the same and treat them with utmost politeness.” Lord Clive agreed with the Nawab of Arcot that he would himself bear the customs duties etc.

After his pilgrimage Raja Raghottam wrote on 29-9-1800 to Lord Clive thanking him for all the kindness shown and added “Raja Sri Tirumal Rao will communicate with you on the subject of pilgrims, and if you should be so good as to arrange the business, it would be beneficial to the Sarkar and the pilgrims.” This extract delicately gives us a picture of the difficulties which pilgrims had to undergo in offering worship. All the factors which contributed to the growth of such difficulties still exist.

CHAPTER II.

The Sanctity of the Vengadam Hills and the antiquity of Tiruvengadamudayan.



IN the last chapter, it was discussed how the sanctity of the Vēngadam Hills and of the Deity presiding was preserved by those charged with that task during the period of the Muslim incursions and thereafter. We have now to enquire how and when this sanctity came into existence. Many are the legends connected with this and not one of these has any historical basis. We have known the well tried and familiar method which our ancient Rishis pursued in making the aspirant realise the “Absolute Truth or Brahman.” It consisted in a graded process of ‘Nēti’ or elimination of what it is not. We have similarly to examine the legends to realise that they do not present the truth. Then something more appealing to the intellect and the heart has to be sought for.

Sanctity of the Hill—Legends.

Legends dealing with the sanctity of the Hill are distinct from those which deal with the sojourn of Vishṇu from Srivai-kuṅṭam (His heavenly abode) to this Hill. We will first refer to those relating to this Hill.

(1) It appears that in the last Krita Yuga, there lived on the Hill a Rakshasa by name Vrishabhāsura who did great penance near the Tumburu Kōna waters on the Hill. When Sri Vishnu appeared to him and wanted to know his desires, he said that he did not care to receive any boon from Hari, but that he wished to have a direct fight to see who was more powerful. In the end, the Asura had to be killed only by making use of the “Sudarsana Chakram.” Since then, the Hill came to be known as Vrishabhā-chalam. Brahmāṇḍapurānam is said to be the authority for this.

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(2) In the Tretāyuga, there lived a lady by name Anjanādevi in the country round Pampā Saras (in the present Hampi of the Bellary District). Being childless, she did great penance on this Hill and the God of winds, Vayu appeared to her and blessed her with a child who was Hanumān or Anjānēya. So the Hill got the name Anjanāchalam or Anjanādiri.

(3) In the Dwāpara Yuga, when Sri Vishnu was with Sri Lakshmi and not-at-home to any one, the wind-God Vayu tried to enter the room which Sesha (Adi Sesha, the serpent who is His constant attendant) was guarding. The Wind-God was prevented from entering. This resulted in a commotion and Sri Vishnu himself was not able to settle the quarrel. They wanted to test who was the more powerful. Adi Sesha wound himself round Mount Meru and covered the mountain with his thousand-headed hood. Vayu began to blow fiercely with the result that the inhabitants of the three worlds felt considerably distressed. So they approached Ādi Sesha and represented to him that the immediate reaction of their power test was disastrous to all others. To mitigate this, they requested Ādi Sesha, as the more amiable of the two, to just lift one of his thousand heads for a second. He did this and lo! a portion of Mount Meru was blown away. And that bit alighted on the earth as our Tirumala Hill. So it came to be known as "Seshāchalam" since then. If this were true, the legends of the Krita and Treta yugas would be chronologically impossible.

(4) In the Kali yuga, our own age, there lived in Kālahasti, a very pious and learned Brahmin by name Purandara Sōmayāji, who after doing penance was blessed with a son, named Mādhava who although as learned as the father, was lustful. He took a fancy for a chandāla woman who was addicted to all conceivable vices and was to boot a whore. This Madhava gave up all rules of caste and lived with her happily for twelve years on the banks of the Krishna. When she died, he became, crazy, roamed about and followed a party of kings who were on their pilgrimage to Tirumala. When he went up the Hill and stood along with the others in front of the temple (or God, we are not sure), a horrible stench arose from his body and all the Devas came there to find

out why. All of a sudden, there shot up a fire enveloping his body and his sins were all burnt away. So the Hill came to be known as Venkatāchalam (the Hill which burns away all sins). But great Sanskrit scholars have not even to this day been able to derive this meaning etymologically for the word Venkata. It was prophesied or blessed that this Madhava would be reborn as the illegitimate son of a Chola King and would rule over Tondai Mandalam. Vāmana Purāna seems to be responsible for this story.

To make all these legends improbabilities, there is another legend which says that Sri Venkateswara made this Hill his habitation on a day 28 Mahāyugas before the present one of which Kali is the last Yuga. One Mahā Yugam(according to the Purānās) is equivalent to 43,20,000 Mānava years and 28 such Maha Yugas have passed since Sri Vishnu came over to Tirumala, i.e., 7,77,60,000 Mānava years. This is said to be mentioned in the Varāha, Vāmana, Bhavishyottara, Brahma, Brahmānda and Padma Purānas.

Legend as to why Sri Vishnu came over here.

It appears that Bhṛigu Maharshi who wanted to see how each of the Trimūrtis was performing His duties, came over, after testing Brahma and Siva, to Sri Vishnu. He found the Lord in a posture of repose sporting with his consort. The Rishi could not bear the sight of the Deity, whose duty it was to protect His creation by keeping constant watch, sporting with his consort. So he gave a kick on His chest and that part of the chest happened to be the portion which was Sri Lakshmi's resort. Sri Vishnu enquired of His Bhakta whether on account of the kick, the Rishi's feet had received any injury or pain. Lakshmi got infuriated with her Lord for not punishing the Rishi for his misdemeanour, but trying to pacify him. So She left Sri Vishnu, who in turn left Sri Vaikuṅṭam and came over to Tirumala as the best spot on earth where He could spend his time. One day He chanced to sight a fair lady sitting on, or born of the flower Lotus, (Padmam, പദ്മം) and wished to marry her. She was the foster-daughter of the petty-ruler of Nārayanavanam, Akasa Raja (in Puttur Taluk of this District). Being penniless, he had to borrow a large sum of money

for marriage expenses and dowry, from Kubera, the God of Wealth. He has been to this day repaying it in annual instalments to the rulers of the land till the British Government left the management of the Temple in the hands of the Mahants of Tirupati.

Then there is the story that the first Temple of Sri Venkateswara was built by one Tondaimān Chakravarthi who was the ruler of this part of the country in the early years of the Kali Yuga. The surmise of historical research workers is that the first Chola King of Tanjore, Karikāla, had an extra-marital connection with a Nāga Princess; and the offspring was one Āṇḍai, who founded Tonḍaimaṇḍalam and was known as Tonḍaiman Chakravarthi. Before he built the temple, the Deity was covered over by an ant-hill and cows used to go to the top of the ant-hill and automatically empty the milk from the udder. It was only when this phenomenon was noticed that the ant-hill was opened out and the discovery made. So according to this story of the Brahmānda Purāṇa, Tiruvēṅgaḍamuḍaiyān's existence was discovered only in Chola Karikāla's time, somewhere about the first century A.D. As against this, there is the statement in the North Arcot District Gazettee (1894) that there was a record preserved in the temple of the benefactions of various Kings of the past. The earliest entry showed that the second (inner) enclosure wall (Prakaram) was built by Parikshit Maharajah, and the outer enclosure wall (outer prakara) by his son Janamējaya. Vikramarka Maharaja made several improvements six centuries later. But according to the other legend the temple itself is said to have been built later on by Tondaiman Chakravarthi, son of Karikala.

There is also another book of fables called Venkatachala Mahatmyam, which came into being on palm leaves in 1491 A.D., and the author of which was one Pasindi Venkaṭatturaivar (a Brahmin Brahmachari doing service in the temple). It was allowed to be read in the temple with arulappāḍu (divine permission). Later it used to be read off and on at the request of donors. But after the middle of the 16th century, it seems to have gone out of use. We have nothing to show what really were the stories of fables included in that compilation. It is common knowledge how the readings in the Puranas used to get corrupted from time to

time and from place to place. To the writer's knowledge, an important palm-leaf work dealing with Yatidharmam (the rules of Sanyāsam), kept in the Fort St. George about 60 years ago was tampered with by some eminent pandits. There is a common saying applicable to all Puranic stories which runs thus in Tamil "Indappoy Kandattilumillai" (இந்தப்பொய் கந்தத்திலுமில்லை)- "This lie is not even in Skanda Puranam."

Taking up the thread where we left off saying that the Mahants stepped into the shoes of the East India Company as the lawful heirs of Kubera to collect dues from the God of Tiruvengadam, we find further developments in the legend. The Mahants were not the rulers of the land. Also the God stood only as the debtor discharging his debts in instalments. There must be more substantial ground to stand upon. The legend was coined that Sri Venkateswara played at dice with a great bhakta by name Hattirām Bhāvāji, who is presumed to have come to the Hill some time about 1500 A.D. Sri Venkateswara was pleased to lose the game every time. He first placed the temple itself as bet and lost. Lastly being at a loss to find anything else, He played His own Self as bet and losing the game became the servant of Sri Hattirām Bhāvāji. That was adduced as the reason why in 1843, the East India Company had to hand over the God, the Temple and all that it contained to one of Hattiramji's disciples, Sevadasji. So the position of creditor and debtor was changed to one of master and servant. God has always been the most obedient servant of His Bhaktas. This fable was started probably in the first edition of the Venkatachala Mahatmyam in print. To make this fable go about the country, several editions were prepared, Sanskrit text in Telugu script (1884), Sanskrit Text and Devanagari script (1887), Telugu Text (1896), Devanagari Script published in Bombay (1904), lastly Devanagari Script Sanskrit Text and Hindi Translation (1930). The last one contained pictures, the front page one being Sri Venkateswara playing at dice with Hattirām Bhāvāji. To this last edition and its illustrations, an eminent Sanskrit scholar lent his name.

Regarding the unreliability of palm leaf and other works claiming antiquity and therefore truth, there are two which come

to our notice. One is mentioned in the North Arcot Gazetteer (P. 325), "an old palm leaf book in the possession of one of the village-officers of Chandragiri" which stated that the Chandragiri Fort was originally built by one Immaḍi Narasinga Yādarāyulu, one of the Kings of Nārāyanavanam in this district (999 A.D.). He (Immaḍi Narasinga) "proceeded to Tirupati in order to visit the God and after accomplishing his object set about building palaces on the hills parallel to Seshachalaparvatam in sight of which he always wished to dwell." Mr. Cox, the compiler of the Gazetteer then goes on to say that the ruins of the buildings upon the Aḍḍakonḍa Hill including a small fort are still in existence. Then Mr. Cox recites a story that a kite carried off the Rajas red turban mistaking it for a piece of flesh and dropped it on the Chandragiri Hill. Finding this to be a very good spot and a good omen, he built a fort and founded the city. Part of the story is correct according to the inscriptions in Tirumala. It was Sriranganātha Yādarāya who after the troublous period of Muslim invasion of the South by Malik Kāfur and Muhammad Tughlak, finally wanted to rest his war-weary frame in Tirumala and built a palace thereon about the year 1359 A.D. But the founding of Chandragiri and the first building of the Fort has been recognized as the act of Sāluva Narasinga Dēva Uḍaiyar and not Immaḍi Narasinga Rayalu of Narayanavanam. Saluva's grand-father, Mangideva, may have shifted his capital from Kalyānapuram to Nārāyanavanam sometime about 1370 A. D. Saluva Narasinga Deva only built the fort circa 1450 A.D.

The palm leaf goes on to say that ten of the Yādarāyas ruled for 314 years after Immaḍi Narasinga and then the Vijayanagar dynasty took their place. The story told is that one Venkaṭapati Naidu who was left to guard the gate surrendered to Krishna Devarayalu, on a demand made by him through a messenger. So it was in (999 plus 314) 1313 A.D. that Krishnadevaraya should have occupied the Chandragiri Fort, whereas according to history, he ascended the Vijayanagar throne only in 1509 A.D. In a further portion of the story Venkatapatideva Maharayar is stated to have died in Chandragiri on the new moon day of Bhādrapada in the year Nandana. This must be equivalent to 1592 A.D. in which year must have commenced his reign.

The other book of some facts and more fables and untruths is the Itihāsa Māla on which Dr. S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar based some reliance, but soon found that it defied facts and historical dates. This book relates mainly to the activities of Sri Ramanuja. Palm leaf books have been more successfully tampered with than would be possible with printed books.

The criticism levelled against legends does not however give an answer to the enquiry how and when the Hill came to be considered sacred. Silappadhikāram (756 A.D. according to Dr. Swamikannu) does not tell us that the Hill was sacred, nor does it say when the God manifested himself there. It was only the Āḷwārs that have sung the glory of the Hill and the God. The Hill has been considered in still later periods as the body of Adishesha and therefore called Sēshāchalam. The earliest of the Āḷwārs may have lived not earlier than the 5th or 6th century A.D. As will be pointed out later, when faced with the spread of Buddhism and Jainism, they were put to the necessity of postulating a God and a religion which was neither rank Saivism nor rank Vaishnavism. Tiruvengaḍamudaiyan was thus represented as the only True God who combines in Himself all the Murtis, rather the Para-Vāsu deva of the Pancharatnas and the Ādi Mūrti of the Vaikhānasas. Who then can fix the date of his Birth? The Hill came to be depicted as Ādi Sēsha who is ever attendant on Him. Being so sacred many of the Āḷwārs, according to later tradition, abstained from ascending the Hill to worship Him and Sri Ramanujā has been credited with having ascended the Hill on his knees may be all a fable. None of the Āḷwārs has stated that the Hill represents the body of Ādi Sēsha. The later day tradition seems to have been coined to explain the omission of the image of Sēsha in Sanctum. We find Nammāḷwar's shrine at the Āḷwār Tirtham where the pilgrim takes his purificatory bath, and Periyalwar shrine is stationed at the place where the pilgrim commences his ascent of the Hill. These seem to have been started with a mystic or esoteric significance. The sanctity however consists entirely in the Murti being a Deity acceptable to all sects although the worship has always been according to the Vaikhanasa Agama,

bereft of some of its offensive sectarian aspects,¹ and not the Pancharatra which Ramanuja followed and which he introduced in almost all the other Vishnu temples in South India. So even the Vaikhanasas felt satisfied. Neither Sri Alavandar, nor Sri Ramanuja did instal any of the Vaishnavite Ālwārs or Achāryas inside the Tirumala Temple. It was only to Sri Ramanuja that a shrine was allotted by common consent. No further innovation was ever attempted. Therein lies the superior sanctity of the Hill and its temple over all the other and older temples in South India.

The reason assigned for this manifestation of Archavataram (form for idol worship) in the daily rituals is that He is Mayavi.² His ways are inscrutable.

He left His Vaikuntam and came down to settle on the bank of the Swami Pushkarini, on this Hill. Nothing more is said.

The above sloka (verse) forms a part of the daily ritual called mantrapushpam. Seeing that the latter contains a verse³ wishing prosperity to Sri Nammālvār also, it may reasonably be presumed that the slokas were composed when the present form of worship was formulated soon after the installation of the silver Murti now known as Bhoga Srinivasa in 966 A.D. But it might reasonably be asked whether the bare statement contained in it, that the Supreme Being left Vaikuntam and took his abode in Tirumala without any reason being assigned can be accepted as truth when there are different stories in the Puranas implicitly believed by the public which assign different reasons for His manifestation here. The earliest reliable historical records are the devotional songs of the Ālwārs and the description given in the Silappadhikāram, and all these are in Tamil. Among these it is only Nammālvār

1. More will be said about this later

2. Mayavi Paramānandam tyaktva Vaikunṭam uttamam Svamipuṣkaraṇḍi-
tīrē ramaya saha modate. bhōgiraja gurim gatva svamipuskarini tate ramate
ramani kante ramaniye Sriyahpathi

3. Srinagaryam mahāpurāṇam Tambraparnyutteri tate Tantrini mūla
dhāme Sri Satagopaya mangaḷam

who speaks of the sanctity of the Tiruvengadam Hill and explains the reason for the Supreme Being Paran (பரன்) transferring His abode from the Heavens to this Hill. His mystic vision made him affirm that his statement (which obviously was also the current belief) embodies the Truth (வெய்). The etymological meaning of the word Vengadam (வேயம்- burn, and கட்டம் the fruits of past acts) is burning away the effect of all past Karmas. This Hill, he affirms, possesses that great virtue. So God selected this spot for His stay on earth. His decision to reside in Vengadam is according to Sri Nammālvār for the sole purpose of affording facilities to earthly beings to worship Him in the same manner as and along with the Heavenly Beings headed by Brahma who are said to be doing here daily what they have been doing in Vaikunṭam. Here in Vēngaḍam, after His sojourn to the place, the same Heavenly Beings share with us on equal terms the privilege of doing all manner of service which his bhaktas desire to do. Nammālvār assigns a naïve reason for the sojourn of the Supreme Being by citing two typical instances. When dumb cattle who live to serve human beings with their milk were threatened with destruction by the fury of pelting rain and biting cold He as Sri Krishna lifted up a hill and held it over them to afford shelter. Again when one of the most highly evolved of human beings, Mahā Bali, who was ideally just, truthful and charitable was very nearly losing his soul by his failure to conquer the self although he had conquered the worlds, the Lord out of his overflowing Love came unsolicited to save him by showing him that all his conquests and achievements fell far short of the small gift he was asked to make to the Lord. We in this Kali age stand between these two extreme instances. We are gifted with certain limited powers and with a desire to serve Him in the same manner as we are told that the Heavenly Beings (வானவரர்) do in Heaven. As we cannot go there and serve Him with this material body the Supreme Being has for our special benefit come over to Vengadam saying good-bye to Heaven. Vēngaḍam is Heaven, the Kaliyuga Vaikunṭam. All this is attributed to the infinite and unaccountable love of God (his Pāsam, (பாசம்)). Let us therefore go to Vēngaḍam where our Karmas will be destroyed and where we can do service to him such as

bringing water for abhishekam, flowers for worship and dhupam (incense) and deepam (light) etc.

Nammālvār does not refer to any Puranic story to account either for the sanctity of the Hill or for the manifestation of the Supreme Being on earth. His explanation is purely devotional mysticism.

Nammālvār's mysticism has been largely responsible for the form of worship which has been developed in the temple ever since Bhōga Srinivasa was installed. It was after listening to the exposition made by Sri Alavandār of the ten verses (of the 3rd ten of the 3rd centum) in Tiruvoimōḷi that his grandson Sri Tirumala-Nambi just past his teens, made a solemn resolve, took his grand-sire's blessings and repaired to Vēngaḍam where he dedicated his whole life to the daily service of Lord Vēṅkatēsvara in the manner recommended by Nammālvār in his songs. The same verses when explained by Sri Ramanuja made Sri Anandālvār repair to the Tirumala Hill to keep company with Tirumala Nambi in doing service to the Lord. (These verses are given at the end of this Chapter).

There is also a story in Chapter V of Mausala Parva of Sri Mahābhārata which may be taken to have some connection or throw some light on the manifestations of the Supreme Being on earth to give a start to a new form of worship known as Archāvatāra. This form of worship supercedes the older ones, viz., Para, Vyūha, Vibhava and Antaryami and has been recommended by God Himself as the one best suited for us in the Kali Yuga. Sri Krishna while departing his human body in the manner described in the Mahābhārata, exhibited to Brahma and the other Devas as well as Rishis, etc. His real form with four hands, and Sri Devi seated on his right breast. Without going into details it may be stated here that Brahma and the others addressed him as the one bearing the bow, obviously referring to his avatār as Sri Rama who killed Vāli with the bow and who therefore paid for that act with his life as Krishna at the hand of Jara the hunter. The Divine Spirit ascended to the Heavens piercing the Solar Orb. There the spirit appeared to Brahma and the others as a stone

image and simultaneously a voice from the Heavens proclaimed that He would appear on earth in that shape, which while appearing to be stony and lifeless would possess considerable (spiritual) power, that He would remain on earth thereafter and that Brahma and the Devas should continue their worship there. This incident happened at the end of the Dvāpara Yuga. At the commencement of the Kali Yuga His manifestation in Vēṅgaḍam seems to have taken place. The Image has Sri Devi on the right chest. It shows scars on both shoulders extending to the arm pit as if they were due to the constant wear of the bow-string and the sling of the arrow pouch. There are no other weapons, not even the Sankham and the Chakram. What is known as Brahmārāḍhanam (worship by Brahma) accordingly takes place every night and that Tirtham is served to worshippers the first thing in the morning during Visvarūpa sēva.¹ The Deity was also invested with the bow during the days when Silappadhikaram was written.

The Poetic ecstasy of Nammalwar about Tiruvengadamudayan

Tiruvaimozhi 3 pattu.

(1) Without (availing) a moment's rest, in intimate (close), contact and without any wavering we should do service to that Jyoti of Sublime Beauty who is on (the) Tiruvēṅgaḍam (Hill) where the (Hill) streams flow making a deafening noise to Him who is the great father of my sires and grandsires.²

(2) He is the progenitor of our forebears [father's fathers' fathers fathers Sires] (the creator of all things). In all His endless glory He is the Lord of Tiruvengadam (Hill) where the Heavenly

1. Now it is called Viswarupa Sarva Darsanam.

2. ஒழிவில் காலமெல்லாம் உடனாய் மன்னி
வழுனிலா அடிமை செய்யவேண்டும் நாம்
தெழிகுரலருவித் திருவேங்கடத்து
எழில்கொள்சோதி எந்தைதந்தை தந்தைக்கே

Beings headed by their King Brahma worship with abundance of flowers.¹

(3) He is Lordly, He is Māyan (possesses inscrutable and wonderful wits); His eyes are like the petal of the red lotus, His lips and mouth of red colour like that of ripe fruit; His colour is that of the dark clouds. He is the Lord of the glorious Heavenly Beings and He stands in Tiruvengadam wherefrom flow sparkling waters.²

(4) He is extolled as the Lord of the Heavenly Beings (Vānavarkku Īsan). But is that really any glory to Him? He stands on the Tiruvengadam Hill in all His unsurpassable and effulgent Jyoti (Param sudar jyoti, பரஞ்சுடர் சோதி) and has extended his infinite love and compassion (பாசம் Pāsam) even to me, a mean creature (Neechan) who has nothing good to boast of. (His greatness therefore lies in extending His love to sinners like me).³

(5) This Lord of Tiruvēngadam (திருவேங்கடத்தான்) is everything good and nothing bad. He is the nectar (அமுதம்) of all the Vedas so highly valued by greatmen versed therein. Will it be considered a full description if it is stated that He is the

1. எந்தைதந்தைதந்தை தந்தைதந்தைக்கும்
முந்தை வானவர் வானவர் கோனெடும்
சிந்துபூமகிழும் திருவேங்கடத்து
அந்தமில்புகழ்க் காரெழிலண்ணலே
2. அண்ணல்மாயன் அணிகொள் செந்தாமரைக்
கண்ணன் செங்கனிவாய்க் கருமாணிக்கம்
தெண்ணிறைச் சுனைநீர்த் திருவேங்கடத்து
எண்ணில் தொல்புகழ் வானவரிசனே
3. ஈசன் வானவர்க்கென்பன் என்றால் அது
தேசமோ திருவேங்கடத்தானுக்கு?
நீசனென் நிறைவொன்றுமில்லென் என்கண்
பாசம்வைத்த பரஞ்சுடர்ச் சோதிக்கே.

Ādi Mūrti (the Primeval Being) who is worshipped in all the worlds as a jyoti? (No)¹

(6) Let all those who groan under a load of past Karmas, (கடமை அதுசமந்தார்க்கு) only say Nama (நம) to Vēṅgaḍat-turaivar (He who lives on the Vēṅgaḍam Hill) and all their past Karmas and what they may happen to commit in this life will be completely burnt (வேம்=burn, கடங்கள் accumulation of past sins; மேல்வினை=sins which may be committed in this life). This is Satyam (மெய்). By so doing they will only be acquiring good to themselves.²

(7) This spacious Tiruvēṅgaḍam Hill will ensure for us (Vidu) Moksham on equal terms with the Heavenly Beings who headed by their King Brahma, carry on their head loads of flowers, water, dhūpam and deepam for his worship if we emulate them and say Nama to Him as they do.³

(8) He lifted a Hill to protect (the dumb cattle) from biting cold and pelting rain. He in days of yore measured the worlds with his Feet (to save the Soul of Maha Bali). This Paran (Para Brahman) left (His Heavenly abode) and has settled on the great

- 1: சோதியாகி எல்லாவுலகும் தொழும்
ஆதிமூர்த்தியென்றால் அளவாகுமோ
வேதியர் முழுவேதத்த முதத்தைத்
தீதில்சீர்த் திருவேங்கடத்தானையே
2. வேங்கடங்கள் மெய்ம்மேல் வினைமுற்றவும்
தாங்கள் தங்கட்கு நல்வனவே செய்வார்
வேங்கடத்துறைவார்க்கு நமவென்ன
லாம் கடமை அதுசமந்தார்கட்கே
3. சமந்துமாமலர் நீர்ச்சுடர் தூபங்கொண்டு
அமர்ந்து வானவர் வானவர்கொண்டும்
நமன்றெழும் திருவேங்கடம்நங்கட்குச்
சமன்கொள்வீடுதரும் தடங்குன்றமே.

Tiruvēṅgaḍam mountain. By worshipping that hill alone all our sins will vanish (வினை ஓயும்).¹

(9) Those (Bhaktas) who in word and thought worship the lotus Feet of this Shepherd of Tiruvēṅgaḍam will be freed from the enfeebling effects of old age, birth, and disease.²

(10) (Therefore) Before the appointed end of our life is approached and before age and weakness set in, let us repair to the flower gardens and groves on the slopes of Tiruvengadam பாம்பணை Hill which is the seat of the Lord.³

1. குன்றமேந்திக் குளிர்மழைகாத்தவன்
அன்று ஞாலம் அளந்தபிரான் பரன்
சென்றுசேர் திருவேங்கடமாமலை
ஒன்றுமே தொழ நம்வினைஓயுமே.
2. ஓயும்மூப்புப் பிறப்புஇறப்புப்பிணி
வீயுமாறுசெய்வான் திருவேங்கடத்தாயன்
நாள்மலராம் அடித்தாமரை
வாயுள்ளும்மனத்துள்ளும் வைப்பார்கட்கே
3. வைத்தநாள்வரை எல்லைகுறுகிச்சென்று
எய்த்திளைப்பதன் முன்னம் அடைமினோ
பைத்தபாம்பணையான் திருவேங்கடம்
மொய்த்தசோலை மொய்பூந்தடம்தாழ்வரே.

CHAPTER III.

How the temple became popular and famous.

AN attempt was made in the last chapter to show that neither the so-called Puranic accounts nor other legends can be trusted to explain when and why the God of Tiruvengaḍam manifested Himself on the Hill, and why the Hill itself came to be credited with the virtue of burning away all sins. It cannot, however, be doubted that the Hill was considered sacred and the Deity thereon more so. The fact that neither the Hill nor the Deity thereon is mentioned by name in the Itihāsas, the Vishnu Purana, Sri Bhāgavatam and the Bhāratam does not militate against it. It was, however, rarely resorted to by pilgrims in ancient times.

So was and still is Ahōbilam, to which among the Āḷwārs only Sri Tirumangai Āḷwār seems to have paid a visit. It was so inaccessible. It came into prominence during the period of the Sangama Dynasty of the Vijayanagar Kings and after the battle of Talikota again relapsed into obscurity. The writer knew personally the conditions that prevailed there about 35 years ago. There was no regular daily worship although the Temple is said to have been consecrated according to the Pāncharātra Agama by the Ahōbila Mutt Jiyars. There was a Niyogi Brahmin of the Cuddapah District doing puja voluntarily although he knew nothing of the Agama form of worship. He would make 108 pradakshinams after bath with his wet clothes on; then enter the temple, trim the lamp left burning overnight, ring the bell and offer to the Deity the water, flowers and Tulasi which he brought with him. He used to cook a small quantity of rice which he would first offer to God and then partake of it himself. This was for the Tiruviḷankoyil God in the plains. Five miles away on the Hill is the real Ugra Narasimhaswamy partly in a rock-cut cave. There was no daily puja for Him. Once a week on Saturday the same Niyogi gentleman would go to the Hill, do abhishekam and offer the puja in the only simple style known to him. Outside the temple, and even

inside the Gopuram, animal sacrifice used to be made by the villagers making the waters of the Bhavanāsini stream (on whose banks the temple is situated) run red with blood. In spite of all these deficiencies, Sri Vaishnavas and all other Hindus too, consider the place sacred. The Brahmotsavam is attended by tens of thousands of pilgrims.

Tiruvēngaḍam might have been in similar state in the earlier stages. Except for the Āḷwārs singing its glory, there was nothing historically great about it. Epigraphical researches disclose that some Vishnu temples existed from unknown times and more were built from time to time and endowed by the Pallava Kings. What are known as the Chārudevi plates go to show that among other things land-grant was made to Narayana of Kulimahātāraka temple at Dālūru (in Nellore District). There is also the Uravapalli grant in the eleventh year of the reign of Simhavarman (486 A.D.) to God Vishnuhara in Kandukuru (Nellore District). There is the Mahēndravaḍi inscription (600-630 A.D.) showing that a cave temple called Mahendra Vishnu Simha temple was cut during the reign of Mahēndravarma I, probably in Mahēndravāḍi. During the same period, there is the Maṇḍagappaṭṭu inscription mentioning the erection of a temple for Brahma, Vishnu and Iswara without the use of bricks, timber, metals and mortar. An inscription of the Pallāvaram cave temple is of the same period. In Kānchipuram so many temples were built during Mahendravarma's and his successors' time. During the eighth and ninth centuries A.D. also grants were made very near to Tirupati for the Siva and Vishnu temples as may be seen from inscriptions in Guḍimallam in Chittoor District, Tiruvallam (North Arcot District) and Tirumukkūḍal (Venkatesa's temple). These are not repeated here in extenso as we are not much concerned with the details. Among the donors are the Bāna Kings (Māvali Vāna Rāyas) one of whom Vijayāditya Bānarāya is a donor for the Tiruchukanūr Tiruviḷankoyil about the closing years of the ninth century A.D. The absence of any inscription showing grant of land or relating to the construction of a temple on Tirumala cannot therefore be accounted for only by a simple statement that inscriptions were rare in those days as Dr. S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar would have

us believe. It can be accounted for only by assuming that the Tirumala temple, although considered sacred, was not considered important. That must also have been the reason for having a Tiruviḷankoyil in Tiruchukanūr or a Venkatesa's Temple in Tirumukkudal in those early days.

But the necessity for a proper temple in Tirumala soon came to be realised and became an accomplished fact in the early years of the tenth century A.D.

The developments in temple worship, both Saivite and Vaishnavite, which led to this will now be considered. The period we are going to consider is anterior to the birth and growth of the philosophical sects known as the Advaita and the Visishtadvaita schools adumbrated by Sankara and Ramanuja and the Dvaita school of Madhva. The former lived, for all we know, in the first half of the ninth century A.D. and the latter, Ramanuja, in the eleventh and the first half of the twelfth century A.D. and Madhva lived much later. We have to deal with the period when Appar, Sundarar, Māṇikkavāsagar and Tirugnānasambandhar were the great saints of the Siva cult and the Vaishnavite Āḷwārs (twelve in number) stood for the new Vaishnava-cult, because we really have no means of knowing what definite form Vishnu worship took in anterior days. For one thing it does not appear to have been of the Bhakti type which the Āḷwārs, and particularly, Nammāḷwār enunciated. There may have been the Vaikhanasa form of worship or some form of Pāncharātra. But Pāncharātra itself was presumably based on a rational and acceptable basis by Yāmuna Muni or Alavandār in his Āgama Prāmanyam and later by Vēdānta Dēsika in his Pāncharātra Raksha. A glance at the Vaikhanasa Samhita will show how offensively Vaishnavite was the old type which made Brahma and Siva attendant beings waiting by the side of Vishnu, Siva in particular being placed in the Paisācha Zone. Or worship may have been of the haphazard type the writer described about Ahōbilam. If we compare the description given in the Silappadhikaram about Srirangam and about Tiruvēṅgaḍam, we have to conclude that there was regular worship in the presence of a congregation of worshippers so far as Srirangam was concerned,

whereas in the case of Tiruvengaḍam it would have been a mere dressing up of the form of the Deity. The words used in regard to Srirangam are "Several worshipping with Sthotrams."¹ There is no mention of a congregation of worshippers or of worship in regard to Tiruvengaḍam. The Sun and the Moon could well have shone on the Deity as he stood, according to the author's description.

The Siva cult was ruling in Kānchipuram in the fifth, sixth and seventh centuries A.D. and the competing religions were Jainism and Buddhism. Mahendravarma (600-630 A.D.) was a Jain before he was converted to Saivism by Appar (Tirunāvukkārasu). During those days, according to the Chinese traveller Hieun Tsang, there were about 80 Hindu and Jain temples in and around Kanchi, and about 100 Sangharamas and 10,000 priests of the Mahayana sect. Kanchi was the birth place of Dharmapāla, the well known metaphysician who was the head of the Nalanda University. This was the state of affairs when Hieun Tsang visited Kānchi in 642 A.D. In the Pandyan country also there were Buddhists but mostly given to commercial pursuits. It was also during the period of Narasimhavarma I, that Mānavarma (of the Mahāvamsa of Ceylon) was in Kānchi seeking Narasimhavarma's help to regain the throne in Ceylon. In the Pandyan country, one Pāndyan king Nedumāran was converted from Jainism to Saivism by Sambandar. This might have been about 760 A.D.

There was thus very keen rivalry, if not struggle between the heretical religions, Jainism and Buddhism, on the one side and the Vedic types, if we may use that term, of Hinduism represented by the Siva and the Vishnu cults on the other. The Siva cult seems to have been the stronger in the earlier stages. As regards Buddhism, Hieun Tsang himself felt despondent about its future as it was in a decaying state. So was Jainism. Mahendravarma in his Prahāsana (farce) called "Mattavilāsa" (in Sanskrit) ridiculed the Kāpālikās, Sākhya Bhikshus and Pāsupatiās.

1. "பலர் தொழுதேற்ற"

To comprehend fully the abuses that had crept into Buddhism Jainism and Saivism, we have to go a little more into details without unduly taxing the patience of the reader. The Mahāyana Buddhism not only copied from Hinduism image worship, but had also developed all the Tāntrik forms. Tāra, Vajra Yogini, Kshētrāpāla were worshipped with the use of mantras, bijas and japa. The life led by the Sākhyā Bikshus did not in any way maintain the good name of Buddhism. The Jains seem to have been held in no better esteem by the public. When Mahēndravarma I (Pallava) and Nedumāran (Pandya) changed their faith from Jainism to Saivism it must have been a sad commentary on that religion. And Mahendra did not stop with that. He wrote the prahasana, severely ridiculing both Jainism and Buddhism. Further, both these religions were exotic in origin and no religious literature worth the name seems to have been produced in the language of the country (Tamil). Sanskrit had become a part of the recognised language and all Vedic literature, the Puranas etc., were also available in Tamil for the benefit of the common man. South India was in those days in close contact with Ceylon. Mānavarma of Ceylon had to flee from Ceylon to seek the help of Narasimha Varma to regain his throne, and was a refugee in Kānchi. The precepts of Buddhism were not being put into practice; and that was patent to the Hindus here.

The great protagonists of Saivism in this century (seventh) were Appar, Mānikkāvāsagar and Sambandar. They did yeoman's service in weeding out the exotic heretic religions. But did their work yield fruitful results? If it had done so, there would have been little chance for Vaishnavism (as we know it now) to gain acceptance.

These two, Saivism and Vaishnavism, are known as Vedic religions, because they start with an implicit faith in and acceptance of the Vedas, Upanishads, Srutis, Smritis, the Agamas, Itihāsas and the main Puranas. At the time we are dealing with, there was not a systematic evolution of the Advaita philosophy and much less of the Visishtadvaita system, nor of the Dvaita school. There were, no doubt, temples dedicated to Siva and Vishnu.

Whether the rituals therein were being performed strictly according to the Saiva and the Vaishnava Āgamas, we cannot definitely say. The Saiva Agamas may have been observed. As regards the Vaishnava Agamas, there were two Schools, the Vaikhānasa and the Pāncharātra. It is likely that the former may have been in vogue before the Pāncharātra became more popular. Historically there is nothing to guide us in the matter. There is however, a tradition among the Vaikhānasa Archakas that all the temples in the Tamil country—and it was the same in the Andhra country also—were originally consecrated according to their own tenets. But in later times, it was Sri Ramanuja who converted one by one all of them to the Pāncharātra system, which he favoured—the only exception being Tirumala. The legend is that a Srirangam Archaka, for performing his father's sraddha, invited Sri Ramanuja as the bhōkta and that at the end he declined to utter "Truptōsmi" ("I am satisfied") unless the key of the temple was handed over to him, which was done. Having got hold of the key, Sri Ramanuja made them accept Pāncharātra to govern the temple worship before handing back the key. Anyhow, there is the grievance of that community in the matter, although the story on the face of it looks improbable.

What was wrong with the state of Saivism that made Vaishnavism to rear its head? The defect seems to have been in the ugly forms which the Tantrik form of worship assumed. Temple worship which has been enjoined for the Kaliyuga is inextricably mixed up with the Tantrik rituals, whether the temple is of Vishnu or Siva. In the latter, there is Siva worship and Devi or Sakthi worship. They are not in two water-tight compartments. Whichever is the Ishṭa Dēvata for the specific purpose the appropriate Tantra for propitiation is adopted. The one that came in for the greatest amount of abuse and which wrought havoc on Saivism is what is known as **Vamachara** or **Virachara** ritual of Shakti which requires Panchatatva for its due performance. They are vulgarly styled **Pancha makāra**. It is presumed that the Sādhaka must have been duly initiated before he could be considered fit for the Sādhana (practice). The necessities that make it up are called **Madhya**, **Māmsa**, **Matsya**, **Mudra** and **Maithuna** (Wine, meat, fish, grain

and woman) It is also called Rahasya Puja (Lata Sādhana) It is best not to say more about this In support of this, the Tantrik pandits quote Manu as the authority, and seem to rely also on the Kalikōpanishad of the Atharva Veda

“ *Na Māmsabhakshāna dōsho na madvēe, na cha maithunē
Pravrittiresha bhūtanam nivrittistu mahāphala* ”

(Manu)

(There is no wrong in the eating of meat nor in the drinking of wine, nor in sexual intercourse, for these things are natural to men At the same time, abstention therefrom is productive of great good ”)

Further, animal sacrifice was considered unobjectionable, since in the Asvamēdha Yajna by Yudhishtira a horse was killed, offered to the Devas and eaten In the great Yajna which lasted a hundred years, Shaunaka and other Rishis used to listen to the Srimad Bhāgavata from the mouth of Suta and at the same time sacrificed animals.

There was (it is not known if they still exist) a sect called **Mahavritas** who took a rigid vow to eat only from a human skull as bowl, wear round their neck a garland of human bones and perform their penance in cremation and burial grounds seated on human corpses The **Jangams** formed another class whose meat-eating, drinking and other vices were revolting to public morals **All these formed component parts of Saivism. Black-art and necromancy form a part of the cult, although they are condemned as underworld tantras. The presiding devatas are from the Saivite pantheon. The Agamas relating to these have however been classed as Asat Agamas.**

It is **modern Vaishnavism** that is considered to have made a departure by copying the Buddhist principle in prohibiting animal sacrifice Even in Yāgas and Yajnas it is only a pasu (cow) made of rice or other grain flour that is used for sacrifice

The Ālvārs were not content with these departures They preached and practised more revolutionary doctrines taking care

not to shock the ideas of Varnāsrāma Dharma prevalent in those days. So far as spirituality was concerned, there was no distinction based on caste, non-caste or sex. They copied Buddhism and made women eligible to become āchāryas. When we look at the composition of the recognised Āḷvārs, we may classify them as follows:

The first three Alvars—Poygai Alvar, Bhutattalvār and Payalvar:— They never let anybody know what caste or parentage was theirs, nor did any one know. All of them hail from Kanchi Maṇḍalam — Kānchi, Tirukkaḍalmalai (Mahābalipuram), and Mailai, (Mylapore). Their birth date is ascribed by Dr.Swamikannu Pillai to about 719 A.D. But it is immaterial for our present purpose, to know the exact date.

(4) Tirumalisai Alvar:—He himself said that he was not born in any of the known castes. He was a fondling brought up by a Vēdan (hunter). He became greatly learned in the Sāstrās and even the Vedas, Jainism, Buddhism and the Saivite Pāsupata Agamās. He preferred Vaishnavism of his own choice. His birth date is supposed to be 720 A.D. (Dr. Swamikannu).

The above four represent Kānchi Maṇḍalam, and not one of them was a caste man, as far as was known.

(5) Nammalvar:—Was the son of a highly cultured Sūdra couple, Kāri and Aḍaya Nangai. From the moment of birth, he was considered a remarkable spiritual being. He was born in Tirukkurukai (Tirunelveli District) about 798 A.D. He is acknowledged to be the greatest of the Āḷvārs.

(6) Madburakavi Alvar:—Of very orthodox Brahmin parentage of the village of Tirukkōilūr, a Sāma Vēdi, who after sojourn throughout India found in Nammāḷvār his great Āchārya. It is to him that Sri Nammāḷvār is said to have vouchsafed Tiruviruttam (Rigvedasāram), Tiruvāsiriyam (Yajurveda), Periyatiruvandādi (Atharva Veda) and Tiruvoimoli in particular which is the sheet anchor of the modern Sri Vaishnava Siddhantam and practice. He is said to have been born in 797 A.D.

(7) **Periyalvar:**—Born in Srīvilliputtūr of orthodox Vaishnava family. He is also known as Vishnu Chittan, and Paṭṭarpirān and sang the celebrated “Pallāṇḍu Pallāṇḍu”. Born 725 A.D.

(8) **Andal:**—The foster daughter of Periyālvār picked up as a fondling in the flower garden of Periyālvār about 776 A. D. in Srīvilliputtūr. She remained a virgin and is reputed to have become the consort of Sri Ranganatha. A woman Saint.

(9) **Kulasekhara Alvar:**—Also known as Kollikkāvalan, a Kshatriya, born in Kollinagar (or Tiruvanjikkulam) as the son of Driḍhavritaraja, a great Sanskrit poet and scholar. Became a devout Sri Vaishnava and Saint. 767 A.D. (Kerala). His name is given to the gold-plated door step in the Tirumala Sanctum (Kulasekharappadi).

(10) **Tondaradippodi Alvar:**—Born of orthodox Brahmin, Sri Vaishnava parentage in Tirumandarakuḍi. Also known as Vipranārayanan. He served in Srirangam temple maintaining Nandavanam (787–88 A.D.).

(11) **Tiruppanalvar :**—Fondling brought up by Chandala parents of Urayur. Is reported to have been taken into the sanctum of Sri Ranganatha on the shoulders of Lokasāranga Muni. Born 601 A.D.

(12) **Tirumangai Alvar:**—Born of fourth varna (Sudra) in Tiruvāli Tirunagar, was ruler of that place. Became a great saint after a chequered career of romance and dacoity. A great traveller all over India. 776 A.D.

While Nammālvār, Periyālvār, Āṇḍāḷ, Kulasekharan and Madhurakavi may be said to belong to the extreme South composed of the Pandya and Kerala countries, Tondaradippodi, Tiruppānan and Tirumangai Ālvārs represent the Chola country. We have seen that Poygai, Bhūtam, Pēriyālvār and Tirumalisai represent the Kānchi or Tondai maṇḍalam. If we bear this distribution in mind, we will see that in the Tondai maṇḍalam, the impact with Jainism and Buddhism was a little earlier than in Pāṇḍyanāḍu. On the

whole almost all the Āḷvārs may be said to be contemporaries, the concentration of the largest numbers being in the tracts where the heretic religions had to be contended with. The **new faith preached by all these Aivars** was in essence the same, based on **Bhakti and Love**. The team represents almost all castes of society and both the sexes. The leader of this pantheon has been universally recognised by all Srivaishnavas to be Nammāḷvār, a Sat Sūdra by birth. The most learned of the Brahmins was his devoted Sishya, Madhura Kavi. Madhura Kavi is considered by some to be the same as Māran Kāri, who excavated the cave temple and installed Narasimhaswami in the Anamalai Hills, 770 A.D. during the reign of the Pandya King Varaguna Maharaja. If so there must be some thing wrong with the birth date.

Periya Āḷvār of Paṇḍya Naḍu was also a Brahmin; Kulasekhara, a Kshatriya, who preferred a devotee's robe to that of a monarch. Andāḷ, the foster daughter of a Brahmin, preferred to remain unmarried and became a devotee.

All the four Āḷvārs of Kanchi Maṇḍalam were of unknown parentage. And Tirumalisai distinctly states that he did not come of any of the four castes.

Tirumangai and Tonḍaraḍippoḍi of the Chola country had not a clean record of life before they became great devotees and Saints.

It will thus be seen that the new faith held out equal opportunities for all to become saintly and that the sins of the past in this life cannot stand in the way of reformation to the extent of a clean wiping out of all past record. It copied the Buddhists in this respect and also in respect of placing women on a footing of equality with men in the spiritual field. It was the acquisition of the **power of intense love** that made it possible for Tirumangai Āḷvār to **switch over in one instant from the material to the spiritual plane**.

But was this pantheon of the Āḷvārs recognised in their life time? And how does it in any way affect the practices of the Tiruvēṅgaḍam temple?

The pantheon certainly did not come into existence till after the days of Sriman Nātha Munigal and even long after Sri Ramanuja's days. The tradition is that the Āļvārs' hymns were sung in odd bits in different temples scattered all over the Tamil country and that Nāthamuni during his tours of pilgrimage observed that they contained great spiritual truths in the finest Tamil. He set about compiling them together. Tradition says that he was able to do this successfully on account of his yogic powers. This is a tradition universally accepted by all Sri Vaishnavas. There is in fact no evidence of the Āļvārs' spiritual leadership having gained country-wide acceptance during their lifetime. A few of them seem to have attended the assemblies of disputation convened by the Pandyan and the Chola Kings from time to time and proved the superiority of their Vaishnavite tenets. Tradition also says that when Tirumalisai Āļvār entered an assemblage of Brahmins reciting the Vedas on a great occasion, they stopped the recitation as he was not a Dvija. When they forgot where they had left off, it was Tirumalisai that pointed out to them by signs as to where to commence, since in his humility he would not utter the words himself.

Nor is there evidence that during **Nathamuni's** days, a pantheon of Āļvārs was created. But his grandson, Sri Āļavandar showed the way. In commencing his work "Stotraratnam," he first offers in three stanzas his pranāmams to his grand father and Guru Sriman Nathamuni and then in one stanza to Parāsara, because he gave to the world true knowledge in his Vishnu Purāna (Puranaratnam) and then in another stanza to the feet of Nammāļvār—whom he calls the progenitor of his Kula (Vaishnavism)—'Naha ādyasya kulapateh'—and who is the mother, father, wife, sons, wealth and all else to him and his fellow Vaishnavas. We may therefore take it as a settled fact that it was **Yamuna Muni** (Āļavandar) that made the Sri Vaishnava faith what it has since become under the spiritual influence of Nammāļvār. But later on Sri Ramanuja, while commencing the writing of his Sri Bhāshya on the **Brahma Sutras**, first prays to God Srinivasa (Brahmani Srinivāse) for giving him true knowledge and Bhakti. Then his prostrations go to Vyāsa. In this connection, the Achārya-parampara is not

through Ālavandar, Nāthamuni and Nammālvār. Apart from this unique deviation, every Sri Vaishnava knows that, according to established custom, his first business after putting on his Nāmams is to pay obeisance to his immediate Achārya and through him in ascending order right up to Nāthamuni and Nammālvār. After Nammālvār his next saviours are Divine, viz., Vishvakṣena, Sri and Sridhara. So far as human Āchāryas are concerned, Nammālvār is the final one, because he is believed to have received his intuitive knowledge direct from God, through Sri and Vishvakṣena.

Temples which were in existence from or before the days of Nammālvār may not have been modelled on the theological concepts of Nammālvār at the time of their consecration. But all temples consecrated by Sri Vaishnavas after the days of Nammālvār—rather since Ālavandar's days—must be presumed to be in accordance with Nammālvār's conception of Vishnu worship. The consecration of the silver image of Tiruvēṅgaḍamuḍaiyan was during the lifetime of Ālavandar.

We have now to see why this new image was consecrated. There was already the Svayambhu (self-manifest) Murti which needed no consecration by human hands. But whatever kind of Puja was there, before consecration of the silver image, it was not according to Nammālvār's conception. We have noticed that Kanchi was the nerve centre of all the then known religions of the South. The Saivite saint Appar called it "Kalviye karai ilāda Kānchimā nagar" (the great city of Kanchi where culture knew no bounds). There as well as in the Pandyan country, Jainism and Buddhism were active and alive. Saivism was running riot in all directions good and bad. The old Vishnu temples had their own well-worn Āgamic ruts in which they were running. The political conditions in the Tamil country during the eighth, ninth and tenth centuries were anything but settled, owing to the incessant wars between the Pallavas, Cholas and Pandyas with the Rāshtrakūṭas and the Chālukyas interfering in these wars. Kanchi itself was more than once in the hands of Rāshtrakūṭas and therefore under Jain influence. Of the Pallavas, some were Saivites and some Vaishnavites, with no marked theological or philosophical distinctions. As soon as the Cholas conquered Tonḍai Maṇḍalam

at the beginning of the 10th century, Saivite influence became more prominent.

It was therefore necessary for Sri Vaishnava leaders to seek some place where there was no old sectarian controversy and where old feuds might not breed new causes of disturbance.

Where was the place besides Tirumala with a greater claim to sanctity and where there was no settled form of worship as yet established? Early at the commencement of the ninth century, the Vaishnavas (they were not styled Sri Vaishnavas then but Emperumāṇḍiyār) consecrated a small temple called Tiruviḷankōil of Tiruvēṅgaḍamuḍaiyān in Tiruchukanūr. With the advent of the Cholas as rulers of the land, a Siva temple of Parāsarīvara began to find favour there. The consecration of the Maṇavālap-perumāl (silver image) in Tirumala itself about the year 966 A. D., thus became a necessity. The popularity which the temple gained in later years was entirely due to putting into practice the high ideals of Sri Nammāḷvār.

WHAT WERE THE IDEALS OF NAMMALWAR?

We have seen that controversies were going on between the protagonists of the different religions and sects. We also know what Tiruamḷisai Āḷvār had to say in the matter:

“ அறியார் சமண ரயர்த்தார் பவுத்தர்
சிறியார் சிவப்பட்டர் செப்பில்—வெறியாய
மாயவனை மாலவனை மாதவனை யேத்தாதார்
ஈனவரே யாதலா லின்று.

(நான்முக. திரு: 67)

சாத்திரம் கற்றோம் சமண்கற்றோம் சங்கரனார்
ஆக்கிய வாகமநூ லாராய்தோம்—பாக்கியத்தால்
செங்கட் கரியானைச் சேர்ந்தோம்யாம் தீதிலமே
எங்கட் கரியதொன் றில்”.

These two stanzas go to show that the Āḷvār after careful study of the Saiva Agamas, of Buddhism and Jainism, considered that by good luck, he came to place his faith in Vishnu worship.

There were however the first three Āḷvārs, who, though they were as staunch as Tirumalisai in their faith in Vishnu worship, described the form of Tiruvēṅgaḍamuḍaiyān as one in whom both Vishnu and Siva existed in happy combination. They also left no doubt that He was Vishnu Mūrti. Periya Āḷvār gives the description of the Murti in the following stanza:

(1) He has in his form the flowing matted locks (jadai), the high peaked crown (நீண் முடி), the shining dagger (ஒண்மழுவு) and the chakram, the snake coiling him and the golden sutram round his waist. In Him, my father on Tirumala, the two forms have gracefully blended into one.¹

(2) The golden-hued Holy one (Siva) and the one who rose to the skies to encompass this earth, Trivikrama (உலகம்தாய நெடுமால்) Vishnu, the two may pass as separate ones, but the one is really in the other.²

These two Āḷvārs believed in the identity of the two:—

(A) But Nammāḷvār gives a more lucid exposition:

“ ஏறனைப் பூவனைப் பூ மகள்தன்னை
வேறின்றி விண்தொழத்தன் னுள்வைத்து

(1) “தாழ்சடையும் நீண்முடியு மொண்மழுவுஞ் சக்கரமும்
குழரவும் பொன்னுந் தோன்றுமால்—சூழும்
திரண்டருவி பாயுந் திருமலைமே லெந்தைக்கு
இரண்டுருவு மொன்றா யிசைந்து.”

(2) “பொன் திகழுமேனிப் புரிசடையம் புண்ணியனும்
நின்றலகந் தாய நெடுமாலும்—என்றும்
இருவரங்கத் தாற்றிரிவ ரேலும்—ஒருவன்
ஒருவனங்கத் தென்று முளன்.”

“He has merged in Himself (in the undifferentiated state) Rudra, Brahma and Lakshmi after losing their separate entity (வேறின்றி); He pierced by his growth the highest heavens to encompass creation. Is there a Higher Divinity than that Māl (Vishnu)?”

The idea that Rudra, Brahma and Lakshmi are separate Deities having independent status is negated by Nammāḷvar. Tirumalisai and several of the other Alvārs share this view. In fact the view is that Vishnu created Brahma who in turn created Siva. It is in this sense that Tiruvengaḍamuḍaiyān has been presented to us. He is not any of the ten Avatars of Vishnu. He is Nārāyana Himself who for the benefit of mankind in this Kali age has made Himself self-manifest in Vēngaḍam for reasons known to him only.

This conception cannot possibly be grafted on the older Āgamic Vishnu temples. This conception accounts for the absence of any shrine even for Lakshmi in Tirumala. The Murti is common to all sects, although the worship is to the Form of Vishnu.

(B) To make this clearer, in another place the same Āḷvār says:—

“Worship and praise each His own Deity (Ishṭa Devata), they all reach my Tirumāl (Vishnu).”²

(C) Men have their own desires in this world and have therefore been propitiating different Deities who are supposed to have the power to bestow different kinds of boons. These were being done according to the Tantras laid down in the Agamas. Some are good and some are bad. We know that non—Vaishnavas have far too many Vritas. There is no need for these tiresome

1. மேறண்ணை மீதிடநிமிர்ந்து மன்கொண்ட
மாறனில்மிக் குமொர்தே வமுளதே?”

2. “நும்மின் கலிகொண்டு நும்நுமிட்டாதெய்வமேத்தினால்
செம்மின் கடர்முடி யென்றிரு மாலுக்குச் சேருமே.”

திருவாய்மொழி III 9-6.

pujas. The Ālvār says that Tiruvengaḍamuḍaiyān is the giver of all gifts whatever be one's desires.

(D) But he also says that if he is worshipped for the love of it, He bestows on the worshipper the good things of this world; then, as the result of one's good actions, life in the other worlds if so desired; and finally and by degrees or stages Moksham. All the Vritas which require intermediaries in the shape of human help and those of the lesser gods may be dispensed with. Sri Vaishnavas have therefore dispensed with all Kāmya Vrita Karmas. Only such as are enjoined by the Sastras as obligatory need be and must be performed. Even for these the Sankalpam is that one has no claim to the fruits of the performance of such acts. (Sātvika tyāgam).

(E) The highest va'ue which the Ālvār attaches to Bhakti and Bhaktas is expressed in the following stanza:

“ குலந்தாங்கு சாதிகள் நாலிலுங் கீழிழிந்து எத்தனை
நலந்தா விலாதசண் டாளசண் டாளர்க ளாகிலும்
வலந்தாங்கு சக்கரத் தண்ணல் மணிவண்ணற் கா ளென்றுள
கலந்தார் அடியார் தம்மடி யாரெம் மடிகளே.”

திருவாய்மொழி III 7-6

He says that he is the devout servant of those who are Vishnu Bhaktas, even if such happens to be born as lower than the lowest of Chandalas. The superiority of Bhakti over the path pursued by the performance of Vedic rituals (including Yāgas, Yajnas etc.,) is being annually proclaimed in the solem performance of a festival known as the reading of the **Kaisika Puranam** early in the morning of the Uttāna Dvādasi day before day break. The Puranam inculcates the superiority of Bhakti. A very learned Brahmin pursuing the path to salvation according to Vedic injunctions was, owing to a flaw in the performance of such Karma, destined to become a Brahma Rākshas. It was vouchsafed that a great Bhakta would turn up several years later at whose hands the curse would cease to operate and the Brahmin would achieve salvation. A

KAISIKAPURANAM AND BHAKTI



Chandala, by name **Nampaduvan**, was incessant and unending in his **Bhakti** and observed Ekādasi Upavāsam for twelve years. In the twelfth year, this Brahmarakshas waylaid the Chandala and wanted to eat his flesh. The Chandala agreed to be the prey, but wanted a short respite so that he might go to the temple and sing the usual praises of God. The Brahmarakshas could not believe that the man would come back; but after many assurances were given, agreed to wait. True to his word and against the advice of a Brahmin, the Chandala kept the engagement. Then it seems to have dawned on the Brahmarakshas that the moment of salvation had come for him. He offered to let go the Chandala if he would only transfer to him the virtue acquired by his devotion. The Chandala said that he had no power to do that. He was performing only Nishkama Karma. He had already passed to God himself the fruits of his action. In a series of cajoling words, the Brahmarakshas asked him to part with the virtue acquired by the last song he sang in the Kaisika rāga, but in vain. Then he prostrated before the Chandala and requested him to obtain salvation for him. The story of his life was then revealed. The Chandala out of real humility pleaded that he was of the lowest of human beings, but if he could really intercede to help another soul, he would willingly pray to God. The Brahmarakshasa's curse came to an end and the Brahmin got his salvation. This Pūranam is being read year after year by some member or other of family of Sri Ālavandār in all the Vaishnavite temples in the Tamil country. The reading of the Pūranam is only to remind all Sri Vaishnavas what was Namālvār's attitude to Bhaktas wherever they may be born.

(F) Spiritual advancement is equally open to all. The composition of the Pantheon of Ālvārs bears testimony to this. In the daily routine of a Vaishnavite temple, it is to be clearly seen. There are no separate compartments for different castes for worship in the sanctum as is the case in many Saivite temples. All mix freely and even indiscriminately. The Tirtham vessel does not get polluted after a spoonful thereof is given to a Harijan nor is the Saṭhāri considered polluted by being placed on the head of a Harijan. There is one more proof in Tirumala. A portion

of the cooked food, which is the first food offering after Tirumanjanam, and the only one that is allowed inside the Kulasekharapaḍi, is kept in the sanctum. A little of it is given to the worshipper after Tirtham and Sathāri. In ordinary Brahmin houses, if a portion of the food is given to a Sudrā, the remaining portion is considered polluted and unfit to be eaten by a Brahmin. In the Tirumala temple, a small lump of prasadam will be accepted with veneration by a Brahmin whose turn comes next to that of a Harijan. There is no touch-pollution inside a temple, or even in God's procession in the streets. He who entertains the feeling of pollution will be born a dog or an ass. In Srirangam one of the tirtham mirasdars is a Sāttāda Srivaishnava. In the Tirumala temple, these Sāttāda Srivaishnavas enjoyed the privilege of supplying all the articles required for Tirumanjanam, carried in procession round the temple before being delivered inside. They were receiving honours and emoluments in return. They also enjoyed the privilege of reciting prabandhams in gōshṭi along with the Brahmin Srivaishnavas and were given emoluments. For some reason or other, they ceased to perform the sacred duty. Inscriptions bear testimony to the practice.

This rather long exposition is given to show why and how the temple of Tiruvengaḍamuḍaiyān became popular with all the sects of Hindus. We may go to the Telugu and Kanarese countries or Kerala and Maharashtra, the prefix Venkata will be found tacked on to any kind of name. It may be Venkata Raman, Venkata Subrahmanian, Venkata Subban, Venkata Sivadu, Venkata Narāsa, Venkata Krishna etc. The reason is that Tiruvengaḍamuḍaiyān is considered the family Deity in many families in South India. This acceptance as family Deity is due to the Āḷvārs' conception of the form of that Deity.

There is one question which any non-Vaishnava acquainted with the routine of daily worship in this temple may raise. How is it that the Sri Vaishnavas have for themselves exclusively one item of worship called the **Sattumurai** to which the others are not given admission? The answer to this consists of two parts. One is that Sāttumurai is not an item of worship in the view of the Vaikhanasa Archaka nor according to Sri Ramanuja's work

“Nityam.” It is a function coming at the tailend after the orthodox ritualistic worship according to the Āgama is completed and after the non-Āgamic Sahasranāmārchana. It is only an innovation made some time after the Muslims or the East India Company assumed management of the temple. Barring the strict rituals of worship in Sanskrit riks several of the other items and festivals are of a compromise character, a compromise between Ramanuja’s Pancharatram and Vaikhanasam. The Sāttumurai is one of such items. The second part of the reply is that the exclusion of devotees of other persuasion is not an ancient custom. It was introduced when the T.T.D. Committee first came to power. The overcrowding in the temple was so much that bonafide Sri Vaishnavas, who could recite the prabandhams and take active part in the function, could not gain admission due to their chronic poverty and lack of influence. On the other hand, spectators took up all available space coming as they did with letters of recommendation. To make the function successful admission was restricted to those who could recite the prabandham so far as the portions relating to Sāttumurai were concerned. The function itself is a latter-day innovation and does not find place in any of the inscriptions as an item of daily worship. It was recited outside the Temple first and then outside the Sannidhi and in front of Sri Ramanuja’s shrine, on certain occasions only. The word Sattumurai is only a Tamil word and has no equivalent in Sanskrit.

There is an assurance given by Nammālvār in regard to Tiruvēṅgaḍamuḍaiyān which cannot well be left cryptic. He advises mén possessing high intellectual gifts (particularly poets) not to prostitute the rare gift they possess for the gratification of unworthy mortals for the sake of a small remuneration. He advises them to earn their bread by doing hard manual work and to make use of their gifts to worship and praise God, each his own Ishta Devata. But if really boons have to be asked, he assures them that this Deity will grant whatever is prayed for. The words used are “Vēṅḍirrellam tarum kōdil maṇivaṅṅan” and they are words deliberate in expression. So we see people making pilgrimage to Tirupati to fulfil their vows. The man who was blessed with a son, another who got cured of a serious illness in a miraculous

manner, the man who escaped a serious accident, the burglar who escaped punishment, the one who wanted that he should have no scorpion sting, nay—even the murderer who went unpunished, all go and fulfil their vows.

The Āḷvār would not have overlooked the accepted mythology that Bhasmasura, Hiranya, Maha Bali, Rāvana, Kamsa and several other Rakshasas were given the boons they asked for, all of which were used against society and God. The one who granted those boons could not have been ignorant of the fact that they were going to be used against Himself. Evolution of the soul through the exercise of Free will accounts for this paradox or Theodicy.

In the Āḷvār's conception, the final goal of the individual soul is Moksham (Vīḍu). There will be ups and downs in the ascent to this goal. Errors are bound to bring about repentance and must lead to success. The Āḷvār does not hold out to even the worst sinner the horrors of eternal damnation and hell. So he says that God grants anything one asks for. By sheer experience, he learns to ask for things which are for his eternal good. In the spiritual ascent even failures count. The Āḷvār's advice is that one must learn to love, heart and soul, even if that love is for a material object. The capacity for intense love once acquired can in a moment and at the mere touch of a great master be switched over to the right object. When that is done it becomes Bhakti. So we find in his songs that he represents himself as a woman pining to gain Him who is the object of her love. We have a concrete instance in the person of Tirumangai Āḷvār.

In the absence of Love (or Bhakti) as the dominant factor the acquisition of psychic powers, through boons granted or as the result of severe penance, may lead to disastrous consequences. Leaving aside the Rākshasas, the powers acquired by Viswāmītra resulted only in making him land from one morass into another, until he found out that Vasishṭa was the model to follow. There was no soul more perfected than that of Maha Bali in his days. But he knew not how to conquer the self and boasted that he was in the supreme position of the Giver. God had to teach him

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that nothing was his, that his self was itself God's own and had to be surrendered to Him. While commenting upon this phenomenon, Nammālvār beseeches God to play the same trick with him. He wonders how he can repay God for this great act which was done to him. He says that he gave away his self, his ego to God's keeping. As an after-thought he corrects himself and puts the question to himself. What is my soul and who am I to dispose of it? It is all His; He gave and He takes it away at His pleasure.

The history of this temple in its earlier days was shaped by great men who were imbued with the Ālvārs' high and practical philosophy. Its fame rose by leaps and bounds. Today, this temple stands pre-eminently the greatest in the land.

“ Vēnkatesa samō Dēvo nabhūtō na bhavishyati ” is repeated day after day during Mantrapushpam. The closing mangalam is:

“ Sri nagaryām mahā puryām Tāmraparnyuttarētātē,
tintri nē mula dhāmnē Sri Sathagopāya mangalam ”

to remind us of Saint Nammālvār.

CHAPTER IV.

History of the Tiruvengadam Temples (in Tirumala, Tirupati etc.)

SYNOPSIS.

OUR ancients thought that it was possible to realise the infinite through the finite, to comprehend the power and glory of the formless and all-pervasive Divinity through the worship of an image with form which is usually consecrated and installed in a temple. Just as we today try to concentrate the rays of the sun by scientific processes and to utilize the mighty forces of solar energy for serving our material welfare, the ancient Hindus tried to focus the infinite powers and attributes of the invisible Divinity in a visible image for ministering to our spiritual welfare. The Mahabharata (Mausala Parvam, Chapter V) account of the origin of image worship was already referred to in Chapter II. This is how image worship came into being and the object of this book is to explain how it came in Tirumala and Tirupati, in what manner and with what results. It is really not known when the Birthless One came to have a birth on the Vengadam Hills of His own Choice (Svayam Vyaktam). The large image-form seems to have been there from an unknown date. All that we can say is when the small stone temple was built to enshrine the image. In fact the history of the Tiruvengadam Temple is seen to commence not on the Hills, but in the small village of Tiruchokinur (Tiruchchokunur or Tiruchchukanur) now going by the name of Tiruchanur or Chiratanur about ten miles south of the Hills by road. Changes in the political conditions of the country seem to have largely influenced the building of a temple on the Vengadam Hill itself and in the founding of a new village near the foot of the Hill by Sri Ramanuja known as Tirupati. The Pallava rule during which the temple was built was overthrown by the Cholas and Saivism gained the upper hand for some time. For a correct understanding of the inscriptions which reveal this history, it is necessary that we should understand the religious atmosphere of the corresponding

period and the political conditions favourable or unfavourable at the time.

But before entering into details, it may as well be useful to state in brief the scope of the T. T. inscriptions. A temple in Thiruchchukanūr ten miles away from the main focal point on Vengadam proved unsatisfactory as it may give rise to a conflict with the Siva Temple and dissipate energy. **A small silver image**, a replica of the main God (Dhruva Mūrti or Periya Perumal), was therefore made, bedecked with a number of jewels and **formally consecrated** according to prescribed rituals in the year 966 A.D. by a lady devotee, named Sāmavai. This small idol made it possible for the Bhaktas to satisfy their cravings to worship the Deity with all the ecstasy which the Āḷvārs described in the outpourings of their heart. A century later Sri Ramanuja came on the scene and carried out many developments. The Yadavarayas who were the local rulers, were largely responsible for placing the finances of the temple on a satisfactory basis. The form of worship from this period, right down to about 1300 A.D., was in closer accordance with the tenets of Vaikhānasa Āgama which governed the consecration of the temple. In the earliest days the worship does not appear to have been in the strict Vaikhānasa form. The very Āgama warned the Vaikhānasas not to interfere with old usages etc., in Svayamvyakta temples. The images of the Āḷvārs and that of Sri Āṇḍāl had no place in the sanctum, nor had they separate shrines inside or outside the Tirumala temple. The image of Sri Ramanuja was the sole exception. Even he had no separate worship for him in the temple. This has been the state of affairs even to this day. Even in Tirupati the shrines for Tirumangai Āḷvār, Nammāḷvār and Āṇḍāl seem to have come into existence in the latter half of the 13th century A.D. The quantity of food offerings was limited to the extent of the requirements of the temple servants. There was little left for *Desāntries*, or pilgrims. The quantity was ridiculously below the standard fixed in the Āgama for the lowest class of temples (Adhamādhama).

There were no festivals of importance excepting the Brahmotsavam, the two Vishu Sankramanas, the two Ayana Sankramanas, the Mukkōṭi Dvādasi and much later the Uṭthāna (Kaisika) Dvādasi.

The Muslim invasions of the South India by Malik Kafur in 1310 A.D. and by Mohammed Bin Tughlak brought about some changes. Singayya Dannāyaka, the military commander and minister of the Hoysala King Vira Ballāla, made some innovations. He was a staunch Sri Vaishnava of the Mysore country, whose ancestors must have been under the religious spell of Sri Ramanuja who spent the period of his exile in that part of South India. Nandavanams (flower gardens) and Mutts were established by him. He came over to Tirupati to guard the political interests of the Yādavarāya ruler as the Pāndiyan power had broken down. He made the Yādavarāya in 1328 A.D. assign a village in his favour for rendering certain food services to the God. And the Yādavarāya followed suit in the name of his forebear Yādava Narayana. Just about the same time (1339 A.D.) images of the Utsava Murti along with the two Nachchimar came to view in the inscriptions. Certain new festivals were now instituted where food offerings on a larger scale than before were made and distributed to the congregation. There seems to have been no room for these images in the old Vaikhānasa form of worship in Tirumala. Even in Tirupati such festivals were unknown before. This Mūrti is the Malayappan of our day, known at the time as Malai Kuniya Ninra Perumal. This innovation was in keeping with the type of festival celebrations in the Tamil Chola and Pandyan countries.

We are in a position to trace the development of the **Sandhi offerings and the Asthanams**¹ as the direct or indirect effect of Malik Kafur's invasion of the South which drove some of the Southern Srivaishnavas to Tirumala and Tirupati. We will find the singing of Tiruppāvai first in the later half of the 13th century A.D. in Tirupati and of Tiruvāimoḷi in the third quarter of the 14th century in Tirumala. The beginnings of the **Arisanalayam Nandavanam and Matham** which later developed into the Jiyar Maṭham and also of the **Van Sathagopan Nandavanam** which gave rise to the **Abobila matham** will be noticed. The date of construction of some parts

1. Sandhi offerings are food offerings made at the six periods of each day as mentioned in the Āgama. Asthanam is the function when the Utsava Murti holds a durbar on certain occasions in a spacious mantapam when food offerings are made and distributed.

of the temple in 1250 A.D., including the gopurams, the renovation of the sanctum on a grand scale and the construction and hasty closure of the Mukkōṭi Pradakshinam and the first gold gilding of the vimanam will also be discussed.

We will also go into the details of the **administrative machinery** of the temple from the days of the **Srikaryakartas** and the Sabhaiyars of Tiruchchukanur to the **Sthanattar**(1209)acting under the authority of the early Yādarāyas, the constitution in 1390 A.D. of an ad-hoc independent body composed of four representatives of the townsmen of Tirupati, three representatives of the Sabhaiyar, one representative of the Archakas, the two Jiyars and two representatives of the newly created temple accountant's (Tiru-minra-ūr-Udaiyar) all subject to the overriding control of the King himself; the gradual deterioration in the morale of this committee, the growth in the volume of food offerings which was exploited to the full by the Sthanattar and the attempts made by Sāluva Narasimha and the Vijayanagar Kings to curb this evil and make more food available to the pilgrims by the establishment of Rāmānuja Kūṭams and Satrams. The evil, however, invaded even these institutions and food could be had for the pilgrims only on payment. The Sthanattar and the Archakas and Jiyars seem to have sold their share to lessees who sold the prasadam. When the endowments for food offerings increased, the Sthanattar seemed to have prevailed upon the donors to endow for Vagaipadi (baked or fried in ghee) in increasing quantities so that their share might be sold at convenience. The result of all this was the establishment of a **free feeding house in Tirupati by one Aravidu Kondaraja in 1547** in the Nammālvār sannidhi which he built and about 2000 Sri Vaishnavas irrespective of caste were fed there daily in a sumptuous manner. This will be dealt with at length in its proper place. The difficulty felt by the Sthanattar in the disposal of large quantities of prasadams by sale was also sought to be overcome by the institution of festivals wherein payment was made in cash for all the servants of the temple from the Sthanattar down to the sweeper. These went under the sub-heads of expenditure called **Tirumuna Kanikkaḷ**(திருமுன காணிக்கை)and **Tirukkai Valakkam** (திருக்கை வழக்கம்). These payments were, however, justifiable as the servants were asked to work overtime.

Arrangements for the daily recitation of the Vedas in the temple (in addition to the Tiruvoimōḷi) were sought to be made by Sri Dēvarāya Mahārāya II (in 1430 A.D.) and this was long after Tiruvoimōḷi gained ground and Adhyayanōtsavams celebrated. Devarāya had to make solemn promises on the shore of the Swami Pushkarini to the Mahajans that yearly payment would be made for their services. How the **Emperumanadiyars or Tiruvidhisanis (dancing girls) came into existence**, how their influence grew till one of their number was accorded higher honours than that of any acharya or the king and how they suddenly disappeared from the temple inscriptions will also be explained.

The growth in the type of food offerings from the simple cooked rice, green-gram, ghee and curds, of the early days to the much more gluttonous types such as Paruppayiyal Tiruppōnakam, Tirukkanamadai, Dadhyōdanam, the six kinds of Ōgarais, the Sarkarai pongal, Atirasams, Appams, Vaḍais, Iḍḍilis, Sukhiyan, Gōdhi, Kāsikkay, Bhētnikai, Pāl Kulambu, and several more, all these recorded in the inscriptions disclose how the authorities catered more to the palate than to the spirit of the pilgrim. **The growth in the number of subsidiary temples** in Tirupati diverted the emoluments from the Sthanattar to other more needy stomachs. What is of greater interest to the student of the ancient political and economic history of the country is also clearly seen in the inscriptions. **The working of the ancient village assemblies**, the agency which enquired into their faults of commission and omission and the method adopted for quick redress of grievances are portrayed in the inscriptions. **The taxes levied by the king** and those which the village assembly levied are given in some detail. We have also an instance of how a number of the Nāṭṭārs of village assemblies met to decide on common action when the suggestion emanated from the king.

The rise in the cost of living from time to time is reflected in the increased amount of money which had to be paid by the donor for the same kind of food offerings. **The actual prices of commodities in bulk and in retail** are recorded from the middle of the 16th century A.D. These and several connected matters have been faithfully recorded here with the aid of inscriptions.

Although the usual method of making endowments for services to be performed in the temple was either in the shape of money or by the grant of villages, occasions are noticed in the inscriptions when either because money went underground owing to political turmoils, or because the capacity of the Sthanattar for judicious expenditure on the improvement, repairs and creation of fresh irrigation sources was doubted, the donors executed the works themselves by paying labour in cash or in kind. Such changes when read along with the change in chronology for the recording of inscriptions disclose to a certainly unsettled political condition. Where whole villages were granted it was not usual in the earlier periods to state what the amount of annual income would be. Only the services to be maintained from the income were shown. But in later periods, particularly after Krishnadeva Maharaja's reign, it became the practice to state the normal income either because prices fluctuated too much or because the Sthanattar's capacity was doubted. After the battle of Talikōta, it is not even the income, but the yield in grain that was being noted. We also find that the prices of commodities were fluctuating in an uncertain manner. The chronology cited in the inscriptions mentioned the year of the reigning monarch till we reach the period when the Pandyan suzerainty broke down and the Vijayanagar reign had not been well established. Even in the earliest period when the Pallava rule came to an end and the Chola rule had not been well established, the chronology adopted in the inscription was the Sāli Saka. Again when the Pandyans collapsed and Malik Kafur was rushing down the Saka year is referred to, and no mention made of any ruling king. Although the Vijayanagar sovereignty was established due to the strong backing given by Sāluva Narasimha his policy was to avoid dynastic chronology and stick to the Saka year only. This was systematically adopted since then although the name of the ruler was coupled with the mention of the Saka year from the time of Achyutaraya. When there were succession troubles, the name of the king was not mentioned, or if the donor desired such mention to express his loyalty to one party or the other, the policy of the Sthanattar was simply to record the donor's attitude. These will go to show the status of the Sthanattar vis-a-vis the ruler of the land.

There is yet another point which will be noticed in detail in due course. The **Vijayanagar Kings were less sectarian in their attitude to the temple** administration than their predecessors, whatever the personal conviction of the particular emperor might have been. This was more marked in the case of Krishna Deva Maharaya. His gifts were incomparably large and costly, all made in a spirit of personal attachment. He does not seem to have ever enquired what was done with the huge amounts of money paid by him. He did not show any preference for any Sri Vaishnava connected or unconnected with the temple. Achyutadēva Maharaya was more demonstrative and egotistic as a Sri Vaishnava. Even he does not appear to have interfered in the administration of the temple. Sadāsivadeva Maharaya seems to have been all humility. His visits could not have been more than two. He made no large endowments personally; he did however encourage those who gave their all to the service of the temple and set his heart on making arrangements which tended to give greater creature comforts to the ever-increasing number of pilgrims. Benefactions on a large scale were by far greater during his reign, mostly by private agencies.

Speaking of **private agencies and endowments**, we should do justice to the residents of Tirupati and Chandragiri of those days and describe the part played by them. The Ārchakas, Tirumala Nambi and Anandālvār, laboured on the Hill a thousand years ago. Then came the Jivars and other Achāryapurushas, who served the temple since then. It has to be noted from the inscriptions that they did not lead a parasitic life on the temple. When no crown seemed to sit surely and safely on the head of the wearer, the citizens of Tirupati, the Sabhaiyars of the surrounding villages and the permanent religious office-bearers of the temple shouldered the responsibility for the management of the temple. They were given the highest respect by local rulers and military commanders, made their own contributions as endowments from out of their small savings, influenced their spiritual disciples to do likewise, went about the country doing propaganda in the name of Tiruvēṅgaḍamudaiyān, made the temple famous and themselves prosperous. The extent of their endowments was not insignificant

and will be dealt with in detail later. Such names as *Kollikkavali dāsar* Mallanagal or Madhvasadar of Chandragiri, *Tirukkalikanri-dāsar* Aḷgappirānar, *Thōḷappar* Ayyangar of the *Soṭṭai Tirumala Nambi* family, *Kumāra Tāttayangar*, *Srinivasa Tāttayangar*, *Kōṭi Kannikadanam Kumāra Tāttayangar*, *Anandālvar*, *Koyil Kandāḍai Anṇan*, *Kandāḍai Ramanuja Ayyangar*, *Kandāḍai Doḍḍayangar* of Sholinghur, *Prativādhi Bhayankaram Anṇan*, *Tiruvenkatachari* (*Chakravarthi* family), *Alagiya Manavāla Jiyar*, *Mullai Tiruvenkata Jiyar*, *Emperumanar Jiyar* and his successors, *Van Saṭhagopa Jiyar* and his successor *Nārayana Jiyar* of the *Ahobila Maṭham*, *Sri Vyāsa Thīrtha Sri Pada Udaiyar*, *Devaraja Bhattar* of the *Archaka* family, the various members of the mercantile community of *Tirupati* (very many of whom have made large endowments), the temple accountants going by the name of *Tiruninra-ūr-Uḍaiyar*, the dancing girls known as *Emperumāṇaḍiyars* attached to the temple in their numbers, all have made notable endowments at critical periods in the history of the temple.

One great experiment in softening the acerbities of social inequalities was made by them five centuries ago. The recitation of the *Tiruvoimoḷi* by the *Dwijas* and the non-*Dwijas* alike in *Sri Ramanuja's Shrine* in *Tirumala* and sharing of *prasadam*s on terms of equality was so long ago as 1467 A.D. introduced and practised. The non-*Dwijas* represented by the *Sāttāda Sri Vaishnavas* were accorded the privilege of making the daily offering with full paraphernalia of ' *Parimalam* ' used for the first function of the daily puja called *Tirumanjanam* (*Abhishekam*). These articles have been used for the holy bath and the emoluments given in return were received by them daily. Such a function seems to have no parallel in the history of any other temple. This will also be gone into at length later.

The inscriptions of the **post-Talikota period** show distinctly that **royal patronage diminished** or even disappeared. The only exceptions to this are the charities of *Maṭla Kumāra Anantaraja*, who built a number of temples and *gopurams* in *Tirupati*, *Kalahasti*, *Nandalur*, *Kanchi*, *Tiruvallur* etc., and endowed for several free feeding houses,. Almost all **endowments have been made by private individuals** and several of them belonged to the *Acharyapurusha*

families. During that period, money seems to have become so scarce that donors carried out the repairs to existing irrigation channels and excavation of a few new ones in return for which the Sthanattar undertook to perform certain services for the merit of the donor commensurate with the additional yield of grains secured by the repairs etc. In 1684, we find a donor Dabirshaw—giving away a gold Kanthi at its market value as an endowment in place of cash. Villages were of course endowed.

Speaking of endowment of villages, it may be mentioned that about 200 of them were, or ought to have been, in possession of the Sthanattar scattered over wide tracts of the country. A detailed list of these with particulars will be given later. But from the middle of the 15th Century A.D. it was realised that the Sthanattar could not do justice to the job of supervision and collection of rents, which probably were in kind. A separate **department known as the Tiruppani Bhandaram (Public works) was opened.** We have not been able to find out who were, or were not eligible to be, members of this committee. But we know that **it functioned as a separate body, but in conjunction with the Sri Bhandaram.** While the latter may be called the Finance Department, the former corresponds to the Department of Works (Buildings and Irrigation including collection of rents). Yet another had to be created about the end of the 15th century to be in charge of gold, bullion, jewellery, gold vessels, costly silks etc., and to see to their repairs and upkeep.¹ But whatever other departments were created, there is no evidence anywhere in the inscriptions to show that the conduct of rituals and festivals was subject to the supervision and interference of any secular body. We may go further and state that there was perfect amity among the Sri Vaishnavas, whether engaged in the services or otherwise, in all ritualistic matters. It has already been pointed out that this went to the extent of admitting all Sri Vaishnavas, Dwijas, and non-Dwijas, to a due share in the performance of semi-religious service and to sharing of emoluments. But this seems to have been confined to that section known as Sri Vaishnavas. When there appeared the possibility of even Dwijas of other religious persuasion legitimately claiming the right to partake in services,

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such a service seems to have been sedulously and silently smothered. That appears to be the reason why Vedapārayanam service failed to take root in Tirumala. By common consent, it would look like the sharing of prasadays having been denied to them, while for the prabandhams recital there was liberal remuneration. This has been a dominant feature of this temple.

Before closing these introductory remarks, it is necessary to mention a few prominent points.

Other Shrines.

In Tirumala temple, there are separate shrines dedicated to Sri Varadarajaswami, Sri Ranganatha and Sri Narasimhaswami; whereas Sri Rama and Sri Krishna are accommodated inside in the pantheon. In none of the other premier temples (Kānchipuram or Srirangam) is there a corresponding provision for Tiruvengaḍamuḍaiyan. It is easy to explain. The shrines for Sri Varadaraja, Ranganatha and Narasimha came to be built about the second half of the 14th century at a time when the desecration and spoliation of Hindu idols and temples were in swing under Malik Kafur and Muhammad Toghluq. Tradition tells us that Ranganatha was accommodated for three or four decades in Tirumala. Although a shrine for Varadaraja was built some time before 1350 A.D., it does not appear that the Kānchipuram idol was accommodated in Tirumala. We know that in 1481, the Muslim armies swooped down to the gates of the Kānchipuram temple, plundered all the jewels and massacred the Srivaishnavas there. There was likewise during all those days the risk of the Ahōbilam Narasimhaswami temple being desecrated. Perhaps the God was for some time in Tirumala. We know from tradition that Adivaṅ Sathagopa Swami took charge of the small idol (whom we would call the Mantra Salai Narasimham) and kept Him away from Ahobila ever since in the Ahobila Mutt without a definite habitation for some centuries.

These are referred to for the purpose of informing readers that **Tirumala served as a sort of refugee camp for Vaishnavite idols of antiquity.**

The next item relates to **Tiruvenkata Mahatmyam or Venkatachala Mahatmyam.** It will be discussed at length separately.

But enough for the present to state that it could claim no more antiquity than 1491 A.D. It was composed, or compiled, by one Pāsinḍi Venkaṭatturaivar and read with Arulappāḍu (or divine permission) in that year. Therefore all the traditions relating to **Alamelmangai Thayar of Tiruchanoor** must be taken with a pinch of salt. Sri Padmavati Amman (or Alamel Mangai of Tiruchanur) is nowhere referred to in our inscriptions. The presumptions of the T. T. Devasthanam epigraphist and his interpolations in brackets in the course of his translation of the original Tamil text are unwarranted. The Alamel Mangai referred to in the inscriptions distinctly points to Bhudevi on the left bosom or Vakshasthalam of Tiruvengadamudaiyan. The word Alamel Mangai Nachchiar Sannidhi occurs for the first time only in 1477 A.D. and not before, although Pulugu Kāppu Murai for Tiruvengadamudaiyan was in vogue from much earlier times.

So are the terms **Kapila Thirtham and Sri Kapileswara Swami Temple** in reference to Aḷvār Tirtam in Tirupati. Nowhere in the text, until we reach the year 1865 A.D., does the term Kapila Tirtham appear and Sri Mahant Dharmadasji introduced that name. It was in the year 1563 A.D. that the God there is referred to as "Kapileswar Nayinar." Before that date, there was no mention of a temple of that name, nor of the waterfall and the pond having been called Kapila Tirtham. In all the inscriptions, the waterfall goes by the name of **Alvar Tirtham** (the word Aḷvār having reference to Sudarsana Aḷvār or Chakrattāḷvar) since it is stated in one of the inscriptions that according to the rites prescribed by Sri Ramanuja the waters there were sanctified by the advent of Sri Govindarajaswami with Sri Devi, Bhu Devi and Chakrattāḷvār. This matter also will be dealt with separately.

The subject matter of the inscriptions has been indicated in brief in this introduction. The temptation remains to put into a few sentences the important events connected with the history of this temple. A table of chronology will be added later showing in detail the salient events. But a brief account may not be unwelcome to many.

Apparently because Tiruvengadamudaiyān on the Hill was inaccessible to most devotees, and probably at the instance of

OTHER SHRINES

some of the Āḷvārs and more probably Tirumangai Āḷvār (when Sriman Nātha Munigal and Uyyakkonḍār were yet in their teens) a Tiruvilankōyil was reared in Tiruchchokunur about the year which represented the 51st year of the reign of the Pallava King Vijaya Danti Vikrama Varman and a perpetual lamp to represent or symbolise the ever burning light of true knowledge was set up, the corresponding probable year of the christian era being about 826 A.D. With the downfall of the Pallava power in 900 A.D. and the advent of the Chola supremacy, a Siva temple also (Sri Paraareswara's temple) came into existence in the same place, possibly having the royal support. By about the year 960 A. D. when Srimad Yāmuna Muni, the grandson of Sriman Nātha Muni and the great systematiser of Sri Vaishnava theology and Vaishnava Āgamas, was at the height of his influence, it must have been considered an act of wisdom to transfer the worship of the Tiruvengaḍam God to His rightful place on the Hill so that all possible chances of a sectarian friction may be avoided. For, after all, Tiruvilankoyil idol was only a Deputy of the Hill God. A silver image, being the replica of the main idol, was made, the consecration duly performed and arrangements made for the daily conduct of worship, for two Brahmotsavams in the year and for the observance of certain calendar days. This may have been in 966 A.D. This was the period when Sri Alavandar and his grandson Tirumala Nambi were the Sri Vaishnava leaders. Sri Ramanuja was, or is said to have been, born only in 1017 A.D. Sri Ramanuja must have clearly seen that a temple and a God on the inaccessible Hill with very limited accommodation could not serve as a rallying place for Sri Vaishnava devotees. He must have had the ambition of a universal conversion to his faith. Just about that time, the Chola King, who was a Saivite, ordered that the image of Sri Govindaraja of Chidambaram should be thrown into the sea as the sea was the legitimate place of repose for Vishnu. This image was taken hold of, removed to Tirupati and the **temple of Sri Govindaraja erected just to the right of Sri Parthasarathyswami** as we face the shrine. The location of Sri Govindaraja shows clearly that he came in as a refugee. But the temple and Tirupati grew in importance, because the temple was from its inception affiliated to the Tirumala Temple. The place

served as a base for pilgrims to commence their journey up the Hill. Further it was the policy of Sri Ramanuja's successors to construct a number of subsidiary shrines affiliating them to the Hill temple, although each had its own resources to fall back upon. Also a clever move was set on foot, of sending down from Tirumala certain prasadams, such as Chandanam, Vastram, Appapadi, Tirtam etc., on the Sāttumurai day of the respective presiding deity heralded by full temple paraphernalia, honours, Adhyāpakam and Vēdapārāyana Gōshti and conveyed on the back of elephants in procession. It must always have been a grand sight and a gala day for pilgrims and the residents of Tirupati. **The whole show contributed to make Tirumala and Tirupati famous.** But during the days of Sri Ramanuja, such things had not taken definite shape. They came in at least two centuries after him. In fact there were no Aḷvārs or Acharyas inside the temple nor even in Tirupati during Ramanuja's days. Even the unfailing performance of routine worship seems to have been a doubtful matter till we reach the year about 1200 A.D.

It must have been about 1160 A.D. or soon after, that the foundations of the Gopurams in Tirumala (and perhaps in Tirupati also) were laid. The earliest inscription we find on the basement of the inner Gopuram may be assigned by inference to about 1180 A.D. The Yādavaraya Kings of Narayanavanam were the early and the great patrons of the temple, the greatest of them being Vira Narasinga Yādavaraya. It was during his days that the renovation of the Garbhagriham in a grand style (கோயிலாழ்வார்க்கு கோயிலுக்குகோயில்) was made and the gold gilt Vimanam and Kalasam were set up by him thus making the Tirumala temple rival Suragiri (Mount Meru) in brilliance. This was about in 1250 A.D. Under his eyes, the Tirupati temple also grew in importance, a four-faced car was built and a golden Kalasam was placed thereon.

New Festivals.

Then came the onrush of Malik Kafur's troops destroying and looting Hindu temples and idols. Upto this date Tirupati temples had only Brahmotsavams, seven in number month after month in Tirumala and two in Tirupati. There were some Tingal

NEW FESTIVALS

Divasams (sacred days) also observed. The destruction of temples in the south, and more the fear of such misdeeds, drove thousands of devout Hindus up to Tirumala and Tirupati which somehow (and naturally attributed to the power of Tiruvengadamudaiyan) escaped the iconoclast. This was all after 1300 A.D. and right up to 1360 A.D. These Tamils whose rituals of temple worship commenced long before the birth of Yamuna Muni and Ramanuja were well-versed in the Tiruvoimōḷi (Āḷvar Sri Suktis) and attached greater importance to their recital than that of Vedaparayanam. While before 1336 no trace of a processional deity and the two Nāchimars can be seen in any of the inscriptions, thereafter they appear unfailingly in all processions. Processions, Āsthānams, and Tiruvōlakkam (food offerings of varieties on a large scale intended for distribution) multiplied in numbers. New kinds of festivals in imitation of the practice in the South Tamil country were instituted—Hunting festival, Yachting or Floating festival, swing or Unjal festival, Pavitrōtsavam (the only sastraic one), Adhyayanōtsavam (recital of the entire Tiruvoimōḷi in 10 to 20 days), marriage festival for the God, Fruit eating festival (Phalotsavam), Sahasrānāmōtsavam, Sahasrakalasabhishekam, festivals on calendar days such as new moon, full moon, Ekadasi, Dvādasi, Sankramanams etc., multiplied. Āḷvars and Ācharyās and even one's own ancestors were given birth day celebrations and Sāttumurai. So much so at the beginning of the 17th century A.D. there were 429 festivals for 365 days of the year. If ever there was a Vēdaparayanam, it ceased to be uttered until Devaraya Maharaya II thought it desirable to make a permanent arrangement for its recital, although according to ancient rule and custom, the Vēdas should not be recited for remuneration. This was about 1443 A.D.

In the meantime, the result of the Muslim invasion was that the Yadavarayas and the Pandyas were wiped out and the Vijayanagar Kings stepped on the stage. Bukkaraya sought the blessings of Tiruvengadamudaiyan about 1365 A.D. by offering one Sandhi food and by instituting a Brahmotsavam. Sāluva Mangideva, one of his feudatories in Chandragiri, gold-gilt the Vimanam of the Tirumala God for the second time in 1409 A.D. Devaraya made some substantial arrangements for food offerings in 1429 A.D. Sāluva Narasimha, the trusted Minister and Commander-in-Chief

of the Vijayanagar Kings till 1485, took the greatest interest in these temples. Under the advice of a Brahmin, Kandādai Ramanuja Ayyangar Narasimha converted them into a true copy of any of the South Indian Tamil Srivaishnava Temples, the introduction of the dancing girls not being excepted.

This period between 1450 and 1494 has its own merits and demerits, but the merits predominate. After some not very eventful years, we pass on to the period of Sri Virapratapa, Vira Krishnadēva Maharaya, unequalled for his munificence, grandeur, freedom from sectarianism and the ease with which he kept himself above the influence of self-interested devotees. He showered gold, jewellery, pitambaras, costly vessels, covered the Viman with gold-gilt, never looked to his right or his left as to who took all that wealth or managed it in the name of God. He lost his only son and yet did not lose his faith in his own, his personal God Tiruvēngadamuḍaiyan. He might have realised by then that washing himself and his blood-stained sword in Rameswaram could not wipe out the consequences of his many sins. Analysing all the emperors of the Vijayanagar Dynasties—others did very little for this temple in comparison—we find none second to his, unless it be the unostentatious Sadasivaraya Maharaya. Āliya Ramaraya, the King-maker, is represented in Telugu Kavyas as a depraved man and tyrant. But from our inscriptions, we must say that he was magnanimous with a sigh for the hard lot of the poor man.

Private endowments were always given in plenty for this temple. It should certainly be an interesting pastime for those responsible for the secular management of these temples to find out in what manner these endowments slipped out to the Devasthanam. They may learn a lesson for the future. That Hindu religious endowments have been a fruitful source for misappropriation and embezzlement, our inscriptions show to be only partially correct. Only in a few cases we find that a donor endows village; everything is intact excepting the name of the village which has been clean chiselled out. This is no plea for Government management which can and did with impunity perpetrate worse deeds.

Endowments were invariably burdened to the full with services to be rendered and food offerings to be made. When in some instances the income fell short of the requirements additional endowments were demanded and furnished.

Worship was free to every pilgrim. No fee was ever demanded. The aim was to provide food and shelter free to all pilgrims. It was only when the Muslim rulers assured ownership of the temples as an estate that the system of farming out the temple to a renter was introduced to provide income to the ruler. This was brought to light when the East India Company came forward to safeguard the income of the temple, which the Nawab of Arcot had mortgaged to the company, against depredations made by the Maharattas, the French and the free booters. As evils invariably take deeper root even after the causes which bred them originally are removed, the levy of fees for worship still continues in the name of the good administration of religious institutions.

After the fall of the Vijayanagar Empire, private benefactors maintained the greatness of the institution till the Muslims, the Maharattas, and ultimately John Company came in as masters. The history of these periods is wrapped up in obscurity and could be written if the Government of Madras will arrange for the study of records in its possession.

CHAPTER V

Tiruvengadam and Tiruchchokinur (or Tiruchchukanur)

EARLY ACCOUNTS

IN this chapter an attempt is made to trace the modus operandi of the early Vaishnavas of the Bhakti school to make the Vēngadam Hill easily accessible to worshippers of Vishnu, and incidentally to gain popularity for the Pancharatra system of idol worship as contrasted with the Vaikhanasa system which was perhaps the more common one. The difference between the two may be compared to the difference between the Anglican and the Reformed Church, or that between the Roman Catholics and the Protestants. The Pancharatra made it possible for any brahmin of education, culture and character to get himself initiated as an archaka whereas the Vaikhanasa tenet reserved the privilege to brahmins born in the old Vaikhanasa family. The base of operation nearest to Tirumala was Tiruchchokinur as Tirupati had not then come into existence. An auxiliary temple was constructed there and a duplicate Tiruvēngadamudaiyān was installed. Conversion of Saivites into Vaishnavism was obviously carried on in a supplementary shrine where another image was set up to preside over the conversion ceremony. By the time attempts were made by the Saivites to stem this tide by the construction of a temple for Siva in the same village (Sri Parasaresvara or T.ippaladisvaramudaiyan) it was considered better to transfer the work to Tirumala itself by entering into some sort of an agreement with the Vaikhanasas there.

Vēngadam (or Tiruvēngadam) is the name of the Hill according to the Tamil grammar "Tolkappiyam". The Sangam poet Māmūlanar gives the same name to the Hill. But the name of the Deity Tiruvengadamudaiyan (or any variant thereof) is not mentioned by either of the above, nor is the existence of any temple for any other Deity mentioned. Māmūlanār seems to refer to festivals

and fairs thereon as being occasions for drunken bouts and for exchange of certain commodities by barter. The Tamil classical work "Silappadhikaram" gives a description of the Deity on the Vengadam Hill which early shows that the Deity is Vishnu. The Ālvārs have, as already pointed out earlier in this book, described the Deity as one having Siva also in Himself. Chronologically these are to be ascribed to the 8th Century A.D. or even earlier.

We have now to examine and find out what the inscriptions in Vengadam and Tiruchchokinur have to tell us on this subject. Tiruchchokinur is now brought in since the earliest inscriptions—that is, all those that are found till we reach the date of the consecration of the Manavāpperumāl in the Tiruvengadam Temple—are to be found only in Tiruchchokinur. The only exception to this is the solitary slab which was found as a stray piece in front of the Tiruvengadam temple. This contains an incomplete inscription commemorating the birth of one Vijayāditya whom we identify with one of the local Bāna Rulers. As will be presently shown Vijayāditya might have been born about the year 790 A.D. The year of the consecration of Manavāpperumāl as will be shown later, was much later than this. There is an interval of one and three-quarter centuries between the two during which period there are no inscriptions in Tirumala to tell us anything about the temple on the Hill.

There are however inscriptions which were found in Tiruchchōkinur and which give information about a temple there for Tiruvēngadattupperumānādigal. There are eight inscriptions in Tiruchchōkinur which relate to this period. These are numbered 1,2,4,5,6,7,12 and 13, in Vol. I. of the T.T. Devasthanam Inscriptions. No. 3 is the one which was found in Tirumala commemorating the birth of Vijayāditya. If we can find out the probable date of the birth of this Vijayāditya we will have found the date of this inscription. In the note attached to this chapter this date has been with tolerable accuracy fixed as 790 A.D. This will be about 40 years after the writing of the Tamil classic "Silappadhikaram." From the description given in that work of the Deity in

Tiruvengadam, we have to conclude that there might have existed in 756 A.D. a temple or structure which permitted the Sun and the Moon to shed their light on the figure of the Deity. Nor was it likely that a pukka temple was constructed between the years 756 A.D and 790 A.D. If there existed a structure, Vijayaditya's birth would have been commemorated on some portion of its walls, since he was the cherished (like the Sārika bird on earth) son of the Bana Ruler, Māvali Bānarāya of the Vaḍugavaḷi- twelve thousand within which Tiruvengadam was situated.

The earliest inscription found in Tiruchchōkinur was made in the 51st regnal year of Kōvijaya Dantivikramar. This we take to be 826 A.D. This inscription tells us in distinct terms that a proxy of Tiruvēngadattupperumānaḍigal existed in the Tiruvilankōyil at Tiruchchōkinur .. திருச்சோகி னூர்த்திருவேங்கடத்து எம் பெருமானடிகளுக்கு எழுந்தருளிவித்த திருவிளங்ககோயிற் பெருமானடிகளுக்கு The construction of the phrase (in Tamil) is that the Tiruchchokinur Tiruvengadathu Perumanadigal was in existence there and that a Tiruvilankoyil-peruman also was set up as a junior Murty (or Utsavar). The T.T.D. Epigraphist introduces the expression (as a representation of). The proper phrase would be to represent. The main point to note in this inscription is that a Tiruvilankoyil (or proxy temple) for the Tiruvengadam Deity was built and that a proxy Deity was set up. (எழுந்தருளிவித்த) The donor knew that it was not an independent temple with a Svayam vyakta Murti in it and that a proxy Deity only was set up for the convenience of people. There seem to be some who take the view that the Deity on the Hill was not known as Tiruvengadattupperuman, but only as Subramanya; and that the Deity in Tiruchchōkinur only was Tiruvengadattu Peruman. It is an assumption not warranted by the language used. The term Tiruchchokinur Tiruvengadattupperumanadigal would only go to show that he was not the Original Deity on the Vengadam Hill, but only a copy thereof. There were temples dedicated to Tiruvengadattupperuman in other places also. There would have been a Mula Murti set up in Tiruchchokinur and a processional Deity would also have been set up some time later as is stated in the inscription. Sōḷanāṭṭu Ulaga-

perumānār made a cash endowment in gold for setting up a perpetual lamp before the Tiruvilankoil Perumanadigal (or the Utsava Murti).

In addition to these two Murtis, there is a third one also mentioned in the endowment made by Vijayaditya, the Tirumantrasalai Permanadigal. The last named may have been set up later than 826 A.D. and before the date of Vijayaditya's endowment whose date is missing owing to the first part of the inscription being not on the stone. But it may be safely assumed to be about 870 A.D. Vijayaditya was the ruler and therefore had the power to set apart the income realised through the Bayyan Kō.l, whatever that term may connote. From this inscription we learn that there was a Ur-niyogam or village council, that the temple was managed by a Kōyirkōn and that the head of the servants in the temple was called Vaļļuvakkōn. Three distinct murtis are mentioned, the Tiruvāļankoil Perumānaḍigal, the Tirumantra Sālai Perumānaḍigal and the Tiruvenkatattupperumanadigal. From the fact that the Mula Murti is mentioned last, there is room for the assumption that the first two referred to the local Deities and the last to the God on the Tiruvengadam Hill. If the last one really referred to the Tiruchchokinur Mula Murti, mention should have been made of that Deity first, the other two coming next.

Regarding the Tirumantira Sālai Perumānaḍigal, an endowment by one Guṇavan Aparājjitan, head of the Irungōļas or Irungōļakkōn, gives some information. We gather that Brahmins were being fed in that temple. Tirumantra Sālai is, as the name indicates, the temple or shrine where the new convert to the Vaishnava faith was initiated into the Aṣṭākshara or Tirumantram. It therefore happened to be the place where the convert was also provided with food for the day. The endowment made by Guṇavān Aparājjitan was for feeding two Brahmins daily, not necessarily Vaishnavas. Since the Pallava sovereignty came to an end with Aparajitan, we may take it that his vassal Gunavān made the endowment some time before 900 A.D., may be about 880 A.D. How the Tiruvāļankōyil was kept going immediately after the downfall of the Pallava Dynasty and before the Chola

rule asserted itself, can be seen from an inscription dated Saka 824, (சாண்டிய நிறுபதிநாள் or 902 A.D.). The Āyirakkāḍi and the Ūrāṭchi who were the administrative officers of Tiruchchōkinur decided that the net income received from the administration of the village after defraying the expenses for the customary and obligatory services, should be utilised for the Tiruviḷankoyil. This is obviously an extraordinary step which they had to take as the normal administration had broken down. This shows that the village council or assembly shouldered the responsibility of administration in a case of emergency.

The necessity for and the function of a Tirumantra sālai may well be more fully explained. In our days we are accustomed to have what are known as the Pancha Bēram in a temple. There is the Mula Murti who is the immovable idol. There is also the portable Utsavamurti along with the two consorts (Nachchimars) for festival purpose. There are three others also, Kautuka, Snapana and Balī Berams, for certain specific functions. The early centuries of our inscriptions concern a period of Vishnu temple worship anterior to the days of Sri Alavandar, and more so of Sri Ramanuja. The present Agama form of worship was codified by Sri Alavandar, as far as we can understand.

Tiruvilankoyil.

The Tiruviḷankoyil and the Tirumantra sālai are mentioned only during that early period and not later. We have already explained the term Tiruviḷankoyil as a proxy temple representing and next in importance to the original temple. An analogous term is Iḷavarasu or Iḷayarāja. Tiruviḷankoyil should not be confounded with the term Bālālayam. Bālālayam denotes a temporary structure created for transferring thereto the Divinity enshrined in the main Deity and his Koyil-alvar (Garbha Griham) during the period that any repairs may have to be carried. As soon as the repairs are finished there is a retransference to the Divinity to the original Murti. When a new Murti is to be set up there will be no room for a Bālālaya Murti. The new Murti will however be enshrined in a Koyil or Koyilalvar which along with the Murti

will be duly consecrated. If it is only a proxy or junior Murti who will be added, a Tiruviḷankoil will be built and consecrated along with that Murti, if the intention of the donor is to maintain that Murti separately. Bālālayam and Tiruviḷankoyil should not therefore be equated. A Tiruviḷankoyil need not necessarily be a building with walls all round and with doorway. It may as well be a mantapam, with in some cases walls on either side, the front and rear being left open. If one would look at the plan of the Garbhagriham, the Pradakshinam around it and the front mantapam flanked by the Pradakshinam walls, in the Tirupati Govindarajaswami temple the idea of a Tiruviḷankoyil will be clear. For purposes of certain festivals including Snapana Tirumanjanām, the Utsava Murti with Nachchimar will be accommodated in that mantapam. It will be a Tiruviḷankoyil during the function. In the case of Tirumala temple, the Sthapana mantapam, the proper name being Snapana mantapam, functioned as the Tiruviḷankoyil till the commencement of the 15th century A.D. when the Tirumāmani Mantapam was constructed. Throughout the Brahmotsavam period the Utsava Murti would have been there alone, that is to say for months till the Deepavali Asthanam. In more recent times the Kalyana Mantapam came into use as the Tiruviḷankoyil. Tiruviḷankoyil does not carry with it the same sense of sanctity as Koyil alvar, or Garbhagriham. Any mantapam can be made a Tiruviḷankoyil by a simple Samprokshana.

Tirumantirasalaipperuman.

In the early days one of the main functions of the leaders of Vaishnavism was to convert the Saivites to Vaishnavism. It is a well known fact that branding on the forepart of the shoulders with the Chakram and Sankham marks was a necessary function before being initiated into the Tirumantram or Ashtaksharam. He must be an acknowledged and accredited Acharya who can do this. Tradition tells us that Tirumala nambi gave his two sisters in marriage only after the intended bridegroom embraced Vaishnavism and went through the ceremony of branding and initiation into Ashtakshara. Sri Ramanuja's father is one of the two. We know that Sri Ramanuja created a band of 72 persons,

known as Simhāsanādhipatis who were given the authority and the power to carry on this proselytising work. But our inscriptions relate to a period which may be at least two centuries anterior to Sri Ramanuja. The procedure adopted at that time seems to be that the function took place in the presence of the Deity in the Tirumantrasālai. The Sudarsana and the Panchajanya blocks used for the branding would have been duly consecrated and in enjoyment of the daily puja to the Deity. It is only such a consecrated instrument that would have been permitted to be used for the ceremony. After the daily Tiruvārāadhanam was over the branding would take place. In all the Sri Vaishṇava Maṭhams there is a presiding Deity and the Sudarsana and Pānchajanya also share the daily puja. The Acharya-purushas who have been doing this work have likewise been doing puja to some Murti or other and the Sudarsanam and Panchajanyam would find a place in the pantheon. After Sri Ramanuja organised his School of Acharyas, there was no need for a Tirumantrasalai in temples. But before his days there were only a few recognised Acharyas; the temple was therefore the most accredited place. Even to this day this kind of branding takes place in Tirumala by the seven recognised Acharya Purushas of the Temple during the Brahmotsavam.

We can now have a clear picture of the three Murtis (with perhaps a separate temple for each) existing in Tiruchchokinur at the time of the downfall of the Pallava supremacy and the establishment of that of the Cholas.

There are two more of the Tiruchchokinur inscriptions which give room for doubtful interpretation. These are in the early period of the Chola rule and probably of the years 935 and 927 A.D. Inscription No. 12 was made in the 29th regnal year of Kōparakēsari Panmar (Parantaka I).

It reads “மதிரை கொண்ட கொப்பரகேசரி பன்மற்கு யாண்டு இருபத்தொன்பதாவது திருவேங்கட—”

(2).....க்கு நன்றினுக்கு திருவேங்கடகொட்டத்து குடலூர் நாட்டு திருசோகினூர் லெஹை.....

It ends with “.....லெஹையோம் எம்பெருமானடியார் லெஹை”.

The 29th regnal year is 935 A.D. One Koḍungōlūrān (கொண்டூர் கோலூரான்) of Malainādu made an endowment of 40 kaḷanju of gold for burning a perpetual lamp in front of Tiruvenkata, and the amount was received by the Sabhaiyar of Tiruchchokinur for due performance of the trust. The inscription breaks off at Tiruvenkata and leaves us in doubt whether it was for Tiruchchokinur Tiruvenkata or the Tiruvenkata on the Hill that the trust was meant. The doubt arises for the reason that all the inscriptions previous to this date (*i.e.*, 935 A.D.) show that the managers of the temple (Sri Karyam) were taking charge of such endowments, and the endowments were for the Tiruchchokinur Temple. The powers of the manager of the temple would be limited to the affairs of that temple. When, as in this case, the Sabhaiyars step in as trustees the presumption would be that the trust was meant for a temple outside the jurisdiction of the managers of the Tiruchchokinur Temple. The only other Tiruvenkata was on the Vengadam Hill. This theory is based on the assumption that the Sabhaiyar co-existed with the managers of a temple, and appears to be correct from a reading of inscriptions Nos. 8 and 9 (Vol. I) of the same Chola period, where the Sabhaiyar and the managers of the temple of Vengadam are mentioned side by side. **If our surmise is correct, then we glean for the first time that there was a temple on the Vengadam Hill in 935 A.D.**, where a perpetual lamp could have safely burnt. Also that the Sabhaiyar of Tiruchchokinur had the responsibility to look after its affairs.

There is also another piece of information which appears in clearer terms than in a previous inscription. In the latter which deals with an endowment for burning perpetual lights, the word Emperuman adiyō appears in a broken form (எம் பெருமானடியோ). It is not clear whether Emperumanadiyars refers to some agency which looked after the due performance of the charity. In the inscription we are now considering (I, 12 of 935 A.D.) the inscription closes with the expression எம்பெருமானடியாரைக் “Emperumanadiar Rakshai” who are therefore expected to protect the trust. This term obviously is intended to denote those who were devotees of Emperuman

1. I 4.

2. I 4. Endowments by Vijayaditya

whether Vishnu in general, or the particular Deity Tiruvenkatattu-pperuman. This term marks one phase in the history of Vaishnavism. We will see that a quarter of a century later, this phrase yields place to "Sri Vaishnava Rakshai" when Samavai consecrated the Silver Idol of Manavāpperumal in the Vengadam Temple in 966 A.D. Inscription No. 13 is probably of the date 927 and might refer to the Hill Temple.

As we are now studying the Tiruchchokinur inscriptions we will take up all the incomplete ones available. Inscriptions No. 15 and 17 refer to some endowments made by one Arulakki, alias Raja Raja Mūvēnda Vēlan. Being incomplete slabs we are not in a position to learn what the endowments were. But they were made when Raja Raja I was the Chola Emperor and therefore must have been between 985 and 1013 A.D. and the endowments may have been for the Deity in Tiruchchokinur either in the Vishnu or the Siva temple. The next one of which we can make some sense is of the 4th regnal year of Raja Raja III (1220 A.D.).¹ According to that inscription (incomplete one) Pokkāran Pāṇḍya daraiyan made an endowment for the Vaikāsi festival of Aḷagiya perumāḷ (in Tiruchchukanur obviously). There is thus a gap of over 200 years between the last one and this. Another inscription² of about the same time (may be 1225 A.D.), although an incomplete one has enough words to show that Anḍar's son made a gift of land somewhere in Perumbanappadi to the Tiruvilānko—for the spiritual benefit of Narayana who died some time ago while fighting for Yadava Rayar. The battle of Uratti is obviously referred to, which took place in 1223 A.D.

There are three more incomplete inscriptions which may be referred to the same period when Pandiyadaraiyar was the Pokkaran and the manager of the Siva Temple in Tiruchchokinur. These are I. 95, 96 and 97. The first and the third are on the west and the east wall of the Vāhana Mantapam and the second on the east Prākaram wall adjoining the Gopuram of Sri Padmāvati Amman's temple. They will be between 1230-1240 A.D. The first one

1. I. 34

2. I 41

mentions an endowment of some land, whose location is clearly described, for the Nitya Utsavam of Emperuman. The second one is not intelligible. The third one seems to be an endowment by Pandiyadaraiyar perhaps for Tiruviḷankoil in the shape of grain and cash to be enjoyed by the Emperumanadiyar and the four gōtras (people) during Panguni Festival. There is next an inscription which refers to a Ubhaiyam (I. 108) which a number of persons, viz. (Pallava) rayan Yadavaraya Viḷupparaiyan, Sōḷa Vilupparaiyan, Trikartarāyan and also the Kaikkōḷar and Emperumānaḍiyar¹, had undertaken to perform. The temple treasury is referred to as Sri Bhaṇḍāram. It ends with Sri Vaishnava Raksha. We cannot possibly fix the year, although from the language and contents, the year must be later than 1240 A.D.

Lastly, there are eight more fragmentary inscriptions all found in Tiruchchukanur. Of these No. 129 is probably the earlier and is on the east wall north of the Padikavali Gopuram. It mentions 40 Kaḷanju of gold. The word "Dēverku" டெவர்கு, occurs and may refer to Tiruvengada Dēvar. It ends with Emperumanadiyar Raksha. We know that this subscription was in use about 935 A.D. We also know that the term Tiruvenkata Dēvar was being used by the early Cholas (as in I. 19). The date of this inscription would therefore be before 966 A.D. when the phrase Sri Vaishnava Raksha came first into use. Inscriptions Nos. 127 and 128 are of interest in that they mention Sri Vaishnavas of eighteen Nāḍus- "பதினெட்டுநாட்டுநீலவ". No. 128 ends with டெவரா டெசு. The date must therefore be after 966 A.D. Inscriptions Nos. 118 to 122 all seem to refer to a period anterior to 1000 A.D. No. 118 mentions of the Srikāryam people and the Tiruviḷankoyil and would therefore refer to a date before 900 A.D.

We have thus every reason to suspect that the Tiruviḷankoyil in Tiruchchukanur began to decline after 1000 A.D. although as a building the Tiruviḷankoyil continued to exist. We also notice that a new Alagiya Perumal came into existence. Later still we come to notice the existence of a Varadarajapperumal.

1. By the time this endowment was made in the time of Raju Raya III the term Emperumanadiyar had come to signify dancing girls attached to Vishnu temples

CHAPTER VI.

The Temple of Sri Parasareswara in Tiruchchukanur.

IN the introductory chapter or synopsis it was stated that the silver replica of Tiruvengadamudaiyan was consecrated in Tirumala with a view to avoiding any possible source of friction between the Saivites and the Vaishnavites, since a temple for Siva, known as Sri Parasaresvaraswami, was constructed sometime after the Tiruviñankoyil in Tiruchchukanur. There is no mention anywhere that tension existed between the two sects at that period in Tiruchchukanur. It was also pointed out as the result of a close study of the wording of some inscriptions, that the Vaishnavite temple was doing proselytising work and therefore open to all and that feeding also was open to members of both sects on equal terms. There was therefore the possibility of friction and the astute Vaishnavas of the day wanted to eliminate all chances of such friction arising at a future date. Right up to the days of Sri Ramanuja, however, there was no sign of such friction. There is a well known story that one day when Sri Ramanuja, as one of the students of the Advaitin Sri Yadavaprakasa, was anointing the head of his guru with oil for a bath, Yadavaprakasa gave what was, on the face of it, a blasphemous interpretation of a portion of the Chandogya Upanishad, "Tasyayathā kapyāsam pundarikam evam akshini"¹ in reference to the Purusha who is

1. It was Sankara's interpretation of the words in verse 7 of Chandogya Upanishad section I that brought tears from the eyes of Ramanuja when he was studying under Yadavaprakasa. Sankara attached to the word 'kapyāsa' the meaning, the parts around the postial calosities of the monkey. (Kapyasa: from Kapi-monkey and Asi - to sit). Translated into English Sankara's interpretation of verses 6 and 7 conveys the meaning (in speaking of the Purusha seated inside the Sun), 'Of this Male, whose whole body is golden there is some distinction in the eyes. They are red like unto lotuses which are bright, as the parts around the postial calosities of the monkey'. It is quite out of accord with the highly metaphysical plane of the disquisition and, to say the least, indecent. Ramanuja would have considered it blasphemous to compare the colour of the eyes of the Purusha who is presumed to reside in the Sun to the colour of a monkey's postial calosities.

in the Sun, which brought tears from the eyes of the disciple and which fell on the thigh of the guru. The latter looked up and quickly understood the cause. This must have been when Sri Ramanuja was about 18 years of age (in 1035 A.D.). There were a few more similar instances which brought about estrangement between the student and his guru but there never was however any unpleasant act done on either side. As a tit for tat there is the story that Sri Ramanuja's disciple Kūrattālvān appeared under orders before the Chola King Kulōttunga I, for affixing his signature to the statement "Sivāt paratarm nāsti." The silly meaning which Kūrattālvān gave to the word 'Siva' saying that there was a Dronam (measure) bigger than that, enraged the King who had his eyes put out. Sri Ramanuja and his disciples left Choladesa thereafter and resided in the Hoysala country (Mysore) until the death of

The accepted interpretation of the same by the Vaishnava commentators and by Ramanuja is. "His eyes are like the lotus flower newly opened to the sun's rays". The two verses 6 and 7 would read in English 'Now that golden Purusha, who is seen within the sun with golden beard, with golden hair and golden in every part of the body up to the tip of His nails (verse 6). His eyes are like the lotus flower newly opened to the sun's rays... ..'

The term 'Kapyasa' of which the last sentence above is the translation is explained in three ways.

(i) Kapi is the sun who drinks water i.e. evaporates it; Kapyasa is what is opened by him;

(ii) Kapi is the stalk for the same reason and the flower stands thereon.

(iii) The whole word means standing in water. All these derivations are accepted ones and the resulting meaning is, 'as the lotus flower standing in deep water on its stalk and newly opened to the sun's rays is very pretty'

The word 'pundarika' according to 'Amarakosa' is white lotus. But Sabara the commentator of Jaimini's sutras, applies it to the red lotus. In substance the idea seems to be 'that His eyes were like unto the lotus flower just blossoming (on its stalk rising from deep water) to the red rays of the rising sun and displaying a blend of the red colour around the edges of the petals shading into white in the middle.

Rājarām Tukkarām Tatya in his English translation of the twelve principal Upanishads renders it thus "whose eyes are like unto lotuses red as the orb of the rising God of day." This is much the same as the Vaishnavite rendering.

Kulöttunga I. But for these two equally impudent wordy insults, there does not appear to have been any serious conflict such as we read in history of the rivalry between the Roman Catholic Church and the Protestant Church, nor anything like the mortal fear of the Church which made Copernicus delay publication of his book till he was actually on his death bed, nor the Inquisition which Galileo had to face for refusing to disclaim faith in his astronomical theories. The assemblies of our pundits at all times reverberated with high sounding words and phrases in earnest disputation, called Vākyaṛtham, about the interpretation of a particular "Sūtram" in the Brahma Sūtras. But this did not weaken mutual respect. Sayanacharya, the great commentator of the Vedas, was a contemporary of Vēdanta Dēśika, the effective expounder of Ramanuja's Sri Bhashya. He was invited by Sayana to the court of the Vijayanagar King (Bukka) so that Desika may shed his poverty. The latter declined the offer in his famous five verses "Vairagya Panchakam" and preferred independence and "uncha vritti" (begging in the manner laid down in the sastras). Appayya Dikshitar, a great expounder of Advaita Philosophy, is said to have written a beautiful commentary on one of Desika's works. Mutual admiration never ceased; but rivalry to establish one's own point of view there was, and accompanied by indignation also. This anecdote carries us to about 1367 A.D. when Vēdanta Desika seems to have died. But so far as the Saiva and Vaishnava temples in Tiruchchukanūr were concerned we notice one instance of discord in each case. An endowment for lighting 24 lamps daily in Tiruvengadam Temple (incised on stone) for which the Sabhaiyar of Tirumunḍiyam (near Tiruchchanur) were trustees was not performed and the matter had to be enquired into by the Chōḷa Rāja's (Rājendra Sōḷa) Adhikāri and the defaulters were properly dealt with. This action was about the year 1013 A.D.¹ The Tirumunḍiyam Sabhaiyar were probably the Saivite counterpart of the Vaishnavite Tiruchchukanur Sabhaiyars.

In 1225 A.D. (I. 36) the Sthānattar of Sri Parasarēswara's temple alleged that the Sabhaiyar of Tiruchchukanur with whom 26 Kaḷanju of gold was deposited in 1008 A.D. as an endowment

1. I. 19.

for certain services in that temple failed to carry out the trust. They were made to shell out the money and the Sthanattar of the Siva Temple were made the trustees. In both instances the original inscriptions appear to have been willfully destroyed.

We do not find any other instance of friction. That about, or some time before, the year 1000 A.D. there was some friction is evidenced by the two incidents mentioned in our inscriptions. The reader will now see the wisdom of the Vaishnava leaders of the time in transferring their activities to Tiruvengadam Hill, practically abandoning the Tiruchchukanur Tiruvilankoyil. In a small village the two temples of rival sects could not have worked in healthy co-operation. It is very necessary to go into the history of the temple of Sri Parasareswara to feel convinced of their wisdom.

It has been already pointed out that the Tiruvilankoyil Vishnu Temple should have been constructed some time before 826 A. D.¹ in Tiruchchukanur. The earliest inscription which has reference to the Siva temple is on the walls of that temple itself, in the 23rd year of Sri Rājakēsari Rāja Rāja Dēva (1008 A.D.).² There is thus a gulf of nearly 182 years between the two. The natural inference would be that the Siva temple should have been constructed not long before 1008 A.D. The inscription is incomplete here. But there is the other inscription (I. 36.) made in the ninth year of the reign of Rāja Rāja Dēva III (1225 A.D.) wherein the inscription of 1008 A.D. is reproduced in full. The latter is a complaint made before Vīra Narasiṅga Yādavarāyar against the Sabhaiyar of Tiruchchukanur (already referred to) for failure to carry out the provisions of the endowment, viz., the supply of the necessary articles for Tirumanjanam (Abhishekam) on the Uttarayana Sankramanam day and rice, tamarind, curds, honey, sesamam, pepper, turmeric sidari, chandanam, tender coconuts, sugar, green-gram and betel nuts and leaves. Also 108 earthen pots and kalasams. If in 1008 A.D. this temple had been of any importance the endowment would have been not only for the Uttarayana Sankramanam, but also for the Dakshinayana and the two Vishus as well, similar to Samavai's endowment of 966A.D. while installing the Manavalapperumal in Tiruvengadam.

1. I. 1.

2. I. 18

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

The history of South India indicates that the Chōḷa Aditya I. conquered the Pallavas about 900 A.D. The latter while not making any direct endowment for the Vishnu or Siva temple in Tiruchchukanur, appear to have encouraged their feudatories and others to help to establish the Vishnu temple. With reference to the Siva Temple of Sri Parasaresvara (Tippaladisvaramudaiyan) there does not appear to have been any such encouragement even between 1008 and 1073 A.D., *i.e.*, after the Cholas came to power. Although there is no reference in our inscriptions to Sri Kālahastisvara, it is fair to presume that it is an ancient one and was in a flourishing condition, at least in the first quarter of the 11th century. For, from Vaishnava tradition itself it is known that Sri Ramanuja's cousin, Govinda Bhattar, became a convert to Saivism and lived in Kālahāsti for several years before he was re-converted to Vaishnavism by his maternal uncle Tirumala Nambi. But, that the temple of Tippalādisvaramudaiyan received no endowment for nearly seventy years after 1008 A.D. when the Saivite Chola Kings were ruling, goes to show that it was not considered at the time a temple of importance. In the inscription of 1073,¹ Sri Virarājendra Sōḷa Dēva (Kulōttunga I) among his other birudus adds 'Vēnkatanātha purandara' showing that he was equally a devotee of Tiruvēnkaṭanātha as of Siva. From this inscription it is seen that Munjaippundi (modern Mullapudi) was already a devadānam village of Tippaladisvaramudaiyan and that one Nārana Deva waived collection of taxes, such as Vaṭṭakkāsu,² Tirugukkāsu etc., in favour of the temple. Next in 1094 A.D. (24th year of the reign of Kulottunga I) one Tiruchchiṟṟambala nambi presented to the care of certain Saivite Brahmins, who were hereditary archakas or Gurukkals of Tippaladisvaramudaiyan temple, 128 cows to supply ghee for 4 nandāvilakku (at the rate of 32 cows for one lamp). The next one³ is more interesting because it brings to light the procedure for converting a land paying taxes to the state into a dēvadānam one. Five māḍai representing arrears due (or fee perhaps) had first to be paid before the Magaṇikkangātti (மகணிக்கங்கட்டி) would give effect to the King's oral orders to convert Munjaippundi (re-named as Sivapādakēsarinalūr in honour of the king) into a devadanam village free of all taxes. The inscription

1. I. 21.

2. I. 23.

3. I. 24. 1105 A.D.

also brings to light that in addition to the Sabhaiyar there was also a Ganattar (or assembly) of Siva Brahmins in Tiruchchukanur. In 1134 A.D. (16th year of the reign of Vikrama Sola)¹ we notice for the first time that there was a Vaikasi festival instituted and that an arrangement was made for the supply of oil for lights during processions in Vaikasi Tirunal. Thus a Vaikasi festival had come into existence between 1105 and 1134. But it was not until 1223 A.D.² (7th year of the reign of Raja Raja III) that permanent arrangements were made for the Tiruvardhajāmappaḍi and Tiruveḷuchchippaḍi (food offerings in the night and in the early morning daily). Some lands under cultivation were purchased and handed over to the members of three families who were doing puja in the temple by one Pāṇḍiyadaraiyar for the spiritual benefit of his son who lost his life in the Uratti battle. Details of daily rations to be supplied by the Bhattars are also given. By this time we find hereditary temple accountants also appointed. The trustees for this endowment are not the Sabhaiyar of Tiruchchukanur, but the Siva Brahmins (Bhattars) above referred to. There is thus a stage of clear cleavage between the Vaishnavite Sabhaiyars and the managers of the Siva Temple. Before we reach the year 1225 A.D. this temple had its own Sthanattar and an assembly called Sri Mahēswaras. The gist of the inscription (I. 36) is a complaint before Vira Narasinga Yadavaraya against the Sabhaiyar of Tiruchchukanur by the Saivites above mentioned that in 1008 A.D. an endowment was made (in an inscription) for the performance of certain services. The Sabhaiyars contended that they were not aware of any such inscription. After due enquiry the King ordered that the Sabhaiyars should place into the hands of the Sthanattars of the Siva Temple, 26 kaḷanju of gold and that the Sthanattars should thenceforth become the trustees of the endowment.

From the above account it will be seen that the Vaishnavites from the date of founding of a Saivite temple apprehended the possibility of friction and therefore removed the centre of their religious activities to Triuvengadam Hill.

One more endowment was made by Pāṇḍiyadaraiyar who was managing the Siva Temple, for the celebration yearly

1. I. 33. 1134 A.D.

2. I. 35

of a Masi festival, by assignment of land therefor. (I. 38, 1240 A.D.).

After 1240 A.D. there is no inscription relating to this temple obviously because the Chola power in this part of the country came to an end before 1248 A.D. and there was a showdown. In 1547 A.D. the Tirumala Temple was paying 3 panams per month as wages for a man to supply flowers daily. .

There is, and there naturally can be, no inscription which would state why the Tiruviṅkoyil had for all practical purposes to be abandoned and the Vaishnava activities centred in Tirumala itself. The Chola rule was in full swing and all the Chola Kings were staunch Saivites. There was therefore no wisdom in sticking to Tiruchchukanur. We have only to read between the lines to explain the most important step which the Vaishnavites of the day took. At that time Sri Alavandar was steering the ship in the Tamil country for the spread of Vaishnavism and he must have advised the Sri Vaishnavas to transfer their activities to Tirumala.

But before taking leave of the temple of Tiruppalādisvaramudaiyan, there are a few interesting things to learn about the system of administration adopted by the Chola Kings. There was an Adhikari in charge of each division who carried with him a sort of circuit court; all disputes referred to him seem to have been enquired into on the spot, after summoning and hearing the parties as well as the witnesses. Judgment seems to have been delivered on the spot. Even if the king issued an order to convert a tax paying land into a "devadāna sarvamānya," the officer in charge took care to realise all arrears of tax before giving effect to the King's order.

The Siva temple had a manager to do the māḍapatyam. There were also the Sthanattar, the Ganattar and the Tiru-uṅṅāḷikai Bhattar, who actually did the service. The charges for endowment for burning one lamp was a cash payment of twenty four kaḷanju of gold or the award of 32 cows.

During the Chola period, and in the Siva Temple in particular, rice was measured with what was known as Arumolīdēvan measure

in kalams, tūni, kuruni (குருணி), nāḷi and padakku. Weighment was in palams; betel leaves were in bundles and betel nuts were counted. The gold coins were the kaḷanju and manjadi and māḍai. Gold was weighed in two styles, one known as Kuḍinaikkal and the other Dharmakkattalai.

The Arumōḷidēvan measure takes after the surname of Raja Raja I, which describes him as one who never swerved from what he once uttered. Alongside of the newly introduced standards of weights and measures, there were the old ones of the owners of the soil; tūmbu, vaṭṭi, soligai etc. These will be dealt with in a separate chapter on weights, measures for grains, measurement of land etc.

There are taxes mentioned—Kaḍamaiyāyam, Porkaḍamai, Paḍikāval, Veṭṭisarikai, Koḷvari and Silvari.

It is also worth pointing out how the inscriptions relating to the Siva temple ended. In 1073 A.D. we find the subscription “Sri Mahēsvara Rakshai.” In cases where the pujaris of the temple were the trustees of the endowment, the ending is “Kōil Tiruvuṇṇāḷigai Siva brāhmanaōrm.”

But from 1134 A.D. onwards it is பைமஹேஸ்வரராக்ஷை (Panmahēsvara Rakshai), which is the counter part of “Sri Vaishnava Rakshai.” The abandonment of “Sri Mahesvara” and the adoption of “Pan Mahesvara” (all mahesvaras) suggests that there were different sub-sects even in Saivism at that time.

CHAPTER VII.

Tiruvengadamudaiyan and the Tiruvengadam Temple.

WHEN we read or hear that a temple was built, the idea conveyed to us is that a building of cut-stone was constructed, that an idol of stone was made and that it was duly installed and consecrated in that building. But when we speak of the Tiruvengadam Temple we believe that the Temple only was built by some one, that the Idol was already there and that it was neither made by man nor consecrated by him. The tradition about this is that at the time when Dvāparayuga ended and Kaliyuga set in Sriman Narayana in Vaikuntam of His own will deemed it desirable to manifest Himself as an Idol standing near the shore of a pond (since known as Svamipushkarini) on the Tiruvengadam Hill. The reason for this as vouchsafed by our ancients is that during the preceding yugas men were endowed with great powers of physical endurance for performing yoga and tapas as means to spiritual ends. These ends were Atmāvalōkanam or self-realisation and Brahmāvalōkanam or God-realisation. Atmāvalōkanam is beset with the danger of the aspirant acquiring such great powers of control over nature as may be considered an end itself and the existence of a higher power may be ignored or disregarded. Hiranya and Mahābali are examples of those who erred in this manner. Brahmāvalōkanam alone reveals that the source of all power is God. To enable men in the Kali age to achieve God realisation a less tedious process, that is by intense love and devotion or Bhakti, has been recommended by God Himself who revealed Himself as an Idol. This is known as His Archāvatāra. All the faculties of man and his sense organs are directed to worshipping the Idol with intense love and devotion. Sri Anḍal is held up by Srivaishnavas as one who by such means attained God-realisation and absorption into the Godhead. It is purely a matter of faith that the Idol on the Tiruvengadam Hill is regarded as manifestation of Sriman Narayana and the Hill is considered as Kaliyuga Vaikuntam.

TIRUVENGADAM TEMPLE

THE FIRST DISCOVERY.

But when the Idol was first discovered the scene was not the same that we witness now. The Idol is stated to have lain buried inside an ant hill, or mound of earth. The story goes that in that age there lived on the Hill a small colony of cowherds, that they noticed that their milch cows were returning home every day with empty udders, that when they followed the cows they found them going up to a mound and emptying their udders of milk at a particular spot and that when the phenomenon was reported to the king whose name was Tonḍaiman he had the mound removed and, finding to his amazement an Idol under it, built a temple to house the Idol. Some historians are of the opinion that this Tondaiman Chakravarti lived in the first century B.C. or A.D. If their opinion is correct a temple would have been built at that period. Whether that temple was of cut-stone, brick-in-mortar, brick-in-mud or of wood we are not told.

Such a story is not wholly unbelievable. There is for instance a universal belief among Jews and Christians that God appeared to Moses on Mount Sinai and revealed to him the Ten Commandments that these were transcribed on the spot on two tablets of stone and deposited in a wooden box 4 feet \times 2½ feet plated with gold. This box is known as the Ark which became the object of worship of the Jews. And it is stated that under the command of God king Solomon built about the year 1000 B.C. a grand temple to serve as a permanent place of rest for it. Hindus unquestioningly believe that in Tiruvengadam a similar miracle took place and that Tondaiman built a temple. But the temple we see today is not the one built by Tondaiman. The present temple is built of cut-stone with carvings in what is believed to be the Pallava style of architecture. The doors alone are of wood. Epigraphists assert that cut-stone architecture in South India developed only after the sixth century A.D. and that rock-cut cave temples found here and there were their precursors. There are numerous inscriptions which support this theory. Tondaiman's temple could therefore not have been of a durable type.

Account of the Temple found in Silappadhikaram.

There is a description of the Vengadam Deity in the ancient Tamil classical work Silappadhikāram. The author of this work was not a worshipper of Vishnu. He is supposed to have been a Jain. He puts into the mouth of a Vaishnavite pilgrim from a village named Māngādu on the western ghat Hills a description of Tiruvengadamudaiyan and also another description of Sri Ranganatha of Sri Rangam. The description shows that the idol on the Hill represented Vishnu (called by him Sengan Neḍiyon (செங்கை நெடியோன்)). The extract is given in full at the end of this chapter with a commentary in English on the import of the description. It shows that the sun and the moon shone on the Idol. If, as is evident from the description that the sun and the moon illumined the Deity it must be either that there was no covering over the Idol or that the covering was of a pavilion type. The pavilion or mantapam would have been of stone or wood. There is nothing improbable in this assumption; for we find in the T.T.D. Inscriptions that idols were installed and consecrated in similar mantapams in Tirupati during the 16th century. We also come across such temples of Anjaneya and Ganesa in out of the way places. People go there to fulfil their vows in the full faith that the Murties are varaprasādis (granters of all boons). There is also the consideration that the Āḷvārs who flourished in the eighth and the ninth centuries A.D. and who sang the glories of Tiruvengadam referred only to the sanctity of the Hill. There is no mention in any of their songs of a temple on it. If there was a temple the author of the Silappadhikaram at any rate would have mentioned it. We find that in his description of Sriranganatha of Srirangam he mentions that He lay recumbent on His Bed in His chamber. The author of the Silappadhikaram and the Āḷvārs may be said to be contemporaries more or less. It may therefore be reasonably assumed that Tondaiman's temple would have gone into disrepair long before 750 A.D. and that the present building was raised much later, that is at a date when the Pallava style of architecture was well established in the plains. Nor was the temple as it now stands constructed at one and the same time. The sanctum called the garbhagriham along with the ante-chamber called Mukhamantapam

or Sayanamantapam seems to have been built as one block about the end of the 9th century or early in the 10th century. This was soon followed by the covered pathway for circumambulation and its enclosing walls called the Prathamāvaranam or the Mukkoti pradakshinam. Then came in 966 A.D. the structure known as the Tiruviḷankōyil. The probable dates for these will be discussed in this chapter on due and full consideration of the available inscriptions.

Then there is a long pause covered by the periods of the reign of the Chola kings, from Rajendra Chola I to Raja Raja II. It was when the weakness of the Chola power gave room for the Yadavarayas and other feudatories to assert a kind of semi-independence that the next stage in the development of the temple commenced. This may be taken to be sometime between 1160 A.D. and 1190 A.D., that is after the life time of Sri Ramanuja. Sri Ramanuja is said to have built the temple of Sri Govindaraja in Tirupati and to have reconsecrated the Idol in 1130 A.D. But it is not the same thing as saying that he built the gopuram and prakara walls in Tirupati. Nor was the gopuram in Tirumala constructed during his life time. The evolution of the temple structures in Tirumala extends even to the 15th and 16th centuries. We find that Sāluva Narasimha rayar endowed the village of Durgasamudram in 1482 A.D. for the express purpose of constructing gopurams in Tirumala and Tirupati and for constructing the Narasimharayamantapam. Tallapakkam Tirumala Ayyangar added to the gopuram and constructed the pushkari .i steps etc., in the 16th century. There is also the Tirumalaraya Mantapam constructed in the latter part of that century. These are mentioned here to show that there was no blue-print on hand and that the additions were the choice of the donors and were even made without sufficient foresight.

Garbhagriham and 'Sayanamantapam.

These two form a monolithic structure and were constructed at the same time. There is however no inscription in Tirumala or in Tirupati giving the year of construction. But there are inscriptions, all in the Tamil language and Tamil script-some of which

are incomplete and some fragmentary, which enable us to fix an approximate date for this structure. One of these inscriptions mentions that a local Bāna ruler Vijayāditya made an endowment for three different services, one of these being the burning of one perpetual light or Nandāvilakku daily for Tiruvengadathupperumānadigal (the God on the Tiruvengadam Hill). This endowment could be ascribed to 830-850 A.D. and the inscription is on a separate slab now preserved on a platform in the Sri Padmavati Ammavaru Temple in Tiruchchukanur. For only one perpetual light to burn day and night sheltered from the winds on the Hill, Temple in Tirumala would have been a small one. The Garbhagriham and the Sayanamantapam would answer to this description, the Sayanamantapam being the place for the worshipper to stand. The Bānarāya referred to above is the person whose birth was commemorated on a slab found in Tirumala¹ in front of the temple. His birth date would have been about the end of the eighth century A.D. After the conquest of the country by the Cholas there are two inscriptions probably of the years 927 and 936 A.D., during the reign of Parantaka I, or Ko-parakesarivarman. One of these tells us that a native of Oranganore in Malainadu-(Koḍungōlūrān)-made an endowment of 40 kaḷanju of gold with the Sabhaiyar of Tiruchchukanur in the 29th year of Ko-parakesari (935-936). The other was probably in the 20th year of his reign and for a like purpose. The inscription is fragmentary. Both the inscriptions are on the west base of the present vāhana mantapam in Tiruchchukanur, although the service was to be performed in Tirumala, and the Sabhaiyars of Tiruchchukanur were the trustees for the endowments. The reasonable inference is that although there was a temple in Tirumala the inscription was made in the place where the Sabhaiyars were residing. It might also be that there was difficulty in taking a skilled workman to the Hill. Or it might be due to the fact that the walls of the Tirumala Temple were not such that an inscription could be cut thereon.

There is also another inscription which was made on the north wall of the mukkoti pradakshinam of the temple in Tirumalai on the 7th day of the reign of Rajendra Chola I *i.e.*

1. I. 3.

1013 A.D.¹ From this inscription we learn that the Sabhaiyars of Tirumundiyaṃ were the trustees of some endowments, which were for the service of lighting daily 24 oil lamps and one camphor light for Tiruvengada Devar in Tirumala. They failed to perform the service in full. The king's Adhikari during his audit of the accounts detected this and made due enquiries of the Devakarmis (religious service men) of the Tirumala Temple, recovered from the Subhaiyar 23 pon which was all that could be recovered. The amount was credited to the Treasury, or Sri Bhandaram, of the Temple and the secular managers and the religious officers were ordered to look to the proper performance of the lighting. The lighting of twenty-four oil lamps could only mean that these were located outside the garbhagriham and would naturally have been arranged in the corridor of the pradakshinam. In the garbhagriham the akhandam would have been fed with ghee and not oil. The order of the Adhikari was to the effect that oil should be transported daily to Tirumala along with the other provisions for the Temple. An endowment trust would run into non-performance only after a fairly long period when in all probability the donors or their relations were no more. We may therefore reasonably assume that these endowments would have been made 50 or 60 years before 1013 A.D. The date of those endowments might have been of 950 A.D. And on that date the Temple consisted of the Garbhagriham and Sayanamantapam and also the Mukkoti-pradakshanam as a covered and enclosed space.

The Tiruvilankoyil and the consecration of the silver Idol called by the donor Manavalapperumal (Bhoga Srinivasa).

The Tiruvilankoyil is the structure now known as Stapanamantapam which is a corruption for Snapanamantapam. It was in this mantapam that the donor Sāṃavai got consecrated the silver replica of the Mula Beram whom she presented and for

1. The inscription was already referred to.

whom she made endowments. The inscriptions relating to this endowment are marked numbers 8 and 9 in Volume-I of the T.T.D. Inscriptions. These two inscriptions are of the highest value to us, for they mark the commencement of the popularity of the Tirumala Temple. They are both on the North wall of the first prakāram and are dated the 14th year of Koppātramahēndrapanmar.¹ This Koppātramahēndrapanmar is identified as Ko-Pārthivēndra varman who was the son of the Emperor Sundara Chola or Parantaka II. The son is said to have been made the Viceroy of this part of the country, known as Tondaimandalam. Sundara Chola's reign covered the period of 953-970 A.D. Ko-Parthivendra on the death of his father became the Emperor in 970 A.D. under the surname Āditya II, Karikāla. These details enable us to fix the year of the inscriptions.

The year of the inscriptions Nos. 8 and 9 Volume-I, the date of the First Purattasi Tirunal and the date of consecration of Manavalapperumal.

The earliest year for the appointment of Ko-Parthivendra as Viceroy of Tondaimandalam would have been 953 A.D. soon after Sundara Chōla became the Emperor. The fourteenth year therefrom which is the date of the inscriptions will therefore be 966 A.D. Some may argue that the fourteenth year should count from the date of Ko-Parthivendra's accession to the throne as Emperor. But as the period of his reign did not extend to 14 years after his accession this view would be unacceptable. Further if the 14th year referred to the year after he became Emperor, the name used should have been Aditya Karikala with all the prāsasti which is usual to employ while referring to the Emperor. The year 966 A.D. is therefore the date of our inscriptions. This is borne out by the internal evidence contained in inscription No. 8. It is given therein that for commencing the Brahmotsavam

1. The Tamil expression used does not indicate the idea "in the reign of"

the Tirumulaiattal (or seed sowing-usually referred to as Ankurarpanam) should take place in Chitra (chitta nakshatram) and that there should be possessions and festivals on the succeeding nine days ending with the Tirthavari festival. The tenth day from Chitra would not always be Tiruvonam (Sraavanam) on which day the Tirthavari should take place since Sraavanam is the ninth nakshatram from chitta. It has been an unalterable custom that the Tirthavari, which is always on the tenth day, counted from Ankurarpanam, should be when Sraavana nakshatram is current. So in very many years the Ānkurarpanam would be in Hasthanakshatra to make sure that the Tirthavari is in Sraavana. It happens that in 966 A.D. Chitta nakshatram was current for Ankurarpanam. In 967 and in 968 it was not so. In fact the only nearest year after 966 to satisfy the conditions was 983 A.D. in which year Ko-Parthivendra was not alive even in his capacity as Emperor. In 966 A.D. on Tuesday 27th of the Tamil month Āvani (August, 21) Chitta nakshatram commenced at 6 ghatikas after sunrise, so that it was current during the night when Ankurarpanam would have taken place. On Thursday the 5th of Purattasi, which is ten days counted from Tuesday 27th August, Sraavana Nakshatra was current till 8 ghatikas 24 vighatikas after sunrise, within which time Tirthavari would have taken place. This period from Tuesday of one week to Thursday of the succeeding week gives ten days. After the Ankurarpan day there would therefore have been festivals for nine days. The year 966 A.D. was Akshaya according to the southern cycle. The Tirthavari of the first Purattasi Tirunal instituted by Samavai was thus in Akshaya year (966 A.D.) Thursday the 5th of Purattasi (30th August).

The date of consecration of Manavāpperumāl will next be fixed. There is nothing in either of the inscriptions to help us in this. But there are other considerations which do definitely help us. The installation and consecration of the Idol and the Purattasi festival for it are mentioned in the same inscription. The reasonable inference is that the festival would have taken place in the same year as the consecration of the Idol; also that the consecration would have been on the earliest possible day preceding the festival consistent with the astrological dictums

guiding the selection of an auspicious day. It should be during a *uttarāyanam* month, *i.e.*, one of the Tamil months covered by the northerly course of the sun. This would point to the month *Ani* as the suitable one. Without going into the details of astrological considerations it may be stated that **Friday, Bahula Tritiya**, the 16th of *Ani* of *Akshaya* year, *Sravana* nakshatram, was the day of consecration of Manavalapperumal (or Bhoga Srinivasa.) The nakshatram *Sravanam* is known as the *Avatāra* nakshatra of Sri Venkatesa as also of Sri Varahaswami. The inscription tells us that *Karmārchana* was performed for *Tiruvengadattu perumanadigal* first and *Abhishekam* was performed next for the *Manavalapperumal* (who was adorned with all the jewellery (or *Tiruvābharanam*) mentioned therein, before the ceremony of consecration took place. On that Friday *Sravana* nakshatram commenced at 8 ghatikas after sunrise. The first 10 ghatikas of *Sravanam* being inauspicious the consecration would have taken place after 18 ghatikas from sunrise had expired. The *Karmarchan* of the *Dhruva Beram* or *Periya Perumal* would have taken that much time since an ordinary *Abhishekam* would have been performed for the *Dhruva Murti* also. On the previous night (Thursday night) there would have been flower decoration, now known as *Poolangi seva*. **Friday June 8, 966 A.D. would have been the day of consecration of Manavalapperumal.** This day in the month of *Ani* was considered the most auspicious and the *Nayanomīlanam* (opening the eyes of the new silver idol) would have been done on the previous day which was also an auspicious day.

The Place of Consecration, The Tiruvilankoyil.

The *Abhishekam* and consecration of *Manavalapperumal* took place in a *manṭapam* which was called "Tiruvilankoyil" which term means Junior temple. A separate place for the *Abhishekam* is a necessity as an Idol which had not been duly consecrated could not find a place in the *Garbhagriham*. A *manṭapam* was perhaps newly constructed, even if it was not already there, as near to the *Garbhagriham* as possible so that at the moment of consecration the new Idol may without loss of time be placed in front of the *Dhruva Beram* and the connecting link for the flow

of the Divine Power be established. We must remember, that there was no invoking of Divine Power treating Manavāpperumal as an independent Murti. This mantapam or Tiruviḷankoyil was constructed so as to be in front of the then existing temple which consisted of the Garbhagriham and Sayanamantapam and the Pradakshinam. The silver Idol (Manavalapperumal) was spiritually united with the Dhruva Beram by a connecting gold link and silk cord which were introduced at the proper moment. This gold link and cord continue to exist and are long enough to allow the silver Beram being shifted from near the Dhruva Beram to the outer most eastern edge of the Tiruviḷankoyil, where now is situated the Bangāruvakili which is the first and imposing entrance into the sanctum. How and when the Bangaru vakili and the wall containing it were constructed will be discussed later. After the consecration ritual was completed the silver Murti would have found His place in the Garbhagriham just in front of Tiruvengadamudaiyan at the spot where we find Him now. He is the Kautuḷa Beram for the Dhruva Murti and therefore made to be an exact representation of the original.

It is worth restating that the Dhruva Murti played no part in the consecration ritual except when the linking took place. The usual daily puja, called Karmāchana in the inscription, was performed to Him. It was after completing this Karmarchana, that the installation of the silver Image in the mantapam, the Abhishekam and consecration in the mantapam, took place. It may be mentioned here that the Marichi Samhita calls the daily puja as **Karmarchana** (worship as prescribed).

The necessity for the Installation of Manavalapperumal.

The necessity for an Idol of a smaller size than the Dhruva Beram would be apparent to all those who have faith in the Archa form of worship as ordained in the Agamas. Six āsanas¹ are prescribed therein and the worshipper performs the worship pertaining to each of these. In the case of the Dhruva Murti paryanka

1. Āsanas are the postures in which the murti is supposed to be for facilitating worship such as bathing, dressing, eating and sleeping

āsana (putting into bed) is an impossibility. Abhishekam (bathing) is impracticable every day owing to the difficulty of getting a large quantity of water and the greater difficulty of removing the water from the floor of the Garbhagriham. In regard to food offering also there is a difficulty. It is to obviate these difficulties that a smaller Idol was found necessary. All the upacharams, or services rendered to this Idol are in effect rendered to the Dhruva Murti. When large quantities of food (called Tiruppāvaḍai) are deposited in the front mantapam the silver Beram is brought near to the Bangaru Vakili so as to remain within the consecrated limits and the archaka offers the food to this Deity. All the doors being kept open the food will be in the view of the Main Deity as well.

Ornaments or Tiruvabharanam of Manavalapperumal.

At the time of consecration the Silver Murti was decorated with certain ornaments known collectively as Tiruvabharanam. In Idol worship the idea of associating with the Murti certain weapons and ornaments is an ancient one and the jewellery mentioned in the inscription is according to those ideas. These ornaments are here mentioned in extenso to give an idea of the culture and civilisation of those days. These are:—

- (1) Tirumuḍi (crown or Kireetam) which is set with 23 diamonds, 16 big pearls, two large centre rubies or (Taḍavikkaṭṭina māṇikkam). (திருமுடி).
- (2) Ear ornaments consisting of gold makaram and coral koppu for each ear. (மொண்ணின் மகரம், பவழத்தின் கொப்பு)
- (3) Necklace or garland of four strands of gold set with 14 diamonds, 3 rubies: 11 large pearls and several small red pearls.
- (4) One gold body belt or Udara Bandhanam.
- (5) One gold waist girdle (Tiruvaraiṅṅai) set with four rubies.
- (6) Gold bracelet round each of the upper arms set with two cut rubies (called Bāhu Vaḷayam).

TIRUVENGADAM TEMPLE

- (7) Gold bracelets four, each set with two rubies.
- (8) Necklets or vaļaiyal of gold, four.
- (9) Anklets or Kārai of gold, two.
- (10) Silver Prabha set with one big ruby (Nāyāka mānikkam)

The total weight of gold in all the ornaments was 47 kaļanju. These ornaments are only copies of those sculptured on the body of the Dhruva Murti.

Whether Manavāļapperumal has now all these ornaments on His Divine Person or Tirumēni is a mootpoint. Having been consecrated along with the Murti it is presumed that He has not been divested of them.

Endowments Corpus and the Services.

The services for which the endowments shown in the two inscriptions were made, have already been mentioned. What the endowments were will now be described in some detail. These two being the first endowments that we know of deserve special mention. They are in the shape of lands purchased from a number of parties aggregating to $7176\frac{3}{4}$ kuļis. Inscription No. 8 Vol. I accounts for 3000 kuļies and No. 9 for $4176\frac{3}{4}$ kuļies. A kuļi is one square rod, the rod being a pole measuring 16 spans length. If we assume that a span is equivalent to 9 inches, the endowments would be about 24 acres in extent.

From the details given of the lands we learn that there was a highway going northward and passing through Tiruchchukanur; that lands belonging to the Tiruchchukanur Tiruviļankoyil temple were purchased indicating thereby that that temple had begun to be liquidated; that there was a tank called Perumbāna tank leading to the inference that the country was under the Bāna rule and that there was also a tank called Panchavan Mādevi ēri in the name of one of the Chola queens leading to the inference that when the inscriptions were made the Chola rule had become effective.

The Pallavas and the Cholas seem to have paid great attention to the improvement of irrigation sources in the country. The

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

name Sālaiperumāl-Tirumala shows that the Tirumantra Salai in Tiruchchukanur was becoming a popular proselytising institution.

We also learn from a comparison of the closing words in inscriptions Nos. 4, 12 and 8 (Volume I) that the worshippers of Vishnu down to the year 936 A.D. styled themselves as Emperummanadiyar. Thereafter they came to be called Sri Vaishnavas. Sri Vaishnava Raksha became the subscription in all later inscriptions. The significance and implications of this change would be apparent to all.¹

DETAILS OF THE ENDOWMENT PROPERTY

(a) Land purchased from the Sabhaiyar of Tiruchchukanur

(b) Land situated in Tirukkuḍavūr naḍu of Tiruvengadakkottam purchased from the Sabhaiyar of Tiruchchukanūr and from Lakshmana Nambi by payment in gold and also made tax free payment of compensation to the Tiruvilankoyil Peruman

(c) Nandiyerippaṭṭi and Maḍuppaṭṭi lands

(d) Land held in lease by Lakshmana Nambi

(e) Madhusūdanam-auiyarai

(f) Purushōttamanpaṭṭi

No. (9)

(g) 267 kuḷi in Āyappaṭṭi land lying to the west of the high road running to the north

(h) 367 kuḷi called kuḷippaṭṭi

(i) 340 kuḷi opposite to the Perumbanatank

(j) 1221 kuḷi called Navisappaṭṭi

(k) 144 kuḷi called kusappaṭṭi

(l) 121 kuḷi called purushōttamanpaṭṭi

(m) 1000 kuḷi in panchavan madēvi ēri

(n) 250 kuḷi purchased from Kaḷipperuman and Tambi Bhattan known as Nadarseru

(o) 600 kuḷi purchased from Salaipperumal-Tirumala, known as kilpaṭṭu in Kottur village

1. Before the days of Sri Alavandar Vaishnavas did not form an organised community but only individuals who had faith in Emperuman (Vishnu) as the Supreme Deity. Sri Devi was not considered as being co-equal to Vishnu. It was Sri Alavandar who first made it an essential article of faith that Sri and Vishnu should be worshipped together and as forming one entity. Vishnu worshippers who did not subscribe to this doctrine such as Dvaitins are only Vaishnavas and not Sri Vaishnavas

There is however a secret which is known only to a very few worshippers but not mentioned in the inscription. There is a Yantram on the Pitham of Bhoga Srinivasa and a corresponding one under the Bēram. It has a definite significance according to the Vaikhanasa as well as the Pancharatra agama more so in the latter. This will be considered in another Chapter.

Tirukkodi Tirunal (festival)

We also learn from these two inscriptions that a Tirukkoḍi-tirunāl need not necessarily be a ten days' festival. The festival ending with the Tiruvādasi day was only a seven days' festival. There were processions by day as well as by night during these days. The Vaikhanasa agama provides for festivals of five, seven and nine days. It is very unlikely that the Silver Idol inseparably connected with the Dhruva Beram would have been the processional Deity. We find a processional Beram in the Garbhagriham known as Venkaṭatturaivar or Ugra Srinivasa which is reported to be an ancient Idol. This Idol would have been the processional Murti in those days. This will be considered at length in the next chapter

Alterations and additions made to the temple structure, the installation of a few more shrines, the other Murtis installed in the 'garbhagriham' and the Varahaswami Temple in Tirumala as an independent temple will be mentioned in the next chapter. Mantapams and Nandavanams which multiplied themselves in large numbers will be dealt with as an Appendix. The real history of the Tiruvengadam Temple commences with the installation of Manavalapperumal in 966 A.D. Every inscription on the walls of the 'mukkoti pradakshinam' is of a later date. Soon after the consecration of the Silver Idol, gifts and endowments were made and inscribed on the temple walls. Although the Chōla kings made no gifts or endowments their queens seem to have made some, as is observed from some of the fragmentary and incomplete inscriptions. In the sixteenth year of the reign of Vira Rajendra Panmar (Raja Raja-I) or in 1000 A.D., Parāntaka Devi amman, the widowed queen of Sundara Chola was the first to present a gold paṭṭam weighing 52 kaḷanju and set with six rubies,

4 diamonds and 28 pearls.¹ About the same time Ulagamadevi, the queen of Raja Raja-I, appears to have made an endowment of 29 kaḷanju of gold for burning one perpetual light or Nanda Vilakku.² As the inscription is fragmentary the exact date cannot be fixed, but must be between the years 985 and 1013 A.D. It was already noticed that it was on the seventh day of the reign of Rajendra Chola-I (son of Raja Raja-I) *i.e.*, 1013 A.D. that the king's Adhikari enquired into the non-performance of lamp lighting by the Sabhaiyar of Tirumunḍayan and arranged for the future observance of the trust. This inscription³ is of special interest as it disproves the futile contention of some people who argue that Tiruvengāḍa muḍaiyan was the name of the deity in Tiruchchukanur, which place they presume was called Tiruvēngadam and that there was no such deity in Tirumala till about 1245 A.D. This inscription is clear on the point that Tiruvēngāḍa Devar was on the Tirumala Hill, that endowments for lamp lighting in that temple were made long anterior to 1013 A.D. and that oil for the purpose was ordered to be transported daily to Tirumala. One Aruḷakki alias Raja Raja Muvēndavelan, probably a Chola officer, made two endowments in the reign of Raja Raja-I, one of 40 kaḷanju of gold for lighting one perpetual lamp and the other a grant of some land or village in Āvūrkkuṟṟam on the south bank of (possibly the Kaveri) in Sōlanāḍu. These are inscribed on separate slabs in Tiruchchukanur and may have been intended for the Deity in that place. But the endowments are here mentioned to show that even during the Chola period their officers made endowments for Vishnu Temples. Apart from the one inscription of 1013 A.D. which shows the method adopted by the Cholas for dispensing justice there is no inscription to show that either Rajendra or any of his men made endowments to this temple. Nor do we find any endowments during the reign of any of his successors till we reach the reign of Vira Rajendra Chola-II or Kulothunga-I. Kulothunga made no endowment. But his queen (Avanimuluḍaiyal) made some arrangement for the supply of milk and curds. The inscription is fragmentary and was found on a slab paved into the floor of the west side of the first prakara. It must have found its way there

1. Vol. I. 14

2. Vol. I. 16

3. Vol. I. 19

when the flooring was laid after the renovation of the garbhagriham and vimanam in 1250 A.D. The reference to Tiruvengadamuḍaiyan is in endearing terms “our Tiruvāyppāḍi Tirumala Āḷvār” (எங்களுடை திருவாய்ப்பாடு..... திருமலை இழுவர்க்கு பாலமுதும் தயிரமுதும்). These words are very suggestive of the tradition which states that cows emptied their udders into the mound wherein the Deity was first discovered. There are four more fragmentary inscriptions of this period. Two are on the Mukkōtipradakshinam walls; the one on the south wall seems to indicate that a dēvādānam village Tirukkō—was granted to the Sri Bhandaram; the other on the north wall of the third prakaram refers to an endowment for food offering on some days by one Kāsyapan in the middle of the festival days. How this fragment went into the third prakaram we cannot now explain. The other two are separate slabs, one being some பொலிசை by a Tirurta-Kaivilli and the other probably an endowment of land in Sola vala nadu. These fragmentary inscriptions are being dealt with in detail to show that the temple was becoming popular after the installation of Manavāpperumal and that the Chola kings resorted to no persecution against Vaishnaviṣm. Some may be under the erroneous impression that because Sri Ramanuja feared persecution at the hands of Kulottunga-I and therefore took refuge in the Hoysala country till the death of Kulottunga, there may have been a general persecution of Sri Vaishnavas. Some of these inscriptions of the Chola period give the full ’prasasti of the kings which will be shown separately.

CHAPTER VIII.

PART (1)

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE AND ITS ENVIRONS.

IN the previous chapter the installation and consecration of the silver Mūrti “Maṇavāpperumāl,” now known as Bhōga Srinivāsa, was described. It was presumed that at that time the temple consisted of the Sanctum Sanctorum (Garbha-griham) and an ante-room (Mukha mantapam) together with an Antar-maṇḍalam or Pradakshinam or circumambulating corridor surrounding the former. There was also a mantapam (Ardha mantapam) in front of the Pradakshinam called Tiruviḷam Koyil (now called Sthapanā-mantapam). The present temple, however, is very much larger and is composed of a number of structures, gōpurams (towers) and prākārams (compound walls) which will be described in this chapter. Before doing so a topographical description of the temple and its environs will be given.

Topography:—Whether the pilgrim ascends on foot by the old pathway or travels by the new motor road he will arrive at the top of the hill at about the same spot near to the temple. He will there find the Enquiry office of the Devasthanam and the Devasthanam Dispensary facing him. There is also the old unfinished or monḍi gopuram which was recently renovated and furnished with a roof and a kind of turret much unlike the others of the old style. This gopuram faces the south. A short paved roadway towards the north leads to another small gopuram and portal of older construction. It is after crossing this gateway that the street known as the Sannidhi street runs east to west straight to the main gateway and gopuram of the temple known as Mukha-dvāram or the ‘Periya Tiruvāsal, and now called ‘Padikāvali Gopuram.’ At the eastern end of this street stands the shrine of Anjanēya or Hanumān, facing the temple. To the left is the old thousand pillared mantapam. That part of it which abuts

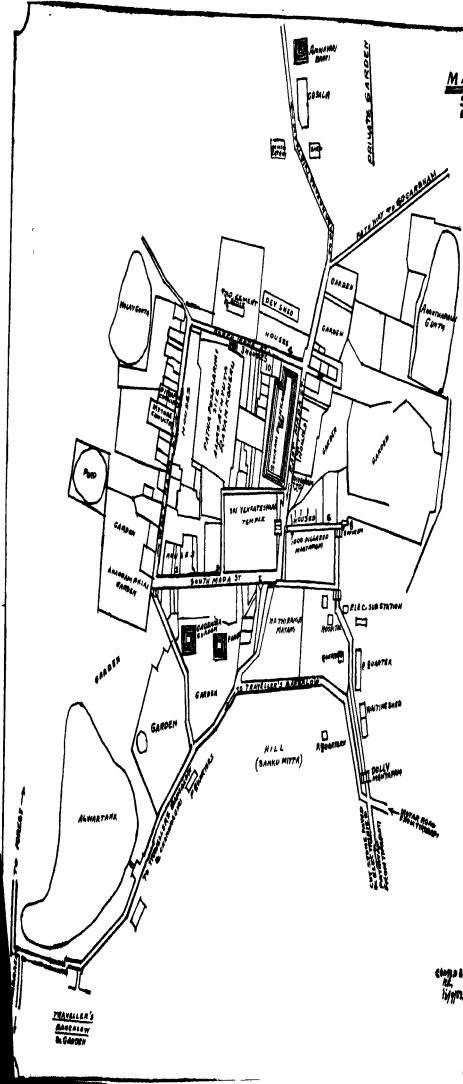
MAP OF TIRUMALAI:

SCALE 200' PER INCH



REFERENCES TO NUMBERS

1. SRI TIRUMALAI NAMBI TEMPLE (10)
2. ANUBHAVA MATHAM
3. ARACHA'S HOUSES
4. UTTARADI MATHAM
5. PARAKALASHAM MATHAM
6. JEYANBARA MATHAM
7. POLICE STATION
8. BED ANDREWS VASISHTI TEMPLE
9. KUMARA THYI HARBARA MATHAM
10. SRI VARAHADIMINI TEMPLE



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FRYER'S
ANNOYANCE
COURT

the street has in recent times been converted into living tenements and a portion for the police station. To the north of the road lies the Periya Jiyar matham, a market stall and a few shops. At the western end and right in front of the gopuram is a small but tall four pillared mantapam which was much used during festivals in olden times. From this manapam there is a flight of steps to the full width of the street, descending to meet the East Mada Street running north to south in front of the main gateway of the temple.

Pilgrims usually secure lodgings in one or the other of the pilgrims' quarters belonging to the Devasthanam or may have to be under obligation to Pandas who not only provide lodgings but act as guides and cater to all the requirements and conveniences of their wards.

As the main object of the pilgrim is to worship in the temple the usual formalities observed before entering the temple will now be described.¹ He goes or is taken to the small pond which is provided with cut-stone steps and has a mantapam at its centre called Neerāḷi mantapam. This pond is situated to his right as he faces the temple and close to the north prākāram wall of the temple. A number of shops on its banks however hide its view. This pond is called the "Swami Pushkarini" or Tirukōnēri and is considered so holy that all the thirty-three crores of sacred waters in creation are said somehow to find their way into it on the sacred day known as 'Mukkōḷi Dvādasi.' Here a purohit who claims hereditary privilege, helps the pilgrim to a purificatory bath in the traditionally accepted manner after reciting the Sankalpa mantrams. The pilgrim is then made to circumambulate the four main streets surrounding the temple and the Pushkarini which form the 'Mahapradakshinam.' On the north-western shore of the Pushkarini and almost near the middle of the north mada street stands the temple of Sri Varaha swamy, also known as Varaha Nainar and Gnanappiran, (the boar avatar of Sri Vishnu). The pilgrim is expected to worship this God first so that spiritual knowledge or

1. Tradition considers it sacrilegious for any pilgrim to ascend the Tirumala Hill with shoes on and without bathing (particularly) in the Āḷwār Tirtham in Tirupati.

Gñānam may dawn on him and make him fit to worship Sri Venka-
tēsvara. The north and south māḍa streets of the Mahāpradakshinam
measure about 800 feet each in length and the west māḍa street is
about 900 feet. But the east māḍa street running in front of the main
temple and alongside the east bank of the Pushkarini measures about
750 feet. The ground slopes from west to east. The entire area bound-
ed by these streets is very much lower in level than the outlying
country. It may roughly be taken that the māḍa streets are about 15
feet lower in level than the outlying ground whereon houses have
sprung up. The ground beyond this rises rapidly on all sides.
The space enclosed by the māḍa streets would originally have been
uneven ground and considerable amount of excavation and levelling
should have been done to bring it to its present shape. The area
of this plot is roughly 16 acres and comprises the Temple proper,
the Swami Pushkarini, the Varahaswamy temple and a site called
the Pāta Pushkarini where a tank was constructed by Achyutarāya
Mahārāya in the 16th century and subsequently filled up by the
Mahants in the 19th century. There are also behind the Temple
and the Swami Pushkarini a number of lanes and houses which
at one time were cultivated gardens (Nandavanams) maintained
to supply daily fruits and flowers for the use of the Deity. The
vast amount of excavation and levelling done should naturally
have made the temple authorities realise that the Deity stood
on very low ground. So they seem to have changed His name
from ' Uchchiyilnirān ' (he who stood on the summit) to ' Malai
kuniya nirān ' (he who stood where the hill bowed). Out of the
total area of 16 acres the present temple covers 2.20 acres, the
Swami Pushkarini 1.50 acres and the Pāta Pushkarini 2.50 acres
(the Pāta Pushkarini is now a flower garden with some houses).
The remaining 10 acres are covered by a number of lanes, houses
and some maṭams, although originally they were all flourishing
Nandavanams supplying flowers and fruits to the temple. The
present Ahobila maṭam in the south māḍa street (facing south)
was one such flower garden or Nandavanam in the early years
of the 14th century A.D. with a maṭam located in the garden.
The maṭam then bore the name " Vaṇ Saṭhakōpan Tirunanda-
vanam." There was also the Sitakaraganāam Maṭam. Some
fragmentary and incomplete inscriptions of the pre-Yadavaraya
period mention some maṭams whose names are however lost.

The old land-marks on the boundary of this area are (1) The Tirumala Nambi Tirumālgai (the house in which Tirumala Nambi lived in the last quarter of the 10th century A.D.) It was the first building, (a stone mantapam with mud walls all round) in the south māḍa street facing the north. It is near this place that the processional deity makes the first halt during festival processions and the recital of Vēdas and the Tamil Prabhandam commence formally with the blessings of the deity. The Ahobila maṭam (or Van Saṭhakōpan maṭam) is also in this street some distance further west facing the south. There are also the old residences of some of the other Āchāryapurushas (2) At the end of the south māḍa street and nearly where it meets the west māḍa street stood the garden 'Tirumalikai' (or garden house) where Sri Ananthaḷvār, the famous disciple of Sri Ramanuja, lived in the last quarter of the 11th century A.D. The garden and the tank stand outside the temple area. At the south west corner the path way from Chandragiri joins this māḍa street. There is a mantapam at the junction. (3) In the west māḍa street are a number of choultries facing the east, the well-known ones being those which belong to the Maharaja of Mysore and the Raja of Piṭhāpuram (the latter is now owned by the Devasthanam). There are also other maṭams of recent origin. Some of the Āchāryapurushas and the Sabhaiyar of Tiruchchukanur owned houses in this street. After 1843 A.D. the Mahants of the Hattirāmji Mutt who were also the Vichāranakartas of the temple extended their possessions. It is worth remembering that as in the south māḍa street so also in all the other streets the houses were originally stone mantapams which were subsequently converted into houses by raising mud walls between the pillars. They might have been built by the temple authorities and given as free quarters. (4) The Pāta Pushkarini and the Swāmi Pushkarini together abut a large part of the north māḍa street. The archakas (nambimars) have their houses on either side of this street. **Sri Varahaswami temple** is on the shore of the Swami Pushkarini and at its north-west corner adjacent to the archakahouses, a house site (facing south) which was confiscated from an erring archaka was gifted away by Sri Krishnadēvarāya Maharaya to Srīman Vyāsa Tīrtha Śrīpāda Uḍaiyār for constructing a **Madhwa Matam in 1524 A.D.** The forebears of our Ex-Governor

General, Sri C. Rajagopalachari had their home in this street next east to this maṭam. This street has a steep gradient from west to east and the dragging of the big four faced wooden car during the Brahmotsavam has to be managed by dexterous application of breaks and steering. At the north east corner is the Kalthēr mantapam (கல்தேர் மண்டபம்) where during the Vijayanagar days swing festivals used to be celebrated. At the north west corner the **hill-path from Bhakarapet** to the temple joins this street, and at the north east corner the **one from Mamandur** and Piliutla joins. The pathway to the Ākasa Ganga and the **Papavinasam waterfalls** also take off at the latter corner. (5) The east māḍa street has the Swāmi Pushkarini and the **temple** to its west, while there are some houses of acharyapurushas, and others and also the **Brahmatantra-swami matam (Parakalaswami mutt)** on the east side. The large four faced **wooden car and the car-stand mantapam**, the **Divanam** building of the Devasthanams and the **Vahana mantapam** are also on this side. At the southern end can be seen the west face of the thousand pillared mantapam. The most disquieting and disfiguring feature of the east māḍa street is the existence of a large number of coffee hotels and shops along the shores of the Pushkarini which pollute the tank. There are also numerous shops in temporary sheds of inflammable material abutting the temple wall and the base of the thousand pillared mantapam. These have considerably narrowed the already narrow width of this street. In case of a fire accident all the inscriptions on the temple wall will be lost. The starting of the car procession in this narrow space is a difficult affair. Even the **mantapams** which were **constructed by Saluva Narasimha** and other great devotees on the shores of the Pushkarini for use during the floating festival have become shops and coffee hotels.

The Thousand Pillared mandapam.

The thousand pillared mantapam is rectangular in shape and is bounded on the west by the east māḍa street, on the north by the sannidhi street, on the east by the street or pathway from the newly renovated gopuram to the small gopuram at the eastern end of the sannidhi street and on the south by the street in front

of the Sri Hattiramji maṭam. The Hathiramji maṭam stands on high ground and is on a level with the top of the terrace of the thousand pillared mantapam. There is a row of corrugated iron sheds for housing pilgrims constructed on this terrace and facing the Hattiramji mutt. The ground floor of the mantapam stands half submerged by the street on its east side. This mantapam was constructed from out of the annual income of the village of Durgasamudram which Sāluva Narasimha endowed in 1472 A. D. for the specific purpose of building gopurams, mantapams and prākāram walls of the temple. It does not now serve the purposes for which it was originally constructed. Its renovation and use for festivals would commemorate the name of that great benefactor.

Sri Hattiramji Mutt:—This is still an important maṭam in Tirumala although its secular connection with the temple, and therefore its influence, nominally came to an end from 1933 when the Committee system of management replaced the Vichāranakarta Mahant. The Mahant however continued to be a hereditary member of the Committee and wielded much power. The administration of the temple by the Mahant Vichāranakartas from 1843 A.D. onwards was marked by a series of litigation which characterised it as one of embezzlement, misappropriation and diversion of temple funds.

The Committee which replaced the Mahant in 1933 had not the legal powers to prevent the diversion of temple income. 'Dalalies' still ply their old trade with impunity and even openly. The rival temple within the maṭam still continues to receive votaries. It is believed that the unwary and simple-minded pilgrim is seduced by the Dalali into the Maṭam and is made to feel convinced that it would be more pleasing to Sri Venkateswara if the intended votive offerings are given away in part or in full to the Maṭam. There seems to be no provision in the new H. R. E. Act of 1951 to effectively check diversion of temple income.

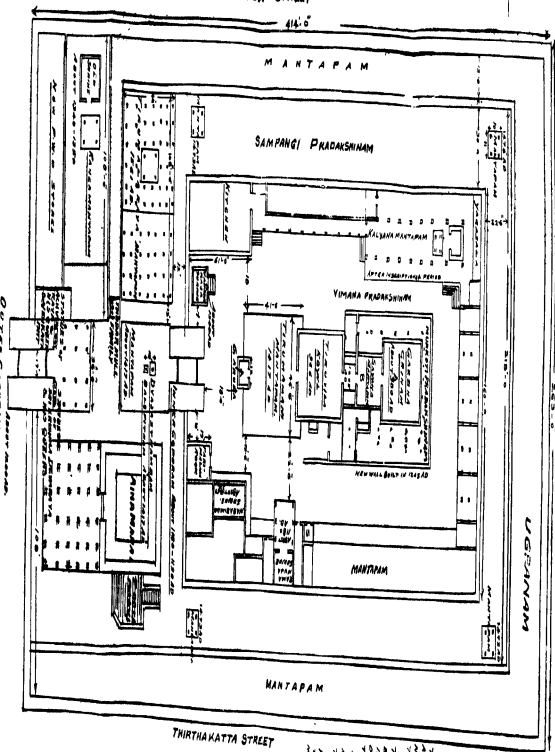
In the old days a pilgrimage to Tirumala was not without its risks and discomforts. Rulers and men having wealth and influence would bring with them a retinue of followers for purposes

of safety. During the years when the Muslim Emperor of Delhi and the Nabob subordinate to him, the French and the English were fighting for political supremacy conditions seem to have been far worse than during the Vijayanagar rule. Reference was already made in Chapter I as to how the British were employing the caste Hindu sepoys to safeguard the routes during the Brahmotsavam period. But neither the British nor the Muslims ever set foot on the Hill out of respect to the sentiments of the caste Hindus. After the management of the temple passed into the hands of the Mahants in 1843 A.D. circumstances made it necessary to violate the old traditions. Increase in the commission of grave crimes even within the Mahant's Maṭam on the hill and the non-co-operative attitude of the Mahants to facilitate detection compelled the Government to establish in 1872 a police station on the hill and a police force to maintain law and order. European district officers of the magistracy, the police and the excise departments were permitted to ascend the hill, for exercising supervision and control; but not other officers. The exemption was, however, extended to others also at the discretion of the Mahant.

A very commodious and well-furnished Travellers' Bungalow was constructed in recent times for the halt of a European Governor of the Province. This bungalow has since been improved by the Devasthanam Committee. A hill which according to tradition burns away all sins, became a rendezvous for criminals committing grave crimes and European officer had to be welcomed on the Hill. The Travellers' Bungalow is in a lovely spot overlooking the pathway to Chandragiri and on the shores of the Ananthālvār tank which supplies drinking water to the pilgrims.

SOUTH MADA STREET

414.5



VAINI THAKARTTA LANE

USANAM

EAST MADA STREET

TIRUVENGADAM TEMPLE BY STAGE ABOUT 1700 AD

OLD BRICK HOUSE

THIRTHAKATTA STREET

HOUSES



The temple was built by the Chola rulers in the 11th century AD. It is one of the most important temples in the region. The temple is dedicated to Lord Venkateswara. The temple is known for its intricate carvings and sculptures. The temple is a fine example of Chola architecture. The temple is a must-visit for anyone interested in Indian history and culture.

P.K.V. Unnikrishnan
 11.9.1952

CHAPTER VIII.

PART (2)

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE:—Gopurams, Prakarams, Pradakshinams and the Structures thereon.

THE Sanctum is surrounded on all sides by three compound walls known as Prākārams or Āvaranams. The space enclosed between these walls increases in width, the narrowest being between the Garbhagraham wall and the first prakaram and the widest being that between the outer and the middle prākārams. As is usual there is only one entrance for each prākāram which is on the east side and gopurams have been constructed over the two outer entrances. The space enclosed between each set of prākāram is called a pradakshinam or antarmāṇḍalam or circumambulating space. The pradakshinam surrounding the Garbhagriham has, however, remained closed for the public, except for one day in the year, for about seven centuries past.

After circumambulating the mahā-pradakshinam, the pilgrim arrives at the main gateway of the temple or Periya Gopura Vāsal or Padikavali. At a distance of about 120 feet from this gateway is the inner Gopuram with its gateway. From these gopurams take off on either side high compound walls about 4 feet in thickness which completely enclose the ground covered by the temple.

The outer Gopuram.

The outer Gopuram stands on a quadrangular base, 38 feet south to north, and 32 feet east to west. The gateway or opening called Mukha Dvāram or Tiruvāsal is in the middle and about 11 feet wide. There are two cutstone door frames symmetrically placed from either end. The door jambs, the sills and soffits of these are of wide and thick cut stone and carved in the traditional

style. The front doorway alone has folding doors hung on pivots and made of stout lattice wood work, backed with thick battens fastened together by stout iron nails having artistic heads. The doors are closed during nights after temple service, bolted and locked from inside. There is also a trap door on the left side door which is kept open on occasions when the main doors have to be kept closed. Only the privileged few are allowed to get into the temple by this trap door. The compound walls emanating from the outer gopuram measure 414 feet east to west and 263 feet south to north.

No inscription records the date of construction of this Gopuram and the prakāram attached to it. An approximation could however be made. There is an inscription on the right side front face of the door-jamb wall of the Gopuram dated the twelfth regnal year of Tribhuvana Chakravartiga Sri Yādarāya Viranarasinga Dēvar which records the gift of 62 cows and two breeding bulls for the daily supply of ghee for lighting two Nandāvilakku. The year would correspond to 1217 A. D. The place where the inscription is found leads us to believe that the outer Gopuram had come into existence before that date. Chronologically the next inscription is on the door-jamb wall (front) in Sanskrit language and Grantha script. That states that Sriman Viranarasimha Deva Nripati having conquered his enemies and having become famous, assumed all the emblems of royalty—such as elephants, garland, svēta chchatram—also that he had himself weighed against gold and that with that gold he made Vēnkatagiri rival Suragiri (or Mount Meru) in brilliance. This event would have taken place late during his reign and perhaps some time about 1260 A.D. There are many other inscriptions of still later dates on this Gopuram. But the one which deserves notice is fragmentary and is in a niche above the first tier of the Gopuram to the south of the passage. Translated into English it reads, “Kshēmāsura who is Ganapati for him who forcibly expelled from the town.” These words appear to refer to the exploits of the Emperor Sundara Pandya who reigned from 1251—1275 A.D. The fragment may be assigned to about the year 1260 A.D. It might be surmised from this that the outer Gopuram, although constructed before 1217

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A.D. had only a bald terrace until about 1260 A.D. when the first tier of the gopuram appears to have been raised. The construction of a bald Gopuram (without the tiers) might have been the work of one of the earlier Yādavarāyas, perhaps Ghaṭṭi Dēva or Rājamalla or even Sri Viranarasinga. It may be stated here that all the inscriptions relating to Jaṭavarman Sundara Pandya (the overlord of the country from 1251 A.D.) are on the right and left base of the inner Gopuram, including No. I-45 of the year 1264 A.D. and No. I-51 which refers to his crowning himself in Kānchi. The presence of a fragment in a niche in the first tier of the outer gopuram leads to the inference that the tiers of the outer Gopuram were constructed at a very late period when some of the Pandyan inscriptions had even gone to pieces. We know that Sāluva Narasinga Dēva endowed the village of Durgasamudram for the purpose of constructing and repairing gopurams etc., about the year 1472-1482 A.D.¹ The tiers might have been constructed during that period. The construction of the prākāram walls might have commenced soon after the completion of the Gopuram (without the tiers). At any rate, at the time when Sri Ranganathaswamy of Srirangam was brought to Tirumala about 1320 or 1330 A.D. the outer prākāram walls were in existence, since the shrine for Sri Ranganatha abuts the south prākāram wall. Inscriptions however were not made on these walls until the end of the 15th century or the beginning of the 16th century. The most conspicuous is the one on the east wall, outer side, south of the Gopuram inscribed by the personal engraver of Sri Krishna Deva Maharaya. It is in Sanskrit poetry and prose and Telugu script. In it the geneology of the Emperor is traced from the Moon. The geneology is only a preamble to an endowment made by him in the year 1513 A. D.² of three villages from the income of which a Brahmōtsavam was to be celebrated annually for Tiruvengalanātha Dēva for the merit of his father Narasāyaka Uḍayāru and his mother Nāgarājam mangāru. A Kanarese version of the same in Nandinagari script is on the south wall of the second prākāram. It is thus seen that the third or outer prākāram wall came into use for inscriptions long after the second one had been largely used.

1, II. 79; 1482 A.D.

2. III. 65, 1513 A.D.

THE SAMPANGI PRADAKSHINAM.

(Or the third Avaranam.)

Leaving the outer Gopuram passage behind, the pilgrim enters a mantapam 36 ft. × 36 feet standing on sixteen pillars and adjoining the Gopuram. In front of this and at a distance of about 50 feet therefrom is a similar mantapam situated in front of the inner Gopuram. This will be described later. These two mantapams, with the open space in between practically cover the width of the front or eastern portion of the Sampangi Pradakshinam, which is the name given to the quadrangular space between the outer prakāram and the next inner one. Although the frontage or open space here is about 120 feet in width, on the other three sides it is hardly 50 feet. The structures and objects found in this portion will now be mentioned.

Krishnarayar Mantapam:—This one adjoins the outer Gopuram above mentioned. This name is given to it for want of a better one. The objects which come to view therein are a number of statues, placed on either side of the passage with their back to the west wall of the gopuram. It is worth noting that all the statues of the emperors are bare-bodied except for the under-wear or loin cloth. This is in conformity with the rules enjoined by the Āgamas and the Purānas when going to worship the Deity in a temple. There are thirty two rules for observance and these will be given later. On the north side are three statues in bronze which represent **Sri Vira Krishnadeva Maharaya** with two of his queens, **Tirumala Devi** on the left and **Chinna Devi** on the right. The emperor wears the crown which is said to be of his own design. On the south side are three more, the first one being the copper statue of **King Venkatapatiraya**. The next two are of stone representing an Emperor and his queen. The Devasthanam epigraphist has stated that they represent probably Tirumalaraya and his queen Vengalāmba. This, however, does not appear to be a correct surmise as none of our inscriptions couples with his name the Emperor's titles. They are more likely to represent **Achyutaraya Maharaya** and his queen **Varadajiamman**. There is a clear cut Vaḍagalai caste mark on the fore-head of the Emperor, just below

the crown. It is an undisputed fact that Achyuta Raya was a staunch sectarian Sri Vaishnava. Soon after his liberation from the Chandragiri fortress, he was given a sacred bath in the Tirumala Temple with the consecrated water poured from the conch used for the daily Tirumanjanam of Bhōga Srinivasa. The coronation then took place in the temple itself for the first time. This conch (Sankham) would have been handled for this purpose only by an Acharyapurusha since an archaka would not have been accepted by that emperor as a religious preceptor. Kumāratatayyāgar, son of Eṭṭūr Sottai Tirumalanambi Tholappar Iyengar, who was a prominent Vaḍagalai Achāryapurusha would naturally have done the abhishekam and crowning ceremony. It has to be borne in mind here that Achyutaraya personally performed the Srinivasa Sahasranāmārchana while the archaka had to content himself with reciting the 1,008 names. This shows how conceited he was as a Sri Vaishnava devotee. The statue shows that he was a Vaḍagalai. It is also seen from an inscription of his endowment for the celebration of a Lakshmidēvi festival in Tirumala that he preferred to be styled therein as Swami Achyutaraya Maharaya (not Sri Vira Achyutaraya Maharaya) and his wife as Swami Varadāji Amman. Swami is generally the eponym prefixed to the name of a Srivaishnava held in veneration. For the above reasons, we may state confidently that these two statues represent Achyutaraya and his queen Varadajjamman. By way of contrast, it may be noted that there is no caste mark on the forehead of Krishnadēvarāya and Venkatapatirāya. Venkatapatiraya has a long garland of beads (lotus or tulasi) round his neck; so also Achyutaraya. Although Achyuta and Krishna wear the kanṭhi (neck ornament) the kanṭhi of the latter has something like a rudrāksham in the middle. There are three other statues stationed near the Dhvajastambha mantapam and facing north. They are those of Khemaran (Todara Mall) and his family Mata Mohanade and Pāta B b̄.

Ranga Mantapam.

Abutting the east and south walls of the outer prakāram and to the south of the Krishnarāya mantapam is the Ranga Mantapam standing on high basement and measuring about sixty feet

east to west and 108 feet north to south. At nearly its southern end is a small shrine about 12 feet square which has long been kept closed. The shrine appears to have been the abode of Sri Ranganatha of Srirangam during His stay in Tirumala in the years 1320-1360 A.D. After the idol was conveyed back to Srirangam the shrine seems to have been closed. In front of it is the big Sēshavāhanam screening the above shrine. A portion of the mantapam on the eastern side as well as the western side has been converted into store rooms. This Ranga Mantapam might have been constructed by Sriranganatha Yadavaraya, the local ruler, to accommodate Sri Ranganatha of Srirangam when the idol was removed from Srirangam owing to the fear of molestation by the Muslim hordes of Malik Kafur about the year 1310-1320 A.D. The shrine is a small one owing to the fact that only the Utsava Vighram was brought over. Consequently a small Mūla Vighram would have been manufactured locally to serve as Mūlaberam, and installed within the shrine. The mantapam is spacious enough to accommodate the fairly large number of refugee Pancharatra worshippers who would have gone over from Srirangam to Tirumala for carrying on the worship according to the Pancharatra Agama, which is different from the Vaikhānasa Agama of the Tirumala temple. The spaciousness of the mantapam suggests that when Sri Ranganatha was here His daily services according to the Pancharatra āgama were performed with great eclat by the large band of Sri Vaishnavas who accompanied that Deity. This left its mark on the present composite form of daily worship since developed in Tirumala and in the many festivals introduced which were before foreign to the Vaikhanasas. It is worth reminding that congregational worship in Srirangam was current even at the time the Silappadhikaram was composed (பலர் தொழுது ஏத்தல்) in 756 A.D.

The Tirumalarayan and Anna Unjal Mantapam.

Next to the Ranga Mantapam and extending to within 12 feet of the east prakāram wall of the inner Gopuram is another spacious mantapam measuring 40 feet east to west and about 80 feet north to south. This mantapam consists of two parts constructed at different periods. The southern or inner portion (10 ft. × 45 ft.)

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has a more elevated basement than the front one and might have been constructed by Sāluva Narasimha in the middle of the 15th century for celebrating the **Anna Unjal Tirunal** instituted by him in the year 1473 A.D.¹ This structure was renovated and extended to its present size and shape by **Araviti Bukkaraja Ramaraja Srirangaraja Tirumalaraja** in the last quarter of the 16th century. In this mantapam other festivals like the **Vasantōtsavam**, were also celebrated during Tirumalaraja's time. This Mantapam has finely carved high pillars depicting a warrior riding a horse standing erect on its hind legs over an elephant, etc. It is in this Mantapam that the Processional Deity, Malayappan has been annually holding His **Asthanam** or **Durbar** on the evening of the hoisting of the **Garuḍa Dhvajam** on top of the **Dhvajastambham** to mark the commencement of the **Brahmōtsavam**. The **prasadam** distribution on this occasion called **Tirumalarayan pongal** is a delicacy greatly appreciated by pilgrims. Although the endowment made by him for that has disappeared, the **pongal** continues to be offered regularly. In the middle of the older structure stands the cut-stone carved pavilion where the Deity is seated for the occasion. This Mantapam practically touches a portion of the **Dhvajastambham** Mantapam. At its north-east corner is a small raised pail where the elephant (on whose back during the **Brahmotsavam** days a pot of the water from the **Akasa-ganga** falls is brought in street procession) bends down for the person bringing the water to alight. The above structures are all on the southern side of the open space. On the northern side there is another Mantapam about 42 feet square with an enclosed room of about the same size in continuation. This room is called the **Aina mahal**, and is of late origin. Its front mantapam is now used for vending **prasadams**. In an article contributed to the **Asiatic journal** of the Year 1831 by the highest **Revenue Officer** of the district it is stated that **Addāla** (అడ్డాల) festival was being celebrated most likely in the room in this mantapam the walls being lined with huge mirrors.

Poola Bavi:—To the north of the **Aina Mahal** is a step well called the **Poola Bavi** into which all the flowers used for the deco-

1. This probably is the mantapam mentioned in II. 79 as the **Narasimharaya mantapam**

ration of the Deity are thrown after removal. The tradition is that flowers on the hill should be used only for God and not for man. It is also the rule according all Agamas that flowers removed after use by the Deity should be deposited in a well.

Dhvajastambha Mantapam:—This mantapam appears to have been built for the purpose of affording shelter on the occasion of the Dvajārōhanam ceremony of the Brahmōtsavam. As the festival occurs about the month of September when there are rains, a mantapam has always been a necessity. The Bali-pīṭham and Dhvajastambham which measure together about 15 ft. east to west stand practically in the centre of this mantapam in front of the inner gopuram. The **Balipitam** which stands in front of the Dhvajastambham is square in shape and made of cut-stone, broader at the base and decreasing by steps to a smaller size at a height of about 5½ ft. The Bali-stone on top is about a foot in diameter. The structure was in recent years covered with gold gilt copper plates. The **Dhvajastambham** or flag-staff is a long piece of timber circular in section and encased in gold gilt copper sheeting. It stands on a cubical cut-stone structure also covered over with gold gilt copper sheets.

It is an uncommon thing that these two structures should be found outside the inner gopuram and in the space known as the third Āvaranam (between the second and the third prākāram). In its earliest days this temple would have had only one Āvaranam surrounding the Garbhagriham. The Āgama rule, rather practice, in such a case is to locate Garuda, the Dhvajastambham and the Balipīṭam in the first āvaranam itself in the following order. Divide the frontage of the first āvaranam into four equal parts. Garuda and Dhvaja would be in the second quarter, Garuda being nearest to the Vimānam. The Balipīṭam would be in the third quarter. Where there is a second āvaranam also (the space between the inner gopuram and the first prākāram wall) Garuda would be placed in the second quarter of this āvaranam and Dhvaja and Balipīṭam would come in the third quarter of the āvaranam. This second āvaranam was built about 1190 A.D. Garuda, the Dhvajastambham and Balipīṭam would therefore have been

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

within the second āvaranam until the date of construction of the Tirumāmani Mantapam about 1417 A.D. As that construction left little space for the Dhvajastambham and Balipitam, they were shifted to the third avaranam. The Vaikhanasa āgama however recognises this arrangement also as a last resort; but they should be in the third quarter and not in the first where we find them now.

The other three sides, viz., south, west and north sides of the Sampangi Pradakshinam were, while constructing the prakāram walls, left as mere open space. But in due course, corridors of the mantapam type were constructed abutting the walls on one side and carried on pillars at the other end. These have high basement. On the south side this corridor is about 17 to 18 ft. in width, leaving an open space of 30 ft. width for the pradakshinam. But in recent times the corridor has been converted into a number of rooms for storing the samans of the floats for the floating festival and also for storing the wooden dolls used for decorating the car for the car festival. On the west side the corridor is 26 ft. in width, with three rows of pillars. A large part of this space has been converted into rooms called **Ugranam** (store room) for storing the provisions required for preparing food offerings such as rice, pulses, ghee, jaggery, sugar, oil etc. These are usually purchased in bulk and stored. The pounding and cleaning of rice, pulses and other articles are carried out here under the supervision of an officer called **Ugranam Parpatyadar** till recently. This duty was originally performed by the **Jiyangar** who about the year 1390 A.D. was entrusted with the task under the designation “**Koil Kelvi**” **Jiyar**. It was his job to examine and approve the quality of the articles and to issue the daily requirements. Without his permission no article would have been received or issued. It is stated in the Asiatic journal (already referred to) that in 1831 A.D. the Jiyangar assisted by his Ekāngis was the Store keeper acting under the orders of the Parapatyadar (the chief officer). The north side corridor is similar to that on the west and has been converted into a number of rooms. The open space or the Pradakshinam on the west side is 22 ft. 6 in., wide while that on the eastern end is 25 ft. There is a long room known as **Ramanuja Kutam** where the portion of the food intended for pilgrims is freely distributed.

The next room is known as **Padi Potu** where panyarams or (fried and baked preparations and sweets) are made for being offered to the Deity. As in these preparations portions of ghee and some other articles once used are kept over for future use, the place of preparation is removed from the kitchen where cooked food is prepared. Next to this room is the **Yamunatturai** where flower garlands are daily made to exact sizes required for decorating the Dhruva Beram and other deities. It owes its name to Yamunācharya or Sri Ālavandār who is said to have given a start to this kind of work in his days. The next room is filled with articles of the float. The original purpose for which these corridors were constructed might have been for the procession of the Utsavar Beram around the Pradakshinam on rainy days when street procession was impracticable and also to afford shelter to pilgrims in inclement weather. That purpose, however, is not being served now.

Saluva Narasimha's four Mantapams in the Sampangi Pradakshinam.

At each of the four corners of the open space there is a small mantapam on four pillars measuring about 10 ft. square. These were constructed by Sāluva Narasimha about 1470 A.D. in the name of himself, his wife, and his two sons. It was arranged that on almost all festival occasions the processional Deity should be seated at each of these and that food offerings should be made there and distributed to the pilgrims. Even now they serve the purpose during the forty days of Vasantotsavam soon after the Yugādi day. This pradakshinam is called in the inscriptions Sambaga chchurū (சம்பாகச்சூறு) the word Sambagam being the Tamil equivalent of Sampangi or Champaka. There might have been several Champaka trees therein, whose sweet smelling flowers were daily offered to the Deity.

The Inner Gopuram.

After circumambulating the Sampangi pradakshinam we arrive at the inner gopuram. The inner gopuram measures at its base

24 feet east to west and 36 ft. south to north, the width of the gate-way or entrance being 9 feet. It is similar to the outer gopuram in design. The compound or prākāram walls emanating from this gōpuram measure on the outside 235 ft. east to west and 160 ft. north to south. These walls as in the case of the outer prākāram, are faced on both sides with well dressed cut-stone, the thickness of the walls being about 3 feet. There are numerous inscriptions on the outer as well as the inner face of these walls and also on the base and the walls of the gōpuram. The general feature of these is that the older inscriptions are on the basement and walls of the gopuram, the next in point of time being those on the inner face of the prākāram walls. The outer faces of these walls contain inscriptions of the 15th and 16th centuries.

The date of construction of the gopuram is not given in any inscription. There are however a number of these—some complete, some incomplete and others fragmentary—on the base and the walls of the gopuram itself which enable us to fix the date of construction with some degree of probability, if not of accuracy. The earliest of the complete inscriptions is on the south base (left inner side) dated the 19th regnal year of **Tirukkalatti Devan**. It records an **endowment** made by him of all the lands of **Kudavur village** to Tiruvengadamuḍaiyān for His daily Nimandam or daily worship and food offerings. There are two other inscriptions, one dated the 34th regnal year of **Sri Viranarasinga Yadavaraya** on the south base (right inner side) The other is an incomplete inscription of the Saka year Vikrama on the north base (left outer side) and it records the grant of some village (name missing) by **Nayanar Pillai-Viranarasinga**. The year Vikrama corresponds to 1220-21 A.D.¹ The earliest inscription being of the year 1209 A.D. we can safely assume that the inner gopuram was then in existence. There are, however several other inscriptions which though fragmentary still enable us to state that the **gopuram would have been constructed,**

1. As the word Nāyanar is prefixed to the name we presume that the inscription belongs to the later Chola period when either Viranarasinga or his son Pilla viranarastngar made the grant. The later Vikrama year 1280 A.D. is not the likely one as the Cholas were not then in power and the prefix Nayanar would not have been used

at least the base portion of it, **some time in 1160-1170 A.D.** These inscriptions are on the north base of the gopuram and are partially hidden by the thickness of the prakāram wall which obviously was constructed a fairly long time after the gopuram itself. If at the time the inscriptions were made the construction of the prakāram was at least in immediate sight sufficient space would have been left for the thickness of the wall while inscribing. Or it may be that this portion of the prakāram wall was cut open and reconstructed in 1244-50 A.D. when the temple was renovated which will be discussed later. These inscriptions are largely the work of Sri Anandālvān's grandson Venkaṭatturaivar. Anandālvān is presumed to have been born in 1048 A.D. and would have been 90 years old when Sri Ramanuja died in 1137 A.D. Assuming that Anandalvan's son and grandson were born at intervals of 40 years, the grandson Venkatatturaivar would have been 10 years old when Sri Ramanuja died. The inscriptions made by him convey his pledge (probably to his father) to carry on the Nandavanam work and also the amudu paḍi and sattuppaḍi (either for Tiruvengadamudaiyan or for Sri Ramanuja's temple in Tirumala).¹ The temple or shrine of Sri Ramanuja might have come into existence about 40 years after his death. Seeing that a similar temple was in affluent state in Tirupati in 1220 A.D. the assumption of an earlier origin for the one in Tirumala is justifiable. Tradition ascribes the consecration of this shrine to Pillai Tirumalanambis. More details about this fragmentary inscription are given in the chapter on the temple of Govindarajaswami.

THE VIMANA PRADAKSHINAM.

After crossing the inner gopuram we enter the open space which is now called the Vimāna Pradakshinam. This is a quadrangular space enclosed between the walls of the second prakāram

1. This is a fragmentary inscription I.79 D on the East wall inner side south of the inner Gopuram which indicates something about Ramanuja Emperumanar on a day in Saumya year. This year can be no other than 1129-30 A.D. If the base of the inner gopuram was then in existence Anandalwar's son would have got it inscribed on the base like so many others. The inference therefore is that the inner gopuram was commenced after 1130 A.D.

of the inner gopuram and the walls of the first prakaram which surround the Sanctum. The open space of this Pradakshinam between the gateway of the inner gopuram and the large mantapam to the west of it, the Tirumamani or Mukha mantapam, is hardly 18 ft. Consideration of the Sanctum will be taken up later. In addition to the structures composing the Sanctum, there are a large number of other cut stone-structures, shrines and mantapams within this Vimāna Pradakshinam. These leave a comparatively narrow width of open space surrounding the Sanctum. It is this open space which is called the Vimāna Pradakshinam.

Anga Pradakshinam.

It is in this space that pilgrims circumambulate the Sanctum. Women and men while in great distress of body and mind some times take a special vow (or prārthana) that when freed from distress by the Divine Grace they would take a cold plunge bath in the sacred waters of the Swāmi Pushkarini and with the wet clothes on circumambulate the Sanctum in a prostrate condition. **This circumambulation is called Anga Pradakshinam.** The person rolls round the Sanctum on the stone pavement of the Vimana pradakshinam in a prostrate condition so that every part of the body touches the floor. Some attendant (a relation usually) would help him or her in keeping to the correct position and in changing at corners. The structures abutting the second prakāram wall will now be stated.

Sri Varadarajaswami shrine.

This shrine is about 7 feet to the south from the inner gopuram and 2 feet from the East prakāram wall. It is a small one about 20 feet in length and 15 feet in width and is dedicated to Sri Varadarajaswami. The history of this shrine will be given later. The pilgrim circumambulates this shrine also except during Anga pradakshinam.

An inscription on its north wall dated sixteenth regnal year of Sriranganātha Yādarāya (1354-55 A.D.) shows that the Temple

was built before that date. It was probably built during the Malik Kafur's invasion of the South and was meant for Sri Varadarajawami of Kānchi. To the south of this shrine is the main kitchen known as Pōṭu and is about 61 ft. × 30 ft. standing on a basement 2½ ft. high. The cooking of all articles for the day's food offering to the Deity is done here. New earthen pots only are used every day. Once used they are broken and never used again. The supply of these is a Mirāsi right called Kumara Svarūpam. The supply of fire wood from the temple forests was also a Mirāsi right. The present supply is however from Government forests taken on contract by the Devasthanam, the coupes being worked under the supervision of the Government Forest department. There is a small shrine inside and close to the door-way of the kitchen and the presiding Goddess therein is known as Madapuli Nāchchiār, who keeps watch over the doings of the cooks. In front of this kitchen and adjoining the corridor which runs to the west is the well known **Bangaru Bavi** from which all the water required for the temple and the kitchen in particular is drawn. This well is considered to be a holy one. The site of it is as directed in the āgama

Corridor:—The height of basement of the **Corridor** which starting from the kitchen runs west is the same as that of the kitchen. Its roof adjoins at one end the second prākāram wall while the other end is carried on cut-stone pillars. There is also an intermediate row of pillars 7 ft. distant from the end row. The total width is 19 ft.

Kalyana Mantapam.

The western end of the corridor has been converted into a large mantapam 80 ft. × 36 ft. called the Kalyāna mantapam. The date of its construction is not known but it may be assigned to the end of the 16th century. Architecturally it is similar to the Tirumalarāya Mantapam. The pillars are exquisitely well carved and the ceiling of the roof of the central portion possesses beauty. At its western end is situated a small shrine with a small but beautiful mantapam carried on slender cut stone pillars well

sculptured and surmounted by a Vimānam. Behind the shrine is a raised portion called the **Yagasala** where **Homams** are performed in connection with **Brahmotsavam** and other festivals. This mantapam is called the **Kalyana Mantapam** because **Kalyanotsavam** (or marriage festival) is celebrated here. Whenever a pilgrim pays the prescribed fee and requires it to be done, Malayappan and His Consorts are brought here to take part in this festival. The mantapam and the festival are both of late origin. The festival is described in a separate chapter along with other festivals. This mantapam is also used by the processional Deity Malayappan and His consorts in connection with the **Brahmotsavam** and the **Adhyayanotsavam** for long periods. The idols are then housed in the small shrine above referred to and the decoration etc., take place in the small mantapam in front of it. From the day of **Dhvajārōhanam** of the **Brahmotsavam** to the day of the **Dipāvālī Āsthanam** (in the **Purattasi** and **Arppasi** months) Malayappan resides here and not in the **Sanctum Sanctorum**. So also for a period of twenty-three days in the month of **December** in connection with the **Adhyayanotsavam**. The **Āsthanams** take place during those days in this mantapam only.

The width of this mantapam necessarily contracts the open space of the **Pradakshinam** to about **11 feet width** and even the processions of the Deity have to pass through this narrow space with difficulty.

The west corridor:—This corridor is similar to the one on the south side, but a little wider. It is also divided into a number of rooms for storing **Vāhanams**. In a small room the **Devasathanam** publications are now being kept for sale. In this part of the **Pradakshinam** some **Ārjitam** Festivals are sometimes celebrated in haste. A devotee might have taken a vow to perform a **Garudōtsavam**. But on that particular day it might not be possible to spare the time to take Deity in street procession on the **Vāhanam**. In a case like that the **Vāhanam** would be placed in the **pradakshinam** with the Deity seated thereon; the music played with tom tom and the **hārathi** performed. A silver wand would during this short time be placed in the hands of the devotee who will go an even number of times round the **Vāhanam** in

pradakshinam and the festival would be considered to have been fully performed. We next pass on to the **Northern corridor**. This one has **acquired a little more importance** than the others. At nearly the western end of this corridor which is an open verandah those who are religiously minded would sit down and read portions of religious books. The Madhwas will particularly be seen doing this. Standing at the edge of the corridor opposite to the north face of the Vimanam the pilgrim's attention would be drawn to the bas-relief representation of the gold gilt copper plate repousse of Sri Venkateswara the Dhruva Mūrti, on the top portion of the Vimānam. On this side of the prākāram wall also are to be seen the most **ancient inscriptions of the Chola period in full and also Sri Vira Krishna Devara Maharaya's endowments**. There are a few rooms in the corridor which are occupied by the Mirāsi servants, such as the Gammikars (cooks), the Kaikālas or lighting servants and the Vagapadi (the place where panyarams are stored for purposes of issue or sale to pilgrims) people. There is also a room for keeping the pallaki (Palanquin) of the Deity. In another small room partitioned out of the verandah are preserved the copper plate engravings of songs in praise of Sri Venkateswara by Tāllapākkam Annamācharya and his descendants. Next to this is the Sabha Arai which is the wardrobe of the used-up clothing of the Dhruva Mūrti. Pilgrims are permitted to press this cloth to their forehead in veneration.

Sri Ramanuja Shrine.

The next one is the shrine of Sri Ramanuja, the great Sri Vaishnava Acharya. The history of this shrine will be given separately in this chapter. In front of the shrine and on a level with it is its Mukha mantapam. All Sri Vaishnavas worship here and receive tirtham and Saṭhāri. There is however no independent puja for the Acharya. A portion of all prasadam offered to Sri Venkateswara is first transmitted to this shrine to be offered to Sri Ramanuja. Also, on several occasions the distribution of food offerings in goshti (*i.e.*, according to the order of precedence) is made in this Mukha mantapam. Special honours are shown to this Acharya on certain festival occasions as he was responsible

for placing the worship and other affairs of this temple on a sound working basis. No other Acharya and none of the Alwārs find a place in this temple although they have been admitted into the pantheon in other temples. Ramanuja's adherence to the Pancha-
atra form of worship did not stand in the way of the recognition of his shrine by the Vaikhanasa archakas, who serve him every day with tirtham and prasadam.

Sri Narasimhaswami Temple.

This shrine is much later in origin than that of Sri Ramanuja or of Sri Varadarajaswami. As will be seen from its position and its environs, it is a make-shift arrangement made in haste. The history of this will be given separately.

There were other rooms such as the **Chandanam room** and the **Parimalam room** which have since been removed. In the former the grinding of the sandal paste on the sandal stone was carried on daily by manual labour for making up the required quantity of chandanam. In the Parimalam room the articles of perfumery required for the daily abhishekam of Bhoga Srinivasa Mūrti and for the Friday abhishekam of the Dhruva Mūrti as well as punugu tailam, turmeric paste, saffron paste are prepared and kept here by the Periya Jiyar who supplies the same when required. Devotees who pay for the performance of Friday abhishekam are given these articles in separate silver cups to carry round the Vimāna Pradakshinam and then to deliver them in the Garbhagrham before the abhishekam commences. Of the articles of sacred Panyarams the one which is known as **Manoharam Undai** (or ball) kept in Vagapadi room has acquired a special fame. On occasions when high dignitaries of State, Maharajas or great men of religious fame are received by the temple authorities in Tirumala, according to custom, Manōharam, Chandanam and Srīpādarenu are taken on a silver plate and given as a mark of distinction at a spot prescribed in the rules and regulations of the temple. This Manōharam is made of cleaned black gram and rice fried in ghee pounded, mixed with juggery treacle and made into balls. Although other sweets of greater delicacy have come into vogue, Manōharam claims antiquity, priority and distinction.

CHAPTER VIII

PART (3)

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE—THE SANCTUM.

IN this part of the chapter the following subjects will be dealt with.

The construction of the architecturally designed walls encompassing the old walls of the Garbha Griham and the construction and gold gilding of the Vimanam.

The demolition of the walls of the original first prākāram, the consequent mutilation of the stones bearing inscriptions, the construction of the walls of the present first prākāram and the use of the old stones bearing the mutilated inscriptions for lining the inner face of these walls.

The conversion of the front portion of the pradakshinam formed by the above walls into a room called Rāmar Mēḍa.

The closure of the other three wings of the Pradakshinam also, from daily use. The conversion of the Snapana mantapam into a safe room and the construction of a new mantapam in front of it called Tirumāmani mantapam.

The removal of the Garuḍālvār shrine, the Dhvajastambham and Balipīṭam from their old places to the present ones. The shrines of Sri Ranganātha, Sri Varadarāja and Sri Narasimha Swami. The shrine of Sri Ramanuja.

Facts which at one time would have been common knowledge have long since been forgotten. So also circumstances which gave rise to certain practices have been forgotten, but the practices have grown into usages which are now considered inviolable. Even silly ones which violate the dignity of man became sacerdotal.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE

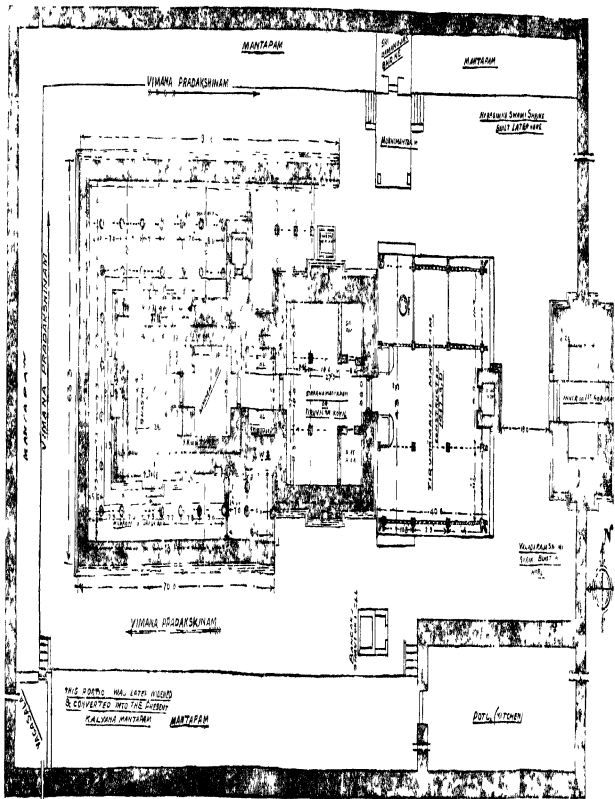
As an example of the latter the difficulty which the poor pilgrim always had to face for worshipping Sri Vēnkatēswara in His temple may be cited. Even the Finance Minister of the Nizam of Hyderabad, Rajah Raghottama Rao had to seek the help of Lord Clive to obtain the privileges of darsan due to his rank. He left a message to Lord Clive suggesting ways in which the hard lot of the poor worshipper could be bettered. In those days and even till 1933 A.D. the crowd was so unmanageable and the difficulties were so many that the servants in the temple, whose duty it was to maintain order within the Sanctum, got into the habit of using freely a deer skin thong on the back and even the head of the worshipper. The scene became so common that the worshipper soon attached to that blow a certain sanctity. He who did not receive that blow was considered to have been left unnoticed by Sri Venkateswara. People courted the blow. Next came on the scene the policeman and the boy scouts. Till 1876 A.D., the policeman was an unwelcome figure on the Hill. He now dominates the innermost precincts of the temple with his uniform and head dress. The āgamas proclaim curses on the man who goes into the Temple with the upper part of his body covered with clothing. These are days when we seek the policeman and not our acharyas to help us in our devotional visits. Who enters the Sanctum now without a shirt on? In Tirupati itself there is a Gangamma temple—a sacredotal importance attached to the pujari of the Kshudra Devata—who during the days of the annual jatra goes through the streets with a broomstick and a dust pan (పొడిపాత. లా). Morning and evening women can be seen waiting with their young children for this priest to pass by and to hit the head of the children with his dust pan and the broomstick. This act is supposed to bestow on the recipient immunity from visitation by evil spirits and illnesses. So much importance is not attached even to the Sri Sathāri of Sri Venkateswara.

The real shape and size of the temple in Tirumala have remained a secret or a riddle. There are practices, rather usages in relation to the structures which no one can question and not even enquire into. Some of these will be described in this chapter for the first time. Even persons who are intimately and hereditarily connected with the working of the temple are not aware of these. A description

of these practices has now been made possible by a study of the relevant inscriptions found on the walls of the temple and in the light of careful measurements of the Sanctum structures. Mathematical accuracy is not claimed for these measurements; but they are accurate enough for all practical purposes. There is really no such interval as 'off time' in the daily routine work of the temple to afford facilities for taking measurements. There are again structures which are treated as sacred and which should not be subjected to measurement. Who could stretch a tape or a piece of string to measure the height or the width and girth of the Dhruva Bēram (Mūla Mūrti) and the other Bērāms and appurtenances in the Sanctum? The entire structure including the Vimanam is proportioned to the size of the Dhruva Beram. The measurements taken subject to these limitations claim sufficient accuracy.

The Garbhagriham and Mukhamantapam a double structure.

For the first time we learn that the Sanctum Sanctorum, consisting of the Garbhagriham and the Mukhamantapam attached thereto, is a double structure. Two distinct and separate sets of walls do exist one set enclosing or gripping the other with perhaps an airspace (or antarmandalam) in between. The Vimanam was built along and in connection with the new (or outer) walls of the Garbhagriham between the years 1244 and 1250 A.D. The outer faces of the walls of the old temple bore at least four ancient inscriptions in Tamil referable to years 966 A.D., to 1013 A.D. True copies of these were taken before the new walls were built to enclose the old ones. By inference we learn that the old temple had a pradakshinam and prākāram walls surrounding it, wherein twenty oil lamps were daily burning and also that those prākāram walls were, and should necessarily have been, demolished to make room for the width of space required for the construction of the new walls of the Garbhagriham. In the process of demolition of the prākāram walls all old inscriptions relating to gifts and endowments made by members of the royal families of the Cholas and their feudatories and dependants got mutilated due to careless dismantling



THE TIRUMALAI TEMPLE OF SRI VENKATESWARA SVAMI

AS IMPROVED IN 1250 A.D. (SRI VENKATESWARA SWAMI)

IS SHOWN WITH WALLS (REMOVED)

T. K. Srinivasan
S 11 1951

TO FACE PAGE VII ONE
C.W. 1188 REPRESENTS WALLS
CONSTRUCTED ABOUT 1250 A.D. TO
BLOCK UP THE PRADAKSHINAM
OR MANDAP PRADAKSHINAM

DRAWN BY G.R.
1951

work. A new set of prākāram walls was constructed for the new temple and such of the inscribed stones as were salvaged were lined on the inner faces of these walls. The outer faces of the new walls were kept perfectly clean and clear of inscriptions except for the ancient ones which were copied out from the walls of the old temple. We also learn that the local ruler Vira Narasinga Yādavarāya who probably financed the reconstruction work and who was a feudatory chief under the Pandya King Sundara Pandya and who raised himself soon to the status of a king, had himself weighed against gold and made use of that gold to make Tirumala rival in brilliance the Suragiri of the Dēvas. This should be taken to mean that after building the Vimānam he covered it with gold gilt copper plates. His overlord Sundara Pāndya placed a gold gilt Kalasam on top of the Vimānam (about 1262 A.D.). **The new first pradakshinam** which was in use for some years after its construction was soon closed to the public and the front or eastern wing of it was walled up on the north and south sides converting the enclosed space into an apartment which is now called **Ramar Meda** (ராமர மேடை சமூகவாசி) in front of the Mukhamantapam. Two inscriptions found on the south wall go to show that this closure might have taken place sometime between 1265 and 1285 A.D. **The other three sides of the pradakshinam, now known as the Mukkoti-pradakshinam** were also closed to the public by doors placed at the two ends which are kept locked, except for two days in the year (i.e., on the Mukkoti Ekādasi and Dvādasi days). It is also noticed that the width of this pradakshinam is not the same on all the sides. The north wing is more than double the width on the other two sides. The pillars in the middle row of the north wing indicate that the change of width was a eleventh hour idea. A Gomukham (or narrow passage in the wall to drain off water from the Gaubhagriham) about nine feet in length running through the wall was built and subsequently closed, as it would have been found impossible to keep it functioning.

The outer face of the south and west prākāram walls was left untouched by the engraver's chisel for nearly 130 years between 1250 and 1380 A.D. and of the northern wall till 1446 A.D. In

this interval several endowments made by the Vijayanagar king and his feudatories and generals were inscribed in nooks and corners of the two gopuram structures and on the walls of minor temples. We have to, and shall speculate for a proper explanation of this phenomenon. There were additions made to the temple structures by converting the old *snapana mantapam* into a safe room and by the construction of a new *asthana mantapam* which went by the name of *Tirumamani mantapam* (which by the way is the name of the mythological *āsthāna mantapam* in *Vaikunṭam* or the *Sri Vaishnava Heavens*). These were done early in the fifteenth century. Consequently, the shrine of *Garuḍa ālvār*, the *Dhwajastambham* and the *Balipīṭam* appear to have been shifted from their original position to their present place. The *āgama* rules support this inference.

The above are the subjects which will receive attention in this part of the chapter.

The Sanctum Sanctorum—A Double Structure.

Reference is invited to the ground plan, drawn to scale, of the buildings composing the sanctum (attached hereto). The ground plan of the old temple is also marked thereon. The two are shown in different colours. Parts of the old temple which remain intact are shown in red colour. Portions which were demolished to make room for the new structures are shown hatched in red. The old *prākāram* walls and the pillars which supported the terrace of that *pradakshinam*, the old shrine of *Garuda* and the original site of the *Dhwajastambam* and *Balipīṭam* are the portions shown hatched.

The effective thickness of the walls of the *Garbhagriham* is found to be about seven feet two inches.¹ In the language of the

1. The old 'silpis' did not use the foot and the inch for setting out their buildings. Their measures were the *daṇḍam*, the *hasṭham* and the *mānāṅgulam*. The thickness of walls would usually be in *hasṭhams* and fractions thereof, such as quarter half and three quarters. Where extreme minuteness was called for, they might have used an eighth also. Twenty-four *mānāṅgulams* made one *hasṭham*. The *Sanctum Sanctorum* had its size deter-

silpi this overall thickness is about five hasthams. The inner measurement of the Garbhagriham is about 12 feet 9 inches square; or nine hasthams (chaturasram sama vrittam) square. This is the largest size mentioned in the āgamas, and is adopted for this temple as the Dhruva Bēram is very tall. The thickness of the walls invariably depends on the proportion which the area of the inside floor space of the Garbha griham bears to the area of the base of the proposed Vimānam which the walls have to carry. This proportion would vary on the quality of the stone available, the excellence of workmanship and the personal equation of the silpi. Ordinarily it would be $\frac{1}{2}$. The other proportions are between $\frac{1}{3}$ and $\frac{1}{2}$ and also $\frac{3}{5}$, $\frac{4}{7}$, $\frac{5}{9}$, $\frac{6}{11}$ etc.¹ The proportion $\frac{1}{3}$ would be for poor material and workmanship. The average would be $\frac{1}{2}$. For our temple the area of the base of the Vimānam (if the old temple had a Vimānam) would have been (2×12'9"×12'9") 324 Sq. feet. Each side of the Vimānam would therefore have been 18 feet. This would give a wall thickness of 2 5/8 feet or 31½ inches. The necessary thickness would thus be less than two hasthams. The silpi might have adopted two hasthams. As the overall effective thickness of the existing wall is 7 feet 2 inches or a little over five hasthams, it is clear that there are two walls enclosing the Garbha griham, the inner one being a little less than two hasthams and the outer a little more than three hasthams in thickness. Calculation shows that a thickness of four-feet, or two and three quarter hasthams, would meet the requirements of safety. The overall thickness of five hasthams might have been

mined so as to be proportionate to the size and the posture of the Dhruva Bēram (Mūla Mūrti). For a Murti of the standing posture with no other mūrti by the side, the room will be square in size, called Ekatalam or single plot. The dimensions of the sides would depend on the height of the Dhruva Bēram. As the hastham refers to the human hand it would vary in length. It was therefore the habit of the silpis to leave engraved on a stone slab in a safe part of the building the exact measure of the hastham adopted. Such a stone does not appear to have been yet spotted in the Tirumala Temple. But from the dimensions of the Garbhagriham it is clear that the hastham adopted would measure about 17 inches in length.

1. "Vimānavistāram trī chatush pancha sapta navaikadasa bhāgam kritvā yathakramēna ēka dvi tri chatush pancha shaḍ amsam garbha griha vistāram"

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

made up of outer walls of three hasthams closely gripping the inner walls of two hasthams thickness. Or it might be that the calculated thickness was employed in both cases and an air space of about 6 inches left between the two sets of walls. This space would be called an 'Antarmandalam' or antarālam or void left between the two structures. The latter supposition might be the correct one judged by the language used for describing the two structures in inscription I. 88. The Tamil expression used for the old temple is Koyil Ālvār (the saintly abode). The second structure is called Kōyilālvārku koyil (கோயிலாழ்வார்க்கு கோயில்) or the temple for the Koyilālvār. The latter is a well understood term among Sri Vaishnavas. In fact every house where puja is offered to God in some form or other would possess a wooden structure of the usual type having one room and a small mantapam in front of the same height as the room. It usually has only a flat roof. It is not improbable that the original temple in Tirumala was of this pattern, but of a large size and in cutstone. If this assumption is correct, that temple might not have had a Vimānam until the construction of the new temple took place sometime between 1244 and 1250 to 1262 A.D. The method employed for constructing a new temple did in no way adversely affect the old structure, which would have been considered very sacred because it was presumed to have been built by the Devas themselves.

The Motive for Renovation.

There were beautiful temples built for images made and consecrated by man (Mānusha pratishṭa), in other places. Here was a poor temple on the most sacred Hill for a Svayam-vyakta Mūrti. The temple was attracting streams of enlightened men. Judged by the fact that the walls of the old temple had on its three faces four long ancient inscriptions, the surface of these walls would have been plain and devoid of any architectural features and sculptures worth mentioning. It probably had no Vimanam to boast of. The word Vimanam does not occur in our inscriptions till about 1262 A.D. in which year Sundara Pandya is said to have placed a gold gilt sikharam on top of it. Every other temple of fame conducting puja according to the Vaikhānasa or the

Pāncharātra āgama had a Garbhagriham whose architecture answered to the āgamic stipulations. The Yādavarāyas were the patrons of this temple and Sri Vira Narasinga was the most famous of these, having risen from the rank of a chieftain to that of a king. He set his heart on building a temple worthy of his Patron Deity and of his own importance. He and his queen were of a devout disposition and had already given away Paiyindipalij village for several services in the Tirupati temple, including the construction of the big four faced car, its gold gilt kalasam etc. To the Vaikhānasa archakas also it meant a higher status since the new temple would make adequate provision for the installation of all or most of the Deities which according to their āgama should find representation even during the daily puja.¹

It has to be pointed out in this connection that in those days the daily puja was a function in which none but the Vaikhanasa archaka had a share. The Jecyars came into the temple a century and half later. There was no recitation of the Tamil Prabandham at any stage of the puja, nor for that matter any where in Tirumala. The First Āḷvar for whom a shrine was erected was Tirumangal āḷvār. It was erected in Tirupati in 1234 A.D. It was an independent temple for which the Tirumala Sthānattars agreed to be trustees. Fifty years later (about 1287 A. D.) a shrine for Nammāḷvār was also built at Tirupati (near Āḷwār Tirtham). Tirumoli was sung in Tamil during the Brahmotsavam in Tirupati only from the year 1259 A.D. But no such Tamil song was sung in Tirumala. The only person who played a part in the daily puja was some member of the family of Tirumala Nambi who recited mantrapushpam slokas during the puja and that was in Sanskrit. Neither the Vaikhānasa nor the Pāncharātra āgama of those days countenanced the recital of the Tamil prabandham in congregational worship of the kind mentioned in Silappadhikaram as having been in vogue in Srirangam as early as 756 A.D. (பலர் தொழுதேத்தல்). The recitation of the Vedas in congregation daily or during the festivals is not mentioned in any of the early inscriptions. It was only in the first quarter of the fifteenth century

1. What the idol and the minimum features of a Vaikhanasa Temple should be are given in a separate chapter.

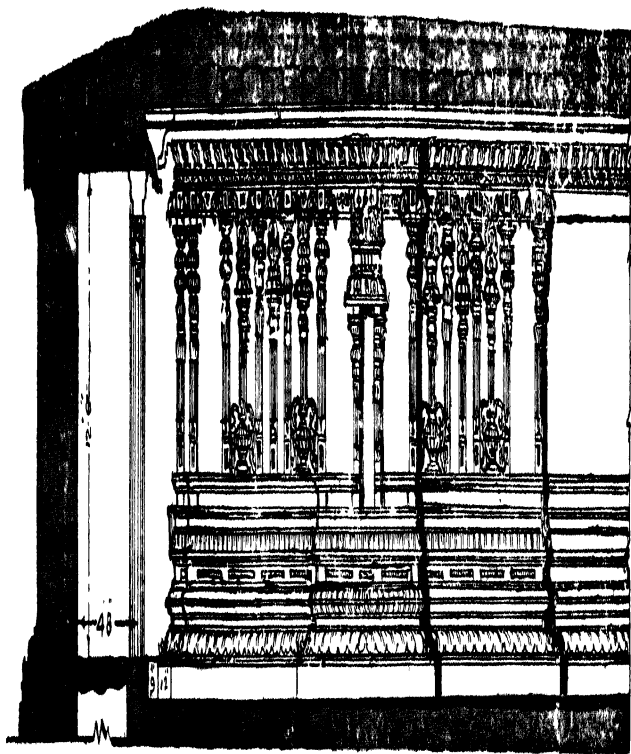
that Sri Virapratāpa Dēvarāya Mahārāya made arrangements for employing twenty-four mahājans for this service, two persons serving by turns every month. The descendants of Tirumala Nambi and Anandāḷvar who were the Āchāryapurushas of the Temple appear to have been the only Sri Vaishnavas who were associated with the Archakas in daily worship. The renovation work of the temple would therefore have been influenced more by the notions of the Vaikhānasa āgama (marichi samhitā).

The Renovation work of the Garbhagriham.

In the inscription I. 88 the old temple is called the Kōyil aḷwār and the renovation work is called Kōyil or Temple. The latter was meant to serve as a temple to house the former, which even now is called Kōyilāḷvārs. The idea is a novel one, because there is no space left between the walls of the two, as far as we can see. Even if there be a space it is not visible. There is nothing said about the Vimanam, whether it is a new one constructed by Vira Narasinga on the walls of the new Kōyil or whether there was an old one which was improved by him.¹

The old temple also had a covered corridor surrounding it on all sides, with an open or covered antarāḷam to permit rain water from the vimanam or roof to flow into the drain below surrounding the walls. These had to be demolished to make room for the foundations and walls of the new structure. A reference to the ground plan, which shows the old as well as the new structures, will make this clear to the reader. **The old prakaram walls should have been demolished before the foundations for the new temple were laid.** The inscription does not speak of the old prakaram walls nor does it state in clear terms that new prakaram

1. If measurements are taken of the base and the height of the present Vimanam it would be easy to form a correct notion. Sentiment however makes it an act of pollution to tread upon the terrace of the pradakshinam for taking measurements. This pradakshinam is now known as the Mukkōḷi Pradakshinam and has been a closed enclosure open to the worshippers only on two days in the year as already stated. People go round and scribble on the walls of the Garbhagriham also on those two days. But treading on its terrace is an act of sacrilege.



END ELEVATION ON THE SOUTH OF MUKKOTI PRADARSHNAM

GARBHAGRIHAM PORTION (ONLY)

DRAWN BY MR.
1/19/52

Hand sketch. not to scale.

walls were built. It says that certain old inscriptions which were on the walls of the old temple and true copies of which were already taken (before building the new temple walls) should be reengraved on the outer face of the north wall of the first prakaram.¹ That there were the old prakaram walls together with pradakshinam could easily be understood from the very large number of stones showing fragmentary and incomplete inscriptions which have been built into the inner face of the walls of the new pradakshinam and also the roughly dressed bald round stone columns used in the new pradakshinam. These columns do not go well with architectural beauty and finish of the new temple walls. The inner faces of the new prakaram walls containing fragmentary inscriptions on the roughly dressed faces of the old stones present a sorry contrast to the walls of the new temple. The portion of the old temple from which these stones could have come should be the old prakaram. The new pradakshinam along with its prakaram walls is also called a temple in the inscription. "கோயிலாழ்வார்க்கு கோயிலுக்கு கோயில்" (a temple for the temple of the Koyilālvār). It is unusual to call the first pradakshinam a temple. A temple usually contains an image for worship. So we must presume that this new pradakshinam was designed to hold within it one or more images for worship. The design of the outer face of the new Garbhagriham walls and the closure of the antaralam space in the roof of the pradakshinam support this view. A look at the plan and elevation of the south wall will show that a niche is sculptured centrally in the body of the wall. There are similar niches on the western and northern walls also. There was (and probably still is) one on the east wall also, a little to the south of the doorway. This has been covered up by one of the thick walls subsequently formed which enclose the Rāmar Mēdai. The space enclosed by these two bits of walls on the south and north sides formed the eastern wing of the new pradakshinam. This was however subsequently walled up. These niches form an essential feature of the design of garbhagrihams according to the Vaikhanasa as well as the Pancharatra agamas. The Vaikhanasas attach greater

1. முதல் ப்ராகாரத்திலே வடக்கு விசையில் புற வாயிலிலே கல் வெட்டுவிப்பது

importance to them. In fact they would have had three more niches at corners on the south, west and north faces to instal deities in all these. It is with a view to preventing rain water from dripping upon and beating against the images that the antaralam or open space in the terrace was closed, leaving only small openings to admit a little light.¹

North side of the Pradakshinam.

For some reason which cannot be ascertained the **north wing of the new pradakshinam was made very much wider** than the wings of the other sides. On all the sides one end of the roof rests on the prakaram walls. The other end is carried on stone beams resting on stone columns of circular section. As was already stated these columns and the beams have no claim to beauty and stand unfavourably by the side of the fine walls of the Sanctum. On the north side the greater width was negotiated by an intermediate row of columns. But these columns (seven in number) being shorter than those in the other row are supplemented by short lengths of cutstone base similarly shaped. This leads to the suspicion that the idea of making this wing wider was an after thought and that such stones as were readily available were used.

It was also pointed out already that the construction of a **Gomukham** through a wall about nine feet thick was the result of hasty execution. A Gomukham which connects the interior of the Garbhagriham with the pradakshinam to serve as a drain should necessarily be of small calibre but capable of being kept clean and clear of all obstruction. Probing with a piece of stick a hole nine feet in length could not be managed from the inside of a shrine which is 12' square and having little free space. Probing from the outside could be managed only if the pradakshinam is more than about 10 feet width. Even so clogging matter would not be permitted to be driven back into the Garbhagriham. So the Gomukham seems to have been closed ultimately. The wider space on the

1. A sketch showing the ideal 'Vaikhanasa temple is given and will be explained at length in a separate chapter on Temple worship and the Agamas.

north side would have been used for holding Āsthānams which were increasing in number. There was really no other mantapam in the temple during those days. The snapana mantapam had its specific purposes to serve.

First Pradakshinam soon closed.

We however find that this first avaranam or **pradakshinam deliberately built was soon closed.** Two inscriptions on the south face of the south wall of the Rāmar Mēdai go to show that this closure would have taken place sometime after 1262 A.D. when sundara Pandya placed a gold gilt kalasam on top of the Vimānam and when in all likelihood Vira Narasinga Yadavaraya made a gold gilt copper sheet covering to the vimanam. The two inscriptions above referred to relate to one Vijayaganda Gopala, a Telugu Pallava chieftain who was one of Sundara Pandya's adherents just like Vira Narasinga. The date usually assigned to him as a ruler is 1250-1285 A.D. But his political life should have commenced much earlier. There are fragmentary inscriptions on the inner face of the Mukkoti pradakshinam walls which go to show that some of his gifts were made before the construction of the new temple and of the new prakaram walls. Of the two inscriptions which are on the south wall of the Ramar Meda one is a complete inscription and was presumably inscribed after that wall (of the Ramar Meda) was constructed. It extols Vijayaganda Gopala for his charitable disposition and states that every living being was benefited by him and that every one was grateful to him. The other inscription is an incomplete one and even fragmentary. The queen of Vijayaganda by name Devarasiyar presented cows for the perpetual lighting of three lamps in Sri Venkateswara's temple. When an incomplete inscription of this type is seen on a new wall of a later date the inference would be that the stone was originally in some other place and was subsequently taken out and set in its present place. It would originally have been on the South wall of the new prakaram at its junction with the east wall. To form the Ramar Meda that end would have been cut open and the stones removed in the process used for the Rāmar Meda wall. The inscribed stone might have got mutilated in the process of

removal and resetting. The surmise therefore is that the Rāmar Mēda was formed sometime between 1262 and 1285 A.D. The eastern end of the south and the north prakaram walls would thus have been opened out while walling up the Ramar Meda. Although the formation of the Ramar Meda blocked up the eastern wing, the other three sides of the pradakshinam were perhaps open to the public for some years. The doors and the walls which now completely seal the pradakshinam are of later date and are not in keeping with the other parts of the structure.

The intention of the builders to treat this first pradakshinam as a Kōyil for four additional Murtis was frustrated by the formation of the Rāmar Mēda although the other three sides since remain open to the public. It could not be classed as a pradakshinam as it is incomplete having lost the eastern wing. The locking up of the passages has also a purpose and significance. It prevented the Pancharatras from making an attempt to form a Chatur murti ālayam by putting up Pancharatra images on the south, west and north walls of the Garbhagriham.

The Closure of the Mukkoti Pradakshinam and the formation of the Room, Ramar Meda—Reasons.

The architectural features of the new temple presented scope and facilities for extending the Vaikhanasa form of worship to the maximum limit. The images on the Vimanam are all of the Vaikhanasa pantheon—Purusha, Satya, Achyuta, and Aniruddha on the first tier and those above likewise. We need not here go into it at length. Lower down on the walls of the Sanctum are provided niches wherein Satya, Achyuta, Aniruddha and Purusha might be installed and consecrated. The pradakshinam was constructed in a manner to serve this end. The ideal Vaikhanasa temple should have nine Murtis. If Nara Narayana, Vārāham and Nārasimha were also installed in addition to Purusha Satya, Achyuta and Anirudhha a completely equipped Vaikhanasa temple would have been the result. The Pancharatras also favour a Pancha (five) Murti temple. Instead of Satya etc., they would prefer to instal the Vyūha avatars Sankarshana, Pradhymna and Aniruddha and

Vyuha Vasudeva. It would not stop there. Within the Garbhagriham itself Brahma, Siva, Markhandeya and Bhrigu have a right to be installed according to the Vaikhanasa and Pancharatra āgamas. Vikhanasa Rishi himself would be placed at the second doorway. They have been and, I believe, are still having their share in the daily puja mentally. Once the installation of new deities was permitted all these would have been installed. Ganesa and Durga, would also come in. Would the followers of Sri Ramanuja and others of the Alvār school of Bhakti have looked on these possibilities with complacency?

In this context we have to review the changes through which temple worship has been passing. The Murtis installed and the form of the worship are only concrete presentations of certain metaphysical ideas of the later Pancharatras. The primeval Being or Paran is conceived of as going through some evolutions for purposes of destruction, creation and sustenance. These are called Vyūha avatārs. He is credited with six gunas or characteristic divine powers for these purposes. They are the pairs Gñanam, Balam; Aisvaryam, Tejas; and Sakti, Vīryam which are the essential powers required for destruction, creation and sustenance. All the six gunas are however present in each. In the conception and modes of evolution the Vaikhanasa differs from the Pancharatrin and Sri Ramanuja's Visishtadvaitam differs from both the above. It is the representation of the above mentioned Vyuha forms that creates differences between the Vaikhanasa and the Pancharatra. According to Sri Ramanuja and his commentator Sri Vedanta Desika these Vyuha forms are not avatars in prakrita sarira like the Vibhava avatars. They are only aprakirta forms having specific powers of the Supreme Being to be meditated upon by Yogis for the attainment of special spiritual faculties. Then again in the actual work of creation, Brahma is said to have sprung from the navel of Vishnu and Siva or Sankara sprang from the irate forehead of Brahma. Brahma was commissioned to create this world and its living beings. His first attempt ended in a failure as the first ones he created, Sanaka etc, were pure Sātvic beings who had no desire to procreate and who straight away merged into the Supreme Being. Brahma in his mood of frustration created from his irate

forehead Siva or Sankara who was full of Tamōguna. That also having failed to fulfil his purpose he created the Svayambhu Manu who peopled this world and so on. This story is briefly told here because they were being represented in a concrete form in temples, and images installed and consecrated according to the Vaikhānasa and the Pāncharātra āgamas. We know that Poygai Muni and Pey Āḷvār took delight in worshipping Sri Venkateswara when dressed to look partly like Vishnu and partly like Siva. That happened before the Image of Sri Vēnkatēswara came to be worshipped according to the Vaikhanasa āgama. In the normal Vaikhānasa temple the Garbhagriham area would be cordoned into four zones. The central one is known as Brāhmya where the flowers etc., of worship are deposited. The standing Dhruva Murti would be installed in the next zone called Daivika. In other cases a portion of the next zone called Mānusham would also be taken up. The outermost zone is called Paisācham. While the Dhruva Murti is in the Daivikam, Brahma would be in the Mānusham close to the wall on the right and Siva would be in the Paisācham zone close to the wall on the left. Markhandeya and Bhurghu would be in a bending and kneeling posture close to the Dhruva Murti. The Vaikhānasas who pride in calling themselves Ādi Vaishnavas conceived of this arrangement in their zeal. Siva in particular is made to wait on Vishnu and is represented as a being born from Brahma and full of Tamōgunam. He would receive a Nyasa flower only after all the Vyuha Murtis and Devatas have been propitiated. Havis or food offering made to Siva in this manner is considered fit to be partaken of only by menial servants. To those who can follow the details of the form of worship and who happen to be non-Vaishnavites the procedure would be provocative. But to the common run of temple goers it would mean that Brahma, Vishnu and Siva form Trimurtis of equal status. In fact, the Vaikhānasa procedure defeats its purpose. The only benefit was to the Archaka who would receive more food offering in the name of each of these images. The Visishtādvaitins of the Ramanuja School would have considered this form of worship as pantheistic. They are monotheists owing allegiance to Vishnu alone. There is another objection to the introduction of the Vaikhanasa images in the temple. The ancient tradition about Tirumala is that Brahma is every night doing

puja to Sri Venkateswara in this temple. The absurdity of setting up images of Brahma, Siva etc., and of the Vyuhās should therefore be apparent. Brahma would worship only his creator Para Vāsudēva. Sri Ramanuja is said to have converted all the ancient temples in Southern India to the Pāncharātra form of worship, because the latter quickly adapted themselves to forms suited to Sri Ramanuja's metaphysical ideas. They abandoned the setting up of those images which irritated both friends and foes. The Vaikhānasa archakas also took to the Pancharatra form as modified by Sri Ramanuja. In Tirumala there was no necessity for him to interfere, because right from the commencement the worship was for one Murti only (Eka Murti), although the orthodox Vaikhānasa considered it the Adhama form of worship. The Kautuka Beram (or Bhoga Srinivasa) was made and consecrated during the days of Sri Āḷavandār and bears the impress of the Shāḍguṇya yantram of Sri Venkateswara, or Para Vasudeva manifesting Himself on earth. There has been no other Dhruva Murti in that temple. The old temple did not display on its outer or inner face any feature which would lend itself to the installation of any other Deity. Sri Ramanuja did not therefore find any necessity to change the Vaikhānasas over to Pancharatra. They carried on worship agreeably to his metaphysical ideas. All the flowers during 'nyāsam' are deposited between the feet of the Dhruva Murti. Even the Bali offering is not made in detail, but all are deposited *en masse*, as it were, on the five Bali stones which stand between the Dhvajastambham and the Bali piṭam. The possibility of Purusha, Satya etc., being installed in the renovated temple and of other images, in consequence thereof, in the Garbhagriham or elsewhere in the temple was shut out by closing up the front portion of the first āvaranam (pradakshinam) and therefore the place of 'Purusha' in particular.

Whether this closure took place during the life time of Vira Narasinga Yāḍavarāya or later it is not possible to say. The complete closure of the pradakshinam might have been done with a view to screening from public view all vestiges suggestive of the attempt to make vital innovations in the form of worship. Vijayaganḍa Gōpāla (Telugu Pallava) became a frequent visitor to Tirumala;

he arranged for the feeding of pilgrims during the festivals in Tirupati and Tirumala and so endeared himself to the Sri Vaishnavas of those days that an inscription on the south wall of the Ramar Meda (one of the two walls which effectually prevented innovation being made in the temple worship) extols him as one at whose hands every one was benefited and to whom every one felt grateful. The great protagonists of the Visishtādvaita Siddhāntam in those days were Nadādūr Ammāl and Kiṇambi Appuḷḷār of Kānchi who would undoubtedly have shaped the religious faith of Vijayagandā Gopala. His attachment to the temple in Tirumala at this juncture (more so after the death of Vira Narasinga) has therefore a special significance.

The non-recognition of other Murtis is the basic principle of the Tirumala temple. There are shrines for Varadarajaswami and Narasimhaswami; but separate puja is not offered to these. There are the images of Sri Rāma and Sri Krishna. They share the worship offered to Sri Venkateswara. It has been the custom from the earliest times that even on the days of Sri Rāma Navami, Sri Jayanti and Nrisimhajayanti the special food offering is made to Sri Venkateswara and not to the concerned deity. This is the main reason for prohibiting the erection of any other temple in Tirumala. Processions connected with festivals for alien deities or even acharyas were not allowed. Even the Sri Vaishnava Āḷvārs were not given recognition in their individual capacity. But in recent years, these ancient usages and customs have been lost sight of.

The Outer Faces of the Walls of the First Prakaram.

(Vimana Pradakshinam.)

It was stated in the earlier portion of this chapter that except for the four ancient inscriptions which were re-engraved on the outer face of the north wall of the first prakāram in the year 1250 A.D. there were no new ones made for about 130 years thereafter on the south and west walls. On the north wall however it was only in 1446 A.D. (two centuries after the re-engraving of the ancient ones) that the next inscription was made. This requires some comment.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE—THE SANCTUM

Inscriptions of endowments made by very great men between the years 1250 and 1380 A.D. are found in other places in the temple and not on the walls of this prakāram. There must be some reason for avoiding the clean walls of this Vimāna Pradakshinam.¹

During all this period of about 120 years the walls of the first prakaram were left without a scratch of the engraver's chisel. Inscriptions were made in odd corners. Endowments mentioned

1. Of those made during the reign of Jaṭavarman Sundara Pandya I, one is by Vira Narasinga himself in 1262 A.D. of the grant of the village of Paḍirivēḍu which is inscribed on the north base of the inner gopuram. Sundara Pāndya's ratification of an old Chola grant of two villages situated on the banks of the Kaveri is inscribed on the west base. The inscription which records the Tularōhanam of Vira Narasinga and the use of that gold for gilding the Vimanam is on the south base. There are again a large number of inscriptions in Sanskrit Grantha characters which sing the glory and fame of Sundara Pandya. All these are recorded in some part or other of the base of the inner gopuram. Inscriptions of grant made to Mahapradhani Singayya Damnayaka of the village of Pōngalūr and of his endowment of the same for specific services (including a daily sardhi food offering); of another endowment by Tiruvenkatanatha Yadavaraya himself of the years 1328, 1332 A. D. are on the outer face of the second prakaram wall to the south of the inner gopuram and two in Sri Govindarajaswamy Temple, Tirupati. Inscriptions of endowments made during the reign of Sriranganatha Yadavaraya between the years 1339 and 1360 A.D. are also in other parts of the temple. (I-104, 1339 A.D. is on the outer side of the east wall north of the inner gopuram; another I-106, 1357 A.D. on the north wall of Sri Varadarajaswami Temple; I-109, 1358 A.D. which states that he built a palace for himself on the Tirumala hill is on the door jamb wall of the Paḍikavili or outer gopuram). Inscriptions of endowments made by the Vijayanagar Mahanayakkar brothers, Yerramanchi Pappunayakkar and Periya Lemmu Nayakkar are also on the door jamb wall of the outer gopuram.

I 41-1262 A.D. I 45 1264 A.D.

An inscription which records the gold gilding of the Vimanam by Mahamanḍaleswara Mangi Deva Maharaja (in grantha and in Kannada Script) are on the north base of the inner gopuram. The grant of a village by the Vijayanagar Emperor Bukkaraya (about 1365 A.D.) for daily sandhi offering and Brahmotsavam and gift of cows by the Vijayanagar Prince Vira Kumara Kempanna are recorded on the outer gopuram door jamb wall.

I. 179; 180; 1357 A.D. I. 178 I 181; 1368 A.D.

in the foot note were made by great warriors who saved Hinduism and its temples from Muslim spoliation and vandalism. Emperors—Bukkarāya and Sundara Pandya; the Yadavaraya rulers, Mangi-dēva Mahārājah, Vira Kumāra Kempanna and the Mahānāyakkār brothers visited Tirumala, worshipped Sri Venkateswara and made their endowments as thanksgiving offerings for the success they achieved against the Muslims. Why did they refrain from having their endowments inscribed in the most conspicuous place which should have been staring before them as blank surface? We are left to speculate on this.

**Why were the walls of the Vimana Pradakshinam
left bare for more than a century?**

We may take it for certain that Vira Narasinga Yādavaraya would not have felt proud of the temple he built in spite of the fact that he had the Vimānam covered with gold gilt plates and that Sundara Pandya placed a gold gilt kalasam on top. The use of the old rough-chiselled stone columns in the new pradakshinam bears testimony to this view. He would have been smitten with remorse at the sight of the mutilated stones bearing fragmentary inscriptions lining every side of the inner prakāram. He would also have been told, though at a very late hour, that the smothering of the old temple was uncalled for and that the architectural features of the new temple were not in keeping with the Eka Murti tradition of the place. He might himself have had the pradakshinam closed and Ramar Meda built in his life time itself.

But what followed after his death would have weighed considerably with those who visited the temple and made endowments in later years. It is not known who succeeded him as king, for he assumed the emblems of royalty and had his Tularōhanam. The use of that gold to gild the Vimanam of Sri Venkateswara would not have been considered by the wise men of those days as an appropriate use. Service to God should be in a spirit of true humility. Tularōhanam in connection with his assuming the emblems of royalty was quite the opposite in spirit. The fact that no one worthy of the name succeeded him and that between 1264 and

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about 1320 A.D. there was a sort of interregnum in his domain, would have been pointed to as a sign of divine displeasure. It was only about the year 1320 A.D. that we hear of Tiruvenkata-nātha Yādavaraya as ruler of the country. He perhaps assumed that name in the spirit that he governed in the name of that God.

South India itself was in a perilous state. Sundara Pandya's conquests up to the river Krishna and the gold gilt Kalasam which he placed over the Vimānams in the temples in Tirumala, Kānchi, Chidambaram and Srirangam did not secure peace to the country. He seems to have had troubles nearer home. Historians tell us that sub-kings had to be appointed to appease his kith and kin. Jaṭavarman Vira Pandya became sub-king in 1253 A.D. In 1268 A.D. Māravarman Kulasēkhara succeeded as Emperor. Jaṭavarman Sundara Pandya II was made sub-king in 1276 A.D. Māravarman Vikrama Pandya II in 1283; Jaṭavarman Sri Vallabha in 1291 A.D.; Vira Pandya II in 1296 A.D. and Jatavarman Sundara Pandya III in 1303 A.D. Māravarman Kulasekhara the Emperor, was murdered in 1310-11 A.D. That was the signal for a civil war between Sundara Pandya III and Vira Pandya II. Muslim help was sought by one of these and the invasion of the south by Malik Kafur was the result. These events would have had their repercussions in Tonḍaimanḍalam also. Tirumala at any rate seems to have been a no-man's land at the end of the thirteenth century. In between 1264 and 1328 A.D. there is a solitary Inscription dated cyclic year **Kilaka** and **Saka 1230** (1308 A.D.) I. 98 which is recorded on the north wall of Sri Andāl's shrine in Tirupati. This endowment makes provision for the feeding of devotees resorting to the temple on certain special festival occasions. Inscriptions were being invariably dated citing the regnal year of the local ruler or his overlord. In this instance there is no reference to the name of the ruler and the regnal year. For a similar situation we have to go back to the Saka year 824 (902 A.D.). That was a period when the Pallava rule had broken down and the Chola rule had not effectively taken its place. The Sabhaiyar of Tiruchchukanoor acted on their own responsibility in expending the nett proceeds of taxes for the upkeep of the temple and the Saka year is cited. After a lapse of nearly 400 years there is now a

similar situation. The Pandyan rule had broken down although it was least felt in Tirumala. There was no local ruler whose name and regnal year the donors of the endowment could cite. The cyclic cum Saka year was therefore cited. The citation of the regnal year is again reverted to from 1328 A.D. to the closing days of Sriranganatha Yadavaraya in 1360 A.D. All the misfortunes to the country would naturally have been attributed to Vira Narasinga's impropriety in closing up the old temple and in erecting a new one which pointed to innovations in temple worship. Even in our days we find ignorant people attributing the failure of rains and consequent famine to the so called sins of the Governments.

The Muslim invasions would have been considered a sign of divine wrath. If Malik Kafur had marched down by the Dāmalcheruvu or the Kālahasti route, Tirumala with its new gold gilt Vimanam and Sikharam would have afforded him the first good booty. But he selected the western route. That choice would have been attributed to the Will or the Sankalpam of Sri Venkateswara. The Hoysāla king Vira Ballāla was one of the first sufferers as his capital was ransacked. But he soon made peace in 1313 A.D. with the Delhi Emperor Allāuḍḍin Khilji by becoming his vassal. Malik Kafur plundered other temples in the South and had to return to Delhi. Mubarak who became Emperor in Delhi sent in 1316 A.D. another invasion and Devagiri was annexed to his empire Vira Ballala therefore took the necessary precautions to meet a further attack on him.

The mountain passes in the Tirupati hills had to be protected. He did this by sending his **Minister and Commander Mahapradhani Singayya Dannayaka to Tirupati to be an ally and military protector to the local ruler.** (I. 102, 99). From the language used in the inscription of his endowments we find that he was a highly cultured Sri Vaishnava. He therefore sought Divine help by inducing Tiruvenkatanatha Yadavaraya, the local ruler, to grant a village from the income of which a daily food offering called Sitakara gaṇḍa Sandhi was instituted for the first time. (I. 99. 1328). The Yadavaraya himself made another endowment for a similar Sandhi offering for the merit of his forebear Yadava Narayana. (I. 100.

1332 A.D.) But both were careful to avoid making the inscription on the walls of the first Prakaram whose faulty construction wrought havoc. The inscriptions were therefore made on the second prakaram wall and in Tirupati.

As a result of the Muslim invasion the Utsava Beram of Sri Ranganatha Swami of Srirangam was carried by a circuitous route to Tirumala for safety. Here the idol was receiving separate worship till about 1360 A.D. when it was reconveyed to Srirangam on the annihilation of the Muslim Sultānate of Madura. Sri Vedanta Desika (one of our great āchāryas of those days) composed his Dayāsatakam in praise of Sri Venkateswara during the period of invasion and his Abhīstithavam before Sri Ranganatha in Srirangam after the downfall of the Sultanate. A confederation of the Hindu rulers under the leadership of Vira Kumara Kempanna the Vijayanagar prince, brought success to the Hindus. The names of all the great men connected with the struggle and the endowments made by them as thanks-giving were mentioned above. The still blank walls of the first prakaram could have been pointed to as the mysterious cause of all troubles or as one too sacred to be touched by the engraver's chisel. It is also possible that none of these entered the first pradakshinam as it would have been kept closed.

The Spell Broken after 1360 A.D.

The spell was however broken after 1360 A.D. Sri Ranganatha the last of the Yadavarayas left no successor. As a result of the political changes in the country the Vijayanagar king became the overlord of South India. Mangideva Mahārāya seems to have been appointed Viceroy of Tonḍaimaṇḍalam. A new set of Sthanattar or trustees came into existence for the management of the Temple. They were natives of Tirupati and knew that there could be nothing wrong with the walls at any rate.

Alagappiranar Tirukkalikanri dasar who was the leader (or Mudaliar) among the Sri Vaishnavas of Tirupati was the first to have his endowment inscribed on the south wall of the prakaram

in 1380 A.D. (I. 184, 1380 A.D.) This was followed by Mullai Tiruvenkata Jiyar in 1390 A.D. since he then rose into importance having become the 'kartar' or manager of the Arisanālayam Nandavanam and maṭam and also one of the Sthanattar of the temple. Then followed other inscriptions. But the north wall was still left untouched till 1446 A.D. in which year Periya Mallayādeva Mahārāja had his endowments inscribed by the side of the ancient inscriptions of the Chola period. The famous Sāluva Narasimharaya also left some of his inscriptions on the north wall. But Sri Virapratapa Vira Krishna deva Maharaya made the greatest use of the north wall even by extending its length (and encroaching into the width of the Vimanapradakshinam). The great gifts made by him and his two queens are inscribed on the north wall and some are also on the south wall. The outer and the inner faces of these walls contain valuable information commencing from about 900 A.D. to the end of the 16th century and some are of even later date. The careful protection of these from the destructive effects of sun and rain is a matter worthy of attention.

The Snapana Mantapam.

This is now a dark room which we enter after crossing the Bangāru Vākili or the golden door way of the temple. It is being used more as a safe room and not as Snapana Mantapam for performing special Abhishekam on certain calendar days. It is no longer a mantapam. The four cut-stone pillars standing in the centre of the room are the only vestiges of the mantapam. Even these pillars do not appear to be the original ones. The old pillars set up about 960 A.D. would have been of circular section. What we now see are square in section, a pattern common during the Hoysala and Vijayanagar periods.

It was in this place, then known as Tiruviṅkōyil, that the silver Mūrti (Bhōga Srinivasa) received His Abhishekam and consecration in 966 A.D. The western wall and the doorway into the Rāmar Mēda would have been constructed (or reconstructed in its present shape) alongwith the new temple and prakaram walls. The other three sides would have been kept open as that

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was the only mantapam available for commencing celebration of festivals and the abhishekam known as Snapana Tirumanjanam. It was however soon realised that this mantapam should be converted into a strong room for keeping the costly articles and jewels of the temple in safety. From a study of the dates of inscriptions now found on its walls (south, east and north walls) it is inferred that when, or just before, the construction of the present Mukha mantapam (or Āsthāna mantapam or Tirumamāni Āmantapam as it was then called) this Snapana Mantapam was converted into a strong room in the early years of the fifteenth century A.D.¹

The doorway in the east wall is now known as Bangāru Vākili (Golden gate). The old circular section pillars in the centre were replaced by those of the square section. The alterations made are shown on the plan which exhibits the original as well as the remodelled condition of the building.

This room would have certainly served as a safe room ever since a new department under the name Por-Bhāṇḍāram was

1. This inference is drawn on a reading of the following inscriptions. On the east wall in which is the Bangaru Vākili and to the south of that doorway and behind the twin bells, there is an inscription in Tamil dated Wednesday Bahula 12. Mīna Month Avittam nak of Sarvadhāri year (along with a short statement in Grantha Sanskrit) that one Madhava Dasai renewed an old river channel and that from the increased yield thus obtained a daily food offering of one Tiruppōṅakam should be made. On the door jamb wall of the Bangaru Vākili itself is an inscription in Kanarese script dated Monday sukla dasami, Māgasira month of Saumya year, saka 1351 which records a magnificent endowment made by Sri Maharajadhiraja Raja Parameśvara Sri Virapratapa Dēvaraya Maharaya, the Vijayanagar Emperor. Another inscription in Sanskrit (Grantha) on the north wall records the gift of a gold paṭṭam (Kīreṣṭam) to Sri Venkateswara by Sirigirēsvara, the son of Vissanna Dēvaraya on Satu day, Sukla Dasami of Ashvada month in the year Sadharana, saka 1352. As against the above there is an inscription on the wall of the record room near the Yagasala which states that the Tirumamāni mantapam was completed by Mallanna (Madhv Dasai) in the year 1417. The inference therefore is that the walls around the Snapana Mantapam are of dates later than 1430.

Saka 1330 I. 194; 195 13-3-149 A.D

I. 192, 5-12-1429 A.D.

1. 193, 1-7-1430

created about the end of the fifteenth century. From an article appearing in the Asiatic Journal for 1831 A.D. it appears as if the 'gangalam' and 'koppara' into which votive offerings are deposited by the pilgrims were kept in this room in direct view of Sri Venkateswara.

The Tirumamani Mantapam.

This is the open mantapam or pavilion standing on 16 stone pillars. It is now called Mukha Mantapam and serves the purpose of an Āsthāna Mantapam also. It measures about 43 feet by 40 feet and is divided by the pillars into three aisles. At the eastern end of the central aisle is the shrine of Garuda. The Dvārapālas (or Divine gate keepers) are on either side of the Bangāru Vākili at the western end of this aisle. While the side aisles are being used for other purposes the central one is left unoccupied and is used for certain daily and other functions and for distinguished pilgrims to stand or rest for a while. It is in this portion and in front of the door way that early in the morning every day Bhaktas recite and sing songs called **Suprabhatam** in praise of the Lord as if to wake Him up from sleep. This is done during the interval taken by the archakas etc., to transfer Bhoga Srinivasa from the swing cot on which He was reposing to His place in the Garbhagriham, to trim the lights, etc. It is in the central quadrangle of this mantapam that the idol known as **Koluvu Srinivasa** (the Bali Beram) holds His durbar after the morning puja known as Tomala seva of Sri Venkateswara is finished; the day's panchangam or calendrical details are read, the daily rice ration called **Matradanam** is given over to the archaka and a preparation of fried gingelly seeds, powdered dry ginger and country sugar is offered to the Deity and distributed to those assembled. On the afternoon of the commencement of the annual **Brahmotsavam**, the 'utsava murti' Sri Malayappan with the two Nāchchimars are decorated and seated here in a Tiruchchi. Those who have made the prescribed payment for the celebration of the **Brahmotsavam** are invested on the wrist of the right hand with the **Kankanam** (the saffron coloured string) in the usual ritualistic manner and receive the silver wand which they later carry in procession with the Deity.

In the old days when there was no Kalyana Mantapam, the Utsava Murti was accommodated here night and day for a long period, from the day of commencement of the festival to the day of celebration of the Dipavali festival. The same was done for about 22 or 23 days during the Adhyayanōtsavam in the month of Mārgali. On the night of **Sri Jayanti**, the Abhishekam for Sri Krishna takes place in the central quadrangle and simultaneously an abhishekam and twelve āradhanams (Dvadasa āradhanam) are done for Ugra Srinivasa (or Venkatatturaivar) at the eastern end near Garuḍālvar's shrine. The latter is an anomalous apology for the Dvadasāradhanam (12 āradhanams) which He should have received on the tenth day of the annual festival. This mantapam (its central aisle) is also used for heaping on the floor an enormous quantity of cooked rice and condiments so that Bhoga Srinivasa Murti might be brought over to the Bangāru Vakili for accepting the food offering called **Tiruppavadai**. The poor from the adjoining villages gather by previous intimation and take away all that food. God does the poor feeding off and on in Tirumala. It is a very costly festival. A special abhishekam festival known as **Sahasra Kalasabhishekam** (1008 vessels of water are consecrated with appropriate rituals) is held in this central aisle. Sri Malayappan with Nachchimar, Bhoga Srinivasa and Vishvaksēna are brought over here for receiving the abhishekam. Devotees pay heavy sums for this. On the night of the **Sattumurai** of Sri Ramanuja's twelve days, festival he is given here a grand reception by the Utsava Murti. The **reading of the Kausika Puranam and other Puranams** take place here in the āsthānam. The four principal āsthānams or durbars on the occasion of the Yugādi, Anivarai (Dakshināyana Punyakālam), the Dipavali and the Makara sankramanam or Sankranti also take place here. The **Anivara asthanam** is a particularly impressive function when the drama of observing an old tradition is annually enacted. All the principal officers of the temple (hereditary and otherwise) deposite there the ensignia of office at the feet of Sri Malayappan and are reinvested because they have been found fit to continue in office. It is again in this mantapam that the marriage festival of Sri Venkateswara known as **Kalyanotsavam** used to be celebrated before the kalyanamantapam was constructed.

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It is in the northern aisle of the mantapam that the daily financial transactions of the temple take place. In its west quadrangle is placed a long gangālam (large brass vessel) covered with a long canvas spout and guarded by peons. All votive offerings are deposited in this vessel called **koppara**. They range from hairs removed from the head of men and women to diamond necklaces, earrings, kammals, gold bangles set with precious stones, bundles of currency notes, gold, silver and copper coins of all denominations, current and uncurrent. It is sometimes a moving sight to see ladies removing all the valuable ornaments they wear so dearly and wrap them in a yellow cloth and drop the bundle into this koppara, then worship the koppara, circumambulate it and go away contentedly. Even those who have not taken a vow deposit at least a rupee or some coin into this koppara.

In the next compartment the chief officer of the temple called **Parapatyadar** is seated in direct view of the koppara. The contents are emptied every afternoon soon after the second bell or naivedyam and the sorting and counting take place openly in the presence of all assembled. This is called **parakamani**. Some of the respectable visitors are invited to witness the scene and to attest after the counting and sorting is completed and entered in the books by the parapatyadar. Tickets are issued by accountants and shroffs sitting in the next compartment for moneys received for admission to the various ārjitham darsans.

At the western end of the southern aisle hang the twin bells which keep ringing with their deafening noise for well nigh an hour when Sri Venkatesa is presumed to be going through the **naivedyam** or the Divine Dinner of all the food offerings prepared. All the doors of the sanctum remain closed during this interval, the archakas alone having the privilege to remain inside. In other temples a pair of hand bells serve the purpose as perhaps the quantity of food offered is small.

Lastly it is through this mantapam that the poor pilgrim approaches the sanctum in a **queue** during the short period set apart for **Dharma darsanam**. The soul of the donor of this mantapam, Mallanna is surely dancing round the mantapam every day

in ecstasy while the soul of Samāvai has become one with Bhoga Srinivasa in the Garbhagriham itself, another Andal of this yuga.

Sri Narasimha Swami Shrine.

This Deity is known by two other names in our inscriptions, viz., Aḷagiyasingar (the beautiful lion) and Venkaṭattari (lion of Venkaṭa). The Shrine was constructed in haste perhaps during the years 1330 to 1360 owing to the fear of desecration of Hindu Idols by the Muslim iconoclasts, and meant either for the Deity in Shōḷangipuram or the one in Ahōbilam. But it does not appear to have served that purpose. The archakas have a special attachment to Narasimha and Varahaswami as they go to make up the Nava Murtis of their āgama. Narasimhaswami is also the patron Deity of the Ahōbila maṭam, also called the Van Saṭhagopan Maṭam. In 1469 A. D.¹ Kandadai Rāmānuḷa Iyyangar made the first endowment for a food offering of one Tiruvōlakkam to this Deity on the Panguni Amavasya and Vasanta Pournami days. This might have been to appease the archakas and bring them round to accept his next move to celebrate Adhyayanotsavam in Sri Ramanuja's temple in 1476 A.D. In 1493 A.D. one Dattirāja Timmayya of Konakonṭa who was a disciple of Sri Van Saṭhagōpa Ji, yar made an endowment for food offerings during the 30 days of Tiruppaḷḷi eḷuchchi and for offering *atirasappadi* on each of the days of Sri Jayanti, Vasanta Pournami, Sri Rama Navami and the seventh festival day of each Brahmōtsavam of Sri Venkateswara. The food offerings would be made to Sri Venkateswara only in honour of Narasimhaswami. He made over to his ācharya the donor's share of the prasādams. Again two of the accountants of the Tirumala Temple made an endowment for food offerings in connection with the reading of the Kaisika Puranam on the Utthāna Dvādasi day. There is separate provision in this endowment for food offerings in the name of Sri Narasimhaswami, Ponnemeynda perumal (or Varadaraja) and Varāhapperumal.

II. 88. 39 28-2-1469

II. 101. 15-6-1463

II. 115. 9-3-1494

The Shrine of Sri Ramanuja in Tirumala.

This Shrine abuts on the north wall of the second prakaram; and the vimana pradakshinam separates it from the Tirumāmani mantapam. In size it is about 15' × 12' with a Mukhamantapam 20 ft. long. The Shrine is in fact a portion of the north corridor abutting on the prakaram wall. It could not therefore be assigned a date prior to the construction of the prakaram wall, which, as was already discussed, could be assigned to the second quarter of the fifteenth century. Sri Vaishnavas would not however subscribe to the belief that the Shrine was constructed about that time. Certain inscriptions, traditions and considerations arising therefrom will be placed before the readers. They may draw their own conclusions.

There are three shrines of Sri Ramanuja; one in Tirupati, one on the way to Tirumala at a place called Mulangal murruppan (or *mokalla metlu* at the summit of that hill) and the third in the Tirumala temple. Although we are for the moment concerned with the one in the Tirumala temple it is necessary to refer to the shrine in Tirupati also because a near enough date can be assigned for it.

Sri Ramanuja's Shrine in Tirupati.

An inscription (I-89) on the west and the south bases of Sri Ramanuja's Temple in Tirupati states that in the month of Āvani of the Vikrama (cyclic) year ൫൫ is wrongly put for ൫൫ in the inscription) the fifteenth regnal year of Vira Narasinga Yādavaraya, certain Sri Vaishnavas made an endowment (dharmam) for the lighting and the supply of flowers for the Emperumānār Shrine. This year corresponds to 1220 A.D. A later inscription in the third regnal year of Sri Ranganatha Yādavaraya shows that the shrine owned some lands which were overgrown with shrubs and that water supply was made available for its cultivation (and reclamation) from the Periya-ēri (big tank) in Tirupati.¹ This inscription is a niche on the right side below the inner gōpuram in Tirupati. A third inscription² in the left wall in the front mantapam of Sri Ramanuja's

1. I. 103; 1339 A. D.

2. II. 57; 9-7-1475 A.D.

Shrine in Tirupati shows that it had its own corpus for which one *Yatiraja Jiyar* was the 'kartar' (or manager) and that *Udaiyavar Emperumanar's* annual festival was being celebrated in the month of Chitra. The endowment was made in connection with that festival by one *Annan Tiruvenkaṭayyan*. There is a fourth endowment³ dated 20th October 1475 (inscribed on the east wall of the front mantapam of that shrine by *Mudaliyar Saṭhagopadāsar Narāsimharāya Mudaliyar* (one of the chief Sri Vaishnavas or Mudaliyars of Tirupati) in connection with *Sri Ramanuja's Sattumurai* during the Chitra festival. On the 9th of May, 1476 another endowment⁴ was made by the same donor in the name of *Kandāḍai Rāmanuja Ayyangar* for offering a daily *Tiruppōnakam* etc., in the Tirupati Shrine.

Sri Ramanuja's Shrine in Tirumala.

Saṭhagopadasar Narasimharayar also made an endowment for food offerings to be made on various other occasions and for different purposes in Tirumala. The inscription relating to this is one of the key inscriptions in the Tirumala Temple. It is placed on the south wall of the second prakaram. It makes provision for offering daily one *Tirupponakam* to *Sri Raghunatha (Sri Rama)* in the Tirumala Temple. It is the first time that the existence of this Deity in Tirumala Temple is mentioned. It is also the first time that the shrine of Sri Ramanuja and the celebration of an *Adhyayana utsavam* in front of his shrine for 12 days in the month of Chitra are mentioned. There is a further provision therein of 11 *tiruvolakkam* for the celebration of his monthly birth star in the other months of the year. There is also provision for the celebration of the annual birth star (*āṭṭai tiru-nakshatram*) of all the 12 *Āḷvārs* by having their respective works recited in front of Ramanuja's Shrine. The inscription shows that the Non-brahmin *Sāttāda Sri Vaishnavas* also recited the *prabandhams* along with the *Sāttina* or Brahmin *Sri Vaishnavas* in front of the *Udaiyavar* shrine during the 12 day festival for *Udaiyavar* in the *Chittirai* month. *Kandāḍai Ramanuja Ayyangar*

3. II. 63;

4. II. 67

was responsible for this innovation. We have shown that there are references to Sri Ramanuja's shrine in Tirupati from 1220 A.D. onwards; but for the shrine in Tirumala the earliest one is of the 1476 A.D. The shrine abuts on the prakaram wall which obviously came into existence in the second quarter of the fifteenth century A.D. The inscription does not say that Saṭhagōpadasar constructed the Tirumala Ramanuja's shrine (as he did Raghunatha's temple in Tirupati in 1481).

There is a tradition that the shrines of Sri Ramanuja in Tirumala and Tirupati were constructed more or less simultaneously soon after the death of Sri Ramanuja. The *Guruparampara* account says that a shrine was constructed in Srirangam (Koil) by Thirukkurukaippiran pillān, the gñanaputra of Sri Ramanuja; that Mudaliyānḍan (another disciple) constructed the shrine in Sriperumbūdūr, the birth place of Sri Ramanuja; that Kidāmbi Āchchān, Nallān and some others constructed a shrine in Tirunarāyanapuram and installed Āḷvārs also there; that Naḍādūr ālvar installed Sri Ramanuja's idol in Kānchipuram and that Pillai-Tirumala Nambi installed one in Keeḷai Tirupati, a second at the spot now called Dōvabhashyakar Sannidhi, where Tirumala prasādams of Tiruvēngaḍamudaiyān were presented to him on the occasion of his glorious visit and the third in the Sannidhi of Tiruvēngaḍamudaiyān. Apart from this tradition and account we know that Anandāḷvār and his son were devoted disciples of Sri Ramanuja. The grand-son viz., Ānandālvān Venkaṭatturaivan has left an inscription (which stands as an incomplete one) on the north base of the first gopuram in the Tirumala temple. It reads translated into English. (I. 172.)

- in the Margaḷi month of—year (—ஸ்ரத்து மார்கழி மாஸத்து)
 —taḷvan's grand son (—தாழ்வான் பேரனா)
 —offered for kind acceptance (—உகந்தருளப்பண்ணி—)
 —for amudupaḍi, sattuppadi (—ற்கு அமுதுபடி சாததுப்படி).³

1. The Dēvasṭhanam epigraphist translates உகந்தருளப்பண்ணி as "having installed." The word உகந்து does not mean 'installed.' It means only making one to be pleased or be agreeable to do something.

THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE—THE SANCTUM

There are two other inscriptions in a similar incomplete condition which only go to show that Anandālvār Venkatathuraivar took a pledge to carry on the Tirunandavanam (or flower garden) and some other dharmam of Sri Ramanuja. This pledge might have been given to his father when he was in his old age or about to die.

There is nothing in these inscriptions which could be construed as stating that there was a shrine for Sri Ramanuja in Tirumala on that date which may be about 1170 or 1180 A.D.¹ Inscription I-172 only shows that 'amudupadi' and 'sattupadi' were meant for some (Deity) in the month of Margali when the inscription was made. It might well have been for Sri Venkateswara's Temple for Dhanurmāsa food offering.

The Tirumala Temple in those days had not sufficient resources to carry on the daily Nimandam (puja including food offering) and the Sthānattār represented the matter to Tirukkālattidēva Yādavarāya when he was camping in Avilāli near Tirupati in his 19th regnal year (1209 A.D.). He then granted with libations of water all the nanjai and punjai lands situated within the four boundaries of Kudavūr together with all taxes, etc., for the niman-dam. So at the time Venkaṭatturaivar made his inscriptions the temple stood in need of 'amudupaḍi' and 'sāttuppaḍi.' It is therefore reasonable to assume that Sri Ramanuja himself would have asked that 'amudupaḍi' and 'sāttuppaḍi' should be supplied by his disciples

2. I. 171—வரையும் என் உடையவர் (to the end of my life)
as my Udayavar

— ய ய -ம் ஆக நடத்தக்கடவேன் (as Emperumanas
Dharmam I shall carry on)

— அனந்தாழ்வான் வெங்கடத்து (Anandalvan Venkatattu)
வரையும் may stand for என் உயிர் உள்ளவரையும்)
(for எம்பெருமானாருடைய)

I. 173.—கரு திருபதியில் ஆசாரிய புருஷ - Acharyapurusha in
Tirupati

—ழ்வான் பிள்ளை வெங்கடத்து - aḷvan piḷlai Venkatattu

—மலையில் திருவனந்தவனத்து - on hill thiru nandavanatti

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regularly to the Temple of Sri Venkateswara. There was no likelihood of a shrine having been erected for Sri Ramanuja at that time. The tradition however is that his images were installed simultaneously in Tirupati and in Tirumala. In Tirupati there was one in 1220 A.D. (which was after 1209 A.D.). It is therefore not unlikely that a small shrine was built in Tirumala also or at any rate that an idol was installed in the temple. The idol might have been subsequently shifted to the present shrine after it was built some time before 1476 A.D. Since then attention was paid to the maintenance of the shrine. In fact it needs no maintenance. We find that food offerings even when intended for Sri Ramanuja were by stipulation of the donor first offered to Tiruvengadamudaiyan and then brought to the shrine for being offered to Sri Ramanuja. This has always been the procedure in Tirumala. It is inconceivable that a shrine would have been built in Tirupati when there was none in Tirumala.

Other Relevant Considerations.

Sri Ramanuja's association with Tirumala was intimate in many ways. His mother (Bhuppirāṭṭi) was married to Kesava Somayaji of Sriperumbūdūr in Tirumala after the latter's conversion to Sri Vaishnavism by Tirumala Nambi. When Yādavaprakasa from whom Ramanuja was receiving his general education in Sanskrit in Kānchipuram declined to give him any further instruction owing to acute differences between the pupil and the teacher in the interpretation of certain debatable texts and when Sri Ramanuja sought his mother's advice as to what he should do next she unhesitatingly advised him to follow the footsteps of his great uncle Tirumala Nambi and carry water from the Sāla well in Kānchi for the daily Abhishekam of Sri Varadarajaswami (சரலைக்கிணர் திருமஞ்சள கைங்கரியம்). It was in Tirumala that Sri Ramanuja learnt from his uncle the several esoteric meanings of Srimad Ramayanam. When in later years he visited Tirupati and Tirumala as the acknowledged leader of all Sri Vaishnavas, his uncle received him with unprecedented temple honours at the spot where stands the Dōva Bhāshyakar Sannidhi on the Mōkalla parvatam or the knee breaker hill. Sri Tirumala Nambi's second son Tiruk-

kurukaippirān Piḷḷān was adopted by Sri Ramanuja as his gñāna-putra. We are also aware of the tradition that when Saivites laid claim to the Tirumala temple as being a Saivite one it was Sri Ramanuja who came to Tirumala to establish it as a Vishnu Shrine. In his great work Sri Bhashya, the opening verse is a devout prayer to the Supreme Brahman. He equates therein Brahman with Srinivasa. His prayer in short is that Srinivasa may endow him with knowledge founded on Bhakti and not mere intellectual learning. He emphasises therein the universal tradition that Para Brahman has manifested Himself on the Tirumala Hill as Srinivasa.¹ His association with Tirupati has been equally intimate. He installed and consecrated the idol of Sri Govindarajaswami after the same was cast away from Chidambaram by Kūlōttunga Chola I. He formed the little village surrounding that temple which was known for a long time as Ramanujapuram. He converted Tirupati into a flourishing little town by making it incumbent on those who wished to serve in Tirumala to become permanent residents of Tirupati.²

Knowing so much about all that was done by him for enhancing the fame of Tirumala and Tirupati it would be a surprise to be told that no shrine was dedicated to him in Tirumala when there was one in Tirupati about 1200 A.D. Inscriptions are not the only evidence for this. There are inscriptions in Tirupati because every temple and shrine there was and had necessarily to be provided with an independent corpus for its maintenance. The Temple of Sri Govindaraja, the shrines of Sri Ramanuja and Tirumangai Ālvār had each its own funds. Not so in Tirumala. Sri Ramanuja's shrine would have been from the commencement a part and parcel of Sri Venkateswara's pantheon. There could not exist, according to ancient usage and tradition, any other independent shrine, except of course the Shrine of Sri Varahaswami. There could not therefore have been independent puja for any other Deity there. The Ālvārs have not been installed there, because they do not dovetail into the Vaikhānasa Āgama according

1. That slokam has since been incorporated as part of the mantra-pushpam during the daily puja.

2. I. 124 fragmentary inscription but intelligible

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to which the daily worship of Sri Venkateswara was fashioned from the days of the installation of Bhōga Srinivasa when we hear of a karmārçhana for the first time Sri Ramanuja did not consider it desirable, nor would it have been possible for him, to disturb old arrangements to which his own uncle Tirumala Nambi was a party.

There however still remains the question how is it that none of the great bhaktas and the other great men who made endowments ever thought of associating Sri Ramanuja's name with some endowment or other and how was it that the year 1476 A.D. was singled out for the celebration of a twelve day festival in Chitra month, for his monthly birth star days and for the recitation of the prabandham of the Alvārs in his presence during their birth star (or Sattumurai) in Tirumala? The chequered history of prabandham recital during Adhyayanōtsavam in Sri Vaishnava temples, working even on the Pāncharātra system, gives the reply. Serious objections were raised by worshippers of Vishnu in general who did not subscribe to the Sri Vaishnava doctrines as promulgated by Ālavan-dār and Ramanuja to the recital of Tamil songs in a temple where worship was being carried on according to rituals prescribed in the Āgama based on Vedic texts in Sanskrit. The use of Tamil verses at any stage within the holy precincts of the temple was considered an act of pollution. Sri Vedanta Desika is said to have exposed the hollowness of the objections in his Satadūshani No. (65) which is said to have been composed before the invasion of the south by Malik Kafur. There was subsequently confusion caused by the Muslim invasion and Sri Ranganatha was removed from Srirangam to Tirumala. Until all the confusion came to an end and Sri Ranganatha was taken back to Srirangam, (after a brief stay in Senji) by the Vijayanagar commander Gopanna all festivals were suspended. When shortly after 1348 A.D. the Adhyayanotsavam was resumed, the same objections were again raised and Sri Vedanta Desika had again to meet these objections in an assembly specially convened by Gōpanna. These difficulties arose in the biggest Pancharātra temple at Srirangam where the recital of the Ālvārs' Prabandhams was in vogue before. In Tirumala the objections to the recital of these songs would have been

all the stronger as the Vaikhanasa Āgama does not recognise any other mantrams or slokams than those contained in the Sanskrit Āgama. Nor do they recognise the Ālvārs as saints with the spark of divinity in them. Even Sri Ramanuja did not unsettle the Vaikhanasa form of worship in vogue. His uncle Tirumala Nambi contented himself with bringing water from Akasaganga for the abhishekam and puja and with performing the mantrapushpam by reciting the riks, etc., and offering Tulasi. According to the Vaikhanasa agama even this is the prescriptive right of the archaka. It is seen from our inscriptions that until the year 1360 A.D. the prabandham was not recited in any part of Tirumala. In that year the first attempt was made in front of the main Gōpuram (Periya Tiruvasal or outside the temple) by reciting the Tiruvoimōḷi of Nammālvār during the Brahmotsavam before the Deity was taken back into the temple. The recital was not within the temple. Sri Vaishnavas who had witnessed the grandeur of the recital of the prabandhams in the Pancharatra temples of the south set their heart on initiating it in the Tirumala Temple. The first attempt was therefore made in the Udaiyavar Emperumanar shrine in Tirupati in the year 1475 A.D. or a short time before that. In that year two endowments were made, one by Aṅṅan Tiruvēnkaṭayyan on 9-7-1475 and the other by Saṭhagōpa dāsar Narasimharāya Mudaliār on 20-10-1475 for food offerings in connection with a twelve day festival for Udaiyavar Emperumanar in Tirupati ending with Sāttumurai on the day of his birth star Arudra in the Chitra month. The inscriptions do not state in clear terms that the prabandhams of the Alvārs were sung at the time. This attempt was extended to Tirumala in 1476 A. D. The non-brahmins were associated with the brahmins in the recital of the prabandhams in front of the shrine of Sri Ramanuja. The dissenters if any would have been the Vaikhanasa archakas and other Vaishnavas who did not profess the Sri Vaishnava cult. As there were other items in the endowment such as a daily food offering for Sri Raghunatha etc., and as the recital did not take place in the presence of Sri Venkatesa, the attempt proved successful. Further, just about that time, the Vaikhanasa archakas were under a cloud as one of their folk was guilty of embezzlement of temple jewels, etc. Sri Ramanuja's shrine and festival offered the most

convenient venue for the attempt to introduce the Tamil prabandham into the temple. In this all Sri Vaishnavas joined. Sri Vedanta Desika had established beyond a shadow of doubt that the Prabandhams were as sacred as the Sanskrit Upanishads and he had published his tract called "Dramidōpanishad-sāram". But for this earnest desire of the Sri Vaishnavas for prabandham recital Sri Ramanuja's shrine might have continued its quiescent existence in Tirumala. After 1500 A. D. we notice a greater recognition of Sri Ramanuja and also the Deity known as Sri Raghunatha in Tirumala.

It may incidentally be stated that there is a general impression that Ramanujakūṭam (a place where the offered prasadam is freely distributed to pilgrims) is an institution, or practice which owes its origin to Sri Ramanuja. There is no authority for this. The first time we hear of a Ramanujakūṭam is in the year 1450 A.D. in an inscription recording an endowment made by one Chenna-kesavadāsar for making daily one food offering to Vira Narasingapperumal in Tirupati. The donor's share was given away to those residing in the Ramanujakūṭam which was his creation (தம்முடைய தர்மமான ஸ்ரீனிவாஸ புரத்தில் இராமானுஜ கூடத்தில் இருக்கிறபேர் பெற்று போதக் கடவராகவும்).

SRI VARAHASWAMI TEMPLE, TIRUMALA.

The Temple of Sri Varāhaswami is on the west bank and at the northwest corner of the Swami Pushkarini in Tirumala. There is a tradition that Sri Varāhaswāmi, also known as Gñānapirān, was the oldest Deity in Tirumala. Although there are no inscriptions to confirm the existence of this temple before the year 1380 A.D. it is generally believed that Sri Varahaswami was the original Deity presiding over the Tirumala Hill. According to Hindu mythology we are now (of time), in the eighth sub-division of what is called Vaivasvathamantaram of Svēta Varāha Kalpam and in Kaliyuga. Mythology also tells us that all the Vedas and Vedangas revealed by God Himself go into hiding or oblivion on the occurrence of a Mahāpralaya, when all manifested creation is dissolved and absorbed into Him. There is then nothing but an ocean of tamas or darkness. It is in this ocean that the Vedas lie hidden. After another creation takes place God in His avatar as Sri Varaha rescues and restores to us the eternal but hidden Vedas. This is probably the reason why Sri Varāhaswami is regarded as the oldest God on the Tirumala Hill. Mythologically Tiruvengadamuḍaiyan's manifestation on the Hill was only at the beginning of the Kali Yuga of Vaivasvatamanvantara of the Sveta Varāhakalpa. His Archavatara then usurped the seat which Adi-Varaha was occupying.

There is also another aspect to be considered. According to the Bṛiguvalli of the Taittiriya Upanishad the Embodied Soul passes through five stages in its spiritual evolution—Annamaya, Pranamaya, Manomaya, Vigñanamaya and the Anandamaya kōsams. The pilgrim to Tirumala approaches the Hill with his Annamāya kosa. After a bath in the waters of the Āḷvār Tirtham which is presumed to issue from the right toe of Tiruvengadamuḍaiyan and with faith in the teachings of Sri Nammāḷvār whose shrine is near that Tirtham he enters upon the Prānamaya stage in his ascent of the Hill. When he reaches the knee-breaking ascent he changes into the Manōmāya kosa, a period of serious searchings of the heart and the mind. Sri Ramanuja (whose shrine is there)

is supposed to help him with his metaphysics of the real relationship between Prakrith, Jivatma and Paramatma. After reaching the Hill top and bathing in the Swāmi Pushkarini, which is supposed to possess the virtues of all sacred waters, he gets inspiration from Gñānappirān (Sri Varāha) and true knowledge or the Vigñanamaya kōsa. The final stage is reached when he worships Tiruvengāḍamuḍaiyan in His Ananda Nilaya Vimanam. So worship of Sri Varahaswami (Vignanamaya stage) should precede worship of Tiruvengāḍamuḍaiyan with the Anandamaya kosam. This perhaps is also what is meant when it is stated that Tiruvengāḍamuḍaiyan usurped Varahaswami residence. When Ānandam takes possession of the soul there is no further need for Vigñānam as such. This is perhaps the reason for the injunction that one must first worship Sri Varāhaswāmi or Gnānappiran before attempting to worship Sri Venkatesa. None of the Āḷvārs however has composed verses in praise of that shrine in Tirumala.

Tirumala is called Varaha Kshetram. Those living around Tirupati while doing Sankalpam for all ceremonials recite "Varāha Kshetre, Ānanda Vimāna chchāyāyām" to define the position of the place in space. But the place is not called Varāha Kshetram in any of the inscriptions nor by any of the Āḷvārs.

The metaphysical relationship between Gñānappiran (Varāhaswami) and Sri Venkateswara is demonstrated every day in the procedure adopted for offering Naivēdyam. A quantity of the food prepared in the kitchen of Sri Venkateswara is sent to Sri Varahaswami Temple. It is only when the bell in the latter temple strikes to signify that the prasadam has reached that temple and is ready for offering, that the bells in Sri Venkatesa's temple begin to ring and the Naivēdyam takes place simultaneously in the two temples. The Avatāra Nakshatram of both the Deities is Sravanam (Onam) sacred to Vishnu.

The existence of a temple for Sri Varahaswami comes to notice only in 1380 A.D. In that year one Alagappiranar Tirukkalikanri dasar, the foremost Sri Vaishnava resident of Tirupati, made an endowment (I. 184. 31-1-1380) of 400 panams and from the interest thereon a tiruvōlakkam food offering was made every year

for Malaikuniyaninraperumal on the second day of each of the Brahmotavams and also one kurini of cooked rice for each of the Deities, Periya Perumal and Sri Varaha Nayanar. The next reference is 96 years later, i.e., in 1476 A. D. in an endowment (II. 68 2-3-1476) made by Sri Sathakopa dāsar Narasimharaya Mudaliar, of 5200 panams making provision for a series of food offerings to Malaikuniyaninraperumal on festival occasions. One of these items is the offering of one Sukhiyan padi, while Malaikuniya ninra Perumal is seated in a flower mantapam (Tiruppūmantapam) in the temple of Gnanappiran, (Sri Varahaswami) on the bank of the Swamipushkarini on the sixth festival day of each of the Brahmotavams. This is not an offering intended for Sri Varahaswami. It is worth noting that in 1380 A.D. the Deity was called Varaha Nayinar whereas in 1476 He is named Gñanappiran which became the more popular name.

Although the temple came to notice only in 1380 and the next mention thereof was made in 1476, it will be seen from the account of endowments made since then that this temple maintained its hold on the devotees since then till now. There are however a few persons who seem to think that a temple was constructed for the Boar God with a view to making the Muslims detest the Hill as the God there was represented to them as Suvar Allah.

The next reference is to an endowment (II. 76. 7-7-1481) for offering daily 2 tirupponakam to Adi Varahapperumal and 4 tirupponakam to Tiruvengaḍamudaiyan. This was made by Saluva Timmaraya, son of Saluva Mallayadeva Maharaya. Another reference is to an endowment (III. 132, 133) made by Sri Kandadai Vedantacharya Doḍḍappayangar on 13-4-1519 for offering 40 atirasappadi during the 8 Brahmotsavams, when the Utsava Murti (Malaikuniyaninra perumal) hears Tirumoḷi in the shrine of Gñanappiran.

1. The other endowments made for this Deity are:—

One Venkatatturaivar, son of Malainrar Bhattar Appayyan made (IV-138. 9-11-1539) an endowment of 195 panams for making certain food offerings on festival occasions. Among those offerings was one of 30 tirupponakam to Gñanappiran during the 30 days of Tiruppalli Eluchchi and one

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In the Tasdik prepared by the East India Company about 1819 A.D. Sri Varahaswami Temple was classed as a minor temple. It received no contribution from the circar, but depended entirely on Kānukas paid by pilgrims, on ubhayams and on contribution made by the dharmakartas of the temple. Its average income and expenditure was about Rs. 250/- a year (79 puḷḷi varāhas 12 maili and 65 kāsus).

padi on the day of his father's annual birth star. The donor was an archaka and as such the dharmakarta of Sri Varahaswami temple. We have elsewhere noticed that a large part of the funds which constituted this endowment represented the payment made to him by Achyutaraya Maharaya on the occasion when he himself performed the archana to Sri Venkateswara and the archaka recited only the 1008 names.

Tallapakkam Tirumalayanṅgar constructed, (IV 40 1535' among other things, the mantapams surrounding the prakaram walls and the east ḡopuram of (" திருவராகத்தின் படைமதின் சுற்று மண்டபமும் குண கோபுரமும்") Sri Varaha's temple, on the full-moon day of Vaikasi of Saka 1457.

One of the items of an endowment (IV-157. 13-2-1541 of 2770 panam) by Settalur Srinivasayyan was the offering of one dosaipadi to Sri Varahaswami on the day of his annual birth star (Arpisi Sravanam) **ஞானபிரான் ஆட்டைதிருநகைச் சீர்ம் அற்பசிதிருவோணத்துநாள்** Again one Ellappa Pillai made an endowment (IV-165, 3-8-1541) for conducting Mukkoti Dvadasi festival for 3 days commencing from Dasami. On the Tirihavari day (or dvadasi) he provided for offering 9 Tirupponakam when Malaikuniya ninra Perumal was seated in the shrine of Sri Varahaswami in the early morning of that day.

Kuppa Venkattarasu (one of the accountants) made an endowment (V-5-2-1543) of 1282 panam for the merit of his mother. The amount was to be utilised for offering of 4 tirupponakam on each Mukkoti Dvadasi day to Gnanappiran when Tiruvaḷi-aḷvan (Sri Sudarsana) was bathing in the sacred waters of Swamipushkarani. For the same occasion but after Tiruvaḷi aḷvan's bath in the tank and when Malaikuniya ninran, Nachchimar and Tiruvaḷi Aḷvan are seated in the front mantapam of Gnanappiran's temple, Ellappa Pillai made an endowment for offering one nayaka talḡai. For the same Tirudvadasi day Kuppa Venkatattarasu made an endowment (V. 8. 5-10-1543) for offering 6 tirupponakam to Sri Varahaswami.

Attai Tirunakshatram of Sri Varahaswami was arranged to be celebrated with Tirumanjanam by Tallapakkam Tiruvenkatanathan (V. 71, 17-7-1546)

SRI VARAHASWAMI TEMPLE TIRUMALA

There need be no doubt about Varahaswami Temple being an ancient one in Tirumala. Its late recognition in inscription may be explained in a manner. The temple has always been the sole concern of the archakas, who were archakas for both the temples. It might have continued to be a temple unnoticed in inscriptions made by the Sthanattar of Sri Venkatesvara's Temple but for two innovations which the Sri Vaishnavas and the Sthanattar were anxious to effect, and in which the Vaikhanasa had to be made to acquiesce. These were the admission of Malaikuniya ninra Perumal and Nachchimar into the sanctum and the recital of the Prabandhams of the Aḷvārs without a protest from the archakas. It was already pointed out that Malaikuniya ninra perumal got admission about 1339 A.D. and the recital of Tiruvaimoli in front of the (Gopura vasal) main gate of the temple took place in 1360 A.D. We consequently find that Alagappiranar Tirukkalikanri dasar (one of the Sthanattar) included Sri Varaha Nayanar in his endowment for food offering in 1380 A.D.

Sottai Tirumala Nambi Srinivasayyenḡar provided for offerings one appapadi to Sri Varahaswami on the second day of the Adhyayanotsavam in Tirumala in Marḡali month.

Rajasri Sivaraya Ramachandra Yadamatara Dabirsa in an endowment (VI. 24, 19.3-1634) for daily food offerings to Sri Venkatesa made provision for offering daily to Sri Varahaswami one talḡai prasadam and one pot (ḡḡn) of payasam.

CHAPTER VIII.

PART (4)

MURTI SWARUPAM OF SRI VENKATESWARA

THE Murti Swarupam of Sri Venkateswara, and the complementary metallic idols (or Berams); and the Utsava or processional idols of Sri Rama and Sri Krishna which make up the Pantheon of Tirumala.

Around the Mūrti of Sri Venkatēswara have gathered all the other idols mentioned above. The main Murti is apparently a stone image; but we cannot be too sure about it. The tradition is that it is not an image wrought by the hand of man and that God manifested Himself in a form which man could comprehend, being similar to his own. The material from which this form is shaped is seemingly lifeless matter. But we Hindus fully believe that It is full of divine life. We worship not only this idol but similar or nearly similar ones installed in other temples. Not being content with this we get small metallic idols manufactured in gold, silver or copper, worship them at home and leave them as precious legacy to our legal heirs. It is not stone or tree worship, nor even nature worship. It is said to have Divine sanction. Divine sanction for the Archa Avatar (or Idol) worship has a mythological backing. The erection of temples and the installation of ancillary and complementary images are also copies of a mythological pattern held out to us in the traditional account of creation and dissolution of all mundane (prākṛit) matter and its innumerable forms, shapes and activities.

In this chapter some idea will be conveyed of such matters and more particularly about identifying Sri Venkateswara's Image with the Supreme Being and the rationale of idol worship in general. In all matters which we could not verify by direct observation or by reasoning with the aid of our limited senses, we place implicit

faith in what the Sastras and Puranas say and in the observations and sayings of great seers and Āchāryas.

Divine origin of Sri Venkateswara Murti and divine sanction for the archa form of worship.

In the Yugas preceding the advent of our Kaliyuga the method adopted for God realisation was the practice of penance, mental concentration and meditation, known as Yōga Mārga. This has its own intermediate pitfalls brought about by the acquisition of undreamt of psychic powers and the consequent temptation to imagine oneself as being co-equal with God¹. Our Mythology, Itihasas and Puranas abound with stories to illustrate these pit falls. The yearning to achieve God realisation by easier means has always been there in the human breast. The Divine Will gave a response to this desire at the end of the Dvapara Yuga which just preceded our Yuga.

As Adharma or evil was stalking the earth in the later period of that Yuga, the Supreme Being of His own free will appeared on earth as a Man (Sri Krishna) and in a human manner brought about a colossal war which wiped out the evil elements which then threatened to destroy the human soul. Having done this Sri Krishna designed the manner of his terminating that Avatār of His in an equally natural manner. In the Treta Yuga (preceding the Dvāpara Yuga) the Supreme Being had come on earth as Sri Rama to destroy evil. One of the incidents of that Avatār was his shooting with a deadly arrow Vāli, the great king of the monkey race. He committed this act by hiding himself behind seven Sal trees because

1. Nammaḷvār Tiruvoimōḷi (3-5-9).

அமரர் தொழப் படுவானை அனைத்துலகுக் கும்பிரானை
அமரமனத்துள் யோகுபுணர்ந்த வன் தன்னை டொன்றாக
அமரத்துணிய வல்லார்க ளொழியவல்லா தவரெல்லாம்
அமரநினைந் தெழுந்தாடி யலற்றுவதே கருமமே.

The import of the Stanza is that "with the exception of those Yogis who while realising the Brahman within the self dare to come to the exclusion that they are one with or co-equal to Him, all others consider it the right thing to do when they deeply meditate, sing praises and and dance in ecstasy".

Vāli's psychic powers were such that he drew into himself all the powers of an enemy who faced him. Before his death he accused Sri Rama of having acted in a cowardly fashion and of being an unworthy son of the great Dasaratha. Vāli was in the eye of God entitled to a *quid pro quo*. So Vāli was given another birth as a hunter by name Jara. Sri Krishna having accomplished His self-imposed task on earth and desiring to cast off the material body went into a Yoga trance resting His body on the ground in a thick forest, with the right foot placed on the left knee. Jara came that way in search of game and mistook Sri Krishna for a beast of prey. Instantly he shot a deadly arrow shod with a piece of steel which was the remanent left after fulfilling a curse made by the Rishi Dhurvasa for the destruction of the Yādava race. Sri Krishna was the last great figure of that race left and so offered himself for that piece of steel. Jara found that he committed a huge blunder and incurred a great sin in having killed a man. That man appeared to him as being unique with four hands. He fell prostrate and caught hold of the feet of Sri Krishna begging pardon. He was not only pardoned but freed from any future birth. The above portion of the story is only a prelude to the setting in which divine sanction was given to Idol worship.

Divine Sanction for Idol worship

Rishis, Munis, Devas and others headed by Brahma (the creator) gathered on that spot and praised Sri Krishna for having rid the earth of all evil elements. But they regretted very much that by the termination of that Avatar they were losing touch with Divinity and they being only mortals could not hope to see Him in His abode the Divyalōkam or Sri Vaikunṭam. The Divine Spirit on whose breast Sri Devi was seen seated was worshipped by all with flowers. The Devas addressed Him as one who wielded the Divine bow Sārṅgam; perhaps because they saw in Him Sri Rāma as well. The Spirit ascended the Heavens illuminating the earth and the Heavens. As it entered the Sūryamaṇḍalam (the Sun's disc), it took a shape and form with four hands but made of lifeless stable matter. Simultaneously a voice from the Heavens (*asarfri vākku*) exhorted the Devas and the others to behold that

form which was to descend, or had already descended, on earth where He would dwell for ever and which form they should worship. **This incident is taken to be the divine sanction for the worship of Idols.** Srimad Vēdanta Dēsika in his Tamil tract known as "Srimad Tatva Mātrukai" quotes Sri Bhagavan's own words then uttered as given in Sri Mahā Bhāratam (Chapter V. Mausala Parvam). "Bhūmāu gatam pūjayatām pramēyam." It was a direction given to Brahma, the Devās, Munis and others in response to their request, so that by doing puja and other acts of service for that form they might obtain Salvation. This sanction has been extended by our ācharyas to images manufactured and consecrated by mortals, namely the Devas, Risis and great men. Sages subsequently framed rules for standardising the size and proportion of idols, the material of which they should be made, the erection of temple structures and the procedure for consecration of these idols. This was done because indiscriminate and chaotic form of worship will not eventually prove beneficial. The form of the temple, the deities to be installed, their appropriate places and the manner and time of worship are the subjects dealt with in the Āgama Samhitas. There are two Āgamas which deal with worship of Vishnu, the Vaikhānasa and the Pāncharātra. Each claims greater antiquity and higher sanction for itself. But so far as Tirumala is concerned, neither of these Āgamas could lay claim to have manufactured or installed the Mūrti as the belief is that It is Self-manifest Brahman. As some form of ritualistic worship had to be adopted the Vaikhānasa form was adopted in course of time. For a long time however, there appears to have been no regular or standard form of worship.

Sri Venkateswara's Image is self - manifest Brahman or Svayam Vyakta Murti.

We have Sri Bhagavan's own statement in Sri Maha Bharatam that He has manifested Himself on earth to make it easy for men to do puja and render such other services as would satisfy their desire to keep close touch with the Divine form. Those who have faith in the Itihasam would have faith in this episode mentioned therein, unless it is argued that the narrative or portions of it are

later interpolations by interested persons. Such an objection has not yet been raised.

We next have Sri Nammālvār's assurance that "Paran" has come down to Tirumala from His Divyalōkam for our spiritual benefit, not at the request or in answer to the prayers of any one, but of His own choice. He illustrates God's solicitude for our spiritual salvation by giving two instances, viz., the manner in which He held up a hill to protect dumb cattle left to His care from the threat of danger to life caused by heavy pelting rains and biting cold, and the odd and unsolicited manner in which He saved the soul of Maha Bali. He tells us that the devas headed by Brahma himself daily worship Sri Venkateswara on this hill just as we do.¹ Again Sri Ramanuja in the Mangaḷa Slōkam of his great work "Sri Bhashya" while enunciating concisely and yet comprehensively the nature and functions of the Supreme Being, lays stress on His great solicitude for the salvation of mankind (Rakshaika dīksha). He equates that Brahman with Srinivasa (Sri Venkateswara). So we believe that Sri Venkateswara is self-manifest Brahman come to Tirumala for our salvation.

It will now be shown that the Mūrti was not wrought by human hands.

The Murti (Sri Venkateswara) not a man-made one.

Images manufactured by men for purposes of worship are usually made of stone, clay, wood or some metal. A temple (or mantapam) is built and the Murti consecrated therein according to rituals prescribed in one or the other of the Āgamas. The Āgamas have prescribed in detail rules for the relative proportions of the idol, the posture of the body, the hands etc., and the weapons borne by it as also the jewellery carved on its body. If there be any defect in the execution, or any variation from the prescribed rules that image would be considered unsuitable for consecration and therefore rejected and even destroyed. We will examine the image of Sri Venkateswara in the light of the rules given in the Āgamas for the manufacture of an idol of that type.

1. All the earlier Ālvārs have stated likewise.

Types of Dhruva Murtis prescribed in the Āgamas.

The broad classification is into three main types. The standing, the sitting and the reposing or lying posture. Each of these is again divided into four classes depending on the physical and mental attitude of the Idol. They are Yōgam, Bhōgam, Vīram and Ābhichārikam. The environments and the purpose for which a Mūrti is installed decide the kind of Idol. A Yoga Mūrti would be selected if the worshippers prefer to follow Yōga Mārga. Such a Murti should be installed outside a village, in the midst of forests, on mountain and hill tops, at the confluence of rivers and on river banks. It should not be in the heart of a town or village as the Mūrti would bring about destruction of the place. A Bhōga Mūrti should invariably be installed in the heart of a town or village. A Vīra Mūrti should be on the outskirts of a village. An Ābhichārika Mūrti would be installed in forests, mountains, fortresses, at the outer limits of a Rāshtra and facing the enemy country. The Tirumalai temple is on a hill and in the midst of forests. It does not appear that at any time there was a fortress, or a village there. It might perhaps have been politically the boundary line between one country and another. The kind of image chosen would therefore be either Yoga or Ābhichārika, not even Vīra. Bhōga would be out of consideration.

The features of the Mūrti for each situation and type are also prescribed in the Āgamas. There are three grades of temples depending on the complementary deities. These are called Utthama, Madhyama and Adhama (Best, middling and low or mean type). In the Utthama temple the Mūrti would be associated with the complementary deities. Brahma, Sankara, Markāndeya, Bhrīgu, Sanaka, Sanandana, Sanatkumara, etc. In the Madhyama type Markāndeya etc., would be omitted but Brahma and Siva retained. In the lowest type Brahma and Siva also would be omitted, leaving the Murti to stand alone. The above rule governs the installation of Yōga, Bhogā and Vīra Murtis alike. In the case of an Ābhichārika Murti, however, there is only one type, the Adhama type and therefore, the principal Murti alone would be installed. Further, in the former types the temple would have Vimanams and the consecration would be on an auspicious day in

Sthira Lagna (at any rate not in a chara lagna). For the Ābhichārika Mūrti the installation should be at an inauspicious moment and in Chara Lagna. The temple should not have a Vimanam.

The features of the Murtis are also prescribed in the Āgamas. Before considering the features we might as well see under which type the image of Sri Venkateswara should be classed presuming that it was the handiwork of man. Being on a hill and in a forest where there was no village or fortress in the earliest days, it should be a standing Yoga Adhama, a Standing Abhicharika or perhaps Standing Vira Adhama Murti. It is not likely to have been a Bhōga Murti in those days. Since Sri Venkateswara has always been the only Murti in the temple, the temple is an Adhama one. A standing Yoga murti of the Adhama type should have four hands, the two upper hands should be invested with **Chakram and Sankham**; the right lower hand should be in **Abhaya** posture while the left lower hand should assume the **Katyavalambita** posture or holding on to the loin. The presence of Sri Devi on the chest is not mentioned in the specification. But Sri Devi is on the right breast as an integral part of the image of Sri Venkateswara and not one subsequently invested or detachable. The lower right hand is (giving boons) **Varada hastam** and not Abhaya. The Sankham and Chakram on the two upper arms are detachable and not integral with the Image. **The image could therefore not be taken for a Yoga Murti.**

A standing Ābhichārika Mūrti might have two or four hands, but without any of the divine weapons. The posture of the hands is not mentioned in the specification. So we might place Sri Venkateswara's image under this type but for other disabilities. The Abhichārika Murti should have a shrunken chin, lean 'angas' (hands, legs, body should be lean). It should have upturned eyes exhibiting **Āmogunam** (evil intentions). The Image of Sri Venkateswara is however a lovely figure having well formed and plumpy 'angas' and decorated with all the divine ornaments associated with the description of Para Vāsudeva. Sri Devi is an integral part of the image. **The Image could not therefore be classed as Standing Abhicharika.**

Nor does it answer to the Vira type, because the Vira type should have Sankha and Chakra permanently. Sri Devi is not mentioned as part of the image. The posture for the lower arms is not given in the specification.

If we wish to examine for the Bhoga type also as a last attempt, the Sankham and Chakram should be permanent fixtures, Sri Devi and Bhu Devi should both be permanently on the breast. The posture of the right lower arm in the Varada Hasta position is the only satisfactory element. The lower left hand should be in the **Katyavalambita Simha Karna posture** which is not seen in the Image of Sri Venkateswara. **The result of the examination is that the Image of Sri Venkateswara does not fall under any one of the types which the Agamas prescribe for installing a Dhruva Murti.** If the Image had been one wrought by man, it should therefore have been done in an age when the Āgamas had not been compiled.

The only description which we have not considered is that usually given of **Para Brahman or Para Vasudeva in the Heavens.** Different Samhitas describe Him differently in His Divyalokam. A short one given in Bhrigu Samhita (33rd Adhyaya) shows that He has four hands, is invested with the five weapons or āyudhas; the two halves of His body are symmetrical and beautifully shaped, that he wears all the divya ābharaṇas (jewellery), that Sri Devi ever abides in His Form and that He is full of all the Kalyāna guṇas and wanting in none and that He shines with His six guṇas (Shadguṇa). This description is not a detailed one. The weapons (divya āyudhas) are not in Sri Venkateswara's hands. The mention of the Shadgunas is worth noting. We will refer to it later. The Pāncharatra Āgamas describe Para Vasudeva in different terms, mostly as being seated on Ananta, the Divine Serpent. They are all out of place for our purpose.

In the seventh chapter, sixth amsa of **Vishnupuranam** there is a **description** given of the **Murta Rupam of Vishnu** for purposes of meditation. **Four stages of meditation are mentioned.** In the lowest the Murti is meditated upon as having all the weapons, all the bhūṣhaṇams (ornaments) and with eight or four hands. In the next higher stage the meditation is upon the Mūrti, dropping

out the divine weapons; in the next higher even the bhūshanams or ornaments are also left out. In the next higher only the principal 'angas' such as body, two hands etc., are presumed to be seen. This description states that the Mūrti has a 'Prasanna' (spotless and brilliant) face, beautiful eyes shaped like the petal of the lotus flower, beautiful temples, broad fore-head, Kundalams (ear ornaments hanging down the even earlobes, the kantham (or neck) shaped like the right-handed Sankham (Chank), broad chest with Sri Devi seated on the Srivatsa marks, Udara (or belly) in three folds as it were and a deep seated navel, long hands eight or four in number, well knit and symmetrically shaped thighs, spotless pītambara clothing, with ornaments such as Kireeṭam (crown), Hāram (necklace) Kēyūram (shoulder ornaments), Kaṭakam etc., rings on the fingers and toes. The āyudhams (weapons in his hands) are Saṁgam (bow), Sankham (conch), Gadā (mace), Khagḍam (sword), Chakram (disc). Akshamālā (garland of beads) is in the sixth hand; of the remaining two hands one is in the Abhaya posture and the other in Varada posture. When only four hands are meditated upon Sankham, Chakram, Gada and the lotus flower adorn them. The above description in full is of the form for the lowest stage of meditation. This description does not apply to the form of Sri Venkateswara. In the next higher stage all the weapons are left out and the four hands would therefore be free. All the bhūshanams or ornaments however remain on the Mūrti. This description would apply to the Mūrti form of Sri Venkateswara in a general way. The lower hands have however a definite posture, the right Varada and the left Katyavalambita and corresponds to a Mūrti for meditation in the second stage.

As the Murti form of Sri Venkateswara does not answer to the specifications given in the Agamas, the Image should be taken to belong to an earlier age than that of the Agamas. Besides the description given in the Vishnupuranam, what are given in other places also have to be taken into account. Soon after His birth Sri Krishna appeared before his father Vasudēva in His real form. This form is described in Vyasa's Sri Bhagavatham in the Slokam

commencing with "Tam adbhutam balakam ambujekshanam."¹ Therein He had four hands holding Sankha and the other Āyudhams there were the Srivatsam marks and Kaustubham; He wore pitāmbaram, He wore a brilliant kireetam set with diamonds, kundalam etc., he wore gold waist band and other ornaments. It is the same Sri Krishna whose Divine spirit appeared in Suryamandalam and he was then addressed by the Devas as the one who bore the bow Sarngam. If the same apparition did descend on earth on the Tirumala hill as Sri Venkatesa, we would expect to find on the form of the Murti some traces to connect the one with the other. The Devas saw the figure in the Sun's disc from a long distance and it would not have been possible to notice any ornaments on the figure, even if they existed. But the absence of weapons was noticed, although before the spirit entered the Sun's² disc the bow was distinctly seen by them. We learn from the description given in Silappadikaram that the bow was on the Murti along with Sankham and Chakram and all the three would have been detachable ones put on the figure.¹ There are, however on the form of Sri Venkateswara marks on both shoulders running down from the ends of the collar bones in the direction of the arm-pit resembling scars made by the constant wearing of the bow and the pack of arrows. This scar may be taken to connect the Murti with the avatar of Sri Rama. The connection with Krishna avatar is told in the story itself. That this connection was implicitly believed in ancient days is indicated by the presence of the Utsava images of Sri Rama and Sri Krishna in the Sanctum Sanctorum itself. It is worth stating that during the Margasira month the Utsava image of Sri Krishna acts as the Sayana Beram instead of Bhoga Srinivasa who does so during the other eleven months of the year. The preference given to Sri Krishna during that sacred month might be to connote the connection between the Avatars of Sri Krishna and Sri Venkateswara. The arrange-

தமத்ஹுஸ்த்ரீம் பாலகம்ஹமுஜேக்ஷணம் சதுர்ஹுஜம் ஶங்கடாடாயுதம் ।

श्रीवत्सलक्ष्मं गलशोभिकौस्तुभ पीताम्बरं सान्द्रपयोदसौभगम् ॥ १० ॥ ३ ॥ ९ ॥

2. Sri Nammālvār also stated that there is Srivatsam and Sri Devi (திருமறு and அலர்மேல் மங்கை திருமார்பை) and that Sarngam was in his hand. This will be dealt with at length in the Chapter on Temples and Worship of the Ālvār. See Tiruvoimōḷi (3, 4-3) and (6-10 4, 5, 10).

ment of the **Riks and Slokas of the Mantrapushpam** recited during the daily puja helps to remind us that this Archavatar has a direct connection with those of Sri Rama and Sri Krishna. The order of recitation is (1) the opening 'rik' of each of the four Vedas (2) the Ashtāksharam from the Nārayanopanishad (3) reference to the avatar of Sri Rama (4) reference to Sri Krishna avatar and the Mahābharata war (5) Sri Krishna revealing his true form to his father (6) Narayana in His Vaikuṇṭa lōka (7) all creation is the form and abode of Vishnu (8) Vishnu's advent from Vaikuntam to Tiruvengaḍam, (9) one of the Nammalvar's songs because he has assured us that Nārayana has come over here (10) a sloka each from Sri Alavandar and Sri Ramanuja who have likewise assured us that Srinivasa and Narayana are identically one. This form of Mantrapushpam is peculiar to the daily worship in Tirumala and was obviously composed by Sri Tirumala Nambi. It is very different from what the Vaikhanasa and the Pāncharathra āgamas give. It is also different from what Sri Ramanuja has prescribed as a pattern in his "Nityam." The only two avatars of Vishnu included in our Mantrapushpam are those of Rama and Krishna. Processional idols representing these two avatars only are included in the Garbha griham. From the earliest times the belief seems to have been that Sri Venkateswara's image is Self-manifest (Svyaam Vyaktam) and has a direct link with the avatars of Sri Krishna and Sri Rama, perhaps as disclosed in the account given in Mausalaparva of Sri Maha Bharata. The tradition¹ that Brahma worships Sri Venkateswara every day is kept

என்னு ளேநாம் மண்ணளந்த விணைத்தா மரைகள் காண்பதற்
கென்று
என்னு ளும்நின் நிமையொர்க ளேத்தி யிறைஞ்சி யினமினமாய்
மெய்நநா மனத்தால் வழிபாடு செய்யும் திருவேங் கடத்தானே
திருவாய்மொழி (6-10-6)

நோலா தாற்றே னுனபாதம் காண வென்று நுண்ணுணர்வில்
நீலார் கண்டத் தம்மானும் நிறைநான் முகனு மிந்திரனும்
சேலேய் கண்ணூர் பலர் குழ விரும்பும் திருவேங் கடத்தானே

(6-10-8)

up by keeping overnight in the Garbha griham five large gold cups filled with the Akasaganga water and all the other ingredients required for a regular worship. It is this water consecrated by Brahma's worship that is distributed to the worshippers during the Visvarupaseva early in the morning.

We have necessarily given already some of the main and characteristic features of the Dhruva Bēram of Sri Venkateswara, viz., Sri Devi on the right breast seated on Sri Vatsam, the scars on the shoulders, the free and easy posture of the two upper hands into which Chakram and Sankham have subsequently been placed, the Varada posture (freely giving away boons) of the lower right hand and the Kaṭyavalambita posture (holding near to the left hip) of the lower left hand. These might require a word of explanation as we have seen that the Varada posture is not associated with any of the Āgama forms of the standing Murti. The palm and the fingers are quite open and point downwards to the right foot. **What that signifies is the unrestrained grant of all boons the worshipper seeks.** It seems to have a bearing on the boon granted unasked to Maha Bali. Nammalvar in his ten songs about Tiruvengadam¹ makes reference to this the Thrivikrama Avatār as the one in which He measured the Earth and saved the soul of Maha Bali. Sri Alavandar also in his Stotra Ratnam makes a prayer for those feet being placed on his head. After the entire universe was measured with the right and the left foot, Trivikrama seems to point to His right foot and to ask with a smile what Bali has

அகல கில்வே விறையுமென றலர்மேல் மங்கை யுறைமார்பா
 ற்கரில புகழா யுலகம்முன் றுடையா யென்னை யாள்வானே
 நிகரி லமரர் முனிக்கணங்கள் விரும்பும் திருவேங் கடத்தானே
 (6-10-10)

..... அளவரிய
 வேதத்தான் வேங்கு. த்தான் விண்ணோர் முடிதோயும்
 பாதத்தான்

பூதத்தாழ்வார் இரண்டாம் திருவந்தாதி 45

1. Commencing with ஒழிவில் காலமெல்லாம் (3-3-8)

to offer for the remaining portion of the gift promised to Vāmana. Mahā Bali offered his head which was all he had to give. His promise was fulfilled; and Trivikrama gave in return, unasked by Bali, the highest gift which the Human Soul should ask for, viz., absorption into His feet. The position of the fingers and particularly of the thumb of the left hand in juxtaposition with the hip and the thigh suggests that the bow itself or the string of the bow which He bore as Sri Rama (and which was placed on the Murti as-stated in Silappadhikāram and in Tiruvoimoli) passed inside of the thumb to maintain a steady position. The next important features are the Pralamba sutram and the Kati sutram. The former is the sacred thread (Yagnopavitam) and the latter the loin string* These distinctly show that the figure does not represent a female Deity nor a Kshudra Devata. They characterise Sri Vishnu. The Kaustubham hanging centrally on the chest is also characteristic of Sri Vishnu and is also described in Silappadhikaram.

The other ābharanam or ornaments are those mentioned in Vol. 1. 8 as being worn by the silver Kautuka Beram. These ornaments are exactly similar to those on the body of the Dhruva Bēram. The Āgama rule is that the Kautuka Bēram should be an exact representation of the Dhruva Bēram. These have been already described in Chapter VII. We have only to emphasise here that there is nothing like a Nagabharanam on the form of the Dhruva Murti. The gold ornament or plating worn on the arm is a subsequent present made by some votary. Nāga or Ādisēsha is presumed to be inseparably associated with Vishnu and a Tamil song of Sri Poigai ālvār is daily recited during Mantrapushpam¹ to remind us of this connection. But the form of the serpent is not represented anywhere in the Garbhagriham, not to speak of its absence on the body of the Deity. There is no Yantram on the Kireetam or crown. Incorrect notions are, however, being repeated through ignorance by bigots of alien creed. These mis-

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1. சென்றூற் குடையா மிருந்தாற்சிங் காசனமாம்
நின்றூல் மரவடியாம் நீள்கடலுள்—என்றும்
புணையாம் மணிவிளக்காம் பூம்பட்டாம் புல்கும்
அணையாம் திருமாற் கரவு.

* மூலசூ (அரைஞாண்).

representations will, however, be referred to at length at the end of this chapter.

The Idols which form a necessary complement to the Dhruva Beram, viz., the Kautuka, the Snapana, the Utsava and the Bali Beram, will now be mentioned.

BHOGA SRINIVASA, THE KAUTAKA BERAM.

This Idol is made of silver and was consecrated by the donor Samavai in 966 A.D. This was discussed at length in Chapter VII. The idol is a true copy of the Dhruva Bēram. The Chakram and Sankham are, however, permanent fixtures in the case of Bhōga Srinivasa. For a small idol made of silver such a fixture was a necessity. Further we have to bear in mind that when the Kautuka Bēram was made in 966 A.D. the Dhruva Beram had the Chakram and Sankham on the hands. There is another feature on the Bhōga Murti which we presume is in the Dhruva Bēram also. It is impossible to verify it now. On the pedestal (Pitham) and below the feet of the Kautuka Bēram are counterparts of a Yantram (a six pointed figure) as if two equal equilateral triangles are symmetrically interlaced, one being an invert of the other. It is possible that a similar Yantram is on the form of the Dhruva Beram. But none can assert this positively. Sri Nammalvar gives in (3-4-4) a cryptic description of the feet of the Dhruva Beram which when compared with a similar description of the feet of the Tirumāl in Tirumāl-irum-solai (3-1-1) discloses that under the feet of Tiruvengaḍamuḍayan there was a figure representing radiating arms, whereas in the case of the other Deity the feet rested on a Padmam. The radiating arms would represent the six-pointed ends or vertices of the Shāḍgunya Yantram, the feet resting on the centrally situated hexagonal portion. The wording of the two descriptions is given below:—

About Tiruvengaḍamuḍayan—

பாங்கயக் கண்ண னென்கோ? பவளச் செவ்வாய னென்கோ?
அங்கதி ரடிய னென்கோ? அஞ்சன வண்ண னென்கோ?

The word "Kadir" கதிர் has the meaning, radiating arms. About Tirumāl-irum-solai—

முடிச்சோதி யாய் உனது முகச்சோதி மலர்ந்ததுவோ?

அடிச்சோதி நீநின்ற தாமரையாய் அலர்ந்ததுவோ?

Nammalvar's description was given about two centuries before the date of installation of Manavalapperumal. There was then obviously no pedestal of the Agamic pattern surrounding the Dhruva Bēram. This figure would be on top of the Pitham or pedestal which as usual is represented as if made up of four planks one above the other. All the four are shown as bound together by three girdles known as "Trimēkhala". This is a mythological pedestal which will be explained in the Chapter on the Agamas. In short the four planks represent Dharmam, Gnānam, Aisvāryam and Vairāgyam. They appear in a slightly different order in the Vaikhanasa and the Pancharathra āgamas. But they are essential as pedestals in both. On top of this pedestal would be a Padmam with eight or sixteen petals. In the centre of this, or in place of this, should be the six pointed Yantram referred to above. In the case of the Dhruva Bēram, the Padmam itself is covered over and could not now be seen even by the archakas unless the structure of the pedestal is broken up.

But the pedestal itself would have been constructed when the temple was constructed and possibly not before. This statement is based on the practice that the pedestal, the Vēdi and the walls of the temple are all proportioned to the height of the standing Murti. There is no evidence that the present temple was built before about 900 A.D. This was discussed in the chapter on Early Accounts (Chapter V). It would have been a known fact about 966 A.D. if there was a Yantram under the feet of Sri Venkateswara. This Yantram would have been copied in the case of the Kautuka Beram.

We could, however, state that a Yantram of this type would represent the six gunas of Para and Vyūha Vasudevas. These gunas are recognised by the Vaikhanasa Agama also:—

‘Nitya muktaika sambhāvya schaturbhuja dharō Harih
Anyūnānatiriktaiś svaigūṇaiśh shadbir alankritah’¹

It is by the predominance of two of these six gunas at a time that the three Vyūha avatars take place. These six gunas are “Gnānam, Aisvaryam, Sakti; Balam, Tejas and Vīryam.” We could explain the pairing off on the analogy of the proton and the electron. More will be stated about this Yantram in the chapter on “Temples and Agamas.”

The Kautuka, Snapana, Utsava and Bali Berams. Kautuka Beram.

Kautuka Beram:—This Mūrti was installed to make it possible to render daily abhishekam and all the other forms of puja for which a portable Murti is essential. He was intimately connected with the Dhruva Murti by means of a silk cord at the time of installation. A gold link and silk cord are used to maintain the connection even on occasions when He is brought outside the Sanctum Sanctorum for deputising the Dhruva Murti on special festive occasions. He possesses all the powers of the Dhruva Murti. The functions over which He presides are given in the Chapter on Festivals and need not therefore be mentioned here.

Ugra Srinivasa:—He was originally called Venkatatturavār (வேங்கட-ஆதிரைவாரர்). The Tamil word shows that He was the resident Deity in the temple, perhaps even before Bhōga Srinivasa was consecrated. He seems to have been the old processional Murti before Malayappan and the Nachchimar came on the scene. But there are even now three occasions on which He alone figures—Utthāna Ekādasi, Mukkōti Dvādasi and Dvādasārāḍhanam.

Koluvu Srinivasa:—Also called Bali Bēram. Every day after the morning Tōmāla Sēva (which will be described in the chapter

1. नित्यमुक्तैकं संभाव्यश्चतुर्भुजधरो हरिः ।
अन्यूनानतिरिक्तैस्सर्वैर्गुणैश्चड्भिरलङ्कृतः ॥

Bhṛigu Samhita, Chapter 33, (page 387).

on daily worship) is over a function known as Koluvu is held in the Tirumāmaṇi Maṅṭapam when the Deity is brought out and seated on a silver chair with gold umbrella held over Him. The Panchangam or Calendar for the day is read out and then follows the reading of the collections from the Hundi (Koppara) made during the previous day. The number and value of all varieties of coins, precious stones, jewels, etc., are given in detail. This is read in public. It is also here in His presence that what is known as Mātrādānam of rice etc., which by custom the archakas are entitled to receive is made. It is not possible to state when this custom had its beginning, nor could we say at what time and how this Murti was introduced into the Sanctum Sanctorum. Although He is also known as Bali Beram, He has never been taken out to offer Bali after the daily puja is over.

**Malayappan (the Utsava Murti) and his consorts
(Sri Devi and Bhu Devi).**

The first mention of this Deity is under the name Malai Kuniya Ninra Perumal (மலை கனியநின்ற பெருமான்) about the year 133 A.D. This has been discussed in detail already. Immediately before that date Ugra Srinivasa was in all probability the Processional Deity. He has no consorts with Him. He is like the Dhruva Murti a single Murti wearing the Chakram in a peculiar posture (called the Prayoga Sthiti) as if about to use it. It is possible that before the Pāncharatra exerted its influence on the old Vaikhānasa system this Murti was considered good enough for a procession. A tradition is current among the archakas about how Malai Kuniya Ninra Perumal superceded Ugra Srinivasa, who was known as Venkataṭṭuraivār. On one occasion during the Brahmotsavam when the procession was going round the streets in Tirumala, a terrific fire broke out in the small village which destroyed the houses. The archakas and the devotees did not know why and how this happened. When they prayed to God to forgive any short-coming on their part, an Āvēsam came to a man which stated that times have changed and that He should no longer be used as the Processional Deity on pain of recurrence of such calamities. They were also told that in

one of the glades of the mountain there was another Murti whom they should search for and use. So the irate Murti came to be known as Ugra Srinivasa and the new Murti with His consorts who was found after a search was called Malai Kuniya Ninra Perumal (because He was found where the hill bowed very low). In later years the name was shortened into Malayappan. The glade where He was found is now known as Malayappan Kōnai. But for this divine sanction in the form of an Āvēsam there would have been serious objection from the archakas to the introduction of a Utsava Murti with the Nachchimars when the Dhruva Murti was a self-manifest single Murti. This would have happened some little time before 1339 A.D. when Sri Ranganatha of Srirangam was also on the Tirumala hill owing to the terror caused by the Muslim invasion of the South. There is no harm in making the guess that this Malayappan would have been the Pancharatra Tiruvilankoyil Peruman of Tiruchchukanoor and that Koluvu Srinivasa (above mentioned) was the Tirumantra Salaipperumal in the same place. During the disturbed days these two Murtis would have been brought for safety to the glade in the hill. A processional Murti with Nachchimars would otherwise have been considered an innovation.

The portable images or Bērams who are by convention taken to represent the Dhruva Murti in their order of precedence are Bhoga Srinivasa, Malayappan with his two consorts, Ugra Srinivasa and Koluvu Srinivasa. In the language of the āgamas they stand for the Kautuka, the Utsava, the Snapana and the Bali berams (or Bim bams). If the Agamarules of installation had been observed the above would be the order of precedence. The Kautuka-beram would have received consecration direct from the Dhruva Murti and from the Kautuka the Utsava beram gets its consecration and in like manner the Snapana and the Bali berams. But in Tirumala the Dhruva Murti is self-manifest Brahman and therefore not consecrated by man. The first consecration of a portable image was that of Bhōga Srinivasa (called at that time Manavalapperumal) in 966 A.D. There was however another portable image even before 966 A.D. called Venkatatturaivar. But He would not have been consecrated according to the Agamas, since the Agama

form of worship was introduced only in 966 A.D. at the time of consecration of Bhoga Srinivasa. Nor is He a correct replica of the Dhruva Beram. That was why Manavalapperumal had to be made in silver and consecrated. So, in the language of the Agama, Manavalapperumal became the Kautuka Bēram. Venkatatturaivar was made to rank next in importance and served as processional Murti (Utsava Murti) till about 1330 A.D. when as already described He was superceded by Malai kuniya. ninra perumal with the two consorts (now known as Malayappan).

This manner of introducing new idols is not in the true Āgama style. So the inscriptions do not call Malai kuniya ninra perumal as the Utsava Beram, nor is Bhoga Srinivasa called Kautuka Beram. Nor are Venkatatturaivar and Koluva Srinivasa described in the inscriptions as Snapana Beram and Bali Beram respectively.

We thus find that in Tirumala these portable idols are not known by the Āgama names but only by their popular nomenclature because the Āgama rules of consecration were not observed.

Sudarsana: (or Chakrattālvār) is another Deity in the Sanctum. He figures in separate procession on the Ankurarpanam and on the Tirthavari day of the Brahmotsavam on the Pushkarani bund in front of Sri Varāhaswami temple.

The Murtis who deputise for the Dhruva Murti have been described above. We next have to consider the presence of the Processional Murtis of the Sri Rama (Raghunatha) pantheon and those of Sri Krishna.

Sri Raghunatha and Sri Krishna.

The pantheon of these two processional Murtis will be considered together. Logically neither would be expected to be within the Garbhagriham of Tiruvengaḍamudaiyan. Their presence has therefore to be accounted for. There is no inscriptional evidence in the matter. In the case of Sri Krishna there is, however, a fragmentary inscription which states that Avani Muḷududaiyāl, the queen of Kulōttunga Chola I made an endowment for milk

and curds for "our Tiruvāyppāḍi Āḷvān."¹ The words Tirumala Āḷvān also occurs in it. Although the fragment does not make a coherent statement we may assume that the supply of curds and milk was for the Tiruvayppāḍi Āḷvān (or Sri Krishna), who is in the temple of Tiruvengaḍamuḍaiyan. The year might be about 1100 A.D. There is also an ancient usage of the Tirumala temple that during the Dhanur māsam it is the idol of Sri Krishna that daily adorns the bed at night during the Ēkānta sēva; but during the remaining eleven months Bhōga Srinivasa is the Murti for that function. Sri Raghunatha (Sri Rama) however, is not referred to in any inscription before the year 1476 A.D. This will be adverted to presently. That portion of the Sannidhi pradakshinam of the temple which was converted into a room about 1245-1250 A.D. known as Ramar Meda might not have been occupied by the Idols of Sri Raghunatha's pantheon, in 1250 A.D. The probability is otherwise even if Sri Rama and Sri Krishna were in the temple in those days. For neither Malayappan and His consorts nor Koluvu Srinivasa were then in the temple. They appear to have come in after 1330 A.D. There was no shrine or temple of Sri Raghunatha even in Tirupati till 1481 A.D. when one was built and the idol of Sri Raghunatha installed by a staunch Sri Vaishnava, Saṭhakopadasar Narasimharaya Mudaliyar (II. 73, and 74, 29-10-1481) on Monday, Saptami and Sravana Nakshatra in Tula month Plava year. The same donor made a large endowment (II. 68, 23-11-1476) in 1476 A.D. in connection with the celebration of an annual twelve days' festival for Sri Ramanuja in Tirumala. One item of that endowment is for a daily food offering for Sri Raghunatha who is stated to be in the Tirumala shrine. The inscription does not state that he installed Sri Raghunatha. The inscription in Tamil reads "திருமலைமேல் ரகுநாதன் நாள் வழி அமுது செய்தருளும் படிக்கு திருப்போனகம் ஒன்று".

Inscriptions of endowments made for newly installed idols clearly state that they were newly installed. The installation of Sri Raghunatha in Sri Ramanuja's temple in Tirupati (II. 88,

i. 1. 27.

12-8-1488) is one such. So also is the installation of Sri Ramanuja in Sri Raghunatha's temple in Tirupati (II. 137, 3-6-1497). Wherever there is a shrine for Ramanuja there would be a Raghunatha installed there by His side. Food offerings to Sri Ramanuja could not be made independently. There must be a Divine Murti alongside so that food offered to that Murti could be made over to Sri Ramanuja. The appropriate Murti for Ramanuja's shrine is Raghunatha since Ramanuja is considered to be the incarnation of Lakshmana. Therefore when the food offering was made in 1476 to Sri Raghunatha of Tirumala by name as an adjunct to an endowment for Sri Ramanuja the only inference to be drawn is that at the time of installation of Sri Ramanuja in Tirumala there would have been a Raghunatha also there. Although the inscription dated 1476 A.D. does not state that Sri Raghunatha was in Tiruvengaḍamuḍaiyān's Sannidhi, another inscription of the year 1504 A.D. of an endowment for a Nandāvilakku (III. 1. 4-9-1504) distinctly states that it was for Raghunatha existing in Tiruvengaḍamuḍaiyan's sannidhi "திருவேங்கடமுடையான் சந்நிதியில் ஏழுந்தருளி இருக்கும் பகுநாதனுக்கு திருந்தா விளக்கு நடக்கும் படிக்கும்...".

We could not however dogmatise that a Raghunatha did exist on the date that a shrine was constructed for Ramanuja. In Tirupati for instance there was a shrine for Ramanuja from about 1200 A.D. but a Raghunatha was installed by his side only in 1488 (II. 88-12 8.1488) by one Vignēsvara Sṛīmān. Even the independent temple for Raghunatha and the installation of His Image were made only in 1481.

There would have been no objection from any sect of Hindus for installing Sri Raghunatha and Sri Krishna as adjuncts to Tiruvengaḍamuḍaiyān because He is Narayana come here from Vairāṅgam and the two deities are only His Avatars. We have already shown that the Archāvatār of Sri Venkateswara has a logical connection with Sri Rama and Sri Krishna. We have also shown that slokas of the Mantrapushpam referring to these Murtis are based on that conception. There are two stories connected with the life of Srīman Nāthamuni and Yāmunācharya, which

suggest that Sri Tirumala Nambi might have installed the idols of Krishna and Rama as he would have had strong sentimental reasons for doing it. The tradition about Nathamuni is that after a long life of 340 years he had an unexpected call from Sri Rama. On a morning when he had gone out for the morning bath two Villis (huntsmen) and a woman with a monkey called at his lodgings. His daughter who was at home informed them that he had gone for his bath. They went away leaving a message that he was wanted by them. This message was delivered to him and straight away he went in search of them. And after a long search got darsan of them in a forest and obtained release from this life. Relating to Sri Yāmunacharya (Ālavandar) the story is that impelled by a sincere desire to be initiated into Yoga marga he went to meet the great guru Tirukkurukaippirān at a moment when he was in deep meditation with an image in front of him. For fear of disturbing him Yāmunacharya hid himself behind a wall in rear. The Yogi suddenly asked whether there was on the spot any scion of the Soṭṭai family (சொட்டை குலத்தார் ம. ண்டோ). Yāmunacharya came forward, submitted with prostration that his humble self was a scion of that family and enquired how the Yogi came to suspect his presence. The reply was that the idol of Sri Krishna turned his face to the wall which could have occurred only if there was one of the Soṭṭai family there; for he is so partial to them. Yāmunacharya was Tirumala Nambi's grand-father at whose feet the latter learnt his spiritual lessons. It was after hearing his exposition of a portion of Nammālvār's Prabandham in praise of Sri Venkatesvara he came away to Tirumala and dedicated himself solely and unreservedly to the service of Tiruvengadamūdayan. Sriman Nātha Munigal was Yāmunācharya's grand father and was the founder of that system of faith or Bhakti which culminated in Sri Ramanuja Siddhantam dealt with in his Sri Bhashya. There is another point also. Tirumala Nambi himself was in his life time the best exponent of the esoteric meanings of Vālmiki's Ramayana and Sri Ramanuja sat at his feet for one year to imbibe the interpretations. His intense devotion to Sri Raghunatha and Sri Krishna could therefore be well appreciated by us.

Therefore, the probability amounting to a certainty is that Tirumala Nambi installed in the Garbha Griham the images of Sri Rama and Sri Krishna during his life time even if they were not installed before.

It may be mentioned here that neither Sri Raghunatha nor Sri Krishna enjoys separate daily puja. They share in the Nityār. chana for Sri Venkatesa. All food offerings made in the Garbha Griham are first offered to Sri Venkateswara even when intended for Sri Rama or Sri Krishna. But in āsthanams and processions outside the Garbhagriham the particular idol gets the offerings direct. This procedure is distinctly mentioned in the inscriptions, such as (II. 88. 12-8-1486)¹ for offerings made outside the temple direct to Sri Krishna.

THE TEMPLE, ITS PECULIARITIES.

It has already been shown that the temple with its one Murti (Eka Murti) and devoid of ancillary deities which the Samhita prescribes shows distinctly that from the earliest days it stood out as something different from the Āgama types. It was also shown how the idea of setting up more Mūrtis in the niches of the first pradakshinam did not succeed. There are some other features also which will be referred to now.

We do not find the undermentioned Āgama bimbams figured in their respective place:—

1. ஸ்ரீஜயந்தி நாள் கிருஷ்ணராயன் திருவவதாரம் பண்ணினதே காலத்தில் திருவேங்கடமுடையானுக்கு திருக் கணமடை திருவோலக்கம் ஒன்றும் (II.68; 12-8-1486).

“கிருஷ்ணன் திருநட்குத்திரம் ரோஹிணி வருஷம் க-க்கு நாள் கஃ-க்கு திருவேங்கடமுடையான் அமுது செய்யும் அப்ப படி கஃ”. (III, 165; 8-11-1524).

2. “திருக்கொடி திருநாள் எட்டுக்கு திருக்கோனேரி கரையில் தம்மிட மண்டபத்தில் சூ-ம் திருநாள் கிருஷ்ணராயன் ஏறி அருளி அமுது செய்தருளும் தோசை படி அ.” III, 173; 19-7-1527.

Dhatri and Vidhatri guarding the door-way, the former on the south side and facing North, the latter on the North side facing South. **Bhuvanga** lying on the sill of the door frame with his head on the south and facing up. **Patanga** would be pictured on the soffit stone with his head on the North and facing down. The Dvarapalas on (the first door-way) either side of this door would be **Manikam and Sandhya**. The Dvarapalas at the Mukha mantapam door-way would be **Vikhanas and Tapasa**. The Dvarapalas at Prathamavarana doorway would be **Kishkindam and Tirtha**. The Dvarapalas at the second avarana doorway would be **Vakratunda (Ganesa) and Nagaraja (Serpent)**. Not one of these is depicted in this temple. Other essential elements (in addition to the above) to make up an **Adhamadhama** temple (lowest) are **Vishvaksena, Garuda, Sribhutam, Nyaksha and Bhutapitham**. We have only Vishvaksena and Garuda in their proper place in the temple. Sri Bhūtam who should be in the Sopanam in the first āvaranam finds his place among the five stones placed between the Dhvajastambham and Balipītham which are outside the inner gopuram. Nyaksha is not figured. The next higher type of temple, the Adhama Madhyama, should have in addition to the above, **Indra and the other digdevatas (8), Bhaskara, Chakram, Sankham**. The digdevatas are only to be imagined in this temple while Bhaskara, Sankam and Chakram are grouped into the five stones referred to above.

Vishvaksena, and Garuda as also Dhvajastambham and Balipītham are common to all classes of temples, Vaikhanasa and Pāncharatra, even of the commonest type. The devatas and the dikpālas etc., are essential deities in a Vaikhanasa temple. Every day the Bali Beram of Sri Venkateswara should be taken out for offering 'havis' to these. The procession should be in a palanquin accompanied by music, dancers, songsters, etc. There are nrittam, ragam and music to be done before each devata, in the appropriate manner prescribed for each. This is called **Nityotsavam** and is common to Vaikhanasa and Pāncharatra temples. Such a festival does not appear to have been in vogue during any period of the history of this temple. It was already stated that the Mantrapushpam ritual is something specially coined

for this temple. It is not of the pattern given in any Āgama. The Brahmārādhanam by night seems to have cut out the necessity for strict observance of the Āgama procedure. The Vaikhanasas have however been doing the puja from time immemorial. The abbreviated form of worship which was current seems to have in the course of ages affected their competency and to have made it necessary for them to import one family from some other part of the country for celebrating the rituals of the annual festival in the proper manner. This family consequently enjoys a greater share in the emoluments than the others. If the daily pujas were performed scrupulously and in strict accordance with the Āgamas there would be little time left to the pilgrims for Darshan.

The Other Berams.

In this connection a few words have to be said about the other Berams, that is other than the Kautuka Beram, in the matter of food offering. Each Beram should get its own share of food in relation to the quantity offered to the Dhruva Beram. The usual share would be something like the following. Dhruva Beram one dronam or marakkal or tumbu. For Devi half a tumbu, Kautukam half dronam; Utsava Beram, half dronam; Snapana, half dronam and Bali Beram half dronam. Jaggery in addition by day and payasam by night. When a temple is consecrated for the first time all these Murtis and Berams would be installed and due provision made for the ration to each (at least for the day time). We know that **Samavai while consecrating the Kautuka Beram made a provision of four nali of rice per day** (four nāḷi may be equal to a dronam). **There was not a Utsava Murti then.** Malayappan comes to light only about 1339 A.D. Nobody made an endowment for the supply of food ration for this Murti. **Nor do we hear of any endowment for the other Berams.** If Bhoga Srinivasa was offered 4 nāḷi of rice per day, the Dhruva Beram and Sri Devi should have been receiving (12 nāḷis) one dronam and a half per day. Inscriptional evidence for the quantity offered to the Dhruva Beram is wanting. But from a certain inscription of the thirteenth century¹ we learn that one half of the village of

¹. I. 86, 1234 A. D.

Paiyidipalle was the property of Sri Venkateswara from ancient times. One family of the Archakas is known as Paidipalle dikshitulu. It is likely that this family was from very early days in enjoyment of the income from one half of the village of Paidipalle. This Archaka would have been offering to the Deity a certain quantity of cooked rice and, as has been the ancient usage, himself enjoying that food. The Agamas make it incumbent on the donor who consecrates a temple to make an adequate endowment of land to enable the archaka to lead a happy and contented life. All the other idols which came in later do not appear to have been provided for separately. From the Vaikhanasa point of view these were intruders, not having been consecrated properly. This affords us indirect evidence that the temple was not consecrated strictly in accordance with the Vaikhanasa or Pāncharathra Āgama.

Some Crude and Incorrect Notions.

The description and the explanation given above show that the Dhruva Murti in Tirumala represents some form of Vishnu. There are, however, some persons, they might be few in number, who consider the Murti to represent Subramaniaswami, Durga or some form of Sakti. They point to this or that emblem or symbol which is common to several Deities, to sayings or statements alleged to have been made by Sri Sankaracharya and to incorrect information given by men. Some of these are given collectively in a book recently published by one Sri V. N. Srinivasa Rao, a Retired Tahsildar.

(1) Because North Indians call Srinivasa by the name Bālāji and because Durga seems to be known by the name Bālā when she was nine years of age, Sri Venkatesa is Durga. Is this not fine logic? He forgets that North Indians commenced going to Tirupati only from the days of Sivaji in the middle of the seventeenth century A.D. The Bhagavata slokam—"Tamadbhutam Bala-kamambujekshanam etc.," in describing the Darsan which Sri Krishna gave to His father soon after His birth may be referred to in this connection. We have already shown how closely this avatar has been recognised to be associated with Sri Venkateswara. A standing Murti with a lovely countenance and plump body

fully decorated with ornaments would appropriately be called "Bālaka."

(2) People considered the Tirumala Hill a form of Mēru-chakram which is a form of Devi. No one could take objection to that conception if one stretches his imagination to that extent. But the range of hills has always been called Vengadam. Even the name Sēshachālam is of recent origin. Because the hill is so sacred as to burn away all sins and because people wish to worship the God thereon it is considered good manners to ascend the hills after bathing and wearing fresh or wet clothes. We are only surprised that the author did not add another argument that those who have a prārthana to fulfil wear cloth dyed in turmeric water to please Durga thereby.

(3) He adds that the real name of Gāligōpuram is Kāḷi Gōpuram. The gōpuram itself was constructed in 1628 A.D. a fact perhaps not known to the author. The gōpuram was built by a rank Sri Vaishnava (Matla Anantaraja) who would not have left an inch of space for Kāḷi there.

(4) "At the corners of the top of the central Vimanam are placed forms of couchant lions, the vehicle and emblem of Sakti.' We do not dispute it. But the Vaikhanasa and the Pancharatra Āgamas require that either the lion or the eagle (Garuda) should be placed at the corners.

"*Sukhāsanasamāyuktam Sarvāṅkarasamyutam
Vyālordhvakoṅakamchaiva Viśam vātha mrigesvaram.*

also

"*Vakratundam cha Durgāṁchāpyagramandapabhittishu
Sthitāmēvam susamsthāpya yadhālābham samarchayēt.*"¹

Bhrigu Samhita (Vimona devata)

सुखासनसमायुक्त सर्वालङ्कारसंयुतम् ।
व्यालोर्ध्वकोणकं चैव वीशं वाऽथ मृगेश्वरम् ॥
वक्रमुण्डञ्च दुर्गाञ्चाप्यग्रमण्डपमितिषु ।
स्थितमेवं सुसंस्थाप्य यथाकारं समर्चयेत् ॥

Not only on top of Vimanam but also at corners on top of mantapams either of these should be placed. The lion is selected to ward off enemies of the King if the temple is situated in a locality where that consideration is necessary. If for spiritual and cultural ends only Garuda. We know that Vira Narasinga Yādarāya built the Vimānam. The couchant lion would naturally have been preferred. It is unfortunate that the images of Ganesa and of Durga who should also find a place in the temple as per Āgamas have not been placed in this temple. If that had been done Mr. Srinivasa Rao could have pointed to them to strengthen his arguments.

(5) **Simha lalatams, Jata and Srichakram on the crown.** There is no jata on the head of the Murti, a fact already mentioned. Nor is there a Sri Chakram on the Kireetam. Mr. Rao could have had no occasion, to go near the Dhruva Bēram to observe the features of the Crown (or Kireetam). Even the Acharya-purushas do not enjoy that privilege. Unless the officiating Archaka is a very tall man even he could not satisfy the desire to observe at close quarters.

The so-called Simha lalāṭam is a common engraving on certain ornaments, including those covering the *marmasthānam* of male as well as female figures. It is a very rough delineation which by a stretch of imagination we associate with the face of a lion. It could be seen on many images of both sexes.

(6) **The Ritual aspect-Sakti.** Here again Mr. Rao is ill-informed. Referring to the "Drapery" which is usually called "Uḷchāttu," he points to its long length as a definite proof of the Deity being Durga or Sakti. This Uḷchāttu is of recent origin and has been necessitated by the large number of heavy ornaments and āyudhams with which the Deity is decorated. Commonsense would tell us that a thick padding should be provided if these ornaments, many of which have sharp edges, are not to injure the fine markings etc., on the form of the Murti. How much care is bestowed in the arrangement of the folds of the cloth, it is only those who have the privilege to witness that could realise.

The **Nagabharana** is not an ornament integral with the body of the Murti. There is nothing corresponding to it on the image. The Naga is one of the Nityas ever present with Vishnu Murti. Its absence even as the Seat or Sandals of Srinivasa is a unique feature. The Nagabharana connotes nothing in particular.

The **sandal paste** was introduced only in the fifteenth century A.D. Inscriptions are our authority. Balls of perfumed sandal paste not only adorn Sri Devi on the chest by night but two balls (billas) are placed over the feet of the Dhruva Beram. Gandham is sacred to Vishnu.

The **abhishekam** and its origin have been explained in connection with the installation of Bhoga Srinivasa. Turmeric bath is not given to Srinivasa on Fridays. Saffron paste is added to the water. For Snapana Tirumanjanam of all Vishnu Murtis, turmeric is however one of the ingredients. Neither Vada nor pāyasam is offered to the Deity after the bath. Pōji is offered during the second bell. Even that is of recent origin. It has no antiquity behind it.

Abhishekam for the gold emblem of the Goddess Alarmel Mangai.

This image is not an integral part of the Dhruva Beram. It is really an ornament presented by some Bhakta (they say it is one of the Maharajahs of Mysore) for permanent wear; and endowment also was made for its abhishekam. This Goddess is removed and abhishekam done separately for the simple reason that it should not receive the same along with the Murti and Sri Devi. It is not open to every worshipper to see how it is hung and how it is removed and refitted. Hence the screen and the secrecy.

(7) There is neither a **meru chakra** under the pedestal of Bhoga Srinivasa nor any puja therefor. All puja is only for the Dhruva Murti, the Bhoga Beram and the other idols. If the screen is put on it is for replacing the Bhōga Murti from the Snapana pīṭham to its Archā pīṭham.

These operations could not be carried out in the presence of all. The Āgamas enjoin screening on such occasions. The Yantram which is on the pedestal and also under the feet of Bhōga Srinivasa has already been referred to. The idol itself was installed in Sri Alavandar's life time in 966 A.D.

(8) **Bilva Patram**:—This is one of the eight *punya pushpams* acceptable to Vishnu in the daily puja:

Pādmasamhitā. 12 Adhyaye (Charyāpade):—

“*Thulasīchathushṭayaṃdūrvā bilvapatram cha Pūjārḥāni.
Thulasyau sithakṣṇecha kevalakshapakāsthathā
Chathvarasthulasīhedā dūrvābilvadalānicha
Sarvadārādhanārḥāni*”

From Brigu Sambhita Page 185:—

“*Nandyāvarthaṅcha padmaṅcha thulasīvishnu Parṇikā: |
Bilvaṅcha karaveeraṅcha padmam kumulamēvacha |
Ashta vai puṇyapushpāṇi grāhyāṇi thu yathākramam*”

Both the Āgamas recommend its use. The question should be put the other way. Why is it not used every day along with tulasi? Its exclusion was meant probably to keep off ignorant fanatics laying claim to the Deity as something other than Vishnu.

(9) **Brahmotsavam**:—Mr. Rao does not probably know that it has always been called Puraṭṭāsi Brahmotsavam and that the period is regulated by the criterion that the Tīrthavāri should be

पाद्म संहिता १२ अध्याये (चर्यापादे) :-

“ तुलसीचतुष्टयं दूर्वा बिल्वपत्र च पूजार्हाणि,
तुलस्यौ सितकृष्णे च केवलाक्षपकास्तथा ।
चत्वारस्तुलसीभेदा दूर्वाबिल्वदलानि च ॥
सर्वदाराधनार्हाणि ”

“ नन्द्यावर्न च पद्मं च तुलसी विष्णुपर्णिका ।
बिल्वं च करवीरं च पद्मं कुमुदमेव च ॥
अष्ट वै पुण्यपुष्पणि ग्राह्याणि तु यथाक्रमम् ।

on the morning of the day when Sravana Nakshatram is current. The additional or second one which coincides with the Dasara occurs once in four years when there is an *adhika māsam*. The latter practice commenced with the advent of Sāluva Narasimha and the Vijayanagar kings to give satisfaction to those who observe the Saura Chāndramāna Panchangam.

(10) Sri Venkateswara's image is in the centre of the Garbha Griham and is therefore a Saivite Murti:

Here again Mr. Rao wrote out of sheer ignorance. If he had made cursory acquaintance with the Āgama rules for the installation of standing, sitting and reposing Murtis of Vishnu he would have realised his mistake. The location of the Mūrti in the Garbha Griham has already been explained in the chapter dealing with temple structures. The place for Siva in a Vishnu Garbha Griham is the Paisacha zone just abutting the walls. The Dhruva Beram should occupy the Daivika zone. Sri Venkateswara's image is precisely in this zone.

(11) There is an outlet (Gomukham) from the Garbha Griham. Why it is not working has already been explained. Regarding the height of the Garbha Griham, it has already been explained that it bears a definite relation to the height of the Murti. The builders have observed the rule.

(12) The floor has at no time been raised. The height of the Dhruva Bēra Piṭham makes this obvious and is proportionate to the Bhuvanga or height of door-step.

(13) Srivatsam:—Mr. Rao writes that the markings of the Srivatsam on the right chest, near the shoulder (instead of on the middle of the left chest as is usual with the Vishnu images) betray hasty and imperfect execution by later artists. He displays here not only his ignorance but the audacity in stating that some later artist interfered with the Murti and executed the work. The place of Yoga Lakshmi and that of Srivatsam may be gathered from the quotation given below from the Bhṛigu Samhita, Lakshmi kalpam (in the case of new temples and the installation of idols therein).

“ *Atha vakshyē visēshēna lakshmīsthāpanamuttamam |
Ashtadhā prōchyatē lakshmīḥ Prathamā thvanapāyini ||
Vishnōrvakshasthalē kāryā sarvālaṅkārasamyutā |
Dakshasthanasyōrdhva bhāgē Vahniasrē divyamandalē ||
Padmamadhyē samāsinām padmadvayakarāñchitām |
Varadābhayahasthañcha mandasmitamukhāmbujām |
Evamrūpām Prakurvītā yōgalakshmīsthu sāmāthā |
Yōgalakshmiṁ prathishṭāpya Srikāmassamyagarchayēt ||
Vṛthvā Srivaṭsarūpam thu dhārāyēdvishnumavyayam |
Thatthadbimbānurūpañcha kuryāt sriṭsalakshanam.” ||¹*

Lakshmi is on the upper portion of the right breast (Daksha Stana—urdhva bhāgam) Vahniasra maṇḍalam and her place is over the Srivatsam as is well known to every Sri Vaishṇava. The last line of the quotation deserves attention. The markings of Srivatsam depend on the rūpam or form of the particular Murti and is not identical for all. Srivatsam represents the Mula Prakriti and Sri Devi is its Adhishṭana Devata.¹

(14) **Crystal Lingam:**—There is no Crystal Lingam anywhere in the Tirumala temple. Mr. Rao imagines that Sri Vidyāranya has stated so. Sri Vidyāranya was the contemporary of Sri Vēdānta Dēśika in the latter part of the 13th and early part of the 14th century. As for the connection which Kapila and Bhṛigu are said to have had it may be stated that Kapila, Bhṛigu, Ganesa,

“ अथ वक्ष्ये विशेषेण लक्ष्मीस्थापनमुत्तमम् ।
अष्टधा प्रोच्यते लक्ष्मीः प्रथमा त्वनपायिनी ॥
विष्णोर्बक्षः स्थले कार्या सर्वालङ्कारसंयुता ।
दक्षस्तनस्योर्ध्वभागे बह्वक्षश्चे दिव्यमण्डले ॥
पद्ममध्ये समासीनां पद्मद्वयकराञ्चिताम् ॥
वरदाभयहस्तां च मन्दस्मितमुखाम्बुजाम् ।
एवंरूपां प्रकुर्वीत योगलक्ष्मीस्तु सा मता ।
योगलक्ष्मीं प्रतिष्ठात्य धीकामस्तस्यगचंयेत् ॥
वृत्वा श्रीवत्सरूतं तु धारयेद्विष्णुमभ्ययम् ।
तत्तद्विम्बानुरूपं च कुर्यात् श्रीवत्सब्रह्मणम् ॥ ”

Durga, Siva, and Brahma are all Upadevatas in a temple consecrated to Vishnu according to both the Vaishnavite Āgamas. But they never had a place in Tirumala for the simple reason that Srī Venkateswara is *svayamvyak!a murti* and not consecrated according to Āgamas. There is also no antiquity about the temple of Srī Kapileswara Swami.

1 Ancient authority from Srī Nammaḷvar's Tiruvoimōḷi for the existence of Srīvatsam and Lakshmi on the breast of the Dhruva Murti has already been referred to. The relevant portions of the stanzas are given below and also Srī Andāl's statement in Nachchiar Tirumōḷi with the same effect is quoted. ௩

பங்கயக் கண்ண னென்கோ? பவளச்செவ்வாய னென்கோ?
அங்கதி ரடிய னென்கோ? அஞ்சன வண்ண னென்கோ?
செங்கதிர் முடிய னென்கோ? திருமறு மார்வ னென்கோ?
சங்குசக் கரத்த னென்கோ? சாதிமா ணிக்கத் தையே.

திருவாய்மொழி 3-ப, 4-தி. பாட்டு (௩)

அகல கில்லென் இறையுமென்று அலர்மேல் மங்கை யுறைமார்பா!
நிகரில் புகழாய்! உலகம்மூன் றுடையாய்! என்னை யாள்வானே
நிகரி லமரர் முனிக்கணங்கள் விரும்பும் திருவேங் கடத்தானே!
புகலொன் றில்லா அடியேன் உன் னடிக்கீழ் அமர்ந்து

புகுந்தேனே.

திருவாய்மொழி 6-ப, 10-தி. பாட்டு (௧0)

மின்னாகத் தெழுகின்ற மேகங்காள்! வேங்கடத்துத்
தன்னாகத் திருமங்கை தங்கியஓர் மார்வர்க்கு
என்னாகத் திளங்கொங்கை விரும்பித்தாம் நான்தோறும்
பொன்னாகம் புகுதற்குஎன் புரிவுடைமை செப்புமினே;

நாச்சியார் திருமொழி 8-தி. பாட்டு (௪)

CHAPTER IX.

NITYARCHANA (OR DAILY WORSHIP) IN THE TIRUMALA TEMPLE.

FROM what has been stated in the previous chapters it would be clear that as the Dhrūva Mūrti was neither made nor consecrated by man, the temple could not have had a definite form of ritualistic worship in its early days. It was also pointed out that for the worship of the dual form (a combination of Vishnu and Siva in one Mūrti) which one of the Mudal-Ājvārs appear to have seen in Tirumala there is no ritual prescribed in any of the Āgamas.¹ The description given in the Silappadhikāram does not also speak of any ritualistic worship. The proportioning of the size of the Garbha Griham which bears a relationship to the height of the Dhrūva Mūrti shows that the temple was built to accord with the Vaikhānasa Āgama (and Āgamas in general). It was stated that the probable date of the construction of the original temple of cut-stone might be about 900 A.D. It was also inferred from the wording of inscription No. I. 8 that ritualistic worship (or Karmārchana) commenced in 966 A.D. when the silver Kautuka Bēram called Manavalapperumal (or Bhōga Srinivasa) was installed and consecrated for that special purpose. The sanctity of Tiruvēngadam however did not depend on the temple structure or on the Karmārchana which man introduced, because divinity was not invoked by a consecration ritual. God manifested Himself there and Brahma along with the Dēvas has been doing the pūja by night for their own spiritual benefit just as we are doing for our benefit, spiritual and temporal. This tradition that Brahma

1. Tiruppāra Aḷwar says in verse 3 of his Amalanādapirān that on the Vengadam Hills the worship is being carried on by the Heavenly beings which refer to Brahma, Indra, Rudra, and the others.

மந்திரபாய் வடவேங்கட மாமலை வானவர்கள்
சந்திசெய்ய நின்றான் அரங்கத்தரவி னணையான்

conducts a worship by night has always been kept up in Tirumala. Every night before the doors of the Garbha Griham are closed five large gold cups (vattils) are filled with clean water and all the spices required are put therein. All the other puja articles are also left on a plate. It is this consecrated water that is distributed to the devotees during the morning Darsan known as Visvarūpasēva. Devotees who are not Sri Vaishnavas have thus the satisfaction that the tirtham offered to them is water consecrated by Brahma himself. The worship which the Vaikhānasa Archakas carry on is therefore secondary in character. Imperfections in that form of worship and differences from other forms are therefore ignored in practice. When the Supreme Being (Para Vāsudēva) manifested Himself in Tirumala, He did not bring with him a Vaikhanasa Archaka or the Marīchi Samhita. This is where Tirumala differs from other places of worship.

Although the Vaikhānasa form of worship has been in vogue from ancient times there has not been in practice strict observance of the procedure laid down therefor. For instance in 966 A.D. only 4 nālīs of rice per day were endowed by Sāmavai for the daily nimandam of Bhōga Srinivasa. The probability therefore is that there would have been only one pūja performed during the day time when cooked food or Havis was offered. We do not bear of a night puja for a long time. A puja along with Havis at dawn (Arunōdaya kalam) was instituted by Tirukkalkāniridāsar Aḷagappirānār in 1434 A.D.; and that was only for six months covered by the Dakshinayanam.

Before giving an account of the daily puja which is now in vogue it is desirable to state the recommendations made in the Vaikhānasa Āgama. The Pāncharātra Āgama has its own classifications and recommendations which will also be referred to wherever necessary.

The Vaikhanasa Āgama recommends puja six times a day, viz., Pratyūsham (Arunōdayam or Ushashkalam); (2) Prabhātam (Prātahkalam); (3) Madhyāhnam (noon); (4) Aparāhnam (after noon); (5) Sāyankalam (evening); and (6) Nisi (midnight or Ardhayā-

mam). This order is not being observed in Tirumala.¹ Except during the month of Mārgasira there is no puja performed before day break. Nor is there puja done early in the morning soon after sunrise. The Visvarūpaseva which takes place early in the morning affords only an occasion for devotees to worship the Deity. Milk, butter and sugar are offered on this occasion. The third item viz., Madhyāhna puja corresponds to the Tōmālasēva and archana. The food offering which accompanies it is called the first bell. This is the only occasion during the daytime when Abhishēkam is done. The fourth item is the Aparāhna^apuja which corresponds to the second archana and second bell with food offering. This function is an abbreviated one. The fifth is the Sayankālapuja which takes place as a strictly private function. There is food offering in connection with this also. The sixth or Nisi puja corresponds to the Ekāntaseva which is really no puja. Bhōga Srinivasa adorns the bed prepared for the night. Milk, pāyasam, fruits, nuts etc., are offered and sweet music played. This function should logically have no place in this temple where during the night puja is done by Brahma himself and therefore the Deity would not be sleeping in bed.

Benefits Conferred by the Shatkala Pujas.

The Āgama says that the pujas performed six times a day are really for our own material welfare. Puja in Ushakkālam promotes

1. Kulasekhara Āḷwar in his Tirumōḷi 1-7 states that worship 6 time a day was carried on in Sri Rangam and that would have been early in the 8th century A. D. But there is no such worship in Tirumala.

மறம் திகழும் மனமொழித்து வஞ்ச மாற்றி
 ஐம்புலன்க ளடக்கி இடர்ப் பாரத் துன்பம்
 துறந்து இருமும் பொழுதேத்தி எல்லை யில்லாத்
 தொன்னெறிக்கண் நிலைநின்ற தொண்ட ரான
 அறம் திகழும் மனத்தவர்தம் கதியைப் பொன்னி
 யணிபரங்கத் தரவணையில் பள்ளி கொள்ளும்
 நிறம் திகழும் மர்யோனைக் கண்டுஎன் கண்கள்
 நீர் மல்க என்றுகொலோ நிற்கும் நாளே?

the *vriddhi* (or increase) of *praja* and *pasu*. Prātaḥkāla puja promotes japa and homa. Madhyahna pūja is for the *abhivṛddhi* of the Rajarashtram. Aparahna pūja brings about the destruction of daityās (evil doers). The Sāyankāla puja is for increased production of grains and pulses (*sasya*). The midnight (Nisi) puja is for increase of cattle wealth. But as it is not always possible to do puja six times a day in every temple, the same agama recommends a minimum of one puja a day.¹

“ *Shatkālam vā thrikālam vā dvikālam
ēkakālam vā Pūjanam dēvadēvasya.*” |

We know that in Tirumala it is impossible to have six pujas performed every day in a leisurely manner. The Pāncharatra Āgama goes a step further than the Vaikhanasa and speaks of one, two, three, four, five, six, or even twelve pujas a day if that could be managed.

In Tirumala there are really only two pujas performed in extenso. The one in the morning is associated with the name Tōmāla Sēva which is open to the public on payment of a fee. The second one in the evening (night) is, as already stated, strictly private in which the Archakas, the Paricharakas and the Acharya-purushas only take part. There is also an abridged puja in the afternoon. Among the lakhs of pilgrims who go there, there would only be an infinitesimally small number who have even an elementary knowledge of the form of puja. It is perhaps for this reason that the component parts of the puja are not mentioned by their ritualistic names. They are called Sēvas; such as Visvarupa seva, Tōmāla Sēva, First Archana, Koluvu seva, Naivēdyam, Sattumurai, second archana, second Naivēdyam, Dharma seva and Ekāntasēva. Dharma seva, Koluvu and Visvarupa sevas are open to all freely. For Naivedyam only the Archakas are allowed inside the sanctum. For Sattumurai (reciting portions of the Tamil prabhandam and praise of some Vaishnavite Acharyas) Srivaishnavas only are allowed since they alone take an active part in it.

1. “ षट्कालं वा त्रिकालं वा द्विकालम्
एककालं वा पूजनं देवदेवस्य ”

Darsan in connection with the Tōmāla Seva and Ēkānta Seva could be had only on payment of the prescribed fee. The pilgrim would only be witnessing the functions. In the case of archana however the name of the ticket holder with his gōtram would be mentioned at the end of the archana and the Lord invoked to give His blessings. Usually there is hardly standing space available for all the ticket holders to witness the functions with a feeling of physical comfort.

As there would be at least a few who would like to know what the course of the daily puja is like, a short description will be attempted. The routine of the puja is mainly of the Vaikhanasa type, but not in strict accordance thereto. There are intrusions, deviations and abridgements. In the orthodox Vaikhanasa form of worship there is no room for one who is not a born Vaikhanasa to participate. If for any unavoidable reason an alien takes part in the puja, that other is known by the name Dēvalaka, and he is looked down upon. In the Tirumala and the Tirupati Temples the Parichāraka is a Sanyasi who does not go through the formality of receiving dīksha or initiation at the hands of a Vaikhanasa dīkshita. Yet another person who performs the Mantrapushpam is an Āchāryapurusha whom the Vaikhanasa would look upon as Dēvalaka. It does not however appear from the inscriptions that a sanyasi was doing the Parichāraka service before Srimad Mullai Tiruvenkata Jiyar became the Kartar of the Arisinālayam maṭham about 1380 A.D. and one of the Sthānattars about 1390 A.D. He was probably the first sanyāsi who took up the Parichāraka service in addition to his other duties as one of the Sthanattars. The claim of the Vaikhanasas to have their own men in the religious services does not appear to have been ever recognised in this temple. As the Dhruva Murti was not consecrated by the Vaikhanasa, any Srivaishnava is eligible to render religious service of one kind or another.

The routine of Nityarchana.

Early in the morning the Archaka after finishing his bath and his *nitya karmānushthanam* should do his 'praṣāmam' to the key

of the sanctum and proceed to the temple holding it on his head and accompanied by the Parichāraka and the temple paraphernalia and music. After duly perambulating the pradakshinam and prostrating before the dvāra devas, he should open the door uttering the mantram appropriate for the occasion and enter the sanctum. Facing the Deity he does his pranāmam reciting the mantram "Atō Dēva....." The Paricharaka should attend to the lighting of the lamps. A mirror should be presented to the Deity while still in bed. Songsters, maidens, horses, cows etc., should be made to stand before the Deity. Brahmins should recite the Vedas (Brāhmanān Veda vidushah), dancers should dance and songsters sing praises. They should all remain in the Mukhamantapam. Then Hārati (Nīrājanam) should be done. At this stage fresh drawn cow's milk, navanītham and sugar should be offered to the Deity.¹

The Deity who was in the bed is now removed to the jivasthānam. The practice in Tirumala however is for the donors to be closed soon after the archaka, paricharaka and the golla (lamp lighter and sweeper) enter the Sanctum. In front of the closed doors the songsters sing and certain Sanskrit verses in praise of Srinivasa are recited till the doors are reopened after Bhoga Srinivasa is shifted to His jivasthānam from the bed. Cows, horses, elephants etc., are not present for the function, neither do Brahmins recite the Vedas. The camphor, hārati, cow's milk and navanitham are offered only after the Idol is removed to the jivasthānam and not while yet in bed. No mirror is presented to the Deity's face.

The Visvarupa Seva.

Devotees are then allowed to have darsan of the Dhruva Beram and Bhōga Srīnivāsa. This darsan is known as "Visvarūpa Sēva." It got mixed up with the function of waking up the Kautuka Beram called Bhōga Srīnivāsa. This Visvarūpa Sēva is the darsan

1. Dharoshṇam eṭṭuva gokshīram navanītam sasarkaram
Dēvēsaya nivēdyatha kuryaṅṅi yavanikam punaha

which is associated with the pūja performed by Brahma overnight. Worshippers get the Tirtham of that pūja as part of the darsan. Pilgrims get this darsan free, except on Friday mornings.

There are a few adjuncts to this seva which grew up gradually. A pinch of sandal paste from out of a big ball might be given to some. A small piece of perfumed silk cloth would also be presented. The small paste is called **Sripada chandanam** and the cloth **Sri pada vastram**. The former is applied to the forehead by the devotee and the cloth pressed to one's forehead in reverence and returned. These are articles which were in contact with the Holy feet of the Dhruva Murti overnight. When Bhoga Srinivasa was put to bed overnight, a half billa (cupful) of perfumed sandal paste was placed over His Chest; a quarter billa was placed over "Alamēlu Mangai Nachchiar" adorning the chest of the Dhruva Murti. Another quarter billa was left along with articles for the Brahma puja during the night. In addition to the above, two full billas (two balls) were placed over the Holy feet of the Dhruva Murti after removing the gold kavacham covering the feet and after wiping off the civet oil with the piece of silk cloth referred to. It is from these two balls of perfumed chandanam that the devotee is given a pinch during the Visvarupa seva. The billas would also be placed in one's hands so that he might press them both to his eyes. The practice is not however an ancient one. It seems to have had its origin in the middle of the fifteenth century A.D. (Vol. II No. 40. 1469 A.D.). The use of civet oil was the work of Tirukkalikandridasar Alagappirānār. Subsequently Saluva Narasimha and Kandadai Ramanuja Ayyangar introduced the others. The term Visvarupa seva does not however occur in the inscriptions. There would in any case have been a morning darsan of the God arranged for the benefit of the pilgrims. The **fine songs of the Tallapakkam Annamachar** would have been sung for the first time in Tirumala only during the reign of Sri Krishna Deva Mahārāya in the first quarter of the sixteenth century A.D. The heartening Sanskrit slokas of the **Suprabhatam** would have been recited at the beginning of the fifteenth century or in the closing years of the fourteenth century since Prativādibhayankaram Annan, reputed to be the composer, flourished in the closing years

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

of Sri Vedanta Desika. Sri Tāllapakkam Tirumalai Ayyan seems to be the first among the members of the Tallapakkam family who made Tirumala his abode and he flourished in the sixteenth century. How the morning was welcomed in the temple in the centuries before the fifteenth it is not possible to conjecture. We are certain that the Vedas were not recited in congregation before 1430 A.D. in which year Sri Virapratāpa Dēvarāya Maharaya made the first arrangement for recitation of the Vedas. We are also sure that the Tamil Prabhandams were not recited inside the temple before the year 1476 A.D. In fact the Tamil Prabhandam songs known as **Tiruppallieluchchi** (waking the Deity while in bed) are not sung along with the Suprabhatam and the Tallapakkam songs for waking up the deity. The Tamil songs are recited later at the commencement of the Tōmāla seva, as if the morning sun was just then peeping over the horizon. These songs are also not in praise of Srinivasa but of Sri Ranganatha. We must assume that the morning function was in the early centuries a silent one. In fact 1434 A.D. seems to have been the first year when a ushakkalam (arunodaya) sandhi offering was made.

It is likely that the singing of the Tiruppallieluchchi in the morning in front of Sri Ranganatha when he was sojourning in Tirumala between the years 1330 and 1360 A.D. gave the impetus for composing the Suprabhatam slokas in Sanskrit in praise of Sri Venkateswara. The Tallapakkam songs in Telugu would have come in a century later.

THE TOMALA SEVA OR THE MAIN PUJA FOR THE DAY.

The Tamil expression Tōmālai (தோமலை) is probably a contraction of தோடுத்தமலை (made up flower garlands). The decoration of the Dhruva Bēram with flower garlands has been the characteristic feature of the Tirumala Temple. The expression is intended to call the pilgrim's special attention to the flower decoration which takes place at the fag end of the puja. The flower garlands are made in several pieces, each piece being of a

particular size so that the decoration could be done in a spectacular manner and without waste of time.

After the dharma darsan of the early morning called Visvarūpa Seva is finished the sanctum is cleared of the pilgrims and the big screen is put on at the Bangāru Vākili. The Sanctum Sanctorum is cleaned, which process is known as **Suddhi** (சுத்தி). In this process are included such things as the removal of all the previous night's flower decoration of the Dhruva Murti, etc., and the cleaning of all the vessels required for the puja. Such of the garlands as adorned the Dhruva Murti are presumed to be used to adorn Vishvaksēna.

*“Dēvanirmālya sēshēna Vishvaksenam Vibhūshya cha
Anyanirmālyaniādāya suchisthanē'psu vā kshipet.”*

The other flowers are bundled up and thrown into a well. No part of it could be used by any human being, nor could it be used for any other deity. But in practice even Vishvaksena is ignored as there is no direct approach to Him from within the Sanctum. His shrine unfortunately came to be segregated in the first āvaranam of the temple about 1250 A.D. and He therefore stands neglected. The removal of old flowers is known as “**Nirmalya Sodhana.**”

In the meantime the water required for the puja would have arrived from the Akasaganga water falls. The bringing of three potfulls of this water is the inalienable right and bounden duty of the family of Tirumala Nambi who form the Prathama Ācharya Purushas of the temples in Tirumala and Tirupati. One pot of water is used for the forenoon puja, one pot for the evening puja while the third is kept in reserve for the Brahma ārādhnam after the temple doors are closed for the night. This Akasaganga water is used for filling up the five vattils, or large silver cups used for the puja. The Vaikhanasa Samhita says that every day the water for the puja should be brought in procession on the back of an elephant. But it is so done only during the days of the Brahmotsavam. Even then the water which is so brought is not

used for the puja but only what is brought on the head by brahmins.¹

Marichi Samhita (Vimanarchana kalpam) does not however say that the water should be conveyed in procession on an elephant.

A detailed account of the Nityarchana might not interest the average reader or worshipper. It is enough to state that the water brought for use should be consecrated ritually and that some herbs and articles of perfume are recommended to be put into the five vattils or large cups which are filled with the water. As this is not being observed in Tirumala, what these articles are and their medicinal properties will be given in a separate note. The puja or archana is divided into the following parts. These are (1) Mantrāsanam when the Deity is presumed to be cleaning the teeth and washing the face, (2) Snānāsanam, when the Deity is given a bath, (3) Alankārāsanam, when fresh clothes are put on, ūrdhva puṇḍrom painted, etc. It is as it were, the durbar, (4) Bhōjyasanam, when Neivēdyam or cooked food is offered (5) Yātrasanam when Bali Homam is done and the Bali Idol is taken out in procession to see that food is given to all the parivāra dēvatās, (6) Sayanam takes place only by night after the ardhayāmapūja or Ēkāntasēvā.

Mantrāsanam:—This does not require any comment.. The Deity is represented as if cleaning the teeth, washing the mouth etc. Spoonful of water is offered for *arghyam*, *pādyam* and *āchamanam*

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1. " Alankritya ghatam samyak kshaumēnāchchadya tanmukham
Gājē sirasi vā kshiptvā sarvavadya samayutam
Punaralayam avīya kritvachaiva pradakshinam
"Sōmam rajanam," uchcharya garbhagēhē tu dakshinē"
Vinyasēcbcha tatah kumbham tripadō pari sōbhītē
Eiō stradicaritya gandhadravayam yathavidhi
Dadyadarchakahastē tu grihitva tattupujahkaha
Pūrnakumbhē tu nikshipya tōyam tadadhivasayēt
Alabhē kusadhurvair va tulasīdalamisritaih

(Bhṛigu Samhita 18th chap)

(for cleaning the hands, washing the feet and for sipping or washing the mouth).

Snanasanam:—As it is not feasible to do abhishekam to the Dhruva Beram every day, the Agama practice is to do the **abhishekam to the Kautuka Beram**. In this temple the **gold (covering or) kavachams** of the Holy Feet of the Dhruva Beram are also removed to a separate seat and given abhishekam. A large number of **Saligramams** also receive the abhishēkam.

The **Kautuka Beram, i.e., Bhoga Srinivasa**, is shifted from His permanent seat or jivasthanam and placed on a bathing seat (snapanapiṭham). Before this is done the gold wire connecting it with the Dhruva Murti is detached. A light clothing is provided. The abhishekam is a ritualistic function which takes place to the accompaniment of the recitation of Vedic hymns such as Purusha-sūktam, etc. The idol is first anointed with perfumed oil and the oily matter removed by use of tamarind (or such like) paste and water. Then follow a series of baths with cow's milk, sandal paste, honey (madhu) and turmeric water (haridrodakam). Every time clean water bath is given before the abhishekam is done. Again gandhodakam (sandal paste water) bath is given. Finally a clean water bath. A sahasradhāra plate is invariably used so as to give a shower bath. Then the idol is wiped dry with cloth, pushpānjali done before being restored to the jivasthanam. After doing prōkshana to the Dhruva Bēram the sambhandam or connecting link between the two is restored and pushpanyāsam done to the feet of the Dhruva Bēram. At every stage the appropriate mantras are pronounced.

The next step is the performance of **Pushpanyasam** for the **Devas in the first, second and third avaranas** in the piadakshina order commencing from Purusha in the east. Similar pushpanyasa is done for the three avarana devas of the Kautuka Beram then for Markandeya, Bhrigu, Brahma and Sankara. Then come the pushpanyasams for the Dvāradēvas, dvārapālas, the Vimānapālas, etc. Lastly, the door-step of the garbhagriham would be cleaned with water at either end and in the centre and archana done likewise for Dharmam, Gñānam, and Aisvaryam. This does not

appear to be done in Tirumala. Marichi Samhita is cryptic in its account as the detailed procedure would be given to the archaka during his diksha only. The Āgama rule is that the nyāsa for an absent (unrepresented) deva should be deposited between the feet of the Dhruva Beram. We know that in the Tirumala Temple not one of these devatas is represented by an image or even by a painting on the wall. So all the nyāsa flowers are deposited in between the feet of the Dhruva Beram. This fact is of interest to us as it is possibly for this reason that tulasi is not given to the worshippers as one of the prasādams of Sri Venkateswara. If these dēvas had separate representation in the temple the puja flower for each would have been laid at its feet and the tulasi at the feet of Sri Venkateswara would represent His prasadam only. The mass of flowers and tulasi now being laid at His feet however represent the prasadams of other dēvatas also. The prasadams of other dēvatas would be acceptable only to those who do upāsana or worship to them individually for the attainment of material benefits which they could bestow. But to the worshipper of the Adi Murti, viz., Sri Venkateswara they are taboo. It is probably for this reason that all flowers, etc., at the feet of the Dhruva Beram are dumped into a well. The flowers worn by the Adi Murti are the exclusive property of Vishvaksēna and should be used to adorn him. We will point out presently how the absence of the images of the devas and the mutilated condition of the first āvaranam (Mukkoṭi pradakshinam) account for the perfunctory manner in which Bali (food offerings to Devatas) is done without celebrating the Nityōtsavam ordained by the Āgamas.

Alankarasanam:—In this āsanam, vastram, bhūshanam and uttarīyam (clothes, ornaments and flower decorations) are put on. Urdhvapundram mark is invested to the accompaniment of the *ashtakshara mantram* and *yagnopavitam* (sacred thread) also. In Tirumala refined camphor and musk are used for putting on the ūrdhva pundram mark. This practice seems to have commenced from about 1465 A.D. The next item is the performance of the “*Mantrapushpam*” ritual. The riks, slōkas and mantras recited in this connection are quite different from what is given in the Bhrigu or the Marichi Samhita and different also from what the

Pancharatra Pādma Samhita gives or what Sri Ramanuja gives in his work "Nityam." It is one which obviously was composed exclusively for Sri Venkateswara as His Murti Mantram. Bhrigu Samhita says,

" Taḍvishnoriti mantrēna pushpādyaih pujayēt tatah
Mūrtimantram samuchcharya kēsavadibhirē vavā
Ashṭottara sataistadvadashṭottarasahsrakaih
Anantairnāmabhih pūjyo' nantanāmā bhavan harih."

It was already stated that this unique composition was made so as to trace this archāvatara here direct from the Transcendental Being connoted by the Ashtakshara mantra and by the avatars of Sri Rama and Sri Krishna. Quotations from the works of Sri Nammālvār, Sri Aḷavandar and Sri Ramanuja are also made. The text of this *mamantrapushpam* is not given here as it might not be of interest to the reader.

A function known by the name "Matradanam" is included in the Bhrigu Samhita as the closing part of the Alankārāsanam. Although it is not mentioned in the Marīchi samhita, which is presumed to regulate the details of worship in this temple, Matrādānam is in vogue here. This takes place as part of the function known as koluvu.

Koluvu or Durbar.

The Alankārāsanam itself is a durbar held in the Sanctum Sanctorum. According to the description given in the Bhrigu Samhita the Matrādānam should take place there. It is however done outside the Sanctum Sanctorum in the Mukhamantapam (or Tirumāmani maṅṅapam). This deviation may be taken to indicate that matrādānam did not form a part of the ritual of worship in ancient days and that it is an innovation. "Matrādānam" is the function in which a certain quantity of rice, gingelly seeds, betel leaves and nuts with some cash are given daily as a ration gift to the archakas. The Samhita says.

“ Tanḍulārđhatilāir yuktam mukhavāsaphalānvitam
 Grihitva kāmsyapātrē tu dēvasyāgrē nidhāya cha ”
 Darsayēt dēvadēvesya “ Sōmam rājānam ” uchcharan
 “ Ghrihitāt parīte ” mantrēna sparsayitvā karam harēh
 Archakāya pradēyam syan mātṛādānamiti smrutam ”
 Bahusō dakshinam dadyāddānasādgunya siddhayē.”

For this function “ koluvu Srinivasa ” (or the Bali Beram) is brought to the Tirumāmani mantapam on a silver chair with silver umbrella and other paraphernalia. A laghu archana is conducted offering arghyam, padyam and āchamanīyam. A mixture of powdered gingelly seeds, dried ginger powder and jaggery is offered to the deity and distributed to the congregation. The day’s calendrical details are read out from the panchāngam (almanac) and also an abstract account of the previous day’s collection in the hundi, in the shape of coins, gold, jewellery etc. There is no reference to this function (nor to koluvu Srinivasa) in any of the inscriptions. When the British took over the administration of the Temple about 1800 A.D. and resumed all the temple lands it would have been considered fair to give an extra daily ration to the archakas for the loss of income sustained by them on account of the reduced tasdik which the Government allotted to the temple. The daily income was asked to be read out in public during koluvu and the extra ration to the archakas would also have been arranged to be given openly on the occasion.

SRINIVASA SAHASRANAMARCHANA.

This archana is a part of the routine puja, but one conducted for the material and spiritual welfare of individual devotees who pay special fees for the performance. This is performed only once after the Koluvu function is over. All those who have obtained tickets on payment of the prescribed fee are admitted into the Sanctum Sanctorum. The recital of the 1008 names of Sri Venkateswara is done. After the recital, general blessings are pronounced and the names and gotram of the ticket holders read out. Some people make a lumpsum endowment, the annual income there from being credited as the annual fee. There are

others who pay an annual compounded fee. But the majority pay for the individual archana. In other temples separate archana done for each worshipper mentioning his or her name, gotram, etc., and the whole fee, or the major portion of it, is appropriated by the archaka. In Tirumala the archaka is paid by the Devasthanam a few annas for the extra service rendered. We are not certain if this archana was being performed in ancient days. The names recited in this archana are appropriate only to Sri Venkateswara whereas the usual Vishnu Sahasranāmam is common to all Vishnu temples and is recited by almost all Hindus. The first mention of Sahasranāma archana is in an inscription of the year 1518 A.D. (Jan.)¹. The Emperor Sri Virapratapa Vira Achyuta Rāya performed this archana personally, asking the archaka to stand aside and recite the names. More details are given in the chapter on Festivals. This function earns a lot of money for the Temple.

BHOJYASANAM OR NAIVEDYAM.

The Suddhi, or cleaning of the floor of the Garbhagriham would be done and all the cooked food would be transported to the Mukhamantapam (just in front of the Garbhagriham) in large vessels called gangālam. These vessels are made to exact sizes called Solai, Half solai, etc., measures. The Bangāru Vākili doors (the outer doors of the Sanctum) are closed and the large twin bells in the Tirumāmaṇi Mantapam would set ringing with deafening noise. The archakas alone are allowed to remain within. All the others should walk out before the doors close. Bhrigu Samhita says that before the cooked food or Havis is offered, “**Madhuparkam**”² should be presented to the Murti. But Marichi

1. III 123, Dark fortnight of the Dhanur masam of Isvara, Saka 1439.

2. धृतं मधु गुडं चैव पयोदधिसमन्वितम् ।
प्रस्थमात्रं तु सङ्गृह्यं मधुपर्कमिहोच्यते ॥

Ghee, honey, jaggery, milk and curds.

Samhita is silent on the point. An attempt was made in recent times to introduce "Madhuparkam" but was soon given up after a short life. The temple has its own traditions which could not be easily broken.

" Havirarpanakālē tu na sēvyō hariruchyatē.
Tasmād vaikhānasān hitvā brahmanā anyasūtrinaḥ.
Na visēyu stathā anyē cha tat kālē vishnu mandiram.
Kavāṭam bandhayēt paschāt. ghanṭā nādam cha kārayēt."

HOMAM.

After the Neivedyam there is a Homam which is recommended to be performed three times a day, or at least once in connection with the morning puja. It does not appear to be performed in Tirumala.

" Nityāgnikundē chullyām vā parishichya cha pāvakam
Charunājyēna juhuyānmūrtimantraīḥ kramāt budhaḥ."

YATRASANAM OR BALI OFFERING.

For offering Bali or food to all the dēvatas garrisoning the prākāras etc., in the temple the Bali Beram (Koluvu Srinivasa) should be taken out in a palanquin with full temple paraphernalia including music, dancers and songsters. Singing and dancing should be in the rāgam, tālam and abhinayam presumed to be the beloved ones of each devata, and food, water and flowers offered. To some only water and flowers would be offered. The perambulation should be at least round the three prakarams or āvaranams surrounding the Sanctum. In Tirumala however such a function does not appear to have ever been conducted. The reason would be obvious to readers who have gone through the earlier portions of this chapter. For one thing the temple is consecrated for a single Murti. The first āvaranam stands mutilated. The archaka could not therefore locate or reach the spot where each devata would be presumed to be located. The procession therefore

does not take place. The archaka and the paricharaka go round the Vimāna pradakshinam, offer Bali to Vishvaksena and Garuda in their respective shrines, then to the Dhvaja and Yūdadhīpa and deposit the balance *en masse* on the five Bali stones placed between the Balipiṭam and the Dhvajam. Some seem to think that the archakas shirk the work. But what is being done is the only practicable and rational course to adopt.

According to the Pancharatra practice and the practice of Sri Vaishnavas in their houses, one fourth quantity of the cooked food should be set apart for Vishvaksena whose shrine is presumed to be in close proximity to the Dhruva Murti. But in Tirumala Vishvaksena gets no preference and has to wait till the archaka reaches his shrine during his pradakshinam. Sri Bhūtam who is presumed to have his seat on the sopanam of the Mukhamantapam inside the Sanctum gets his share deposited on the five stones near the Dhvajasthambham. Even the names of the dēvatās who are eligible to get food do not appear to be mentioned.

SATTUMURAI.

The word Sāttumurai is used to designate the recitation of portions of the Tamil Prabandhams of the Āḷvars in the manner which custom and usage have stamped as inviolable. There is a prologue and an epilogue. These do not form an essential part of the Prabandham, but were coined several centuries after the days of Sri Ramanuja and at a time when the Sri Vaishnava community lost its homogeneity and got divided into two warring sections, even if at the commencement they did not mean to carry on an internecine war. The two sects are known as the Tēgalais and Vadagalais. No further explanation is required to describe the two communities as the unceasing criminal and civil litigation carried on during the last century and half would have made these names very familiar to every one in South India. What Sri Ramanuja built with great care has been destroyed by his followers.

The prologue is known as the ' Pātram ' and is the real red rag. In simple terms the followers of a particular Acharya who flourished

some centuries after Ramanuja recite a sloka paying obeisance to that acharya. The epilogue is known as “**Vāli Tirunamam**” (வாலி திருநாமம்) which phrase means “long may his name live.” (Some thing like “long live the King.”). Communities other than Sri Vaishnavas have no place in the Sanctum during this function as they do not and could not take part in the recitation of any portion of the three component parts. Women and children have by custom been wisely excluded so that they may not witness any possible unseemly squabbles.

Sri Vaishnavas headed by the Jiyangar stream into the Sanctum soon after the Archaka returns thereto after offering Bali. Portions of the Prabandham commencing with the Pātram and ending with the Vāli Tirunāmām are recited. The congregation is then served with Tirtham, Saṭhāri, Chandanam and Prasādam, paying due heed to the order of precedence of the temple hierarchy. This function is not mentioned in any of the inscriptions and that means that to the end of the eighteenth century there was no such function. It therefore does not seem to have any antiquity behind it. The first mention of the Sāttumurai of the Āḷwārs is in an inscription of the year 1476 A.D. and the recital of the Prabandham in that year took place in front of Sri Ramanuja’s shrine and not inside the Sanctum Sanctorum. The subsequent *adhyayanotsavam* were celebrated in the Tirumāmani Maṅṭapam originally and in the Kalyana mantapam later. The Sāttumurai function wherever performed is the exclusive right of the Sri Vaishnavas. The Madhyahna Pūja (Tōmāla Sēva) ends with the Sattumurai.

DHARMA DARSANAM.

A period of about an hour or more is then set apart for Dharma Darsanam (except perhaps on Fridays) which is for the benefit of pilgrims and worshippers who could not have had Darsan of the Deity during the previous functions for which payment has to be made. The conveniences and inconveniences experienced during the Dharma Darsanam have already been commented on. Then Suddhi takes place.

APARAHNA PUJA.

This is usually called the Second Bell. A shortened form of puja is conducted, the principal item being the second archana in an abbreviated form, although the fee to be paid is the same as for the first archana. A second Neivedyam then takes place heralded by the long continued ringing of the twin bells.

After the second bell the day's work is presumed to have ended and the box containing payments made by pilgrims within the Sanctum is brought over to the Parapatyadar and the doors closed.

NIGHT PUJA

The night Pūja is similar to the morning Tōmāla sēva. But it is strictly private and none but those who have a religious duty to perform are allowed to be present. The food offerings for the night are fewer and lighter in variety.

NIGHT DHARMA DARSANAM.

There is Dharma Darsanam during the night also except on Thursdays.

ARDHAJAMA PUJA.

The last function for the night is known as the Ardhajāma or Nisi Puja. This is a laghu or abbreviated one and is meant more for offering sweets, pāyasam etc.,

PARYANKASANAM.

The Deity is put to bed. Bhoga Srinivasa is the Idol which plays the part except during the Mrigasira month. A velvet bed is laid out on a swing cot suspended by silver chains hanging from

a beam in the Mukhamantapam which is therefore called Sayana mantapam. The fee for admission to this Seva is heavier than for the others. The Seva is known as the Ekānthaseva. Boiled and sweetened milk, fruits, almond nuts etc., are offered to the Deity and a portion distributed among those present.

As was already mentioned two billas of perfumed chandanam are placed over the feet of the Dhruva Murti after removing the kavacham covering the feet. Perfumed chandanam (half a billa) is also placed on the chest of the Bhōga Srinivasa, a quarter billa for Alarmēlmangai on the chest of the Dhruva Murti. A quarter billa is left for the night puja by Brahma. These details are not to be found in any inscription. The practice however seems to be a long established one.

The two queens of Sri Krishna Deva Maharaya (Chinnāji Devi and Tirumala Devi) presented each a gold cup weighing 374 thūkams for offering milk during this seva (1513 A.D.). Obala Nayakkar Rama Nayakkar, one of the generals of Krishna Devaraya presented two hundred cows (1514 A.D.) for offering one nāji or measure of well boiled or pāledu Kulambu for Ardhajāma Seva. This is a thick preparation of sweetened and spiced milk.

THURSDAY PULANGI SEVA.

On every Thursday after the midday puja is over the Dhruva Murti is divested of all ornaments, flowers etc., and is given a light dressing of dhoti and uttarīyam. The Tirumankāppu and the Kasturi mark are scraped down leaving only a slight trace. The second bell naivedyam then takes place and the doors close. In the evening after the opening of the doors suddhi is performed and from the Yamunatturai are brought with temple music all the flower garlands specially prepared for decorating the Murti. This decoration exclusively with flowers is called Pulangi Seva. When and why this arrangement was made we do not know. But in the description of the Murti given in the Silappadhikaram this seva is described in the following words.

'பொலம்பூ வாரடையிற் பொலிந்து தோன்றிய
செங்கண் தெடியோன்.'

The Tamil expression "பூவாரடை" 'Pūvāḍai' is the literal equivalent of the Telugu "Pūlangi." We are therefore certain that about the year 756 A.D. this seva exclusively with flowers was current. But whether it was a daily feature or one on Thursdays only we do not know. It may however be stated that it is a preliminary operation for preparing the Mūrti for the abhishekam on Friday, the next day. It would be a tedious task to remove all tiruvābharanam, clothing etc., on Friday itself before performing the abhishekam. The Murti is therefore divested of all these on Thursday.

FRIDAY TIRUMANJANAM

(Abhishekam)

AND PULUGUKKĀPPU.

The Friday Abhishekam is for the Dhruva Murti since he does not get a bath every day. Puḷugukkāppu simply means the application of or anointing with prepared civet oil which is called Meditta puḷugu (மெடுத்தபழுகு). The application of this scented oil over the entire body of the Murti is of recent origin. The Friday Abhishekam however appears to be more ancient. It was already suggested in Chapter VII that in connection with the abhishekam and consecration of Bhoga Srinivasa (or Manavālapperumal) an abhishekam would have been done for the Dhruva Murti also since the occasion was a unique incident in the history of the temple. That day happened to be a Friday and on subsequent Fridays or other Fridays coinciding with a festival day the Dhruva Murti would have received an abhishekam. The application of civet oil or Meditta Puḷugukkāppu seems to have had its origin in an endowment¹ made by Mudaliyār Thirukkalikanri Dāsar Aḷagappirānār one item of which was the supply of this scented oil (மொடுத்த பழுகுக்காப்பு) to be applied every day to the face

1. I. 207. 16-7-1434 A.D.

of the Dhruva Murti during the six months of the Dakshināyanam commencing from the first day of the month of Adi (Katakam) to the end of the month of Mārgaḷi (Dhanus). It may be pointed out here that the whole body was not anointed nor was the application made all round the year. The current practice is to apply the civet oil daily to the feet and not to the face. The use of civet or Punugu (by which was meant the exudation from the pouch of the live civet cat) for perfuming the articles of worship was introduced by Devaraya Maharaya in 1429 A.D. (I. 192:). It is not the same substance as civet oil.

Why the application of civet oil was thought of it is difficult to find out. We know however that in certain temples oil extracted from sandal wood (Chandanādi tailam) is applied to the Mūla Murti perhaps as a preservative and also to keep off cocoroaches and other insect pests. This is however done only once a year. Civet oil is extracted by killing a large number of civet cats. The process is not the same as for the collection of civet as perfume. From an endowment made in 1496 A.D. (II. 136) by Kandāḍai Appāchi Annā Ayyangar, we learn that on every alternate Friday Puḷugukkāppu was applied. This endowment was for food offering in connection with the function. When the application of civet oil for the whole body commenced we cannot say. Since Alagappirānar made his endowment in 1434 A.D. and Appāchi Annā Ayyangar made his in 1496 A.D. the practice should have commenced sometime during the intervening period. From an inscription of the year 1506¹ we learn that the application of Puḷugukkappu after the abhishekam was for the Dhruva Murti only and that Alarmēlmanḡai Nāchchiyar was having only the abhishekam. This is also the current practice.

The **Puḷugukkappu murti** and the **Friday abhishekam** however became a weekly function during the days of Sri Krishna Dēvaraya

1 III. 4 (1-3-1506) by Dharmapuram Sittamu Setti. "தம்முடைய பேராலே புழுக்காப்பு முறையள்தோறும் திருவேங்கடாடிடையான புழுக்காப்பு சாத்தியருளி அலர்மேல்மங்கைநாச்சியார் திருமஞ்சனம் கண்டருளிஞப்போலே...". The Epigrapher has made an incorrect translation of this as if the Nachchiar also was having Puḷugukkappu

Mahārāya (III 80; 1517 A.D.). He set apart the sunkam (సంకమ) of one thousand varāhams from Gudagūr Nadu for puḷugukkappu on every eighth day (అష్టమి వారం వారం). We might therefore state that the weekly Friday Tirumanjanam commenced only in January 1517 A.D. The inscription does not give details of the articles used for the function. A detailed enumeration of these is given in an inscription of the year 1583 A.D. (VI. 5) which records an endowment made by Eṭṭur Tirumalai Kumāratātāchariar. The details are:—

| | | |
|----------------------|----|--------------------------------|
| Gambura | .. | 4 kudiram |
| | | (1 kudiram=210 varāham weight) |
| Civet Bags | .. | 200 |
| Rose water vessels | .. | 12 |
| Saffron | .. | 30 pana weight. |
| White cloth for face | .. | 1 (selai). |

Note:—Kasturi and turmeric paste which are included in the current practice do not find place in the above list.

The weekly Friday abhishekam is now an ārjitam function for the performance of which pilgrims make payment, carry in procession round the sanctum as a mark of honour the perfumed articles for which they paid and deliver the same inside the sanctum sanctorum. The abhishekam is done not only for the Dhruva Murti but also for the Goddess Alarmēl Mangai Nachchiyar who stands on the bosom of the Dhruva Murti. It is therefore necessary to dilate a little on its details. The articles now being used in this connection are:—

| | |
|------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Gambura or Pachchai Karpūram | —3½ Kuchcha seers (84 tola weight). |
| Civet bags (పుష్పకుండలం) | —7½ K. seers (=1½ viss). |
| Saffron (Kunkumappu) | —1½ K. seers (36 tola weight). |
| Kasturi (musk) | —3 varāhan weight. |
| Turmeric paste | —½ K. seer. |

TURMERIC PASTE.

It does not appear that in the early days turmeric paste was used in connection with the Friday function although it was used

daily for the abhishekam of the Kautuka Bēram (Bhōga Srinivasa). The latter was first introduced by Kandā dai Ramanuja Iyengar in 1465 A.D.¹ On that date there was not an Alarmēl Mangai Nachchiar on the bosom of the Dhruva Murti. She first comes to notice in an inscription dated 22—5—1477 A.D. (Vol. II. 69) when a Sandhi food offering was instituted for her. Her name occurs again in II. 134 dated 31—8—1495 A.D. It is however from an inscription dated 21—12—1496 (Vol. II 136). that we learn that she shared the food offering after the Pulugukkappu on every alternative Friday. From an inscription III. 4 dated 1—3—1506 we learn that she receives Her abhishekam after the Dhruva Murti has had his abhishekam and pulugukkappu. This is also the current practice. The Turmeric Paste ($\frac{1}{4}$ kuchcha seer) is intended for Her abhishekam only. In 1583 Sri Kumara Tatachiar did not however provide turmeric paste. The larger quantity of saffron in his endowment probably includes what was required for the Nachchiar's abhishekam also. All these details are gone into with a view to remove the misapprehension of some people that turmeric paste is used for the Dhruva Murti and that therefore the Murti is really a female deity.

GAMBURA OR PACHCHAI KARPURAM.

Gambura or Pachchai karpuram and Kasturi are both used for the toilet after the abhishekam and the Pulugukkappu. This toilet is called Tirumankappu or putting on the Ūrdhva pundram for the Dhruva Murti. This as we have seen is not an ancient practice, but commenced from about the middle of the 15th century. It was first used for the Utsava Murti. For we find in an inscription of the year 1380 A.D. that for the Tirumanajanam of the year 1380 A.D. that for the Tirumanjanam of Malaiyappan and the Nachchiyars gingily oil 1 ollock, chandanakkappu $1\frac{1}{2}$ palams, kastūrikkappu, karpūrakkappu and kumkumakkappu were supplied. The use of Pachchakarpuram and kasturi might have commenced then. A few words might be said about pachchaikarpūram and kasturi. While chūdan karpuram or crude camphor used for hāratti is mentioned from about 1000 A.D. the use of refined camphor is mentioned only in 1380 A.D. The presumption is

1. I'. 22 (18-1-1465 A.D.).

that its use as an article of toilet and in the water used for the Puja is of much later date. There are said to be three varieties of camphor,¹ viz. (1) Formosa Camphor; (2) Borneo Camphor known as Bhimsenikarpur (3) Blumea camphor. The second variety is Pachchaikarpuram so highly priced. It is said to be formed in the stems of the Camphora plant grown in Dutch Sumatra. As this substance is largely used in the Sanctum Sanctorum and as camphor is a very inflammable substance, the practice in Tirumala is to offer the camphor haratti and straight away put it into water so that there may be no room given for anything to catch fire.

KASTURI.

Kasturi:—The Kasturi in use is also known as Mriganābhi in Sanskrit (English Musk). It is an “inspissated and dried secretion from the preputial follicles of the musk animal found generally in China, Russia, Assam, Central Asia and in the inaccessible cliffs of the Himalayas.”² There are said to be three varieties of musk: (1) Kāmrūpa of black colour and superior quality coming probably from China and Tibet. (2) Nepal musk of bluish colour and intermediate quality; (3) Kashmir musk of inferior quality. Musk (or Kasturi) is therefore an animal substance. There is however another Kasturi plant which grows erect in the Punjab, Himalayas and western Tibet. The leaves of this have a strong scent of musk and are offered to idols. This leaf might therefore be the one which according to the sāstras should be offered to Vishnu to be placed on the forehead as Ūrdhva punḍra or Tilaka. This statement is only a presumption of the writer, since it would be highly improper to place an animal secretion on the forehead of a Deity who is being universally worshipped. It is a puzzle how religiously minded people tolerate the use of this on the forehead of the Deity.

CIVET OIL (Pulugukkappu) AND ROSE WATER.

It is likewise a matter for wonder as to how rose water and civet oil were allowed to be used on the Deity. For abhishekam

1. See page 149, *Indian Materia Medica* by K. M. Nadkarni.
2. *The Indian Materia Medica* by K. M. Nadkarni pages 1119, 1120.

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water has to be supplied only by Sri Vaishnava Brahmins. But rose water is prepared generally by Non-Hindus such as Persians and Muslims. And civet oil is prepared by soaking civet bags (said to be the pouch of the civet cat, situated between the anus and the genital organs, usually taken after killing the cat) in gingly oil and allowing the secretion contained in the pouch to exude into the oil by pressing while hot. The term *puḷugu* itself explains the process as one of making the civet pouch to sweat out the unctuous secretion. In any case it is an animal secretion obtained after dealing with the animal in a violent manner. We and our forbears of the 15th century have reconciled ourselves to the propriety of its use as a toilet for the Dhruva Murti. This civet oil is smeared all over the body of the Murti after *abhishekams* with saffron water (*Kumkumappukkappu*) and then again with clean water. The Murti is wiped dry with cloth before the smearing is done with the oil.

As already mentioned the *tirumankkappu* is put on soon after the *abhishekam* of *Alarmelangai Nachchiar* is conducted with turmeric water. These are strictly private functions. The above is the procedure for the Friday *abhishekam* and *Pulugukkappu murai* which is really composed of four different functions: namely the *abhishekam* of the Dhruva Murti; the application of *Pulugukkappu*; the *abhishekam* of the *Nachchiar* and the toilet called *Tirumankappu*. After these are done the decoration of the Dhruva Murti takes place with clothing, all *abharanams*, etc.

FOOD OFFERINGS.

In connection with the Friday *abhishekam* there have been endowments made for food offerings during the second bell. *Appāchchi Ayyangar* in 1496 A.D. made provision for two *athirasappadi*. One *Sittamu Setty* endowed in 1506 A.D. for one *Nāyaga taligai* and one *appappadi*. One *Bandaram Siruthimmaiya* endowed in 1534 A.D. for one *vadaippadi*. *Rayasam Konappaiyer* endowed in 1558 A.D. for two *athirasappadi* and *Kumara Tatachiar* provided in his endowment of 1583 A.D. for offering one *appappadi*, one

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vadaipadi one godippadi and one idḍilippadi. It will thus be seen that different kinds of food offerings were made and there will be no justification for drawing an inference from these, as some people do, that the deity is female because vadaipadi was offered at one time.

THE FRIDAY ABHISHEKAM WATER

(Tirumanjana Tirtham)

The kneaded paste of saffron is applied to the face etc., of the Dhruva Murti and when the abhishekam is done with water the first take-off is a more concentrated solution of the saffron, traces of gambura and civet oil. This water is usually appropriated by the archakas who may be sharing it with the Jiyangar and the Pārapatyadar of the Devasthanam. The others only get the water from the subsequent take-off. This tirumanjana tirtham is a highly prized prasādam. Along with this a quantity of the sweet cake offering called Pōli, is sent down the hill to Tirupati distributed to the principal officers of the Devasthanam and to some local Government officials. Pilgrims and residents of Tirupati also try to get a few spoonfuls of this water from the Brahmin who makes the distribution. As the water will keep for some days it is sent to other places also. This practice has since been stopped.

(Sripadarenu.)

The Gambura or Pachchai Karpuram and Kasturi removed from the face of the Dhruva Murti are mixed with the civet oil which is collected from near the feet of the Murti and well kneaded by hand by the Jiyangar. The resulting stuff is weighed and distribution made among those of the religious hierarchy of the Temple who might be present, after setting apart the Devasthanam's share. A small quantity is intended for distribution to the pilgrims (or desantaries) present. What remains which invariably is the biggest ball is appropriated by the Jiyangar according to usage. This is called "Kaimidi" (what is left on the hand). This Sripāda renu is a greatly valued prasādam and is a lucrative article of trade.

Spurious mixtures are therefore made in Tirumala and sold as Srivāri prasadam.

OBSERVATION.

Saffron (Agnisikha, Kumkuma).

It is worth pointing out that kneaded saffron paste as an article for abhishekam is not contemplated in any of the Agamas. The herb is a native of Levant in Asia -Minor (now cultivated on a small scale in Kashmir). As an article of commerce it would have come into use after the Portugese commenced their trading with the East in the 16th century. All the inscriptions up to the beginning of the sixteenth century A.D. mention only chandana kappu for abhishekam. Medicinally saffron is said to be used in small doses in fevers, melancholia, enlargement of the liver and in spasmodic cough and asthma and also for flatulant colic.¹

Refined camphor (Pachchaikarpur) which is also an imported article mostly from Borneo would have come freely into the market late in the fifteenth or early in in 16th century A.D. Ordinary camphor சூடல் நற்பூறம் was more common. The use of refined camphor for the Ūrdhva pundram would therefore have had a very late origin. It is not mentioned in the early inscriptions nor in the agamas.

1. See Indian Materia Medica by K. M. Nadkarni.

NOTE ON THE SPICES AND OTHER ARTICLES USED IN THE PUJA-PATRAMS OR VESSELS.

Although the current practice in Tirumala does not appear to be in consonance with the instructions given in the Vaikhanasa and the Pancharatra agamas, and in "The Nityam" of Sri Ramanuja, the instructions given in the Āgamas will be mentioned for the information of the readers. This will furnish one more instance to show that in this temple even the Vaikhanasa ācharam is not necessarily followed and that the temple developed its own usage and custom.

Five large cups or vattils are invariably in use for a regular puja. These vessels are given distinctive names, viz., arghya, pādyā, āchamanīya, and snānīya pātrams which are placed in the south-east, south-west, north-east and north-west corners on a large circular gold, silver or copper plate standing on a tripod. The fifth cup, or vattil in the centre is for *sarvārthatōyam* (general purposes water). In the other four vattils certain herbs and spices are put in along with the water so as to produce a cold infusion. What these ingredients are will now be given.

PUJA DRAVYAM OR MATERIALS USED FOR PUJA

The vessels used as also the other metallic articles such as the bell, plates for offering haratti, the perforated plate for giving shower bath (Sahasradhāra) etc., are included in the term pūjā dravyam. In this note however it is proposed to confine our attention to the herbs, spices and other articles which are put into the waters used for the puja.

In the conduct of the puja certain upachāras or respectful observances are ordained. According to Hindu customs, the proper manner of receiving even an ordinary visitor is to offer water for washing the hand (Arghyam), then for washing the feet (Pādyam), then for washing the mouth and drinking (āchamanīyam); and fourthly water for taking a bath (snānīyam). It is only after having

the bath and after having the toilet done (*alankāram*) that the guest is invited to have his meal (*Bhojanam*) This procedure is observed in doing puja to the deity also. For this purpose four suitable cups, called in Tamil *vattils*, are used for holding water and are named according to the purposes above mentioned and the fifth one in the centre. Besides these five there will be a larger one of a special shape called *Pratigraha pātram*. Its purpose will be presently seen.

Drugs and spices which should be put into the respective cups.

Before commencing the actual puja, the vessels, water and all the other materials go through a purificatory tantric process. The five cups are filled with the sanctified water and the spices etc., are put into the vessels as will be detailed presently. The *Vaikhānasa* and the *Pancharatra Agamas* give the details which are intended to be adopted in Temple Worship. Sri Ramanuja in his work on the subject of puja known as "Nityam" also makes his recommendations which are mainly intended for adoption by *Grihastas* in their home puja. It needs no saying that in every Hindu houses a daily puja used to be performed in a suitable manner although modern conditions of life have largely liquidated this. Some rich people employ a *purohit* who does it for remuneration. Ramanuja's recommendations embody in substance what is contained in the *Agama Samhitas*. The *Samhitas* are numerous; for our purposes however, the *Bhrugu Samhita* representing the usual *Vaikhānasa* practice, the *Pādma Samhita* representing the *pāncharatra* practice and the *Marichi Samhita* presumed to represent the *Tirumala Temple* practice will be tabulated and examined in addition to the *Ramanuja* practice. This examination will be instructive in view of the fact that the current practice in the *Tirumala Temple* is divergent from all the above. This divergence could not have been an ancient practice since the tradition is that *Sri Ramanuja* played a great part in framing correct rules for worship in all the temples. Even the *Marichi Samhita* recommends the soaking of certain herbs, grasses and grains in the waters of the puja *pātram*, although it mentions their names in a compact and compendious manner. But as the spoonful of water offered whether as *Arghya*,

ARTICLES USED IN THE PUJA PATRAMS

Pādyā, or **Achamaniya** is at once put into the same **Pratigraha patram** and as the **Snāniya** water also gets into the same **pātram** it does not matter to the worshipper how the herbs, etc., are distributed in the four cups. Before mentioning the names of these article and their specific medicinal values, it may be stated that **Hindus** who have strong faith in temple worship as well as in the individual idol worship at home implicitly believe that all oilments of the flesh due to the disturbance in the **tridosha**(**Pittā**, **Vāyu** and **Sleshma**) are effectually cured by the continued taking in of consecrated **puja** water. It is not only the psychological effect due to this belief, but also the medicinal values of the herbs soaked into the water that give relief to the sufferer. How these herbs are distributed in the different vessels according to recommendations of the two systems of **Āgamas** is shown in the subjoined table. In some cases the same article finds place in more than one vessel which only means that a stronger infusion of the water is made with that herb.

Compendiously the articles so used for making a cold infusion are the following:—

Vrihi (Rice), **Yava** (Wheat), **Tila**, (gingily), **Māsha** (blackgram), **Priyangu** (Valmilagu or tailpepper), **Siddrārtha** (Whitemustard or **Nāyi Kadugu**), **Kusagram** (tips of kus grass), **Akshata**¹, **Gandha**, (Sandal wood pieces) **Pushpa** (Flowers); **Vishnu parni** or **Vishnu krāntham**; **Padma Dalam**; **Dūrvam** (Grass), **Syāmākam** (Thenai or korra), **Usiram** (Khus-Khus), **Thakkolam**, **Elam.**, **Lavangam Karpūram**, **Jāti** (Jasmin), **Pushpam**, **Lāmajjaka**, the two turmeric, **Mūra** (Maruth kiḷangu), **Saiḷeya** (Lavangapattai), **Champakā**, **Koṣṭhāmansi** (Kuriviver or Musk root).

Each of the above has its own properties and medicanil value. It is however needless to enter into their virtues in detail here. Those who have a desire to have detailed information would do well to refer to “**Indian Materia Medica** ” by **K.M. Nadkarni**¹,

1. Both **akshata** and **vrihi** are mentioned in the same breath in the **Bhṛigu samhita**. **Akshata** is probably the same as **Aksrōta** or **Akrōt**.

1. Short notes are given at the end.

The diseases which the collective infusion might be meant to cure are epilepsy, hysteria, flatulence, dysentery, menorrhagia, bleeding of piles, vomiting, bowel complaints, fevers attended with diarrhoea or indigestion, pain of parturition, giddiness caused by biliousness, gastric and intestinal pains, gout, rheumatism, cholera, intermittent fevers attended with inflammation and irritability of the stomach, dyspepsia, fevers accompanied by bilious symptoms, enlargement of spleen and liver, gonorrhoea, heart disease, itch, leprosy, glandular enlargements, typhoid fever, bad teeth and foul breath, palpitation of the heart, nervous headache, chorea, menstrual disturbances, hysterio epilepsy and similar convulsive ailments and generally for the promotion of appetite and maintaining proper functioning of the various organs.

Unfortunately in Tirumala, these herbs are not used. The Marichi Samhita which is presumed to have been specially composed for this Temple gives compendious list of the articles to be used for infusion:—"Tanḍula, Vrihi, (Yava), Māsha, Sarshapa, Misramakshatam" i.e., a mixture of rice, wheat, blackgram and mustard, also Siddhārtam, Tilam, Kusāgram (Dadhi, Ksheeram, Gritham). It is probable that owing to the temple being on an inaccessible hill the daily puja could not have been carried on in the early days in the elaborate manner given in the Bhrigu and the Padma Samhitas. But when Sri Ramanuja about 1100 A.D. reorganised the system of worship on a satisfactory basis, he would not have failed to introduce the use of the herbs recommended by the Agamas and by himself in his Nityam. In the course of centuries strict observance does not appear to have been insisted on. The result has been that the current practice is something entirely different from all the previous ones. Refined camphor and saffron are the articles in current use for the puja pātrams as well as for the Friday Abhishakam. These two could have come into general use only after they became articles of commerce and trade between Asia Minor, Malaya, Borneo, China and South India. Such trade would have flourished only after the advent of Vasco-de-Gama to the East.

It is a subject deserving consideration whether the herbs which have been in use in the past as the result of experience to safeguard the health and the lives of the worshippers should not be reintroduced.

ARTICLES USED IN THE PUJA PATRAMS

Dravyam or Oshadhi used in the Waters of the Puja patrams.

N.B: (The Pātrams or vessels are called Arghya, Pādya, Āchamaniya and Snāniya and Sarvārtha Tōya. The dravyams are shown hereunder as prescribed in the Samhitas.)

AGNEYA or S. E. for KEEPING THE ARGHYA PATRAM.

Oshadis according to the different Samhitas are:—

Bhrigu Samhita:—Kusa, Akshata, Tila, Vrihi, Yava, Māsha, Priyangu and Siddhārtha.

Padma Samhita:—Kusāgram, Akshata, Tila, Yava, Siddhārtha, Pushpam, Phalam, Malayajam.

Ramanuja's Nityam:—Kusāgram, Akshata, Siddhārtha, Gandham, Pushpam.

NAIRUTAM or S.W. for PADYA PATRAM.

Bhrigu Samhita:—Vishnuparnam, Padma dalam, Dūrvam.

Padma Samhita:—Vishnuparni, Padmakam, Dūrvam, Syāmākam, Tilam, Akshata.

Ramanuja's Nityam:—Vishnuparni, Padmakam, Dūrvam, Syāmākam.

VAYAVYAM or N.W. for ACHAMANIYAM.

Bhrigu Samhita:—Elam, Lavangam, Usiram, Takkōlam.

Padma samhita:—Ēlam, Lavangam, Takkōlam, Karpūram, Pushpam Jāti, Chandanam.

Ramanuja's nityam:—Ēlam, Lavangam, Takkōlam, Lāmajjakam, Jāti pushpam.

ISANYAM or N.E. for SNANIYAM.

Bhṛigu Samhita:—Karpuram, Usīram, Ēlam, Lavangam, Gandham.

Padma Samhita:—Kusam, Ratna phala bijam, Gandham, Tilam, Akshata, Dadhi, Kshreeram, Ghritam, Sarvaushadhi.

Ramanuja's Nityam:—The two Haridra, Mūra, Sailēyam, Fakkōlam Jatāmansi, Chandanam and Champaka moggu.

Sarvaushadhi is composed of Kōshṭam, Māmsi, Heridrad-vayi, Mūra, Saileya and Champaka moggu.

CENTRE SARVARTA TOYAM.

Bhṛigu Samhita:—Pushpam, Gandham.

Padma Samhita:—Tulasi, Tilam.

Ramanuja's Nityam:—Nil.

**SHORT NOTES ON THE PROPERTIES AND
MEDICINAL VALUES OF SOME OF THE
DRAVYAM OR OSHADHI, USED IN
THE PUJA-PATRAM WATERS
FOR A COLD INFUSION.**

Vrihi is rice:—Water in which unboiled rice is soaked is known as Tanḍulambu. This water is used as a vehicle for some powders and also for washing ulcers and wounds.

Yava is Wheat.—It has three outer skins besides the three inner portions. The outermost skin is fibrous and excites mechanical action in the stomach resulting in digestion of food. The next two skins contain acids and salts which produce bone, hair and teeth. Yava is the name used for barley also, but less frequently.

Tila is gingelly seeds or Sesanum:—There are three varieties black, white and red. The black one is the best for medicinal purposes. The seeds are specially useful in piles and constipation.

Masha is ulundu (Tamil); minimu (Telugu) black-gram:—It is the most demulcent, cooling as well as nutritious of all pulses; also aphrodisiac and nervine tonic. Medicinally it is used internally in gastric cattarrah dysentery, diarrhoea, cystolitis, paralysis, piles, rheumatism, and affections of the liver and the nervous system.

Priynagu:—a Sanskrit dictionary for Vaidika terms gives this as representing **Manjal** (turmeric) **Kunkumum**, **Valmilagu** (tail pepper) or **Tippili**(long pepper). As turmeric and Kumkumum are referred to separately, tail pepper or vālmilaku is meant here. It is used as a carminative spice in diseases of the genito urinary organs. It produces tension of the vocal cords and clears the throat of the tenacious mucus.

Siddhartha:—white mustard, நாய் கடுகு. In small doses it promotes digestion and removes flatus.

Kusa grass:—Dūrva; an infusion of its herb is used as diuretic and astringent.

Durvam:—**Arugampul** (Tamil) **garike** (Telugu) cold infusion stops bleeding of piles.

Akshata:—This could not mean the akshata which is rice mixed with a little turmeric powder, since both rice and turmeric are separately mentioned as puja dravyam. It is probably an incorrect rendering of the word Akshōta which is the Sanskrit name for Akrot which grows wild in the Himalayas, and cultivated in Kashmir, Tibet and Afghanistan. The husks of the fruit, or pericarp possess vermifuge and antisiphilitic properties. The ripe fruit possesses aphrodisiac properties.

Gandham:—This is the same as Srigandham.

The term Gandham in Sanskrit is used for Sitaphal and sandal wood or Srigandham or Chandanam. The astringent bark of Sitaphal is said to be used as a tonic. We have to assume that by Gandham Srigandham is meant. The wood is cooling, sedative and astringent. Medicinally sandalwood is useful in bilious fevers. The powder of the wood taken in cocoanut water checks thirst. It is also a specific for gonorrhoea.

Vishnuparni or Vishnukrānta:—The herb is used medicinally in the form of an Infusion. It is a sovereign remedy in bowel complaints and in fevers attended with diarrhoea or indigestion.

Padmadalam:—Tamarai. The filaments and flowers are cooling, sedative, astringent, bitter, refrigerant and expectorant. Medicinally the entire plant, the root, flower, stalks and leaves are all useful. The flowers, filaments and juice of the flower stalks are useful in diarrhoea, cholera, in liver complaints and also in fevers. It is a cardiac tonic.

Syamakam:—Tenai (Tamil); Korra (Telugu).

Italian millet (English). It is diuretic and astringent. A popular domestic remedy for alleviating pains of porturation. It has heating properties and if taken solely as food is likely to produce diarrhoea.

Usiram:—(cuscus grass) Vēttiver (Tamil) Kurver (Telugu). Tonic, stimulant, antispasmodic, diaphoretic, diuretic and emmenagogue. Being a cooling medicine, it is in the form of infusion a grateful drink in fevers, inflammations and irritability of stomach.

Takkolam:—It is not known if it is the same as Takoli (*Dalbergia Lanceslaria*, or *D. Froudosa*). The bark, the leaves and the roots are employed medicinally.

Elam:—Truji (Sanskrit), cardamum. Powerful aromatic, stimulant, carminative, and diuretic. Valuable in many stomach complaints, used for relieving giddiness caused by biliousness.

Lavangam:—Cloves. It is a stomachic, carminative, aromatic and antispasmodic. Internally increases circulation, raises blood heat, promotes digestion of fatty and crude food, promotes nutrition and relieves gastric and intestinal pains and spasm. Stimulates the skin, salivary glands, kidneys, liver and bronchial mucus membrane. Relieves flatulence.

Lamajakam (Sansk.):—Lamjak (Hind and Punj) grows in Lower Himalayan tracts and plains of U.P. and Sind. Fibrous

roots and flowers used as a stimulant, diaphoretic in gout, rheumatism and intermittent fevers; also in coughs and cholera. Purifies the blood. The flowers are used as haemostatic.

Mura (Sans.)—Marut Kilangu (Tamil), purgative, heavy, sweet, pungent tonic and cardiacal, a remedy for heat of blood, gonorrhoea, tridosha, thirst, heart disease, itch, leprosy, fever, rheumatism, and glandular enlargements.

Saileyam (cinnamon):—probably the same as Sailsa Myah (Persia).

Gudetvak (Sans.):—Lavangappattai (Tamil). The bark is carminative, antispasmodic, aromatic, haemostatic, astringent, antiseptic and germicide. Infusion useful for dyspepsia, flatulence, diarrhoea and vomiting. As a powerful stimulant cinnamon is given in cramps of the stomach, enteralgia, tooth ache and paralysis of the tongue. As germicide it is used internally in typhoid fever. It strengthens the gums and perfumes the breath.

Jatamansi (Sans. Tamil, Telugu):—Musk root.

Aromatic tonic, nerve stimulant, antispasmodic, deoles truent, diuretic, emmanagogue, sedative to the spinal cord. Promotes appetite and digestion. Employed in the treatment of hysterical affections, especially palpitation of the heart; nervous headache, chorea, flatulence, etc Useful also in menopause disturbance, hysteroepilpsy, and similar and convulsive ailments.

Karpuram:—(Camphor) Diaphoretic, stimulant, antiseptic, antispasmodic, expectorant, sedative, temporary aphrodisiac and narcotic. It exhilarates in moderate doses and raises the pulse without producing febrile symptoms; promotes perspiration and sometimes induces sleep.

Koshtam (costus English) Gostam (Tamil):—The powdered root is used. It is a tonic, alterative, anti spasmodic, and aphrodisiac; as aromatic stimulant in the form of infusion with a little cardamom is used in coughs, asthma, chronic rheumatism and skin diseases, fever and dyspepsia.

Champaka:—(Kusuma, Suvarna) Sampangi, or Sampagam (the golden yellow champa).

The flowers are used as stimulant, tonic and carminative, also as demulcent and diuretic. Infusion of the flowers recommended in cases of dyspepsia, nausea, and fevers in doses of half to two ounces. Also useful in preventing scalding in gonorrhoea and renal diseases.

Kumkuma (Skt.):—Kunkumappu (Tamil) saffron.

Its action is stimulant and stomachic. Slightly anodyne and antispasmodic, also emmenagogue. Used in small doses $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ grain in fevers, melancholia, enlargement of the liver and in spasmodic cough and asthma. It is given in anaemia, chlorosis and seminal debility; also in rheumatism and neuralgia; also to relieve flatulent colic and in amenorrhoea, dysmenorrhoea leucorrhoea etc.

Haridra:—Turmeric, Manjal, Pasupu.

Aromatic, stimulant, tonic and carminative. Internally it acts as anthelmintic. Useful in cases of flatulence, dyspepsia and weak state of the stomach.

Daru haridra:—Mara manjal. Kasturi manjal. Kasturi pasupu. Barberry. It is a tonic, stomachic, astringent, antiperiodic, diaphoretic, anti pyretic and alternative. Its medicinal uses are many including tinctures. Used as infusion also. The tincture is much recommended in fevers accompanied by bilious symptoms and diarrhoea, enlargement of spleen and liver.

CHAPTER X.

TIRUPATI AND SRI GOVINDARAJA'S TEMPLE.

AFTER the downfall of the Pallavas and with the advent of the Chola power Saivism grew in importance and the Vaishnavites to whom the worship of Tiruvengadamudaiyan was all important thought it prudent to abandon gradually the substitute Tiruvilankōil at Tiruchchukanūr and transfer their activities to Tirumala itself in spite of the difficulties which the pilgrims might have had to undergo. Their object was to avoid all possibilities of a conflict with the growing influential Saivite community in the temple of Parāsarēsvara in Tiruchchukanūr. That was possibly one of the reasons for Sāmavai's consecrating the silver image of Manavāla-pperumāl (Bhoga Srinivasa) in the Tiruvengadam temple in 966 A.D. There might have been another reason also. The Tiruvilan-koyilperumān, the Tirumantrasālai Perumān and even the Tiruvengadattupperumānaḍigal in Tiruchchukanūr were all proxies of the God in Tirumala and were all probably consecrated not according to the Vaikhanasa but according to the sister constitution of the Pancharatra to which Sri Alavandar and his ancestors adhered. Therefore it must have been feared that even the temples at Tirumala and Tiruchchukanur must some day or other come into conflict with each other. It seems therefore to have been decided that the activities of the Sri Vaishnavas should be transferred to Tirumala itself. There was however the practical difficulty to overcome in the matter of offering daily abhishekam to the Dhruva Mūrti whose size was too large. The installation of a silver Replica of Tiruvengadamudaiyan (Bhoga Srinivasa) in Tirumala obviated such difficulties. To provide for the daily puja including Nivēdanam of this Mūrti Sāmavai purchased outright some of the lands belonging to the Tiruchchukanur Tiruvilankōyil and also some lands from the Sabhaiyar of Tiruchchukanūr. The management of the property and the performance of the Kainkaryams were left to the managers of the Tirumala temple. Thus no

room was left for any possible future conflict between the Vaikhanasa temple at Tirumala and the Pancharatra one at Tiruchchukanur. We however find that even as late as 1234 A.D. (No. 40 Vol. I) the hall of the latter continued to be the meeting place for the Sabhaiyar and the Nāṭṭārs on important occasions. But the Tiruchchukanur Tiruvilankoyil of Tiruvengadamudaiyan ceased to exist or sank into insignificance. And this may be inferred from the fact that the last endowment therefore was somewhere about 1000 A.D. during the reign of Raja Raja I. (Vol. I. 17) by one Raja Rajamūvendavelan. The next endowment for a Vishnu Temple in Tiruchchukanur was about the year 1220 A. D. in the 4th year of the reign of Raja Raja.III;but it was for an Alagiya-perumal temple by one Pōkkanan Pāndyadarāyan.

To the pilgrim however, the difficulties of pilgrimage must have become greater. Before 966 A.D. such of the pilgrims as could not afford to ascend the hill after a ten mile walk from Tiruchchukanur were content with worshipping the proxy Gods in the latter place, and also offering worship at the foot of the hill without ascending it. After the installation of the silver Murti in Tirumala they necessarily had to ascend the hill. The founding of a new village nearer to the foot of the hill having a claim to sanctity was therefore necessary if pilgrimage to Tirumala was to be encouraged. The only such village with a name to boast of was Koṭṭur. In the southern part of this village there seems to have existed a temple dedicated to Sri Pārthasārathy Swami near which would have resided the family or families of the Archakas who were doing worship in the Tirumala Temple.

THE FOUNDING OF TIRUPATI.

When about 1130 A.D. Sri Ramanuja (the disciple of Sri Alavandar and the nephew of Tirumala Nambi) was hard put to finding a place for installing the image of Sri Govindaraja which was exteined by the Chola king from the Chidambaram Temple, he must have thought of the site of this Parthasarathy Shrine as the most appropriate one. This Sri Govindaraja's idol was an

ancient one of Chidambaram whose installation at the foot of the Tirumalai Hill would appeal to the spiritual instincts of the Sri Vaishnava pilgrims. They could make a day or a night halt, partake with propriety such food as the temple could offer, have a bath in the Āḷvār Tīrtham at the foot of the Hill and ascend the seven hills of Tirumala. Thus after an interval of about a century and three quarters from the date of installation in Tirumala of Manavalapperumal Tirupati was ushered in by Sri Ramanuja (so the tradition says). It was planned by him with the four Rājavīdhis, a north Māḍa Street (known at the time as time as Ayyengar Tiruvidhi) and a Sannidhi Street. It was named Ramanujapuram. There is no inscription to tell us what the plan and elevation of the temple in Tirupati looked like at the time. Nor have we any inscription to show the exact year of its construction. From the fact that the shrine of Sri Ramanuja in Tirupati bears an inscription on its west and south base referring to the year 1224 A. D. and that the shrine stands outside the inner gopuram of Sri Govindaraja's temple—next to the Shrine of his uncle Sri Tirumala Nambi—we have to infer that the inner gopuram and prakaram of the Tirupati Temple were built along with the main shrine during Sri Ramanuja's life time. This inscription in Ramanuja's shrine also tells us, that the daily lighting and flowers for the shrine were the charity of his disciples, showing thereby that it might not have been an integral part of Sri Govindaraja's temple. It always had a separate Kartar or manager as in the case of Tirumala Nambi's temple. As Sri Parthasarathy Shrine had been consecrated according to the Vaikhanasa āgama, the consecration of Sri Govindaraja at a later date followed the same āgama. This temple and the small settlement around it however compare unfavourably with Tiruchchukanur village and its temples. There in Tiruchchukanūr we have the Svarnamukhi river and spring channels; and the village was reputed to have as residents a Sabhaiyar of over 108 learned Sri Vaishnava families. Making Tirupati a flourishing village was therefore not an easy matter. It consequently seems to have been made obligatory on every Srivaishnava who was in anyway connected with the Tirumala temple to own property and to reside in Tirupati. The families of the Vaikhanasa Archakas, the Acharyapurusha, the temple servants and the merchants who supplied provisions to the

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

temple were thus obliged to reside in the new settlement. An inscription bears evidence to this.

The popularity of this new temple would naturally have been in proportion to its financial resources, about which we have no definite information. In 1219 A.D. the queen of Vira Narasingayā-davaraya presented 32 cows and one bull to provide ghee for one Tirunandavilakku (perpetual light) daily before Sri Govindaraja. From I. 40 (1234 A.D.) we also gather that the management of this temple was in the hands of the managers of the Tirumala temple, but that it had a separate account of income and expenditure. From I. 86 (1234 A.D.) we further learn that the Yādava Nāchchiyar (or queen) of Vira Narasinga made over the second half of Payindipalli village as *sarvamanya* for Sri Govindaraja (the first half having already become the property of Tiruvengadamudaiyan). The income from this village was to be used for the new Āni Brahmotsavam instituted by her, for the preparation of a golden Sikharam for the four faced car newly constructed by her for the God and for its repairs. Any balance that might be left over was to be utilised for improvements of the temple of Sri Govindaraja. We conclude from this that the temple from the commencement had separate assets to meet the cost of its *amudupadi* and *sātipadi*. The temple *tastik* should have been very limited; and when pilgrimage became heavy as during festivals, private charity had to come in to augment the normal *tastik prasādams*. Thus (I. 61. 1254 A.D.) we are told that some devotees made permanent arrangement in 1254 A.D. for the daily supply of eleven tumbu of rice per day from the second day to the end of the Vaikasi festival. This would have sufficed for about 80 to 100 pilgrims per day. Some residents of Nerku village made permanent arrangements in 1308 A.D. for the feeding of a limited number of Srivaishnava pilgrims resorting to the place on certain special days, such as Kaisika dvādasi, Mukkoṭi-dvādasi, Makara Sankramanam etc. Such small endowments go to show that enough prasādams were not available in the temple to feed pilgrims. There were no Ramanujakūṭams, choultries or matams in those days. It took at least one more century for such institutions to rise along with the growth in pilgrim traffic. The growth of Tirupati in size and importance was in proportion to the volume of this pilgrim traffic.

THE BUILDING OF SRI GOVINDARAJA'S SHRINE.

It is designedly called here Govindarajā's shrine and not His Temple. There was already a temple of Sri Parthasarathy on the spot and it is not improbable that the gopuram was the one attached to it. This Gopuram is what we now call the inner gopuram. The town of Tirupati had to be formed anew. The word Tirupati, to denote the name of the place, came into use only after Sri Ramanuja planned and gave that name. It might have been a part of the village of Kōṭṭūr originally as already surmised. Sri Ramanuja took it on himself to see that a regular town came into existence and so named it Tirupati—a Tamil name. The portion of the town surrounding the temple came to be known as Ramanujapuram. Somewhere about the same time the Chola King ordered that Sri Govindaraja's Utsava Murti in Chidambaram should be thrown into the sea, as Vishnu's place of Sayanam (resting) was the ocean. This order is believed to be that of Kulothunga I, since we know from traditions that one of Sri Ramanuja's disciples Kūratālvān behaved impudently before the King by giving a reply to the statement "Sivāt parataram nāsti" saying that the measure 'Dronam' was bigger than 'Sivam.' The King's Order to expel the image of Govindaraja from Chidambaram would have been an act of reprisal. We also know that Sri Ramanuja and his disciples forsook the Chola country and found asylum in the Hoysala country for nearly a quarter of a century till the death of Kulothunga I took place in 1120 A.D. So the building of a shrine for Sri Govindaraja should have taken place after 1120 A.D. The idol seems to have been kept in safety in Tirupati during the interval. That the temple was not built exclusively for Sri Govindaraja but only formed an adjunct to the shrine of Sri Parthasarathy, is obvious from a look of the site of the temple as it now stands. There is no main gateway or gopuram in front of the doorway of Sri Govindaraja's shrine.

About the year of construction, Dr. S. Krishnaswami Iyengar in his history of Tirupati (Vol. I. Chap. XI) has gone into much speculation based on vague statements contained in the Guruparampara and the Itihāsamāla accounts. He had even to assume

that Sri Ramanuja's life period was from 1050 to 1150 A.D. instead of what is usually stated to be from 1017 to 1137—38. Even if the date and year of his birth could not have been stated with certainty, there could be no doubt that the year of his death would have been noted by the Sri Vaishnavas of those days correctly. The date so recorded seems to be given by a chronogram recording and Dr. Swami Kannu Pillai has it as the year 1137—38. Sri Ramanuja was not born in obscurity. He was the son of a well-known person Kesava Somayaji, and the nephew and great grandson of the then leaders of the Vaishnavite community. Even if the exact year of birth was not well remembered, it is inevitable that the month and the nakshathra (Chittirai Ārudra) would have been remembered. These are invariably required in connection with the Aksharābhyasam, Upanayanam and other rituals a brahmin youth has to go through. There is no valid authority for the year of Sri Ramanuja's death being shifted by about 13 years. Dr. Iyengar missed noting a fragmentary inscription on the east wall inner side, south of the first (inner) gopuram in the Tirumala Temple. This reads in Tamil.

1. āna saumiya ஆனஸௌமிய 2. torunal தொரு நாள்
3. Ramanuja இராமானுஜ. 4. en emperuma (என் எம்பெருமா)

Translated into English:—

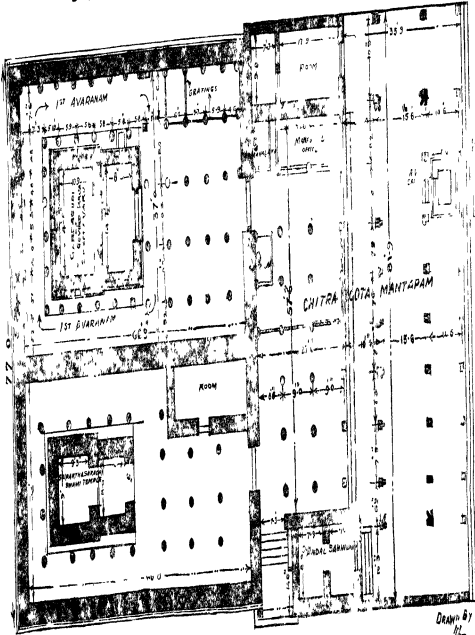
1. In Saumya. 2. On a certain day.
3. Ramanuja. 4. Emperumanar.

It makes clear reference to Ramanuja at a period of his life when he bore the honorific surname 'Emperumanār' (or our great mahān). He had under that honorific name become the supreme leader of all Sri Vaishnavas. There are only two Soumya years in his life time between 1017 and 1137 A.D. These are 1069 and 1129 A.D. By 1069 his age would have been only 52 and he would not have attained that eminence which got him to be recognised as Emperumanar. So the only appropriate year is 1129—30 A.D. The inscription is in the Tirumala Temple and has found its place in a fragmentary state on the east prakaram

PLAN OF SRI GOVINDARAJA SWAMI VARI TEMPLE AT TIRUPATI

SCALE 1"=8' TEMPLE PORTION ONLY

2ND AVARANAM



Drawn by
R.L.
1952

R.L. Unnikrishnan
5.4.1951

R.L. Unnikrishnan
11/11/52

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TIRUMALAI NAMED SWAMIN

← PRACHINAM WALL CONTIN.

wall (south side of the inner gopuram). How it happens to be there as a fragment requires some explanation. It was already shown in Chapter VIII (part 2) that the inner gopuram in Tirumala was constructed after the life time of Sri Ramanuja and about the year 1180 A.D. This inscription made in 1129—30 A. D. could not be therefore expected to be anywhere in the gopuram. The prakaram walls of that gopuram were constructed at a later date and are known as the second prakaram walls. There were however the first prakāram walls of the original temple which temple was called Kōyilalvār' (Vol. I, 88, 1244 A.D.). There were four long inscriptions in the walls of the Kōyilalvār. There were also a large number of inscriptions on the first prakaram walls of that temple. When the reorientation of that temple was executed the walls of the prakaram were demolished to make room for the new walls which encases the Koyilalvār. The demolition was done recklessly and the stones bearing ancient inscriptions got mutilated. These mutilated stones were used while building anew the first prakaram walls and now line the inner face of the walls, now known as the Mukkoti pradakshinam. This has been fully dealt with in Chapter VIII, part 3. There were however several stones which were left loose. Some were used for paving the flooring, some in building the second and third prakaram walls and one is found even in the first tier of the main or outer gopuram. The fragment under reference is one such.

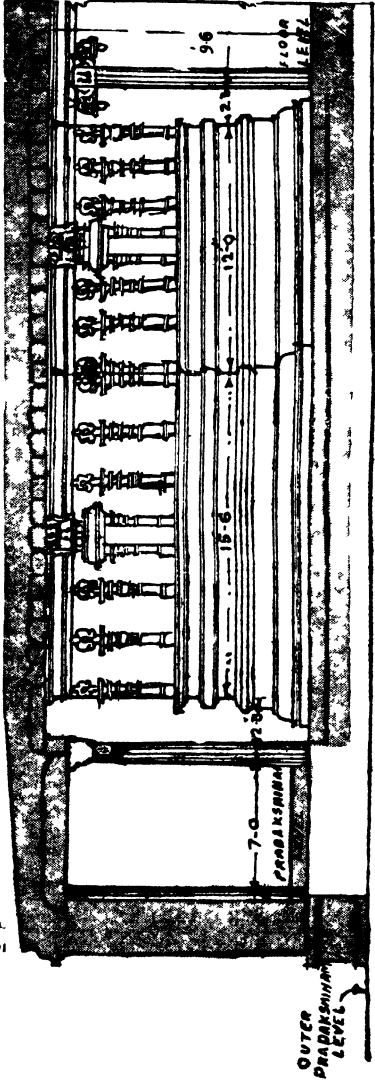
The inference therefore is correct that Sri Ramanuja visited Tirupati and Tirumala in 1129—30 (Saumya year). He was then 102 years old. Tradition also asserts that he visited Tirupati at that age.

We may therefore well assume that the shrine of Sri Govindaraja was built some time before 1129—30 and that the Idol was installed in the year 1129—30 A.D. There is no need to shift Sri Ramanuja's birth and death dates. The Tirumala inscription referred to gives a clear indication. That the consecration (rather reconsecration) of Sri Govindarajaswami took place in 1130 is confirmed by a verse in the mantrapushpam portion of the daily puja which reads "Phālgunē māsi pūrnāyām uttararkshēndu

Vāsare Gōvindarājo bhagavan prādūrāsīn mahāmune.” Govindaraja Bhagavan is said to have manifested himself on a day when Phalguna Pournami, Uttaranakshatram and Monday were current. Knowing as we do that it was Sri Ramanuja who consecrated the Idol in Tirupati, it must have taken place in some Saumya year (as stated above) during his life time. The only Saumya year in which Phalguna month, Pournami thithi and Uttara nakshatram coincided with a Monday is the 24th February 1130 A.D. In Saumya 1070 A.D. the day Phalguna Pournami Uttara was a Saturday and not Monday. There are in all 10 days between the years 1052 and 1147 in which the month, thithi and nakshatra and the week and day are the same as above. But only one of these is in Saumya year.

We may therefore with confidence state that Sri Govindarajaswami was installed in the Tirupati temple on the 24th February 1130 A.D., if the tradition that Sri Ramanuja was responsible for the installation is accepted. Phalguna Pournami has since then been observed as a day of Pūlangi festival (flower decoration) for Sri Govindaraja.

We have to remember that the Temple with its inner gopuram and prakaram walls appears to have been built for Sri Parthasarathyswami only. The dimensions of the prakaram walls are length 263 feet east to west and width, 186 feet north to south; and the main gateway (gopuram) is more or less in the centre of the latter and right opposite to the doorway of Sri Parthasarathyswami temple. Whether these were built after the installation of Sri Govindaraja along side of Sri Parthasarathy, or before that event, is a question which we have no means of deciding. An inscription (I. 85) on the door jambwall, rightside front face of the inner gopuram shows clearly that the gopuram was in existence before 1219A.D. At the time of the installation of Sri Govindarajaswami in 1130 A.D. the temple of Sri Parthasarathy being the older one would have been the more important one. And it would have continued to be so for some time longer until, for some reason or other, its doors were closed for worship. Its dhvajastambham and balipīṭham were removed. Now the



ELEVATION OF GARBHA GRIHAM
ON THE SOUTH

P.K.2. Encircling wall
5-11-1956.

no worship in that shrine as the Murti there is said to have suffered some sort of mutilation or defect. It is perhaps the Garudalvar of that shrine who is now found accommodated separately adjoining the prakaram. In this connection it is worth remembering that the inner and the outer gopurams of the Tirumala temple were built between the years 1180 and 1217 A.D. That seems to have been a period when the Yadavaraya rulers did this kind of service to the temple. It is not unlikely that the gopuram in Tirupati is of the same period.

Then there is the problem of finding out the probable date of construction of the outer gopuram and the extensions of the prakaram walls to the limits of the outer gopuram. We know from an inscription (I. 89) on Sri Ramanuja's shrine that the shrine was in existence outside the limits of the inner gopuram in 1220 A.D. But as the inscription is only on the south and west base of the shrine, it would not go to prove the date of construction of the prakaram wall. In 1220 A.D. Sri Ramanuja's shrine had a private endowment, and did not form a part of the Govindaraja temple.

The earliest inscription (I. 223) we have outside the inner gopuram which can in some manner be taken to give a clue to the probable date of construction of the outer gopuram and its prakaram walls is the one on the north wall (outer side) of the verandah in front of Sālai Nāchchiyar temple which is dated as 21-2-1457. This shrine has the south prakaram wall (connecting the inner and the outer gopuram) as its back wall and therefore shows that the outer gopuram was in existence long before 1457 A.D. The other inscription on the walls of the adjacent shrines are of later date. An inscription on the west, north and south walls of the second storey of the outer gopuram (Padikavali gopuram) is dated 8-1-1496. There are a few others of much later date.

We thus see that the construction of the temple structures was a matter of slow and continued progress... Between 1130 A.D. (Govindarajaswami's installation) and 1219 A.D. (construction of the inner gopuram) the period of about 89 years. Between 1220 A.D. (Ramanuja's temple inscription) and 1457 A.D., there

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

is an interval of 23 years. There were of course some endowments during the latter interval for daily food offerings, festival celebrations etc. We are also aware that from about 1330 onwards till the Vijayanagar empire stood on a firm basis and Sāluva Narasimha took an abiding interest in these temples, the best that could be expected was adequate provision for the daily pujas to be performed. Besides the gopuram and prakaram walls, we have a few more structures intimately connected with and which are essential components of Sri Govindaraja Temple. These are the Dvarapalas on either side of the entrance into the shrine in the Chitra-kūṭa Maṅṭapam, the shrine of Garudālvār, the Dhvajastambham and Baliptham, the shrine of Hanuman and one or two mantapams specially constructed for the use of Sri Govindaraja. These do not appear to have existed in their present form from the beginning.

DVARAPALAS, 1549 A.D.

We may be under the impression that these two divine gatekeepers were installed simultaneously with the installation of Sri Govindaraja. But it is not so. They were installed on 18th March 1549 A.D. (Kilaka year. Saka 1470, Mīna month, Bahula Panchami, Monday) by one Nandyala Nārappārāya who endowed the two villages of Pallipattu in Nagari Simai and Gundipūṇḍi in Anjūr division for offering daily 4 Vellai Tiruppōnakam food to the installed deities.

Dhvajastambham (Old).

This was constructed by one Raja Sri Ramaji Madarsu Pantulu of Siddaluru. The year is not given. Anyhow we have now quite a new gold gilt one.

The Big Gopuram about, 1628 A.D.

This gopuram in the Sannidhi Street was constructed by Matla Kumara Anantaraya of the Deva Chola family and is one of his numerous and costly acts of charity.

Hanuman Shrine, 1509 A.D.

This was constructed by one Karavattippuli Alvār Appa Pillai in 1509 (Saka 1431). He arranged for daily food offerings also. This temple is at the end of the Sri Govindarajaswami Sannidhi Street and in the Car Street, facing the temple.

Vasanta Mantapam, 1494 A.D.

This mantapam which is in front of the outer gopuram was commenced by Van Saṭhagōpa Jiyar of the Ahōbila Mutt, some time before 1494. One Nallār Angāndai took the unfinished mantapam by paying 2000 panam to the Devasthanam as compensation and completed it at his own cost. He made an endowment for the celebration of a Vasanta festival therein.

**Mantapam in front of Sri Govindaraja's Temple,
1494 A.D.**

This is perhaps the four-pillar mantapam near Sri Vedanta Desika's temple. It was constructed by Sriman Mahamandalleswara etc. Narasaraja Uḍaiyar, son of Kommaraja Siru Timmaraja Uḍaiyar who endowed for food offerings therein on several occasions noted in the inscription.

Nirāḷi Mantapam, 1506 A.D.

One Appa Pillai, son of Karavaṭṭippuliyālwar one of Krishnadeva Raya's generals, constructed a mantapam within the first prakaram and near the kitchen. Water used to be poured round it so as to make it look like a mantapam situated in the midst of a tank. He called it the Nirāḷi Mantapam, and made endowments for accommodating the Utsavar therein during the 12 days of the Vaikasi festival and likewise during the Ani festival and for food offerings on such occasions. This arrangement was made as, at that period, there was no pushkarini or tank for the temple and therefore no Nirāḷi Mantapam. This mantapam is still there, but not used for the purpose intended. As a Nirāḷi

Mantapam it was being used till 1512 and perhaps also till 1522 A.D.

Govinda Pushkarini (Krishnarayan Koneri) 1522 A.D.

This pushkarini came into notice for the first time in an inscription 1522 A.D. One Govindaraja, son of Rāchiraja (one of Krishnadevaraya's officers and brother of the famous Sāluva Timmarasu) built a small shrine for Sri Gopala Krishnaswami on the bank of Govinda Pushkarini and endowed for daily food offerings. The pushkarini is again mentioned in 1530 A.D. and on its banks a mantapam was constructed by one of the temple accountants, Villiyār, for the special use of Sri Andal during her Nīrāṭṭa Utsavam in Margali month. It fell into disrepair and was renovated in recent times when the Devasthanam was under the management of the last Mahant. Both the names, Govinda Pushkarini and Krishnarayan Koneri refer to this tank.

Chitrakuta Mantapam, 1493.

This is the mantapam in front of the shrine wherein we find the Dvarapalas, and it extends up to where Garudālvār's shrine is located. It is in two parts, the one near the main shrine having the floor higher in level than the eastern half near the Garudalvar shrine. It may be that the two were constructed at different times, although now they form one structure. Whether the two together were called Chitra Kuta Mantapam in 1493 or whether the one near the main shrine had that name we cannot be sure of

Lakshmidēvi Mantapam, 1542 A.D.

A Lakshmidēvi Mantapam is distinctly mentioned in 1542 in an endowment by one Gangu Reddi in connection with food offerings to Sri Govindarāja and the Nachchimar after Tirumanjanam on the Kartikai festival day. There was a Lakshmidēvi festival for Sri Govindaraja instituted by one Nāmi Setti in 1537. The festival contemplated food offerings etc., in the temple and

in a mantapam outside the gopuram. We have therefore to conclude that this mantapam was constructed later than 1537. It perhaps is an extension of the old Vasantamantapam already referred to.

The above are the principal structures which may be considered as integral part of the temple of Sri Govindarajaswami.

**Financial Status of Sri Govindaraja's Temple,
(1130 A.D.—1467 A.D.)**

What the financial position of Sri Govindaraja's temple was after the installation of the Deity in 1130 and right up to the year 1234 A.D. we are not in a position to state. In the year 1219, the Queen of Vira Narasinga Yadavaraya presented 32 cows and one bull for maintaining one Nandavilakku daily. From inscription No. I. 40. which mainly refers to the endowment of land in Kottakālvaḥ of Tirukkuḍavurnaḍu for the amudupaḍi and sattupaḍi of Tirumangai Alvar, we incidentally gather that Sri Govindarāja-swami's temple had its own resources in the shape of land probably in the same Kuḍavūrnaḍu, that the produce from Kottakālvaḥ was amalgamated with the income of Sri Govindaraja and that the two were managed by the Sthanattar of Tiruvengadamuḍaiyan temple. There was therefore income for the daily puja of the temple. In the same year 1234, Sri Vira Narasinga Yadavaraya endowed in favour of Govindarāja's temple half the village of Payinḍapalle in Kudavūr nāḍu, the other half being already the property of Tiruvengadam Temple. We thus see that the corpus of Govindaraja's temple was a separate item. The Payinḍapalle village was earmarked for the expenses of the Āni Festival for Govindaraja, first started by Vira Narasinga; also for making a Kūṭam for the four-faced car; and what was left was for improvements to the temple itself. Unless there was ample provision for the daily puja, this arrangement would not have been made for a festival. We also learn from I. No. 90 dated 1255 A.D., that Periyamāmbaṭṭu was a Tiruviḍaiyāṭṭam village of Sri Govindaraja. But who endowed this property we are not told. We further learn from I. No. 98 dated 1308 A.D., that certain brahmins of Nerka village

made arrangements for giving rice and other provisions for feeding pilgrims on Kaisika and Margali Dvadasis, on Makara Sankramanam and Chittirai Vishu. The next endowment that we meet with is in 1390 wherein Mullai Tiruvenkata Jiyar couples food offering for Govindapperumal during 10 days of his Adhyayanotsavam, with the singing of Tiruppāvai in Tirumala during Margali month (There was yet no Adhyayanotsavam in Tirumala). In 1387 Kollikkāvalidāsar made an endowment for a daily offering of one Tirupponakam. Fifty years later in 1442 one Karuṇākaradāsar made an endowment for offering one Tirupponakam (food offering) daily to Sri Govindaraja. This is the second private endowment for the Deity since the installation in 1130 A.D.

We will therefore be justified in stating that the temple of Sri Govindaraja was an unimportant one till the middle of the fifteenth century A.D. Neither the Chola nor the Pandyan Kings considered it as of any importance. Vira Narasinga Yadavaraya was the only ruler who paid some attention to it. We know that the Yādavarāyas disappeared after 1360 A.D.; with the death of Sri Ranganatha Yadavaraya. None of the Vijayanagar Kings nor any of their generals seems to have paid even a visit to this temple. It was only after Sāluva Narasimha the Viceroy established himself firmly in Chandragiri with a dominating voice in the affairs of the kingdom that the Tirupati temple received any attention. Karunakara Dasar's endowment for one Tirupponakam daily made in 1442 was thus the second recognition. There were endowments for festival offerings made in 1445 and 1446 by the Sabhaiyar of Tiruchchukanur who had become one of the Stanattars of Tirumala Temple. Emperumanar Jiyar's endowment for one Tirupponakam daily was made on 21—2—1457. Likewise Chenna Kesava Dasar made an endowment for one Tirupponakam in 1450—51. Kollikkavalidasar's endowment for one Tirupponakam was on 24—2—1387 long before even Karunakara dasar's. On 25—8—1454 one Rigvedi Hariappar of Chandragiri endowed for one Tirupponakam and also for feeding 12 brahmins daily. On 7—3—1464 Sottai Tirumala Nambi Tolappar Ayyangar made an endowment of 7000 panams (the largest one up to that

date) for offering every night one appapaḍi. There was no provision for night offering till then (rāppadi). Saluva Narasinga Deva Maharaya endowed the villages of Muppaḍuvēṭa, Mangoḍuvelada and Manavuru for offering daily 26 harivāna, one appa harivana and one Tirukkanāmadai. He also issued an edict permitting the Sthanattar of the temple to distribute amongst themselves the prasadam offered, following the practice in Tirumala.

We thus see that Saluva Narasinga Deva put the coping stone over the structure which was being slowly built by the efforts of private individuals from 1387 to 1467 A.D. We will see later how one Kandāḍai Ramanuja Ayyangar who came in as a desantari or stranger became his chief lieutenant in all temple affairs. We have already gone a little too far ahead of the history of the Tirumala temple itself. But it is necessary as Tirupati was intended to be the subsidiary temple to afford convenience to pilgrims before they commenced the ascent of the Hill.

The Govindaraja temple received considerable impetus from Saluva Narasimha till his death in about 1494 A.D. During the reign of the Vijayanagar Kings, particularly Krishnadevaraya Maharaya and Achyutaraya Maharaya, there was no royal patronage. But some of the officers under them did much. During Sadasivadeva Maharaya's reign there were unprecedented endowments for Sri Govindaraja from private individuals of all classes and grades. As almost all these endowments are mixed up with the endowments for Tiruvengaḍamuḍaiyan also, they will be considered together later. The period after 1467 A.D. was a prosperous one for Sri Govindarāja and continued to be so even after the downfall of the Vijayanagar Empire.

Note: The absence of Dhvajastambham till about the 16th century was due to the temple being an Adhama Madhyama one which according to the Agamas could get on with temporary bamboo pole flag staff installed for each festival occasion. Hanuman Shrine is foreign to the Vaikhanasa Agama. The Dvarapalas are a misfit, the proper ones should be Ganesa and Nagaraja.

CHAPTER XI.

SHRINES ATTACHED TO SRI GOVINDARAJA'S TEMPLE AND OTHER TEMPLES.

THERE are some shrines inside the enclosure formed by the Inner Gopuram and its prakāra walls. From an inscription which is on the door-jamb wall of the inner Gopuram and which relates to the 15th year of the reign of Vira Narasingadevar Yadavarayar, we infer that this Gopuram was in existence before 1219 A.D. This Vira Narasingadeva probably constructed the Padikāvali or outer Gopuram in Tirumala also about the same year (1217 A.D.). The unconfirmed tradition, however, is that the Govindaraja Temple and the Gopuram were constructed during the life time of Sri Ramanuja (*i.e.*, about 1130 A.D.).

Within the enclosure formed by this Gopuram and the prakaram walls there were originally only two shrines, one dedicated to Sri Parthasarathy and the other to Sri Govindaraja. The shrines to saints which are now there seem to have sprung up much later. For we learn that an image of **Tirumangai Alvar** was an addition to the pantheon made in 1234 A.D. and special provision was made for the daily offerings on account of that āḷvār. The inscription does not however state that a shrine was built inside the temple. It may be that an idol alone was installed.

Andal Shrine:—Very near to the shrine of the principal Deity is the shrine dedicated to Sri Anḍal. The shrine is only a part of the front mantapam screened off by walls. An inscription¹ referable to 1308 A.D., which is on the north wall inner side of the shrine makes it certain that Her shrine was constructed before 1308 A.D. From I. 61; (1254 A.D.) we learn that Tirumōḷi was recited regularly on all the days of the Vaikasi Brahmotsavam for Sri Govindaraja and food offerings were made and distributed to the public in that connection. This word Tirumōḷi may be

taken to refer to Nāchiyār (Anḍāl) Tirumoḷi, or the periya Tirumoḷi of Tirumangai Aḷvār or to Nammālvār Tirumoḷi, or to all the three. But it is only in or about the year 1495 A.D. (because the donor Kandaḍai Ramanuja Ayyen is described as Manager of Por-Bhandaram which he became only on 1—1—1495) that we find that Friday Tirumanjanam was provided for her throughout the year and also special food offerings after procession with Sri Govindaraja and Nāchchimār on the Tiruvāḍipūram day. Anḍāl was also taken to the foot of the hills to receive the appappaḍi sent from Tirumala in connection with the birth day celebrations of Kandaḍai Ramānuja Ayyengar. Thus it is only from 1495 A.D., that Anḍāl emerges into full notice.

Nammalvar Shrine 1287 A.D.

We thus see that Sri Anḍāl and Tirumangai Alvār have both been installed within the Temple, whereas, Nammālvār's shrine was placed on the bank of the Aḷvār Tirtham waterfall. This might have been because in those days there was no Pushkarini (or sacred tank) attached to the temple and the Aḷvār Tirtham was selected for the purpose of bringing water for the daily Tirumanjanam of Sri Govindarajaswami. The waterfall which is now known as the Alvar Tirtham was probably first sanctified by the location of Nammalvar's shrine on its bank. Since then the water from that place might have been brought everyday for the daily puja of Sri Govindaraja, in the same way that water from the Ākāsa Ganga waterfall in Tirumala is brought for the daily puja of Tiruvēṅgaḍamuḍaiyān. Although the Gōpuram, Vimānam, Prakaram walls etc., of the Aḷvār Tirtham Nammālvār Temple were constructed by one Pallavarāyar or Vāneḍuttakai Alagar, of Tunjalur about 1287 A.D. (the date is inferred from an other inscription in Nandalur, Cuddapah Dt.) the shrine itself should have been older than that of Sri Govindaraja since it is probable that the shrine gave sanctity to the waters of the waterfall. It is also likely that this Nammālvār shrine acted as a landmark for the pilgrims' route from Tiruchchukanur before Tirupati was founded.

Kulasekhara Alvar's Shrine—1469 A.D.

We learn that in 1469 A.D. Kandadai Ramanuja Ayyengar, the-disciple of Alagiya Manavāla Jiyar erected a shrine and consecrated therein the image of Kulasekhara Āḷvār right in the open ground to the north of Tirupati and within Koṭṭūr village limits in 1469 A.D.¹

(There is a Mūla Bēram as well as Utsava Bēram). The preference shown by Ramanuja Iyengar for a Kshatriya Āḷvār was probably meant to please his patron Sāluva Narasimha who was treated as a Kshatriya. There is reference to a Kulasekhara Āḷvār street in an inscription dated 1512 A.D. There was a mantapam in this temple called Kumāra Ramanujaiyyan mantapam.

Periya Alvar Shrine (before 1300 A.D.)

There is an inscription in Tamil Venba metre I. 177.² on the west wall of the Periya Āḷvār's shrine at the foot of the Tirumala Hills (Alipiri or அடிப்படி) from which we may assume that the temple was built during the Chōla or Pāndya rule and that its date may be fixed before 1300 A. D., the same as for the Nammāḷvār shrine near Āḷvār tīrtham. The ancient practice was for the pilgrim to take his bath in the Āḷvār Tīrtham as a purificatory measure and then take the blessings of Periyāḷvār at the foot of the Hill before commencing the holy ascent. We could affirm that Periya Āḷvār's shrine was in existence at the foot of the hill at any rate before 1485 A.D. as an inscription on the wall of the Shrine ascribes

1. திருப்பதியில் வடக்கு வெளியில் கோட்.....மைக்குள்ளே ஸ்ரீகுலசேகர ஆழ்வார் கையி.....ம், இட்டு ஆழ்வாரையும் திருடி, திருடெனையும் பண்ணி கோயிலும் கட்டுவித்து.....'

(Saka 1391 or 1469 A D)

2. உகைப்பயவாம் பூவை நகரக்காமவில்லிசற்பகிரியப்ப நுக்கு நற்பொலியூட்டாக்கினான் ஒப்பாவா வெண்ணம்மை முப்பத்திரண்டறமுங் கற்பிதீன்ன—ம்மை எரிதனை உ

that date for the construction of the Lakshmi Narasimha's Temple at Alipiri by Sāluva Narasimha Dēva. Periya Ālvār's shrine served as the point where Sri Venkateswara's prasādams in the shape of *appapadi*, *parivattam*, *sāttupadi*, etc., were and are received with temple honours at Tirupati on the occasion of the Sāttumurai festivals of the Ālvārs.

There is another Periya Ālvār's shrine built by Pedda Mangamma, mother of Tāllapākkam Tiruvengalappan on Pedda Chimugu Hill (near Ālvār Tirtham). There is a third Periya Ālvār Temple located in Sri Lakshminarayanapperumal temple (supposed to refer to the one in the present Govindaraja South Mada Street for which Prativadi Bhayankara Family are the Kartas). These two temples of Sri Lakshminarayana and Periya Alvār would have come into existence early in the 17th Century.

Thirumangai Alvar shrine in Tirupati (1234 A.D.)

Although an inscription of 1234 A.D. (I. 40) mentions arrangements made by the Periya Nāṭṭar, in Kottakālvay village for the pūja of Tirumangai Ālvār, it is not clear from the inscription whether on that date there was a separate shrine for Tirumangai Alvār and whether it was within Govindaraja's temple itself. We come across other inscriptions to show that a separate shrine existed. An inscription in Tirumala Temple dated 1328 A.D. (I. 99) (east wall outside, south of the inner Gopuram) shows that Mahapradhani Singayya Dannāyaka made provision from out of the income of Singanallūr (Pongalūr) for one Tirupponakam (4 marakals of rice) daily for Tirumangai Ālvār along with a similar provision for Vira Narasingapperumal in Tirupati. The inference is that there was a separate shrine for the Ālvār in Tirupati, before 1328 A.D. An inscription dated 1472 A.D., however, makes it clear that the village of Veṅṅaivāsai (on the banks of the Kaveri river) was granted by one Mūvarayar of Viramaḍakkippatti for the daily offering of two tirupponakam to Sri Venkatesa and for constructing a Pallikonḍān Tirumantapam and other buildings for Tirumangai Alvār temple in Tirupati and that Emperumanar Jiyar was made the manager (Kartar) thereof. Another inscription

which is on the north wall of the second prakāra of Tirumangai Ālvār's shrine on the Alvār Tirtham road, distinctly shows where the temple stood perhaps from its earliest days of 1234 A.D. The shrine was there on the Alvār Tirtham road and was obviously enlarged by stages. It is now in ruins and blocked up. We find that even in 1547 (8th January) that out of 10,000/- kulis of land granted by the Mahapradhani of Sadasivadeva Maharaja a large part was for the temples, Tirumangai Ālvār and Kulasekhara Ālvār temples. There were quite a number of endowments for this Ālvār as he was one of the most popular of the Ālvārs.

Madhura Kavi Alvar Shrine (some time a little before 1543 A.D.)

There is a shrine dedicated to Madhurakavi Ālvār opposite the Kūrathālvār shrine in the outer precincts of Sri Govindaraja's Temple. We are not in a position to state when it came into existence. The sāttumurai festivals of Sri Nammalvar, Periya Ālvār, Tirumangai Ālvār, Kulasekhara Ālvār, and Uḍaiyavar are referred to again and again in our inscriptions. In Nammālvār's shrine in Ālvār Tirtham on the 11th day of the Adhyayanōtsavam, the verses called *Kaṇṇinun-Siruttambu* of Madhurakavi were being recited. It was done in Nammālvār's shrine only (1514). In another inscription of 1537 A.D. (on 3 base of first gopuram of Sri Govindaraja's temple) there is distinct reference to the five sāttumurai days of the five Ālvārs, viz., Nammālvār, Periya Ālvār, Kulasekhara Ālvār, Thirumangai Ālvār and Uḍaiyavar for each of whom there is a distinct shrine. But Madhurakavi Ālvār is not mentioned.

In an inscription of 1543 (on East wall of entrance gopuram of Sri Ramanuja shrine) there is, however, an implied reference to Madhurakavi's shrine.¹

1. திருவடேரீதினத்திருநாள் பிற்பத்து பதிநோராம்
நாள்கண்ணினுண் சிறுத்தாம்புச் சிறப்பு—கோவிந்தராஜனும்
நாச்சிமாரும் ஆழ்வார் ஸந்நிதிக்கு ஏறியருள் கண்ணினுண்
சிறுத்தாம்பு—கேட்டருளி''

SHRINES ATTACHED TO SRI GOVINDARAJA'S TEMPLE

Here 'the Āḷvār Sannidhi' could refer to that of Madhurakavi only. The site of the shrine confirms its late origin. In 1553 A.D., Kondaraja's endowment of Nagari village provides 15 Rēkai Pon for 3 days celebration of Madhurakavi Āḷvār's Adhyayanōtsavam.

Shrines for Alvars not the work of Sri Ramanuja.

From the details given above it would be clear that not one of the shrines built for the Āḷvārs, including the one for Sūḍikkoḍutta Nāchchiyār (Sri Anḍāl) was built during the life time of Sri Ramanuja who is reported to have got the temple of Sri Govindaraja built by a Yādavarāya (Ghattideva of Yādava Narayana). During Sri Ramanuja's life time neither in Tirumala nor in Tirupati was any Āḷvār deified inside or outside the temple. The statement that we find on page 80, of the Epigraphical report of T. T. Devasthanam, that "He (Sri Ramanuja) is said to have installed the idol of Sri Govindaraja as well as the images of certain Āḷvārs in Tirupati," is incorrect. The installation of the images of the Āḷvārs in Tirupati was the pious act of his followers. It is likely that the deification commenced with the setting up of Sri Ramanuja's image in Tirumala. Even there, there is no separate worship for him. Next, or perhaps simultaneously, was his deification in Tirupati outside the inner gopuram limits.

Tirumala Nambi Shrine.

From the topography we have to surmise that a portion of the raised mantapam adjacent to and east of the inner gopuram was partitioned off as the shrine of Sri Ramanuja's uncle Sri Tirumala Nambi. To Sri Ramanuja his uncle's life-long act of self-surrender to carry unfailingly from day to day a pot of water for the Tirumanjanam of Manavāḷapperumāl and for the puja of Tiruvenḡamuḡaiyan must have appealed strongly; and who knows that he did not set up an image of his uncle in that mantapam where we find it today.

Shrine of Ramanuja.

We find just by the side of the above and as part of it, the **Shrine of Sri Ramanuja**, a little more pretentious than that of Tirumala Nambi with an antechamber. The gopuram must obviously have been of a later date, as it jets out of the mantapam line. It must have been built after 1220 A.D., since an inscription of that year is on the west and south base of Sri Ramanuja's shrine. When as may be inferred from the inscription the shrine itself was in need of lamp lighting and flowers before 1220 A.D. a gopuram would not have come into existence. It is also likely that the devoted disciples of Sri Ramanuja held in great esteem his trusted Chela Sri Kūrattālvār and a shrine for him, simple as in the case of Tirumala Nambi, was erected by screening off a portion of the pillared mantapam.

The Kurattalvar's shrine—some time before 1433 A.D.

There is no means of knowing even approximately the date of construction of Kūrattālvār's shrine. An inscription found on one of its walls (north wall of front verandah) does not give the year. But from the word *Āvaṇikkalari* or office of registration (ஆவணிக்களரி) occurring therein and also on referring to Inscriptions I. 205-D and I. 204-B which relate to the year Saka 1355 (or 1433 A.D.) wherein the same word occurs to connote the registration office, we may safely conclude that the shrine was in existence at least in 1433 A.D., and that it was constructed probably about the beginning of the 15th century A.D.

The shrines of all the Ālvārs are, it must be noted, outside the inner gopuram of Sri Govindaraja's temple. Sri Tirumala Nambi and Sri Rāmānuja take their place just outside the inner (or first) gopuram. The installation of the Ālvārs was a slow and gradual process. The first temple for Pēriya Ālvār is at the foot of the hill guarding the ascent. The other temples to him in other places were built later, the latest being in Sri Lakshmi Narayana's temple in south Mada Street Tirupati. Kulasēkhara had his temple in the street which bore his name. None of these

temples depended on the temple of Tiruvengaḍamuḍayān or Govindaraja for its maintenance. Each had its own Dharmakarta and each had endowments for its subsistence. But all were affiliated to the main temple of Tiruvengaḍam. In fact, the practice grew up of having this affiliation sanctified by a procedure adopted for celebrating the Adhyayanōtsavam Sāttumurai of each of these Āḷvārs. It has been well described in an inscription on the south base inner side of the first gopuram of Sri Govindaraja, in an endowment by one Paradēsi Tiruvenkaṭayyan.¹

The practice, now a long established one is for the morning Tiruvārāḍhanam of Tiruvengaḍamudaiyan, in Tirumala to be finished early in the morning on the Āḷvār's Sāttumurai day and then the offered appapaḍi, parivattam, chandanam, betel leaves and nuts transmitted down to the foot of the hill to near Periyāḷvār's shrine where the concerned Āḷvār will arrive in procession to receive the prasadam with due honours. They will be conveyed in procession on elephant back through the main streets of Tirupati and then to the Āḷvār's shrine. The Āḷvār has his Tirumanjanam and Sree Govindaraja graces the occasion with his Nāchchimars. In the evening there will be a grand procession, the Āḷvār facing Govindaraja, and being carried backwards as Sri Govindaraja advances forward majestically in great pomp with all paraphernalia, torch light mattāppu, burusu, adirveḍi and other fire works. There will then be distribution of prasadam in Asthānam. All this pomp was a growth of the 15th century only. It may also be stated here that after the Tirumala, Tirupati temples passed into the hands of the East India Company all the shrines for Āḷvārs were made dependant on the Govindaraja temple. Each Āḷvār

1 நம்மாழ்வார், பெரியாழ்வார், குலசேகராழ்வார், திருமங்கையாழ்வார், உடையவர் இவர்கள் திருவத்தியேனம் திருவாய்மொழி துவக்கத்து நாள் திருவேங்கடமுடையாளை எதிர்கொண்டு சேவித்து திருவேங்கடமுடையான அமுது செய்தருளி திருப்பதிகு இந்த அஞ்ச ஆழ்வாரச் சூகும் இறங்கும் அப்பப்படி ரூ- முகற்றிச் சேலைக்கு-இலை 2000 சந்தனர் பலம் ரூ.....

receives a bricket or billa of prasadam from out of the morning food offering made to Sri Govindaraja.

Vira Narasinga Perumal Temple—1328 A.D..

Besides the shrines for Ājvārs there were other shrines or temples constructed from time to time in Tirupati. There was one for Vira Narasingapperumal which came to notice in 1328 A.D. In that year one Mahapradhani Singaiya Dannāyaka made provision in an endowment for daily offering. This temple might have been built by Vira Narasinga Yadava Raya himself or by Tiruvenkaṭanātha Yadavaraya who made over Pongalur (Singanallur) village to the Dannayāka for instituting certain charities. Prasadam used to be transferred from Sri Govindaraja's temple and distributed here for pilgrims (just as in a Ramanujakutam) in the 15th and 16th centuries. The temple became defunct long time ago. The Narasimha Tirtham in Tirupati marks the spot. This Deity is also referred to in an inscription showing Chennakēsa Dasar's food offering of one Tirupponakam each night (I. 224; 1450 A.D.). It was also known as Mēlai Singar Koyil, because it is in the western part of Tirupati (III. 118, 1517 A.D.).

Salai Nachchiyar Temple—1457 A.D.

The word Sālai (சீலை) denotes the temple stores. This Goddess's temple is just opposite to the stores. The real name of the Goddess is Puṇḍarikavallittāyār. The date of construction has to be guessed from the fact that on the north wall of the verandah of the temple (outer side) is an inscription dated 2—2—1457, which is the earliest one on its walls. It must have been therefore constructed sometime before 1457. The Vaikhanasa Ārchakas are its *dharmakartas*. It is now a part and parcel of Sri Govindaraja's temple. The next inscription which is on the east wall (outside) in the front verandah is nineteen years later in date. The third was on 9—5—1476.

Sri Narasimhaswami Temple at Alipiri, 1485 A.D.

The consecration of this temple is inscribed on the east wall of Periya Āḷvār's Temple at Alipiri and dated 20—4—1485. It was constructed by Sriman Sārvabhauma Narasimha (the famous Sāluva Narasimha) the son of Sri Vira Guṇḍākshitiapati at the foot of the pathway over the Seshādri Hill. It is presumed that it was built to commemorate Sāluva Narasimha's becoming the *de facto* emperor of Vijayanagar. It is now one of the languishing temples in Tirupati. In an inscription of 1544 A.D. it is described as திருமலை வழி காட்டி சிங்கர் கோயில். There is another Narasinga Perumal installed in Kathāri Hanuman temple by Tallapakkam Tirumalai Iyengar.

**PERIYA RAGHUNATHA'S (SRI RAMA'S) TEMPLE
IN TIRUPATI—1480—81.**

The inscriptions II. 73 and 74 which record the building of this temple and the consecration of Sri Raghunatha are found on the north wall of the front mantapam of Kūrattālvār's temple. The deity came to be known as Periya Raghunatha owing to another Raghunatha having been subsequently installed in 1488 in Sri Ramanuja's temple (inside Sri Govindaraja's temple) by one Tiruninra-ūr-Uḍaiyar Vignesvara Sriman (No. 88 Vol. II. 1488). The name of the donor of the former is Narasimharaya Mudaliar and it was built for the spiritual benefit of Sāluva Narasimharaya Uḍaiyar¹.

Some lands were endowed by Narasimharaya Mudaliar of Tirupati which accounted for a daily ration of 6 marakkals of rice, ghee 3 ulakkus, green gram 3 ulakkus, pepper 2½ Soliga, செருவி

1. நரீ⁰ஹரீராய உடையார்க்கு ய்ரமமாக திருப்பதி பணம் இட்டு கோயிலும் கட்டுவித்து ரகுநாதனை

புடதினெயும் பண்ணி விக்கவையில்...

The year of construction is probably 1481 (9th Oct) Which was monday Saravana nakshatra seventh lunar day, Alava Tula

2 marakkals, Ghee 1 ulakku, 1 nali of salt pepper, vegetables, curds, 10 palam jaggery, 10 arecanuts, 20 betel leaves etc.; also provision for celebration of Tirukārtikai festival 6 marakkal rice etc. Thus it started as an entirely private temple quite independent of Sri Govindaraja's temple. Inscription No. 74 of 1481 A.D. mentions that one Narasimharaya Mudaliar, living in Kumāra Ramanujapuram, Tirupati, was alone entitled to receive the prasadam. It was therefore independent of the control of the Sthanattar of Sri Govindaraja Temple. It is however, seen that in 1497 the Sthanattar accepted an endowment of 12000 paṇam made by one Ekāki Perumāldasar (who installed an image of Sri Ramanuja in Periya Raghunatha's temple on that date) for certain offerings to Periya Raghunatha first and then to Sri Ramanuja, II. 137 dated 3-6-1497. Thus the temple within 17 years of its consecration came under the management of the Sthanattars of the Tirumala temple. Even prior to this a connection was forged between Sri Govindaraja's temple and this one by a new festival instituted by one Aniarangadāsar Anḍapperūmal Sokkannan,¹ when Sri Govindaraja during the Vidayatri (விடாயாற்றி) day of his Ani and Vaikasi festival proceeded to Periya Raghunatha's temple and had his Tirumanjanam or bath there along with His Nachchimar (நிஞ்சிமம்). This Mangalāsāsanam (மங்களாசாஸனம்) in Sri Vaishṇava parlance, elevated the status of the Raghunatha temple where the Tirumanjanam took place. The festival was duly recognised by the Sthanattar as shown by the inscription.

In an endowment III. 118, 27-11-1517 A.D. by Dharmapuram Sittamu Setṭi (merchant of Narasingapuram, Tirupati) we find that food offerings were arranged for Periya Raghunatha along with those for Sri Venkatesa and Sri Govindaraja and others. There is also an endowment by Kōyilkēlvi Vaḍa Tiruvenkaḍa Jiyyer for Sri Venkatesa, Venkatatturaivar and Periya Raghunathan for food offerings, another by Maṇḍalam Ayyangar of Prāntur. A wooden car for the car festival of Periya Raghunatha was constructed by Kumara Rāmanuja Ayyangar (IV. 1, 1530 A.D.) for the spiritual benefit of Sri Vira Achyutharaya

1. அணி அரங்க அண்டப் பெருமாள் சொக்கண்ணன்

Maharaja. Thus within 50 years of its existence this temple became famous; had its own festivals and got attached to the main temple of Tiruvengadamudaiyan. There was Adhyayanotsavam for Sri Raghunatha instituted by one Uddandarayar Ulagappan with food offerings on the *tuvakkam* (commencement), 6th day and Sattumurai day. Pachchai Lingusetti endowed for one tiruvolkam food offering on 7th festival day. There was tiruppalli-Odatirunal for one day mentioned in Rama Bhattar's endowment of 1532 A.D. An endowment by Tallapakkam Siru Tirumala Ayyangar was made in 1547. There was also a hunting festival for one day instituted in 1547. Kodai festival was started by Yatiraja Jiyar in 1540. The Brahmotsavam of Sri Periya Raghunatha and the car festival are referred to in an endowment by Venkatatturaivar son of Malaininra Bhattar dated 26—11—1545.

Another Sri Raghunatha.

There is another Sri Raghunatha said to have been installed by Ramabhattacharayan in 1535 in Tiruvenkatapuram in western part of Tirupati.

It will be seen that the endowments for the temple were after all neither numerous nor plentiful. There were no benefactions by the king or by his ministers, generals and other dependents.

Yet another Sri Raghunatha is said to have been installed by Narayana Dasari Nayakkar on the banks of the Govinda pushkarini in 1606 A.D.

The one temple of Sri Raghunatha (Periya Raghunatha) which is in a flourishing condition to this day is the one now known as Sri Rama's temple with its gopuram, large prakaram, a wooden car, car mantapam etc., and which was built in 1480—81 by Nara-simharaya Mudaliar. At the commencement it was purely a private benefaction having no claim on the Tirumala Devasthanam. Within 17 years of its existence it came under the purview and protection of that Devasthanam. But it continued to retain its independent status in that although it has been working according to the Vaikhanasa Agama, its archakas are different and therefore

also its Sthanikas. It is only on a few occasions that the Acharya Purushas and the Jiyyangars receive honours there. The temple during the management by the East India Company became a component part of the main Devasthanam.

Hanuman Shrine, Tirupati—1491?

The shrine to the east of the big gopuram of Sri Govindaraja situated in the car street may not be as old as the temple of Govindaraja. The Agamas do not mention that a shrine for Hanuman is a necessary adjunct to a Vishnu temple. The first mention of the shrine is found only in an inscription of the year 1491 when one Appaiyan (one of the Sabhaiyar of Tiruchchukanur) made provision for offering one atirasappadi to Sri Govindaraja when he was taken to the Hanuman shrine on Thai Amavasya day (II. 96). For the Saturday Tirumanjanam of Anjaneya, provision was made in the inscription along with endowments for Āḷvars, etc. Ramanujayyan, son of Narasimharayar Saṭhagopadasar made provision for food offerings on Saturdays about the year 1500 A.D. (II. 146). In what year a temple was constructed, on the scale we have it now, may be surmised from an inscription III. 17, dated (Saka 1431-1509 A.D.) (on the verandah of the P.W.D. store, G.T.) wherein it is stated that one Kara-Vaṭṭippuliyālvār constructed the temple and consecrated the image of Hanuman (presumably the one attached to Govindaraja's temple). This Hanuman is probably not the one given some offerings shown in No. 179 Vol. III 6-11-1528. The latter might refer to the Hanuman temple on the way to Āḷvār Tirtham. Saturday Tirumanjanam and food offerings were provided for by Kuppaiyan (temple accountant), about 1540 A.D. Sri Govindaraja was offered a paruppaviyal prasadam when he visited Hanuman's shrine in Chittirai month.

There is also reference to the installation of Sri Vittalesvara swami in the temple of Hanuman (V. 66, 1546 A.D.) (opposite to Govindaraja's temple).¹ This installation and all the benefac-

1. கோவித்தராஜன் திருவீதியில் அனுமான் கோயிலுக்குள் அடி . . . ஏறி அருளப்பண்ணிவித்து . . . விட்டலேஸ்வரப் பெருமானுக்கு

SHRINES ATTACHED TO SRI GOVINDARAJA'S TEMPLE

tions for the worship of Viṭṭalesvara were made by Udayagiri Devaraja Bhaṭṭar (private secretary of Poṭṭapāṭi Chinna Timmaraja, Maharaja of the Araviḍu family). Govindaraja sannidhi Hanuman is also referred to No. 128—Vol. V. no date. One Noytamma Narasaiyan is stated to have consecrated a Hanuman in the temple built by him on the banks of Govinda pushkarini. We have no trace of this. There are some more Hanumans mentioned incidentally in some of the inscriptions whose identity cannot be traced. But almost all of these have disappeared except the ones attached to Sri Govindaraja's and Sri Periya Raghunath's temple and the Kaṭṭari Hanuman on the way to the Āḷvār Tīrtham.

Govinda Krishnan Shrine—1543 A.D.

We learn that in 1543 one of the temple accountants by name Tiruvanantāḷvār Kuppaiyan purchased a piece of land in the Bhāshyakar Agraharam (Ayyangar Tiruvithi), Tirupati from a Tiruppanipillai, constructed a temple thereon, installed Govinda Krishnan and by an endowment of 1500 panam to Sri Govindaraja, made provision for food offerings being sent from that temple daily to this Govinda Krishnan (V. 6). A second endowment of 2210 panam was also made by the donor in 1545 (V. 58). The temple is not in existence now.

Tiruvenkata Gopala Krishnan Temple—1546 A.D.

A few years later, V. 82 25—10—1546, we find that another accountant Peria Solaiyya constructed a temple for Tiruvenkata-Gopalakrishnan in a mantapam at the eastern end of the same Bhashyakar Tiruvithi and made an endowment of 2575 panams for daily food offerings to be sent every night from Sri Govindaraja's temple. Provision for lighting and for Tirumanjanam on all the 13 Rohini Nakshatras of the year and Vissha divasams were made, jointly by all the fourteen temple accountants.

Gopala Krishna's Temples 1522 and 1537.

There was a Gopala Krishna installed in 1537 by Bhūtanatha Rama Bhattar in his tōppu (grove) in Tirupati Vādirājapuram.¹ The translator of the inscription construes Vādirajapuram to be Tiruchchukanur. But there is no authority for this. Rāchiraja Govindaraja, brother of Saluva Timmarasu constructed a Gopala-krishnan Temple on the bank of Sri Govindaraja's Govinda Pushkarini and an offering of four tirupponakam daily was arranged by him for the God (III.154—1522 A.D.). Neither of these exists today. Perhaps the Krishna Vigramam in the temple of Manavālamāmuni is one of these.

Lakshmi Narayana Perumal.

There are two such temples. One was consecrated by Tāllā-pākkam Periya Tirumala Ayyangar in the Tirthavari mantapam in Alvar Tirtham in Tirupati, V. 68, 20—6—1546¹ A.D., after making due provision for lighting and vellai tirupponakam food offering to be made daily and also on all Tirthavari Days of the Brahmotsavams for Sri Govindaraja and also for Achyutaperumal floating festival, sankramanams, etc.

The other temple is the one which is in a dilapidated condition in G. South mada street and mentioned as an endowment by Prativadi Bhayankaram Alagarayyanga Annangaracharya in 1636 A.D.² The festivals and endowments connected with this temple are recent ones. There is now a Venugopalaswami in Alvar Tirtham which is nowhere mentioned in the inscriptions.

1.பூதனாத (சிட்ட)பட்டர் புத்ர ராமபட்டர் அய்ய னுக்கு சிவராஸனம் பண்ணிக்கடுத்தபடி (தம்முடைய) உபய மாக திருப்பதி வாதிராஜபுரத்தில் தம்மிட கோப்புக்குள் தாம் ஏறி அருளி பண்ணிவித்த கோபாலகிருஷ்ணர்.

2. VI 22.

Achyuta Perumal Temple.

The precise date of construction of the temple and the consecration of Achyutaperumal are not mentioned anywhere. One Nāmi Settiyar of Krishnarayappaṭṭanam (near Chandragiri) made an endowment of 1230 panams, IV. 92, 1537, saka 1458, for hunting festivals for Govindaraja and Achyutaperumal. There is an endowment for offering Tirupponakam etc., for Achyuta perumal in Tirupati (IV. 108, Vilambi 1538 A.D.). Achyutaraya's inscription on the gopuram of that temple tells us that he paid 400 panam to Sri Venkatesa's Temple to purchase the land for building Achyutaperumal temple and for construction of the agraharam of 100 Brahmin houses round it in Koṭṭur village, etc. We find also that provision for food offerings to this God were made in a number of inscriptions. Achyuta pettai in Tirupati is also mentioned. But it did not flourish for any length of time after the death of Achyutaraya Maharaya. The ruins of the temple and gopuram stand as ancient monuments and the temple is known as Pettai Guḍi (a contraction of Achyutapettai Guḍi).

Nathamuni Temple—late in 16th Century.

The first mention of Nāthamunigal is in No. 241 Vol. IV (neither date nor name of donor available) mentioning (along with the offerings to Sri Venkatesa) one *atirasappadi* to Nāthamunigal of Tirupati in Tirupati. Vol. VI. 12 (18—4—1596) mentions a Nathamunipuram where in front of the house of one Nayanārayangar Sri Govindaraja was offered a vadaipadi. The next mention is in 1636 in an endowment by Prativadi Bhayankaram Annangarachariar which provides that on every Sri Rama Navami day two dosaḥ padi prepared in Govindaraja temple had to be taken to Sri Nathamuni Temple and offered to Chakravarti Tirumaganar (Sri Rama) in Nathamuni street. The temple must have come into existence late in the 16th century A.D. and the street also.

Tirukkachchinambi Shrine, 1596 A.D. (VI. 12.)

In a stone mantapam in the Vyāpāri Street, (now known as Beri Street), Tirupati one Silambidayār Seṭṭi of Ramapuram

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

village installed on 19-4-1596 the idol of Sri Varadaraja Perumal, Nachchimar and of Tirukkachchinambi. The shrine is known as Tirukkachchinambi Sannidhi. He made endowments of land for the puja etc., of the deity and the Nambi. Along with Sri Ramanuja, Tkrukkachchinambi was one of Alavandār's disciples. The temple is being well maintained.

Varadaraja Perumal.

There is an older Varadaraja Perumāl in Tiruchchukanur and the village of Tiruchchukanur itself was known as Varadarāja-puram at one time.¹ No. 157 Vol. IV-13-2-1541 refers to food offerings to Varadarāja on the occasion of car festival, tirthavari tiruppali oḍam and Uriadi; all in front of the donor's house (Chettalur Srinivasayyan). The same inscription makes endowments for Sri Venkatesa, Sri Govindaraja and Alagia Perumāl. Whether the Varadaraja and Alagia Perumal refer to the Deities in Tiruchchukanur is not specifically stated. Some of the food offerings to Varadarajaswami mentioned in No. 99 Vol. V 17-8-1547 may be taken to refer to this God although the word Tiruchchukanur is not mentioned explicitly.

Varadaraja Perumal is not mentioned in any of the previous inscription whether in Tirupati or in Tiruchchukanur. There are two other Varadarajas (one in Sri Vedanta Desika's shrine and the other in Sri Manavala Mahamuni's). But both those shrines do not belong to the inscripational period; they belong to a much later period. There is a Mainji Varadarajaswami in the Govindaraja temple now, but whence He came we do not know. The Varadarajaswami in Tirumala has never had a separate festival.

Nammalvar Temples. (Two in number)

Alvar Tirtham Nammalvar.

It was already stated that one Pallavarayar of Tunjalur (Vānedutta Kaialagar) constructed the Temple, vimanam and prakaram

1. திருச்சாளூர் ஆதிநாமமான் வரதராஜபுரத்திற்
(V. 66, para 13, 1546 A. D.)

walls of the Nammālvār shrine on the bank of the Ālvār Tīrtham. This donor lived some time about 1287 A.D., as is inferred from the date of other inscriptions to his credit in Nandalur (pages 69, 79 of Vol. I of T.T.D. inscriptions).¹

Another inscription I. 58 in Sanskrit Grantha characters also in the same shrine tells us that a certain Muni lives there² on the bank of the lake (தடவரிஸ ற்) and that realising that the present age is ruffled by Kali he, who has attained Divyagñanam initiates us with compassion into Brahma vidya. The Muni's name is not mentioned nor is the name of the lake (taṭavarai). But from No. 57 referred to above we infer that the muni referred to is the Ālvār (Nammālvār). From the language of Para 9 of No. 83 Vol. II. 6-6-1485 (Govindaraja temple inscription) which enumerates the endowments made by one Nāllār Angāṇḍai it appears that Periyālvār, Nammālvār, Tirumangai Ālvār, Kula-sekhara Ālvār and Udaiyavar on the occasion of their Sāttumurai day, during their respective Adhyayanotsavam in Tirupati, received from Tirumala one Appapaḍi prasadam in the Vasanta mantapam of Sri Govindaraja. The presumption, therefore, would be that on the Sāttumurai Day of his Adhyayanotsavam Nammālvār was taken to this Vasanta mantapam in Sri Govindaraja's temple

1. This inscription I. 57, about 1287 A.D., on the inner west wall (outer side, proper right) of the shrine reads வ ள வ ள ஶ்ரீ ஆழ்வாருடைய விமானமும் திருமடைபமும் மாணிகையும்,..... தஞ்சனாருடையான் வாந் எடுத்த கை அழகியரான பல்ல வராயர் யரூம்'.

2. ஹரி: || திஷததவர்தாஸடவரிஸரூ
 —காபி தவர்தா:
 உறமெகூளிஹிவவாதி ரு,நிபெடி--
 வடுஷஷா
 காயநுஷஷா கவிசுமஷிதம்--
 வ
 ஶாநாவஸதக்
 திவர்தா தவவமஷய--
 ஶுஹவிஷிதாடி.

along with Sri Govindaraja for the Sāttumurai function where the appapadi was offered. This was in 1485 A.D., when Āḷvār Tīrtham Nammālvār temples was in a flourishing condition.

It is natural to presume that the idol of Sri Nammālvār was brought in procession to Sri Govindaraja temple. The details of the etiquette of these Sāttumurais will be described presently. Again a Tirumala Temple inscription dated 4—12—1494, states (among the endowments relating to temples in Tirupati) that Nammālvār, Kulasekhara Āḷvār and Tirumangai Āḷvār were offered one appapadi each on the day of Sattumurai while seated in the mantapam in Narasimharayapuram built by one Saranu Setti, one of the nagarattār residing there. This offering would have been made in the course of the street procession of Nammalvar along with Sri Govindaraja. There are inscriptions of a like nature on pages 344, 345 of Vol. II whose dates are not given as the inscriptions are incomplete ones. Again one Pappusetti ayyan of Narasingarayapuram made provision, among other items in Tirupati, for three atirasappadi on three days of the Sāttumurai of Nammālvār's Adhyayanotsavam. This must also refer to Āḷvār Tīrtham Nammālvār as the function was held in a mantapam constructed on land near Tirumangai Āḷvār temple and belonging to it. One Yatiraja Jiyar came forward in 1514 A.D., as the Kartar (manager) of Nammālvār shrine (the inscription is on west wall of Nammālvār shrine near Āḷvār Tīrtham and accepted an endowment of 150 paṇams by one Pattarpirān Ayyan one of the Sāttada Ekaki Sri Vaishnavas for one tiruvōlakkam food offering on the 11th day of Nammālvār's Adhyayanotsavam in the month of Masi. It is clear from the inscription that this temple had its own treasury account. In 1517 we find that one Dharmapuram Sittamu Setti provided one appapadi to be presented in the mantapam in Kulasekhara Āḷvār temple, Tirupati on the 6th day of Nammālvār's Adhyayanotsavam. There was food offering provided by Sriman Narayana Jiyar of the Van Sathagopan Matham on the 9th day festival. Pattarpiran Ayyan provided in 1523 food offering on 7th and 8th day festivals every year. This Nammālvār was given landed property in Elamandiyam village, known as Nammālvār Paṭṭadaḍai. The same Paṭṭarpiran Ayyan made another

endowment in 1535, of 150 panam for Tirupalli-eluchchi offerings during Margali month. Paradesi Tiruvenkatayyan endowed in 1537, 460 panams for bringing from Tirumala to Tirupati appapaḍi, parivattam etc., for the Tiruvadhyayanatuvakkam function, of the five Āḷvārs including Udaiyavar and Nammālvār. These endowments clearly indicate that this Nammālvār temple did not depend on the Govindaraja temple for its existence. Provision for food offerings on the 2nd and 6th days of Nammālvār's Adhyayanotsavam in Tirupati was made by one Pērarulaḷayyan, in 1541. One of the items of expenditure shown in Vengapuram Narayana Setti's endowment of 48,900 panams made in 1544 was for cleaning the mantapam in Nammālvār's temple. This leads us to suspect that the temple was not in daily use to any large extent in the 16th century. There was however a car festival also for this Nammālvār during the Sāttumurai day of his adhyayanotsavam, when the car circumambulated his shrine.

Ramanuja Kutam Nammalvar.—the rival temple.

About this time *i.e.*, 1544 A.D., a rival temple of Nammālvār was built in Bhashyakar Agraharam (now G. North Mada Street) Tirupati by one Araviḍu Koṇḍaraja (son of Mahamaṇḍalesvara Araviḍu Ramanuja Koṇḍīraja). This Koṇḍaraja made a grant of ten villages yielding an annual income of 5713 rekai-pon for feeding Sri Vaishnava pilgrims in the Ramanujakutam attached to this Nammālvār shrine. The inscription (V. 125,) dated 2—10—1550 gives full details of the nature and kind of food—nearly 500 marakkals of rice were consumed daily. Again we find that the same donor made in 1552 A.D. (V. 133) grand and elaborate arrangements for the celebration of the Adhyayanotsavam Sāttumurai of Uḍayavar and Nammālvār. Over and above this the same donor made another endowment in 1553 (V. 141) for the celebration of a 12 days festival for Nammālvār costing 126 rēkhai-pon and 6½ panam per annum; also for the car festival of Sri Govindaraja in the month of Ani and for the celebration of the Sattumurai of all Āḷvārs and Acharyas, in his Ramanujakutam Nammālvār shrine. For all these purposes, he gifted away Nagari village and Viḍugramam yielding an annual income of 400 rekhaipon.

Rivalry between the two temples.

Where was the necessity for this rival Nammālvār temple we would naturally ask. This Temple eclipsed the older and the better located one. We can only guess the reason. The Kartar of the older temple was the Tengalai Jyyengar while the manager of the younger one at the time was one Tirumalai Nambi Srirama-yyangar, a member of the Vaḍagalai Tirumalai Nambi family. The members of the family of the Aravidu and Matla rajas were the disciples of the Tirumalai Nambi family. The Jyyengar and the Tirumalai Nambi family were holding high religious status in the temple. If they had been less sectarian all these endowments would have been lavished on the Ālvār Tirtham Temple only. The result of this rivalry was that in course of time both the temple lost their importance. Nammālvār is now in the small room in Govindaraja Temple along with the other three Alvārs. But his annual festival continues to be celebrated.

Tirupati and its suburbs.

We have so far noticed almost all the minor temples constructed in the suburbs of Tirupati and in the main temple of Govindaraja also. The suburbs which came to notice are **Bhashyakar Agraharam** within the four main streets or Raja Vithis of Tirupati; **Srinivasapuram** containing the temple of Vira Narasingaperumal; **Raghunathapuram**, containing the temple of Periya Raghunatha; **Tiruvenkatapuram** which must have been adjacent to Srinivasapuram; there is also one **Narasingarayapuram** in the west; **Achyutarapuram** containing the temple of Achyutaperumal and **Nathamuni Agraharam**. There is also a **Vadirajapuram** mentioned in the 16th century with Narasimhaswami temple. It is not possible to demarcate these suburbs at this distance of time. They only serve to give us an idea of how the small settlement of Bhashyakar Agraharam extended its limits from time to time. The Periya ĕri which came to notice in 1260 A.D. was practically the southern limit and the foot of the hills and ālvār Tirtham the northern limit. On the west Siddhakuṭṭai and Narasingarayapuram may be considered the limits; to the east the village would have

been only what it is now, for there have been spring channels and wet cultivation there.

For a Vishnu temple a pushkarini (or sacred tank) is a necessity. Water for Tirumanjanam (holy bath) and Puja has to be brought daily in procession to the temple. On the 9th or Tirthavari day of the Brahhotsavam the function of Chakrattālvār (Sri Sudarsana) sanctifying the water for a bath has to take place in a pushkarini. We have so far seen that there was only one such place from which water (from the water-fall) could be brought. This is now known as Ālvār Tirtham. There it can from time immemorial, long before the temple of Sri Govindaraja was ever thought of.

ALVAR TIRTHAM—TIRUPATI.

The earliest inscription I. 20 found on the bank of this pool of water formed by the water-fall, is on the door jambs of a shrine (now known as Kapilēsvaraswami Temple). The inscription does not give the name of the shrine, nor is there any mention of the water-fall near which the shrine stands. There is no date furnished. It reads in Tamil¹ “ Svasti Sri Koṭṭūr Uḍaiyān rāyan rajēndra Sōlanāna Pirama mārāyan Munaiyatarayam eḍuppitta tirumaligai.” It would be translated as “ Hail, prosperity; this blessed abode (திருமாளிகை) raised (எடுபித்த) by Koṭṭūr Uḍaiyān (or proprietor of Kottur) Rāyan Rajendra Cholan (ஆவ) also known as Brahmarayan Munaiyatarayan.” If it was meant to be the temple of a God some indication would have been given by the use of a word like Koyil and the name of the deity. We give credit to the fact that the inscription relates to the reign of Rajendra Chola—I or Rajendra Chola—II. The former reigned from 1013—1045 A.D. and the latter 1070—1122 A.D. The second Rajendra Chola assumed the name of Kulottunga—I in later years. We can safely put this inscription to 1070—1075 A.D. The Devastha-

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி கோட்டுர் உடையாந் ராயந் ராஜேந்த்ரே
சோழநாந பிரமமாராயன் முனையதரயன் எடுப்பித்த திரு
மாளிகை.

nam epigraphist translates the word “ திரு மானிகை ” as “Blessed Tabernacle ” which requires explanation. In the Vaishnavite as well as Saivite, paribhāsha or refined language the dwelling house of a great or learned person is invariably called “ திருமானிகை ” whereas that person himself in similar paribhasha would call it “ குடிசை ” (hut). The word tabernacle seems to have no equivalent in any of the Indian languages. Tabernacle of the Jews was the altar on which burnt offerings were made. The nearest equivalent will be “ Koyil ” (or Koyil Āḷvār according to Sri Vaishnavas). We can understand this somewhat better when we refer to inscription I. No. 57 and 58 in the Nammāḷvār temple close by. Both are on the bank of this very (water-fall) pond. Inscription No. 57 is on the inner side of the west wall of the Nammāḷvār shrine. This temple or shrine was renovated by one Pallavarayar or Vāneḍuttakaiyalagar, whose date we infer from some Nandalur inscriptions to be about 1287 A.D. and therefore more than two centuries after the former one,¹ which translated would read “ vimānam mantapam and the māḷigai, the (entire structure inclusive of prakaram walls, gopuram etc.) are the dharmam (charity) of Pallavarayar or Vaneḍuttakaiyālagar of Turijalur in middle third Milalaikūṟṟam in the Pāṇḍyanāḍu.” The Devasthanam epigraphist here translates māḷigai as “sanctuary” (not tabernacle). The word “ திருமானிகை ” would comprise the entire structure as we understand the paribhāsha common to us. Inscription No. I 58 which is also in the Āḷvār shrine is in Sanskrit (grantha characters) and states that on the banks of the tank (தடவரிஸரே) at the foot (of the hill) a Muni lives. The inscription being in Nammāḷvār shrine we take it to refer to that Muni or it may by a stretch of imagination be taken to refer to a muni or some great person who lived in the திருமானிகை which Brahmarayan munaiya Daraiyan raised on the bank of the tank about 1070 A. D. as per inscription I. 20.

What we have to note in both the inscriptions is the use of the word திருமானிகை as referring to the abode of a great person

1. It reads in Tamil ஆழ்வாருடைய விமானமும், திருமண்டபமும் மானிகையும் பாண்டிமண்டல மிழலைக் கூற்றத்து பல்லவராயர் யஜ்ஜமம்.”

or a highly venerated man and not to the sanctuary of God. And Munaiyadarayan does not state that he raised the structure for any God. The Tirtham or pond is neither mentioned nor named as Kapila Tirtham; nor is the shrine called Kapileswara's temple. Nor do inscriptions No. 57 and 58, give the Tirtham a name. But we must inevitably admit that the water source for the daily Tirumanjanam and Puja of Sri Govindaraja from the date Sri Ramanuja installed the Mūrti must have been this Tirtham, by whatever name it might have been called; for there was no tank then near Govindaraja's temple. In the absence of any name to be found in our inscriptions we will be justified in presuming that it may have been named Āḷvār Tirtham, whether the word Āḷvār referred to Nammālvār or the Sudarsana or Chakratālvar of Sri Vishnu who sanctified the waters.

In No. 29 Vol. II (May-June 1467) reference is made to a festival (assumed to be Upakarmam day) when Sri Govindaraja with Sri Devi and Bhū Devi had Snapana Tirumanjanam in the waters (of the tank) and thus sanctified the waterfall. The inscription is in Govindaraja temple but the reference is made to Āḷvār Tirtham waters as the Upakarmam takes place only on the banks of the Āḷvār Tirtham even to this day. But the inscription does not give the name of the tank. The Govinda Pushkarini was not in existence in 1467. The inscriptions which give us a clear understanding are No. 8, 9 and 10 of Vol. IV dated 25—6—1531, during the reign of Sri Vira Achyutaraya Maharaya. No. 8 is in Telugu, No. 9 in Kanarese and No. 10 in Tamil. (language and script). They are identical in substance, viz., that Acyutaraya for his purushārtham renovated the tank (did Punahpratishṭha,¹ (in Telugu the words are missing) constructed cut stone steps, Sandhyāvandana Mantapam all round and planted (திருவாழிக் கல்லும் எடுப்பித்து) Sudarsana stones at the four corners (சுதர்சன ஸ்தம்பங்கள்). The Telugu inscription describes the tank as శ్రీ లక్ష్మీనగరం దేవాలయం తీర్చిన తరువాత వచ్చినట్లు. The Kanarese version is the same. But the Tamil version No. 10 reads திருவேங்கட முடையான் ஷீவ ஜீர்த்தமான திருப்பதியில் ஆழ்வார் ஜீர்த்தத்தை.

1. வகுை: ப்ரதீட்டை பண்ணி புனரீசுஷய

All call it Tiruvengalanatha's sacred waters, alias Tirupati Chakra Tirtham (in Telugu and Kanarese) and Āļvār Tirtham in Tamil. As already surmised the word Alvār in Tamil in this inscription may refer to Chakrattāļvār or Sudarsana and not Nammāļvār. It is thus clear that according to this inscription it was, in days anterior to the inscription, known as Chakrattāļvār Tirtham, Chakra Tirtham or Alvar Tirtham. It seems to have had no other name. These names might have been given to the waters after the construction of the Govindaraja Temple. It was however not known as Kapila Tirtham.

Brief reference will now be made to subsequent inscriptions about this Tirtham. No. 49 Vol. IV. 13-7-1535 states¹ (Govindaraja bestowing the waters in the Āļvār Tirtham on Tirthavāri day). In No. 169 Vol. IV dated 20-1-1542 (p. 320 para 20) occurs 'ஆழ்வார் தீர்த்தத்தில்'. In No. 34 Vol. V. 19-3-1544 P. 87 para 88 reads.² "On the tenth day or Sattumurai of Nammāļvār Tiruvadhayanam festival in Visakha Nakshatram when Nammāļvār ascends the car on the Āļvār Tirtham and circumambulates the Nammāļvār Temple." Again in No. 66 Vol. V. 25-3-1546(para 10,11)³ occurs, "When Tiruvāli Āļvār (Sudarsana) goes to Alvār Tirtham on Tirukkārtigai Day"⁴ also "when going to Tirtham on Sankaramanam day" (all referring to Govindaraja temple). Again in an inscription which deals with the installation of Lakshminarayana Perumal in the Tirthavāri Mandapam of Āļvār Tirtham occur the words "தம்முடைய ஆழ்வார் தீர்த்தத்தில் தீர்த்தவாரி மண்

1. தீர்த்தவாரிநாள் ஆழ்வார் தீர்த்தத்தில் தீர்த்தம பிரஸாதித்து.

2. நமமாழ்வார் திருவெழினம் பத்தாந்திருநாள் சாத்து முறை விசாக நக்ஷத்திரத்துநாள் ஆழ்வார் தீர்த்தக் கரையில் நம்மாழ்வார் திருத்தேரில் ஏறி அருளி திருக்கோயில் வளைய...'

3. திருக்கார்த்திகை நாள் திருவாழி ஆழ்வான் ஆழ்வார் தீர்த்தத்துக்கு எழுந்தருளும்போது.

4. சங்கரமத்து நாள் தீர்த்தத்துக்கு எழுந்தருளும் போது

டபத்தக்குள் நாம் ஏறி அருளப் பண்ணிவித்த லக்ஷுமி நாராயண பெருமாள்', *Soṭṭai Tirumalai Nambi Srinivasa Ayyangar*, V. 92, June 1547, among his endowments mentions¹ a Tiruvengadamuḍayan image in 4th cave above **Alvar Tirtham**. Among the several acts of charity of Maṭṭa Anantaraja the establishment of a free feeding house in Āḷvār Tirtham Seshachala Kuruvai is mentioned.² The first mention of a **Kapilesvara shrine** (not any tank) is in an inscription dated 30-1-1563, Saka 1485 in Dundubhi year, Kumbha month, Suklasaptami Saturday, Bharani Nakshatra, when a dancing girl Sevvu Sāni donated 200 panams from the interest whereon the daily worship of Sri Vignēsvara (one lamp to be lit in the evening and flowers and food offerings with two marakkals of rice) installed in the Nritya mantapa of **Nayaniyar Kapilesvara Mudayan Nayanar Kovil** was to be carried on. The inscription does not state that the tank was called Kapila Tirtham.

Long time thereafter on 10-2-1865 A.D., (after an interval of 302 years from 1563 and 237 years from 1628 A.D.), we come to an inscription which says that Sri Mahant Dharma Dasu, Vichāranakarta did repairs to the **Kapila Tirtham**.³

“ Thus it was on 10-2-1865 that we were told by Dharmadasji that Alvār Tirtham is Kapila Tirtham. But we have seen enough to note that it is a misnomer, and that throughout all the centuries in the past it has been known only as Alvār Tirtham. It is called the Divya Tirtham of Tiruvengadamuḍaiyan, but flowing to Tirupati. It has always been considered as flowing from the toe of Tiruvengadamuḍaiyan and therefore holy. There was a Tiruvengadamuḍaiyan installed in the fourth cave of the waterfall above Āḷvār Tirtham where the waters roll down in cascades.

1. ஆழ்வார் தீர்த்தத்தில் ஞானஞ் சுனையில் திருவேங்கடமுடையான் ஞள்வழி சந்தி விட்டவன பிரஸாதம்.

2. VI Part I, 25, పుర్రుపేట వు స్రవణ at ఆనాటికి and శేషచలకురువ.

3. వింకవరం పుష్కరిణిస్తు. మంబసాపస్తు, శీనోఁడారణం అయినది.

SRI KAPILESWARASWAMI TEMPLE

AT

ALVAR TIRTHAM, TIRUPATI.

This temple is situated on the high ground on the east bank of the Alvār Tirtham, also now called Kapila Tirtham and faces west.

There are only two inscriptions which relate to this temple. The earlier one, as was already stated, is on the door jambs of the temple. It does not mention the date, but from the contents can be ascribed to the Chola period, either Rajendra I or Rajendra II in the later half of the eleventh century A.D.¹

The inscription translated into English would read "Svasti Sri: This Tirumaligai (was) raised by Rayan Rajendrasōlan, alias Brahmanarayan Munaiyadaraiyan." The Devasthanam epigraphist translated the word Tirumaligai as "Tabernacle." The Tamil word Tirumaligai would be used when referring to the residence of a great religious teacher, or saint (பெரியோர் வசிக்கும் இடம்). There is in fact no Tamil equivalent for the Jewish tabernacle which was a movable place of worship having an altar for burnt sacrifice. In a depolarised sense a tabernacle is a place of worship. But the idea of having a concrete image for worship would not be germane to a tabernacle.

If the structure raised by Munaiyadaraiyan was a temple or sanctum, the proper Tamil word would have been Koyil (கோயில்) whether it be one for Siva or for Vishnu. In I. 23 (1094 A.D.) which gives details of an endowment for Sri Parāsarēsvara's temple in Tiruchchukanur, the word used is Koyil.² Also in I. 25 (1111

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி சீ கோட்டுர் உடையாந் ராயந் ராஜேஸ்வரே
சோழநான பிரமராயன் முனையதரயன் எடுப்பித்த திரு
மாளிகை.

2. இத்தேவர் கோயிலில் காணியை உடைய சிவஸ்திர
மணற்.

A.D.) the temple of Sri Kālahastesvara is called koyil.¹ In I. 35 (1223 A.D.) we find the temple referred to as koyil.² Also in I. 36, 1225 A.D. which refers to an endowment of 1008 A.D. for Sri Parāsaesvara's temple the word koyil occurs.³

It is therefore improbable that the structure raised by Munai-yadaraiyan during the reign of Rajendra Chola was a temple for a God. It might have been raised to serve as residence for a living saint, or to instal the image of any such saint, say Saint Kapila. Further a temple for God would usually be made to face East and not West. The shrine or temple for Saint Nammālvār, which is close by, faces west because the saint must be made to face Sri Venkatesa as the Hill and not show his back to God. It is even probable that the door jamb on which the inscription is found was originally the door jamb of the shrine of Sri Nammālvār before that temple was rebuilt about 1287 A.D. by Pallavarayar and that the rejected door jamb was used at a later date for the Kapilesvara Temple.

There is another consideration also to justify this interpretation. If it was a temple for Siva it would have received encouragement at the hands of the Saivite Cholas in the same way that the Tiruchukanur Parāsarēsvara temple had received during the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries. This temple of Sri Kapilesvara is not mentioned in any inscription till we reach the year 1563 A.D. In an inscription dated 30—1—1563 during the reign of Sadasivaraya Maharaya⁴ (Saturday, Bharani nakshatram Sukla

1. திருக்காளத்தி உடையார் கோயிலில்.

2. திப்பலாதீபுர முடைய நாயனாற்கு இக்கோயில் மாடபத்தியம் செய்யும்''.....'' அறிவேன் இக்கோயிற் கோயிற் கணக்கு காணியை உடைய . . .''

3. திப்பலாதீபுர முடையார் கோயிற் தானத்தாரறி வித்த.....

4. ஸகாஷ்டி ஜாசுஅயெடு (1485) 10 மேல் செல்லாநின்ற துந்துபி ஸ்வத்ஸரத்து குழைநாயற்று பூர்வபகத்து சத்தமியும் சனிவாரமும் பெற்ற பரணிநகரீத்துநாள்.

Saptami of Kumbha month in the cyclic year Dundubhi, saka 1485), the temple is described as¹ being managed by the Sthānattar of Tirupati Nayanar Kapileswara mudaiya Nayanar temple. We are distinctly told that the 'Nayanar Kapilesvara muḍaiya Nayanar' is the presiding Deity of the temple. We do not know why the word Nayanar is used as a prefix as well as a suffix to Kapileswara-muḍaiyan. Nayanar is used as referring to Siva as well as a Saivite saint. Could we interpret the phrase to mean the Nayanar who was worshipped by Kapileswara mudaiya Nayanar but having no special name?

An Emperumāṇḍiyar Sevvu Sāni made an endowment of 200 panam. We are also informed that owing to (heavy) rains the compound wall and the kitchen of the temple collapsed and were repaired by Rāchchuvittu nayakkar, perhaps taking this 200 panam as a loan. The temple had its own Sthanattar and its own accountant according to this inscription. The endowment was for Sri Vighnesvara and not for Sri Kapileswaraswami.

We hear no more about this temple until we reach the period when the East India Company took over the administration of all the temples in Tirupati and Tirumala at the beginning of the 19th century A.D. There were, according to the Tasdik Book for the period from Fasli 1233 to Fasli 1242, (1824 to 1833 A.D.) under the company's management 19 major temples and 17 minor temples in Tirumala and Tirupati. The temple of Sri Kapileswara Swami was classed as a major temple and was in receipt of an annual contribution of Rs. 175—14—0 in cash from the circar. It had no income of any other kind. Its expenditure is also shown as Rs. 175—14—0. It was not dependant on the Tirumala Devasathanam for this contribution, but on the circar. After the temples in Tirumala and Tirupati were handed over to the Mahant as Vicharanakarta in 1843 A.D., the Mahants failed to darw the circar contribution, but paid the same amount of Rs. 175—14—0 from the Tirumala Devasthanam funds. In fact the Mahants

1. திருப்பதி நாயனார் கபிலேஸ்வர முடைய நாயனார் கோயில் ஒரேனத்தாரோம்''.

SHRINES ATTACHED TO SRI GOVINDARAJA'S TEMPLE

failed to draw the circar contribution in the case of all the temples handed over to them, including the temple of Sri Venkateswara in Tirumala.

The location of the Balipitam and Dhvajastambham of Sri Kapileswara's temple on the roof of the Sandhyavandana Mantapam of the tank indicates that they must have been raised after the building of the Sandhyavandana Mantapam around the Alvār Tirtham in 1531 A.D., by Achyutharaya Maharaya.

It is now one of the four component major temples of the Tirumala Tirupati Devasthanams and well serves the needs of the Saivite community in Tirupati.

CHAPTER XII.

TEMPLES AND THE AGAMAS.

SECTION I.

Classification of Temples according to their origin.

TEMPLES dedicated to Vishnu in any of His reputed forms or in any form which appealed best to the mind of the donor are consecrated in conformity with the procedure laid down in the Samhita which is proposed to be followed thereafter. The Samhitas are numerous; some expound the tenets of the Vaikhanasa Agama and some the tenets of the Pancharātra. In most cases the main as well as the subsidiary images (called the Dhruva Mūrti and the Parivāra devas) are made by silpis or sculptors who are well versed in the ancient rules for the manufacture of icons. Such images are consecrated in the newly built temple. There are also a large number of temples wherein are Mūrtis whose origin is not traceable. Some are called **Puranik** because the place is mentioned in one or other of the Sātvik puranas and the Mūrti or Bimbam said to have been set up and worshipped by one of the Puranic Heroes. The Main Image, at any rate is not presumed to have been made by any Silpi of this Kaliyuga. There are also temples where the Main Image is presumed to have been installed and worshipped by a **Siddha** or **Rishi** in one of the previous Yugas. In this case also the modern Silpi has had no hand in the carving of the Image. The fourth class comprises temples erected and images installed by the **Devas themselves**. The images therein were worshipped by the Devas. The fifth class of temples is known as **Svayam Vyaktam**. Sri Vishnu out of His Infinite love manifested Himself in a few places in the form of a Mūrti so that His **Bhaktas** may worship there daily and obtain Salvation (freedom from birth).

Limitations to Agama rules.

The rules laid down in the Agama Samhitās for the iconography of the different forms of Murtis and the precise form of daily worship apply in every detail to temples first mentioned above, namely, the Mānusham class wherein the Bimbam and the temple were made and consecrated by man. In the other cases the daily form of worship (the norm of worship) would as far as possible be in accordance with the procedure given in the Agama Samhitā which is adopted for that temple. If any difference is noticed in the features of the Image from what is given in the Silpa Sāstram, the presumption is that the Image was made according to Bhagavat Sāstram. Therefore no attempt should be made to effect any alterations. Also if there had been old usages and practices which were existing when the Vaikhanasa or Pancharatra form of worship was first introduced those usages and customs should under no circumstances be interfered with. The temple of Jagannāth is often cited as an instance and so also the Tirumala temple.

The spiritual aura or influence of a Svayam Vyaktā sthalam will be felt in all the worlds; that of a Daivika Sthalam will extend all round over one hundred Yojanas; that of an ārsha Sthalam over a five Yōjana radius, that of a Pauranikam over a three Yōjana radius and that of a mānusha Sthalam over a radius of one Yojana only. (Vide Marichi Samhitā 98th patalam pp. 522, 523 and Bhrigu Samhitā 34th Chapter pp. 390 to 392; both Telugu editions).

The Vaikhanasa and Pancharatra Agamas.

The Agamas are two in number, the Vaikhānasa and the Pancharātra. Each claims for itself greater antiquity, superiority and sanctity. The points of difference are immaterial so far as the average worshipper is concerned. The points of agreement on fundamentals are so many that our Acharyas have accorded equal recognition to both. The main differences will however be given consideration in this Chapter. It will also be shown how by the removal, or omission of the images of the Vyūha forms in the first āvaranam of the temple the differences carry no significance.

The Agama Samhitas deal with a variety of topics. Some devote more attention to the details of the architecture, including iconography. Some deal with the different types of temples and the images appropriate for each. Some devote more attention to installation ceremonies, nityārchana and festivals. Some about expiatory ceremonies for defilement, failure to perform pūjas in time or mutilation of images and damage to consecrated structures. A few give an account of the metaphysical and mythological conceptions on which are based the theories of the efficacy of temple worship as the safest and surest means to end mortality and to attain to immortality and eternal communion with the Para Brahman in Heaven. These conceptions are the postulates of Hindu theology. Temple worship has therefore its roots in them.

FUNDAMENTALS OF TEMPLE WORSHIP.

Postulates accepted in Temple Construction and Worship.

1. **The Nishkala Brahman:**—The Nishkala Brahman is formless and is indescribable by any attributes. But all attributes which are used to describe Him are in Him in a latent condition as ghee is in milk, as oil in sesamum, scent in flower, juice in fruit and fire in wood.

2. **Sakala Brahman:**—This is the next stage in which Brahman assumes of His own Sankalpam a form with all attributes. Just as fire comes out of wood when rubbed, so also by constant dhyānam or meditation of the Bhaktas and of His own Choice or Sankalpam He assumes forms. As many sparks of fire shoot out from burning wood, so also do Brahma, Isāna and the other Dēvatas arise.¹

1. *Kaṣṭhē agnir mathanadujjvalanniva nishkalatmakō Vishnur dhyana-mathanēna bhaktya Saukalpanat sakalō bhavati. Tasmadagner vishphulinga iva Brahmēsanadi Dēvata rūpair bhinnatvat . . .* " (Marichi. page 488 Telugu edition) This account of the origin of Brahma, Rudra and the other devatas is vague and does not contemplate to fit in with the Puranic account of Brahma emanating from the navel of Narayana. The Vaikhanasas however do subscribe to the Puranic Story.

3. The Saguna Brahman:—The next postulate is that the **Sakala Brahman** is **Saguna Brahman** as well. It has not only a body but also innumerable auspicious attributes (**Kalyāna gunas**) and no inauspicious ones. Matter in its most rarefied, imperceptible and impalpable state, known as **Mūla Prakriti** is His Body. This **Prakriti** is inseparable from Him and exists for Him only. It has no independent existence. He pervades it through and through. This **Mūla Prakriti** is said to be of two kinds a lower and a higher one. The lower one known as **Prakriti** goes through eight stages of transformation or transmutation, viz., **Manas, Buddhi, Ahankāram, Ākāśam, Vāyu, Tejas, water (fluid) and earth (Solid)** (An elucidation of these states is not given here, being not necessary for our purpose) By a multiplicity of combination of these and by their interaction with the higher **Prakriti** called **Jivatma** which somehow has got enmeshed therein **Mūla Prakriti** becomes this wonderful universe. On the body of the **Saguna Brahman** this **Mūla Prakriti** assumes the shape of mole marks. (called **Sree vatsam**). **Sri Devi** is seated on a lotus standing above the **Sreevatsam** and she is the **abhimāni dēvata** of **Mūla Prakriti**. The form of **Sri Devi** is also given in the **Samhita** and Her relationship to the **Saguna Brahman** described. She is called the **Vibhūti** or everything that constitutes prosperity, wealth, happiness, etc., of **Vishnu**. She is part and parcel of Him; she assumes forms, sizes, etc., to suit His will. She is the **Sakti** or **Power of Mūla Prakriti** and is **Pushti**.¹

4. Srishti Sthiti and Samharam:—Somehow and at some time in the unknown hoary past and aided by the interaction of the three **gunas (Satva, Rajas and Tamas)** which are also His creation, the **Jivatma** got enmeshed in the lower **Prakriti**. As a consequence the **Jivatma** has to enjoy the fruits of its actions in an endless cycle of birth and death with old age, sickness, pain

1. "Tad vishnōr vibhūtiḥ Srees sa cha Nitya. Ādyantarāhita, Avyaktarūpani, Trāmanapramānasadharanibhūta Vishnōḥsankalpananurūpa nityanandamayī, mūlaprakritirūpa saktiḥ " Tadabhinna prakritiyamsasambhūta Pushtiḥ Tadabhinnaḥ striyassarvah. Tadatmika maya prakritir, mayi Vishnuh. Prakriti purushavētavanadi; tabhyam lōkaḥravrittir vikara gunas sarvē prakritiyutpannah.

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

and pleasure. Looking at the Jivatma as only a higher form of Prakriti is the one given in the Gita. In this connection the Rigvedic conception of the relationship between Paramātma, Jivatma and Prakriti also deserves consideration, being older than that of the Gita. It is found in the verses of Sukta 164 and gives a higher status to Jiva.

• “Two birds of beautiful wings, comrades intimately related to each other, are perching on the same tree; one of the two tastes of the sweet fruit while the other simply looks on without eating anything.” (Verse 20)

“Where the fair-winged through powers of knowledge have ever and anon infused a spark of immortality, there in myself a simple creature, the most wise Lord that preserves all the world has taken his abode.” (Verse 21)

“The tree whereon the charming bird tasting of its own sweetness takes shelter and whereon all of them deposit their brood, the fruit on the top of that tree is said to be very delicious; none can enjoy it who do not know the Father.” (Verse 22)

By His Sankalpam and as a matter of sport to Him this cycle of births and deaths of all Jivas and Prakriti is punctuated by periods of partial dissolution and creation and also wholesale dissolution and creation, with an interlude when all matter and the jivas are reduced to the primary state of Mula prakriti. The jivas carry with them in this atomic condition the germs or seeds of the fruits of all their actions. This mass of prakriti and jivas lies preserved and protected in the womb or body of Brahman in His form as Narayana. There is really no change but an orderly preservation or Sthiti. They lie in this condition until at His will a next creation takes place. In this creation each jiva makes a fresh start from a place and under conditions which its accumulated past achievements entitle it to. Vishnu's function of giving protection to jivas is thus a continuous one and has no period of rest. Srishti, Sthiti and Samhāram (creation; protection and preservation; and dissolution) take place ever recurringly.

5. While Sthiti is the function which in His form as Vishnu, Sriman Narayana attends to, the work of creation is assigned to Brahma. From out of the navel of Narayana Brahma arises as the first created Jiva endowed with the Divine power to fulfil the task. Sankara or Rudra is created, according to the Vaishnavite or Sātvik puranas, by Brahma for accomplishing dissolution. Besides the wholesale dissolution of the universe, partial dissolution and recreation take place from time to time of the three lokas (Bhur, Bhuvar and Svarlokas). This is mythology which is unquestioningly believed in. There are also other devas, such as Indra and the other lokapalas, and the Navagrahas, who are Brahma's creation.

6. The ultimate goal of the Jiva is to free itself from association with Prakriti, thus end the cycle of births and deaths and attain to a state of eternal communion with the Paramātman.

7. There are four ways of reaching this goal, viz., Japam, Homam, Dhyanam and Archa.

(a) **Japam**:—Japam is the recital with a concentrated mind of certain words, phrases or sentences which are called mantras and which, if properly pronounced and be associated with ideas, confer on the aspirant great spiritual power and bring about realisation of the object in view. Ashtāksharam, Shaḍāksharam, Dvādasāksharam are the prominent ones. Initiation into the proper method of pronouncing them and choice of proper environments are said to be essential.

(b) **Homam**:—This is done by installing the five or the three agnis invoking the assistance of Agni deva. The homam is performed for the Deva whose help the aspirant seeks. This is a tedious process and like the japam demands great patience.

(c) **Dhyanam**:—This requires great concentration of mind on a particular object for a continuously long period. Hunger, thirst and fatigue have to be overcome. It is possible only for those who have attained great proficiency in Ashtānga Yogam. Yogis are said to visualise the Brahman which is in every man's heart.

There are, it is said, dangers attendant in every one of the above. Success depends on the effective control of the mind which has so many distractions. Even the devatas are said to be jealous of the man who reaches great heights in the attempts by the above methods. A false step might land the aspirant in mental disorders, etc. It is like travelling by air where not only the engine disorders but also the atmospheric disturbances result in a disastrous crash.

(d) **Archa**:—The Archa mār̥ga is the fourth path. It is said to be the safest and surest way to attain the goal. Faith in God is the essential requisite for taking to this path. In this method the aspirant gets made an image in as precious a metal as his finances will permit, in as lovely a form as his spiritual ideas and aesthetic taste dictate to be likely form of Saguna Brahman, sets it up to be his God and fully and firmly believes it to be God. He should offer pūja to that Image daily and regularly concentrating his mind on that Image only during worship and become unconscious of what takes place around him during that period. The material form before him helps to concentrate the mind and steadies his faith. Or the aspirant might regularly attend worship being carried on in a temple by a specially trained priest. The grander the manner in which the priest conducts the worship the greater would be the effect on the aspirant. This method has no pitfalls. Even if there should be any break, the aspirant begins again where he left off. In the Kali age which has placed before man so many handicaps and in the ever growing struggle for existence the Archa mār̥ga is considered the most suited for man to achieve salvation.

8. Vyūha Avatars and Vyūha Lokas:—The mythological conception of the region which the jiva has as its goal and the kind of communion with the Paramātma which it offers are also implicitly believed in. The theory is that Paramātma of His Sankalpam brought into existence a huge golden Egg which encloses within it innumerable aṇḍams or spheres of which the one in which we live is one. The uppermost aṇḍam is known as the Vaishṇavaṇḍam. It is to this aṇḍam that the liberated jivas, who are therefore called Muktas are conducted after they cast off this mortal frame. In that aṇḍam Paramātma abides along with certain eternal beings

known as Nityas, Siddhas and Muktas. This anḍam is called Vaishnavāṇḍam and is subdivided into four grades of anḍams, one being above the other in regular succession. They are called **Amoda, Pramoda, Sammoda and Vaikunta** lokas. Jivas enter first the lowest one of these, viz., Amoda loka and gradually rise to spiritual perfection. To the jiva Paramatma appears in each of these lokas in graded spiritual forms Vishnu, Mahā Vishnu, Sadā Vishnu, and Sarva Vyāpi Narāyana. The perceptible forms of these called amsas are Purusha, Satya, Achyuta and Aniruddha. They are also collectively called **Vyuha forms**, because they represent graded spiritual conceptions and powers of Paramatman which the jiva masters in four successive stages. Thus the Vyūha Mūrtis are four in number. Besides these four there are said to be as many as twenty four sub-vyuhās some of which have their place in temple worship.

9. Vibhava Avatars:—The next mythological belief is that the Paramatma manifested Himself in human and other forms to accomplish some specific task or other which was beyond the capacity of man to achieve. These are called Vibhava Avatars which as all know are ten in number. Images made according to the description of these given in the Puranas are worshipped in temples and in homes.

10. Antaryami:—The other belief is that in every human heart resides Paramatma because he is all pervasive. Yogis are able to visualise Him in their heart.

Thus Paramatma responds to the prayers of man and helps him in his attempts for salvation in one or the other of the Vyūha, Vibhava: Antaryāmi and archa mārgas.

Temple worship is based on these beliefs and temple structures are modelled on the story of Cosmogony as given in the Puranas. The Vyuha Murtis and Braham, Sankara, Indra and other devatas play a great part in the rituals of temple worship; and the architectural design of temples provides accommodation for them. The Vyuha theory will be dealt with first and then the cosmogony or story of creation. It will then be clear to the readers how the

obsolete and the extant forms of temples are both modelled on these ideas.

The Vyūha Theory according to the Vaikhanasas.

There is a contention raised by some Vaikhānasa pandits that the Vyūha theory has no place in their Agama. Bhrigu Samhita however makes it clear that such a contention is due to the misconception that the word Vyūha is not used in (the Telugu edition of) the Marichi Samhita while giving the division of Ādi-mūrti into four more forms. (Vide. Pages 386 and 387 of Bhrigu Samhita and 507,508 of Marichi Samhita).

“Panchadhā tu punar Vyūhah
prochyate Srutisammatah |
Dēvō Vishnvādibhēdēna
panchadhā vyavatishṭhate ||

The word Vyūha means division into a number of units. It might be asked why the Ādi-mūrti should divide himself into four more parts. The reason given is in the sruti “Tad Vishnōs sramāpanudāya chaturguna yeti.” To remove or obviate the difficulties which the bhāktas have to face in realising Brahmam in full and at one stroke. He divided Himself into four more parts so that the goal might be reached in four stages. The realisation of Brahmam in five stages was taught by Varuṇa to his son Bhrigu as told in the Taittiriya Upanishad—that He is Anna, Prāna, Manas, Vijñāna and Ananda. The Agama Samhitas likewise recommend five stages of realisation of Vishnu, Mahā Vishnu, Sadā Vishnu and Vyāpi Narayana whose amsas are Purusha, Satya, Achyuta and Aniruddha respectively and thereafter the Ādi Mūrti. Mastery of the gunas or virtues which characterise these Vyūha forms and which are known as Dharmam, Jñānam, Aisvaryam and Vairagyam brings about God realisation in four successive stages. The final stage is the realisation of Ādi Mūrti. The Vaikhānasa theory is that by a continued observance of worship in His Archa form the jiva’s attachment to samsāra is removed and the Jivātma sees Paramatma in the form of Narayana.

“*Tad ārāḍhanēna samsarārṇava nimagnō
Jivātmā Paramātmānam Nārāyaṇam pasyati.*”

Ultimately the Jivātmā reaches the Divya lokam. There it has the good fortune to serve the Paramatma in four successive ways, viz., Sālōkyam, Sāmīpyam, Sārūpyam and Sāyujyam. Sālōkyam is obtained while in Āmōḍa lokam. Sāmīpyam in Pramōḍa lokam; Sārūpyam in Sammōḍa lokam and Sāyujyam in Vaikuṇṭham. Āmōḍam, Pramōḍam, Sammōḍam and Vaikuṇṭham are the four lokas in the Vaishṇavāṇḍam, in successively higher stages (upary upari).¹

So Even after reaching the Vaishnavāṇḍam after divesting oneself of the material body the jivatma has to go through four stages of evolution before it has full realisation of the Paramātmān.

(a) Thus in the **amodalokam** the liberated jivatma gets into the Sālōkyā condition, serves the lowest manifestation of the Adi-mūrti in the form of Puruṣha which is the amsa of Vishnu. The Brahma guṇam or Virtues of Puruṣha is Dharmam which therefore becomes the Vishaya guṇa of the jivātmā.

(b) In the next higher lōka of the Vaishnavāṇḍam the **Pramoda loka** the jivātmā gets to a nearer approach called Sāmīpyam and serves the next higher form Satya which is the amā of Maha Vishnu, whose characteristic Brahma guṇa is Jñānam (knowledge of the Divine). This jñānam is therefore imbibed in full by the jivātmā, or is its Vishaya guṇa.

1. Nitya Mukta Sudṛḥa svaḥhava puruṣhair anubhūvemanam Vaishnavāṇḍam. Tatra Vishnu lōkas chatvarah—Āmōḍah, Pramōḍah, Sammōḍah, Vaikuṇṭhah ityēkaikasyōpari yāḥa krīmeṇi bhavanti”

Marichi. page 490

“*Tadapi samāḍhana viśēḥat chaturvidha pada avaptih salōkyam, samīpyam, sarupyam, sayujyam iti*

Āmōḍa praptih salōkyam pramoda praptih samīpyam: sammōḍa praptih sarupyam, Vaikuṇṭha praptih sayujyam iti.

Tad Vishnōh paramam padam sada pasyanti sūrayah.”

Marichi. page 506

(c) In the still higher loka—**Sammoda loka**—The jivatma is enabled to discern and serve the form of God in Sārūpya stage. This form is that of Sadā Vishnu whose amsa is Achyuta having the Brahma guna Aisvaryam. In this loka the jivātma acquires mastery over all things (Īsvaratvam). Aisvaryam is the Brahma guna of Achyuta and the jivātma shares that as its own Vishaya guna.

(d) In the **fourth loka—Vaikuntam**—the jivātma attains the Sāyujya state, or it becomes, absorbed into Sarva vyāpī Nārāyana. It then realises that He is in him and he is a part of Him. Aniruddha is the amsa of Vyāpī Nārāyana and His Brahma guna is Vairāgyam which therefore becomes the Vishaya guna of the jivātma. complete detachment from everything other than Narayana. **Thus Dharmam, Jnanam, Aisvaryam and Vairagyam are the four principal Brahma gunas of Paramatma and therefore also the Vishaya gunas of the jivatma.**¹

Dharmam, Jñanam Aisvaryam and Vairagyam represent one fourth, one half, three quarters and Brahmam in full respectively. These are the four legs of the platform or the four planks on which the Dhruva Murti stands or is seated in a temple. The Pancha murtis should be contemplated on after receiving initiation by a guru and by ashtanga yoga marga.

We pass on to the Pancharatra theory of the Vyuhas

1 "Tasmat Brahma Chatushpadityuchyatē vēdavēdībhih,
Padadardhat tripadaccha kēvalachchakt bhēdatah,
Kramēna Dharmajñana Aisvarya Vairagya khyair gunair yutah,
Bhavanī Murtayastasmat chatasrō vishayair nijah,
Vishnuschaiva Mahavishnus Sadavishnur iti kramat,
Vyapī Narayana iti tannamanī tatah kramat,
Vishnōramsastu Purusho Mahavishnostu Satyakah
Sadavishno r acnyutas syad vyapino 'mso' niruddhakah,
Dharmadibhir Brahma gunais chatuidha bhēda iritah "

(Bhṛigu Samhita p 387)

" Purush ih Purushatmakah Paramapurushō Dharmamaya iti Satyas
satyatmakō jñanas sarvatejōmaya iti Achyuto parimita aisvaryas Sripatir
iti Aniruddhō mahanvairagyas Samharika iti "

(Mañchi Samhita p 508)

The Pancharatra Theory of the Vyuhas.

While the Vaikhanasas lay stress on the four Brahma gunas discussed above, the Pancharatras derive the Vyuha forms from another set of six guṇas which are inherent in the Paramatma and in every image which represents Him. The two sets of gunas are accepted by the two Āgamas. The difference is in giving priority. The Pancharatras represent the four gunas as the four corner-posts of the platform for the Dhruva Murti. These posts are connected together by adharma, ajñāna, anaisvarya and avairagya which necessarily exist in this world. Preference is however given by them to the six gunas (**shad gunas**) viz., **Jnanam, Balam, Aisvaryam, Viryam, Sakti and Tejas**. These six gunas are inherent in Paravasudeva and Vyuha Vasudeva. The Vaikhanasas also accept these as inherent gunas of the Adi Mūrti.

“ *Nitya Muktaika sambavya-s
chaturbhujā dharo Hariḥ
Anyūnā natiriktai-s-svair
gunai shadbhir alankritah* ”

(Bhṛigu Samhita p. 387)

The Pancharatra theory starts with postulating that there is a **Sakala Nirguna Brahmam** who is called **Adi Vasudeva**. He has only two hands and one face and is *Suddha Sphatika* in colour. From Him arises a **second Vasudeva (Para Vasudeva)** whose **abode is in Vaikuntam**. He has four hands, one weilding **Chakram** for Sthiti (protection), one having **Padmam** for Srishti (creation); one having **Sankham** or **Pāncha-janyam** for Mukti (moksham); and one having **gada** for Samhāram (dissolution). **Srivatsam** and **Kaustubham** are His lānchanas (distinguishing marks). The former represents Prakriti and the latter is the abhimāni devata of the jīvātmas. He is seated on the Divine Serpent **Sesha** having a thousand hoods in a magnificent mantapam in Vaikuntam with **Sri Devi** on his right side and **Bhū Devi** on his left. His **ashta Saktis** (viz., **Kānti, Trupti, Sraddhā, Vidya, Jaya, Kshama, Sānti and Sakti**), keep guard at the eight cardinal points. **Garuda, Visvaksena, Nityas**, and the other **Pārishadās and Muktas**, surround

Him and enjoy the sight. The description of *Ṣaikuntam* and the scenery as given in the two *Agamas* is substantially identical. **The six divine gunas (Jnanam, Balam, Aisvryam, Viryam, Sakti and Tejas) radiate from Him.**

From **Para Vasudeva** two new **Murtis** arise—**Vyuha Vasudeva** and **Narayana**.

Vyūha Vāsudeva has inherent in him all the six gunas (jñanam, balm etc.) which characterise **Para Vāsudeva**. In the **Vyuha lōkas** He represents **Para Vāsudeva**, whereas **Nārāyana** (the other form emanating from **Para Vasudeva**) has full responsibility for the **Brahmāṇḍa Srishṭi**. The **Brahmāṇḍam** is mundane and the **Vyuha lōkas** are super mundane. **Vyūha Vasudeva** is of **Suddha Sphatika** (crystal) colour whereas **Nārāyana** is of **Neela megha** colour. Both have four hands, wielding **Sankham, Chakram Gada, etc.** From **Vyuha Vasudeva** emanates **Sankarshana**; from **Sankarshana** **Pradyumna**, from **Pradyumna** arises **Aniruddha**. These four (**Vyuha Vasudeva, Sankarshana, Pradyumna** and **Aniruddha**) **Murtis** arise in succession from **Para Vāsudeva** and are solely for the enjoyment and benefit of **jivatmas** who attain **moksham** and are on the march to **Vaikunṭam**. (There are other emanations called **Vyuhāntaras** or **Sub-Vyūhas** which we need not consider now). The **mukta** first comes under the influence of **Aniruddha**; then of **Pradyumna**, then of **Sankarshana** and then to **Vyūha Vāsudeva** acquiring in full at each stage the **Divine Guṇas** which characterise each of these **Murtis**.¹

There is some difference of opinion between **Padmasamhita** and the later **ācharyas** about the set of **guṇas** which characterise

1 **Padma Samhita** describe the **Vyuha lokas** and the **Vyuha** forms in the following words:-

“ **Mahatas tamaṣō bahye lōkas subahuyojanah**
Chatvarah kramasas santi chaturbhir samadhiṣṭhitah
Vyūhah kramēna vakshye tan aniruddhah parah smrtah
Pradyumnō, nantaram tēsham Sankarshana samahvayah
Vasudēvastatah paschad vyūhakyah kamalasana
Vibhavakhyō Vasudēvastadanantaram fritah
Anadir Vasudēvascha tayōr lōkavanukramat.

these Vyuhās. All are agreed that Vyūha Vasudeva possesses all the six guṇas in full measure, the same as Para Vāsudeva. Sankarshaṇa's outstanding guṇas are Jñānam and Balam according to the achāryas. The Samhita ascribes Jñānam only. Pradyumna is credited with Aisvāryam and Vīryam. The Samhita ascribes Balam. Aniruddha's guṇas are Sakti and Tejas. The Samhita allots to Aniruddha Aisvāryam. The Samhita allocates only three guṇas—Jñānam, Balam and Aisvāryam, leaving alone the other three. But the āchāryas distribute the six guṇas into three pairs as shown above. The achārya's views only are the accepted ones now.

*Shāḍgunyāt Vasudevah Para itī sa bhavān muktabhōgyō,
Balādhyāt*

*Jñānat Sankarshanastvam harasi vitanushē Sāstram Aisvārya—
—Vīryāt*

*Pradyumnas sargadhārmōnayasi cha bhagavan Sakti tējō
niruddhō*

*Bibhrānah pāsi tatvam gamayasi cha Tathā Vuhya
Rangādhirāja.*

(Sriranga Rājastavam 2-37.)

The Special guṇas of Aniruddha (*viz.*, Sakti and Tejas) help the spiritual aspirant in the lowest stage. Aniruddha is Rakshaka and He teaches the Tatvas or spiritual principles. Sakti is passive and Tejas is active. In a sense Aniruddha is equated with Ahan-karam, and His function is Sthiti. Pradyumna is the next higher Vyūha Murti. His guṇas are Aisvāryam and Vīryam (one passive and the other active form). He bestows on the aspirant the powers of control over all creative forces and their application. He represents Manas (mind) and does Srisṭi (creation). Sankarshan has the guṇas Jñānam and Balam which are essential for dispelling ignorance and giving mental and moral strength. He represents Samhāram, and the jiva. Jñānam is a passive element and Balam is its active form. These Vyūha forms and what they connote form part of speculative metaphysics. These Vyūha rūpas are

meant only for the Upāsaka to meditate upon for acquiring the guṇas or qualities attributed to the forms. They mean no more.¹

(Sri Vedanta Desika's Rahasyatraya Saram p. 248. Sri Chetlur Narasimhachari's edition).

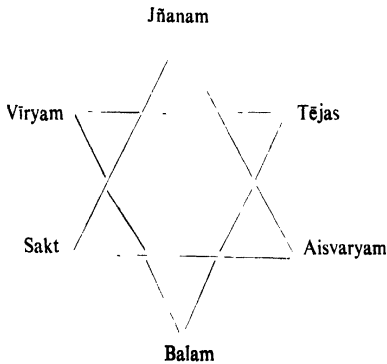
The injunction given is that for archa purposes **these six guṇas are always present not only in mantrams but in bimbams** (or images) also and that it should be so considered in fact and not as fiction. Those who do Sandhya and Japa know that as a necessary preliminary to the mental recitation of the mantra *anganyāsam* is done by associating syllables of the mantram with these six guṇas and by locating them in certain parts of the body.

“ *Sarvātisāyi Shadgunyam*
Samsthitam mantrabimbayōh
Tēnārchyō Bhagavān Sākshāt
nōpachāradhiyā kvachit.”

As a matter of fact these guṇas should invariably be represented on every murti representing the Vyūha Vasudeva or Para Vasudeva form. It is so in Tirumala where the Kautuka Murti (Bhoga Srinivasa) has under His feet and on the pīṭam a yantram. This yantram takes the form of two interlaced equal equilateral triangles one being the invert of the other. The angular points may be taken to represent a guṇa and the pair of opposite ones representing the dynamic and the kinetic guṇas.

1. “ இக்குணங்களில் ஜோடிகளாக வடிவெழுத்து வியப்புவிடாதே ஜோடிகளென்றது குணங்கள் வரத்வோபயுத்தங்களாயிருக்கும். இக்குணங்களெல்லாம் ஸ்வரூபாயிர்தங்களாயிருக்கும். பரவ்யூஹாநிவிபாகங்களில் குணநியமம் சொல்லுகிற தெல்லாம் அவ்வோரூபங்களை அநுஸந்திப்பார்க்கு ஸர்வேச்வரன் ஆவிஷ்கரிக்கும் குண விசேஷங்கள் சொல்லுகைக்காக.”

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Jñanam, Aisvaryam, and Sakti are in one triangle. Balam, Vīryam and Tējas in the invert.

These pairs might be construed to function in the same manner as protons and electrons. Similar yantras have been adopted by the Greeks and other nations and by free Masons also.

Just as the Vaikhanasa theory postulates the existence of four Vyuha lokas in the Vaishnavaṇḍa presided over by Purusha, Satya, Achyuta and Aniruddha; the Pancharatra theory has set up four Vyuha lokas presided over by Aniruddha, Pradyumna, Sankarshana and Vyuha Vāsudeva. Both speculate on what awaits the aspirant for moksham after death. Neither is connected with this material universe or Brahmaṇḍam.

Even as part of speculative philosophy or metaphysics the ideas are given a concrete shape in temples and the mental conception has been represented as Murtis therein. Such temples will be described at some length presently.

In the method of representation the rationale of the two agamas seem to differ. The Vaikhānasas place Purusha (the lowest of the Vyuhās) in the first enclosure surrounding the Mula Murti, on the south side of the east face facing the east. The next higher

form Satya will be abutting the south wall of the Garbha griham facing south; Achyuta on the west facing west and Aniruddha on the north facing north. Aniruddha is the highest form (in the Vaikhanasa System) and is the amsa of Vyāpi Nārāyana. The Pancharatras place Vyūha Vāsudeva, (the highest of the Vyuha forms) in the east just where the Vaikhanasas place Purusha the lowest form. On the south will be Sankarshana (next lower than Vyuha Vasudeva) in the place where Satya (the second from the lowest) is placed by the Vaikhanasa. Thus the reverse order is observed by the Pancharatras. Commencing from the east the Vaikhanasas place the Vyuhas in ascending order and clockwise. The Pancharatras place their Vyuhas in descending order. Worshipers going to the temple would first make a pradakshinam or perambulation of the āvaranam clockwise. They would worship the Vyuhas in the ascending order if the images are of the Vaikhanasa theory. If of the Pancharatra theory they will go to the lowest murti just before going into the Sanctum Sanctorum to worship the Mula Bṛam. While making archana and food offering the archaka will have to go the other way. These incongruities lead to the suspicion that in practice these difficulties would have been felt. The representation of the Vyuhas as images does not appear to have been in practice during the days of the Āḷvārs. No Āḷvār refers to them in his songs. There seems to exist no temple in Southern India where the Vyuha images are exhibited in the first āvaranam. Their names alone are recited in the course of the rituals. Therefore so far as the lay worshipper is concerned there is no difference between the two Agamas.

There were however temples of different types dedicated to the Vyuha Murtis more or less exclusively. They were designed to present to our view what awaits us when we cross this ocean of Samsāram and reach the Transcendental Sphere called Vaishnavandam.

Cosmogony according to Vishnu Puranam.

We now pass on to the story of creation of our universe bristling with life in its numerous forms. We find ourselves floundering

and swirling in the ocean of Samsāram. The Puranas and the Agamas tell us why we happen to be here and what we should do to cross this ocean. The Puranas tell us that we are not alone in this ocean. There are countless jivatmas in various stages of spiritual development endowed with different types of bodies suited to their advancement and in the lōkas which they inhabit. The original cause of our being mixed up in this conglomerate is not any original sin, since the jiva in its pristine condition and when reaching its goal is sinless. It is however the Divine will or Sankalpam that we should play our part in creation and find the way out also. Why there should be a creation and a dissolution of the universe it is not for us to divine. The story as is told in our Puranas we fully believe in. The Agamas tell us that by the worship of God with sincere Bhakti and by securing the help and co-operation of all other forms of life in this universe,—the co-operation of the spiritually more advanced beings and the non-interference of the spiritually less advanced so that no obstacles are placed in our path—we could cross this ocean and enjoy the bliss in Heaven as all muktas do. This is why the Puranic story of creation and dissolution has been embodied in our temple structures and several images installed therein. The Agamas tell us how Baddhas could raise themselves to the stature of Muktas.

The theory is that after the last complete dissolution called Pānchabhautika Pralayam all the Jivatmas and Prakriti lay preserved and protected by Sriman Narayana in and as part of His own Body as He lay on His serpent bed (Sesha).¹

The four-faced Brahma endowed with the amsa (or powers) of Narayana came out of the Nabhipadmam of Bhagavan for the purpose of creating all this universe (jagat sarvam srijattti.). This universe is therefore called Brahmandam or Brahma Srishti.

1. "Ekadē pralayakālē Bhujanḡa pati bhōḡa paryanka sayitasya Nāra-
yanasya nēohikamalē Brahmōdbhavah. Bhāḡavadam sa-s-chaturmukhō jagat
sarvam srija titi viḡasyatē".

Brahma Srishti.

Although during the Pānchabhautika Pralayam, Prakriti and all Jivas got reduced to an impalpable and indistinguishable state, each jiva carried with it the seeds of its past karma (actions). It was in this condition that the jivas lay in the womb or body of Narayana duly protected. When He willed to recreate the universe, Mula Prakriti or Primeval Matter appeared transformed as Mahat. The next evolutes in succession are Buddhi, Ahankāram, the Indriyas, the Tanmātras and the Pancha Bhūtas (Ākāśa, Vāyu, Tējas, Ap and Prithivi). These terms are so well known that no explanation is necessary. Ahankāram takes three forms owing to the interaction of the three gunas Satva, Rajas and Tamas. The Indriyas are said to arise from Sātvik Ahankaram. All the evolutes combine and intermingle in myriads of ways, which is called Panchī karanam. The jīvātma is enmeshed therein as the consequence of its past Karma. It is this heterogeneous mass or conglomerate that comes out of the navel of Narayana at the time of every creation as a huge golden egg having seven sheaths inside which the fourfaced Brahma is seated on the Padmam flower. Brahma is the foremost (spiritually the most advanced) of all jivas and therefore is their representative (jivasamaṣṭi). Since every jiva has to its credit the result of all previous karma, its place in the new creation is predetermined and Brahma only calls the jiva to its appointed place. Thus Rudra, Indra, Varuna etc., Sanaka Sanatkumara and all the others practically jump each into his place. By devolution of powers from Narayana Brahma is Divine. So also are Rudra, Indra and the other Dēvas. But technically all of them have been created by Brahma.

The order of Brahma Srishti.

Brahma first created plant life (or Sthavara Srishti) whose predominant characteristic is Tamōgunam. The next higher form of life which was created is animal life (Tiryak Srishti) which is also of Tamōgunam. As he cogitated on creating a better type of life there came out of the upper portion of his body beings endowed with Satva guna and therefore full of ātma jñānam.

They lived in the air and did not like this earth. Although **Brahma** was quite pleased with this creation (called **ūrdhva surōtas** or **Devas**) it did not serve the purpose of peopling this world. Therefore from out of the mid portion of his body he created men who preferred to be in this world. This creation was subject to the influence of **Satva**, **Rajas** and **Tamō** gunas and therefore some times feeling happy and some times feeling unhappy. This creation is known as **Arvāksurōtas**. All the above said beings possess the qualities or gunas known as **Avidya**, **Asakti**, **Santushti** and **Siddhi** and therefore are known collectively as **Anugraha srishti**.

Then he created **Sanaka**, **Sanandana**, **Sanatkumara** and the **Rudras**. They were of superior type and did not serve the purpose of propogating this world. This **Srishti** is called **Kaumara Srishti**.

The superior type of life is divided into four classes: **Dēva**, **Asura**, **Pitri** and **Manushya**. **Jivas** were created in one of these classes as befitting their past **Karma**. **Asuras** predominated by **Tamōguna** were born from below the waist of **Brahma**; **Devas** predominated by **Satva** guna were born from his mukham or forehead. The **Pitri devatas** who are also characterised by **Satva** guna were born from his sides. The **asuras** were born by night, the **Devas** by day and the **Pitris** in evening twilight. Men endowed with **Rajoguna** came out of the body of **Brahma** in morning twilight (dawn). **Brahma** assumed different bodies for the creation of each of these forms of life. From another body of his and when he was in an angry and hungry mood were born by night beings having ugly and hideous forms. Those who cried for food or **Jaksha** were called **Yakshas** and those who cried for protection (**Raksha**) were called **Rakshasas**. Then from his tuft which fell down came **serpents (Ahis)** of lowly origin. As he was in bad temper at that time, there came into existence numerous **Bhutas** of dark colour subsisting on flesh and blood.

When he regained his temper he created the **Gandharvas** who sang gaily. Then were created several kinds of birds and beasts and useful drugs. **Brahma** also brought into existence from his east face the **Gāyatri Chandas**, **Rigvōda**, **Trivrit Stōma**, **Rathantara Sāman** and **Agnistōma**; from His South face came

Trishtup Chandas, Yajur Vēda, Panchadasastōma, Brihat Sāman and Ukthyam of yagnās. From His west forehead came Jagati Chandas, Sama Vēda, Saptadasa Stoma and Vairūpam of Sāmans. From his north face came Anushtup Chandas, Atharva Vēda, Ekavimsa Stōma, Vairājam of Sāmans and the yāgnām known as Aptōryāmam.

Brahma Srishti has to be related here in great detail because the story has been reproduced in the various prākārams and in the garbhagriham of our temples.

Creation of Rudras.

All the attempts which Brahma made so far did not satisfy his expectations to multiply life fast enough in this world. So he went again into the creative mood and from his mind brought forth nine sons each one of whom excelled Brahma in intelligence, character and ability. They are collectively known as Nava Brahmas; and their names are Bhrigu, Pulastya, Kratu, Angiras, Marichi, Atri, Daksha, Vasishṭa and Nārada. They were full of vairāgyam and took to *mōksha mārgam*. They had no inclination to multiply human life. Brahma felt chagrined at his failure, and knit his eye-brows in great anger. From his irate fore-head and at noon sprang forth an irate Rudra with the brilliance of a thousand suns. His form was however half male and half female (Ardha-nārisvara). Brahma felt unhappy about this hermaphrodite Mūrṭi and ordered that he should at once separate the male from the female form. In doing so the male form divided itself into eleven Rudras and the female form assumed numerous shapes some being saumya, some hideous, some sāntasvarupam, some ugly, some of black and some of fair complexion.

For the protection and governance of this world he converted himself into a king by name Svayambu Manu who married Satarupa which form Brahma's wife took. The above is a short account of what is given in the Vishnu Puranam. In short Brahma created Indra and all the other Devas and devatas, the Asuras, Pitris, Rishis, Marushyas, Kinnaras, Gandharvas, Apsaras, Rakshasas,

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Yakshas, Bhūtas, Pisāchas, Beasts and Birds, Serpents and all the Sthavara and Jangama life. He created also Sanaka, Sanandana, Sanat kumara the Nava Brahmas; Rudra in his eleven forms, and Svayambhu Manu.

The life time of Indra and the Devas, Saptarishis, Vasu Rudra Adityas and the Manus is called a **Manvantaram**. In *mānusha* years it is equivalent to thirty crores sixty seven lakhs and twenty thousand years. Fourteen such manvantarams make one day time (half a day) of Brahma. At the commencement of each manvantaram Indra and the other Devatas are created simultaneously and their life also ends simultaneously at the end of the manvantaram. At the close of each day of Brahma an interim dissolution or Naimittika pralayam of the three worlds, Bhur, Bhavar and Suvar, takes place by fire. Unable to bear the heat the inhabitants of Mahar Loka take refuge in the next higher lōkam called Janōlakam where reside all great Yogis. A fresh Srishti of these three lokas is done by Brahma. All this is one day's work for Brahma. Counted by this unit Brahma's life period is one hundred years at the end of which the Mahāpralayam (Pāncha bhautika pralayam) takes place. This difference between the Devatas, Brahma, Rudra and the munis accounts for the different āvaranams in which their images are placed in temples. This will be explained in due course. An inspection of the two charts showing the āvaranams and the devatas therein will also satisfy the curiosity of the reader.

CHAPTER XII.

TEMPLES AND THE AGAMAS.

SECTION II.

Different Types of Agama Temples.

IN the design of temples, in the arrangement of the images therein and in the orderly manner of the daily puja and the annual festival, the Āgamas follow closely the description given in the Puranas of the mythology and metaphysics of cosmogony. The aim of the Āgamas is to indicate clearly the way to attain moksham, or emancipation of the Jivatma from this world. The normal course involves a long journey through the seven lokas in a series of births. In this course by successive stages it could rise from being a man to becoming an Indra or even Brahma. Thereafter the liberated Jivatma enters the Vaishnavāṇḍam in its lowest plane and rises by four stages to that level where it becomes identified with the Adi Murti. The temple structures, particularly the āvaranams of the temples, we now see, represent these stages of this world and of the Vaishnavandam. There were however temples of different types of construction, each type being best suited for a particular form of worship. Excepting the type which is current now the others are obsolete forms. They will all be briefly described as they serve to indicate the lines of development of our spiritual conceptions.

Classification of the types of temples.

(a) **The Vertical type.** One type which probably was the earliest depicted the Vaishnavāṇḍam wherein the liberated souls going through their spiritual development in that aṇḍam worship the Adi murti in his Vyuha forms. All the temples of this conception represent the Murtis in shrines which rise one above the other

vertically. The ideal temple of this type will consist of twelve tiers. The idea of having twelve tiers might have been taken from the tradition that the golden Vimānam in Vaikunṭam consists of twelve tiers. A temple of this type would have risen to a height of about one hundred and twenty feet and was called a dvādasa tala ālayam. The more common ones consisted of two or three tiers. The Āgama also contemplates a single floor temple of this type in which nine murtis would be arranged clock-wise. The Murtis for worship will be the Vyūha forms and some of the outstanding Vibhava forms. Brahma and Siva do not appear to have claimed a prominent place in these ālayams, although they received (according to the current form of temple worship) their nyasa flowers in the worship of every one of the nine murtis.

There is not even a relic of this type in South India. Perhaps some were built in North India or in the Himalayan regions where our Aryan ancestors first lived and where the Rig Veda had its birth. The subsoil for the foundations of the temples should have been hard rock.

Horizontal Types (b and c).

(b) The Trimurti and Dvimurti Temples. One floor type.

On the same floor-level temples were constructed to instal and worship separately Vishnu, Brahma and Rudra; or Vishnu and Rudra only. There are a few such temples in South India.

(c) The Ekamurti temple having one to seven avaranams or enclosures.

This type is the commonest one now and has survived the test of time. In this type the representation of the Vyūha murtis and some of the Vibhava forms was in vogue. Brahma, Rudra, Markaṇḍeya and Bhrigu were installed in the garbha griham as parivāra devatas, although they are only spiritually advanced Jivātmās. This type and the single floor Nava murti ālayam already mentioned under the vertical type are substantially the same. In course of time (probably due to altered metaphysical

and philosophic conceptions) the representation of Brahma and Rudra as images was given up, although in the rituals they are mentally served as before.

The description given in the Marichi Samhita of these types will be briefly summed up.

Nava-Shat-Pancha murti alayam.

Temples of this type are recommended for places where more than one thousand learned brahmins live. They may be built in three tiers or two tiers or on the ground floor alone. The overall dimensions of the building would range from nine hastams square to sixty one hastams square in arithmetical progression of two hastams to each side. Thus each side of the square would be 9, 11, 13, 15 to 61 hastams. There could therefore be twenty seven sizes of temples. Temples of a size less than 9 hastams side are also permitted. But they would be so small that kautuka berams for all the nine, six or even five murtis could not conveniently be given accommodation. So they will have to be placed in alcoves in the garbhagriham (abhyantaram) walls.

The lay-out of the temple would be as follows. Divide each side into nine equal parts and stretch lines across in both directions. This will give 81 equal small squares. The nine squares in the centre would be reserved for the garbhagriham. Sixteen small squares surrounding the former symmetrically will be for the construction of the garbhagriham walls. Twenty four squares surrounding the above would be left free. Thirty two squares surrounding this space will be for building the outer walls all round. The walls of the garbhagriham are called abhyantara bhitti and the outer walls are called 'Bāhya bhitti,' both being Sanskrit words for the inner and outer walls. There will be a doorway left in the middle of the east inner wall and four doorways in the middle of each of the four outer walls. All this round about description boils down to stating that each side of the garbhagriham will be three hastams; wall thickness one hastam and the width of the corridor round it one hastam. This allocation holds good whether

TEMPLES AND THE AGAMAS

the temple has three or two tiers or is only a ground floor structure. The sketch attached hereto will make the description clear. In the sketch there is a compound wall also shown surrounding the temple and mukhamandapam. The compound wall is called Bāhya kuḍyam (again a Sanskrit word). The corridor space left between the abhyantaram and the Bāhya bhitti walls is called 'Alindram.'

If the temple is built in three tiers it is called a Tritala ālayam; if in two tiers, dvtalam and if only on the ground floor it is called Ēka-talam.

Tritala Nava murti alayam.

In this type the centrally situated twenty five squares, (which is the same thing as saying the space allotted for the garbhagriham and the abhyantaram walls) will be left vacant without any mūrti being placed therein. On the other hand the ground floor would be built substantially so as to act as a sound foundation and base-ment for the second and the third tiers. On all the four sides of the Alindram (or corridor) the Vyūha murtis will be installed—Purusha in the east wing, Satya in the south wing, Achyuta in the west wing and Aniruddha in the north wing. There will be a flight of steps leading to the second tier. The Bāhya Bhitti walls will have large openings in each wing and be provided with jālakam (or trellis pattern bay window) so that the murtis installed in the Alindram could be seen from the mukha mantapam in front of each. (The Sketch will be easier to understand than wordy descriptions.) In the second tier would be installed the Dhruva Murti (Adi Murti) in the central garbhagriham space facing the east. In the corridor space surrounding this (called Alindram) would be installed, practically resting against the wall, the images of Naranarayana on the south wing; Nṛsimha on the west and Varāha on the north. There will be parapet walls, mantapam and a flight of steps (Sōpānam) to the third tier. In the central portion of the third tier (which would be of the same dimensions as in the second tier) will be installed the Sayana murti in Bhōga Sayanam on Sesha. All the Murtis will be Bahirmukham or facing outwards.

If the Tritala alayam is meant to instal only six murtis, then the installation of Nara Narayana, Nṛisimha and Varāha would be omitted. There will be no other change.

Dvitala alayam.

In this type the Adi murti Vishnu would be installed in the ground floor (Atha-s-talam) in the middle space (nine small squares) in Bhoga āsan posture. In the Alindram surrounding the garbha griham the Vyūha murtis would be installed as described already with this difference that Purusha Murti would be to the south of the east door way of the garbha griham abutting the Abhyantaram wall. All will face outwards. In the second tier, in the central space will be installed the yoga sayana murti.

Pancha Murti alayam—dvitalam.

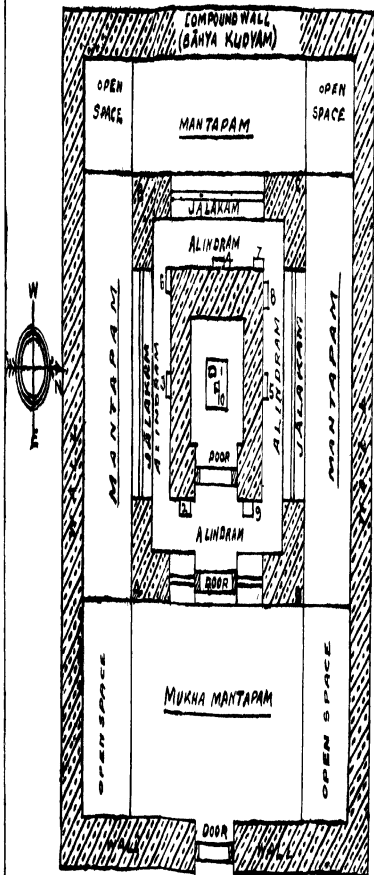
Adi murti Vishnu would be installed in the second tier. On the ground floor Purusha, Satya, Achyuta and Aniruddha as before on the four sides obtained either by blocking up the central nine squares alone or the central twenty five squares. All the murtis would face outwards.

If it is found difficult to have separate Vimanams over each of the Dhruva Murtis, the Eka tala temple might be provided with a single Vimanam so as to cover the entire space occupied by all the Murtis.

Eka tala Eka Vimana Nava-Shat Pancha Murti alayam.

The type is a cheap alternative and could be constructed so as to be less than 9 hastams square, if so desired. The sides would be divided into nine equal parts each way so as to give 81 equal small squares. Or each side might be divided into 11 equal parts, resulting in the formation of 121 equal small squares. In either case the central 25 squares will be allotted for the garbhagriham and the abhyantaram walls. According to the second

**ĒKĀTALA ĒKĀVIMĀNA NAVĀ-
ŚHĀT-PANĀMŪRTI ĀLAYAM**



REFERENCE:-

PLACES OF MURTHIS, POSITIONS.

- | | |
|---------------------|-------------------|
| 1. DRAVUMURTI | CENTRE |
| 2. PURUSHA -"- | SOUTH OF ENTRANCE |
| 3. SATYA -"- | SOUTH SETRE |
| 4. ACHYUTA -"- | WEST -"- |
| 5. ANIRUDHA -"- | NORTH -"- |
| 6. NARANARAYANA -"- | S.W. CORNER |
| 7. NARASIMHA -"- | N. END OF W. WALL |
| 8. VARAHAN -"- | W. END ON N. -"- |
| 9. SAYANA -"- | NORTH OF ENTRANCE |
| 10. KAUTUKA BERAM. | IN FRONT OF NO. 1 |

NOTE:-ALL MURTHIS FACE OUT WARDS

1. ĒKĀVIMĀNAM IS OVER BĀHIR BHITTI WALL MARKED A-B.C.D.
2. IN BĀHYA KUDYAM WALLS THERE MIGHT BE ENTRANCES ON ALL THE 4 SIDES WITH GOPURAMS THE SKETCH SHOWS ONLY ONE ENTRANCE ON THE EAST SIDE
3. THE SKETCH SHOWS ONE OF THE OBSOLETE TYPE OF TEMPLES, & THE PROGENITOR IN THE CURRENT TYPE.

TO FACE PAGES 1, CHAP. XII

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T.K.79 *Manjharachan*

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method the Alindram would get 56 squares and Bahir bhithi 40 squares. In other words the garbha griham will be three units square, the abhyantaram wall and the Bahir bhithi one unit thick and the alindram would get a little more space. The Adi murti and the Vyuha murtis would be installed as before. Nara Narayana, would be near the south west end of the south face of the alindram; Nrisimha near the North West end of the west face and Varāha near the North West end of the north face. The Sayana murti would be placed against the east wall of the alindram to the north of the main doorway. We have seen that Purusha would be to the south of the same doorway on the east face. This arrangement will make up the Eka tala Eka Vimana Nava murti ālayam. If Nara Narayana, Nrisimha and Vāraha are omitted it becomes the same type Shaṅ murti ālayam. If Sayana murti also is dispensed with it becomes a Pancha murti alayam. These arrangements are shown in the attached sketch (already referred to). There would be a main mukha mantapam on the east side as shown; there might also be smaller ones on the other three sides. There might be four gopurams (one on each side) in the middle of the compound walls, or only one on the east side.

These types are all out of date. There seems to be only one in Uttara Merūr in the Chingleput District which was probably the work of the Pallava King Mahendra Varman also known as Vichitra Chittan, which appellation well describes all his strange ideas. The space available in the Ēka tala Ēka Vimāna Nava Shat Pancha murti alayam is so limited that it was felt difficult to instal all the Dhruva Murtis and their respective Kautuka berams. The Āgama therefore permits the placing of the Kautuka berams in alcoves (or recesses) in the abhyantara walls near each Vyuha Murti, or even to omit the Kautuka berams altogether. The installation of the images of Brahma, Rudra and the others would therefore have been out of the question.

All the above types are intended to present to us the conditions subsisting in the Vaishnavāṇḍam only.

**The Dvadasa Tala alayam (Twelve tiers
Vertical type.)**

This is the most ambitious variety of the vertical type. A comparison of the description of this variety with the seven prākāram temple of the horizontal type which the chart enclosed to this chapter shows will give the impression that the two are not very different from each other. The horizontal type is only a projection of the vertical type on a horizontal plane.

The ground floor of this variety of temple will be massive in construction so that it could carry all the load transmitted by the eleven floors above it. It will have halls (Kūṭams) and verandahs for sheltering worshippers, for storing materials etc. But no Murti will be installed on this floor. The other floors will have in addition to the garbhagriham for the murti, alindrums, antarālam, mukhamantapams, parapet walls, sōpanams, kūṭams and sālās. The location of the garbha grihams is compared to the holes in a flute (Vēnu rāndhravat garbhōpari garbha griham).

In the **second tier** will be installed the image of **Sarva vyapi Narayana** in the **Sayana posture**.

In the **third tier** will be installed **Sada Vishnu** in the **asina posture**; in the **fourth tier** **Maha Vishnu** in the **Sthānaka** (standing) posture.¹ In the **fifth tier** the following devatas will be installed in clockwise order commencing from the east, **Dik-palas, Adityas, Vasus, Rudras, Maruts, Asvins, Sapta rishis, Sapta rohins, Matru ganas** and all **Devas**. In the **sixth tier** on the east side facing the east will be **Sanakam, Subhadram, Mitram, Sanatanam** arranged from south to north; on the south side facing the south will be **Sukhavaham Hayatmakam, Atri, and Sarvam** arranged from west to east; on the west side facing the west will be **Sanandanam, Rāma dēvam, Sivam** and **Sanat kumāram** arranged from south to north; On

1. In the Kamakshiammen temple in Kanchipuram there is a variant of this type. The ground floor is of massive construction. In the first, second and third floor are the Sthānaka, Asina and Sayana Murtis. They are now being treated as three separate temples in counting the 18 Sthālam in Kanchipuram.

the north side facing north will be **Samvaham, Punyam, Visvam** and **Suvaham** arranged from west to east.

In the seventh tier the Deva will be represented in the **Vijaya krida rupam** in all the eight directions and in the garbha griham.

In the eighth tier the arrangement is as follows—on the east side **Pancha Viran** in the middle with **Raghavam** to his right and **Krishnan** to his left; on the south side **Nṛisimham** in the middle with **Vāmanam** to the east and **Trivikramam** to the west; on the west side **Vārahām** in the middle with **Parasuraman** to the south and **Balabhadran** to the north; on the north side **Kalki** in the middle with **Kūrma rupam** to the west and **Matsyatmakam** to the east.

In the ninth tier within the eight sided garbhagriham will be installed in order commencing from the east (and going clockwise) eight of the **Vibhava avatars**, viz., **Nṛisimham, Vamanam, Trivikramam, Parasuraman, Sri Rama, Bala Rama, Krishna** and **Kalki**.

In the tenth tier, there will be, commencing from the east, **Purusha, Kapila, Satya, Yagna, Achyuta, Narayana, Aniruddha** and **Punya** at the eight corners.

In the eleventh tier **Adi murti Vishnu** will be in garbha griham; while in the alindram will be **Nara Narayana** on the south face, **Narasimham** on the west face and **Varāham** on the north face

In the twelfth tier there will be the **Sayana Murti** in **Bhujanga Sayanam**.

It will be seen from the above description that the **Tritala nava murti alayam** gets gradually higher and higher up as an additional tala is added at the lower end. To decrease the tala by one, the deletion should be at the ground floor end, leaving the ground floor construction undisturbed. This type is only of academic interest to us.

There is yet another variety of temple in which the murtis arranged vertically. The **Sayanamurti** occupies the lower tier,

the āsina or sitting murti the mid floor and the Sthanaka or standing murti the top tier; or vise versa. (Perhaps the Undavalli cave temple on the banks of the Krishna near Vijayawada is of this type). This is also an obsolete type.

The Dvi and Trimurti Alayams on ground floor.

In the Dvi murti alayam Vishnu and Sankara are installed in separate shrines, each shrine having its own pradakshinam (or antarmandalam).

The two murtis would be to the right or left of each other, both facing the east. Or Vishnu alayam might be to the west of that of Sankara. Then Vishnu would face east and Sankara west. They will have a common temple with common prakaram. The temples in Upper Ahobilam, Srimushnam and Chidambaram might be considered as examples of this type. Such temples are however uncommon. The temple in Sri Nammalvar's birth place, Tirukkurukur, (Alvar Tirunagari), is one such.

There are a number of temples sung by the ālvārs where Sankara is stationed in the garbha griham of Vishnu. Although the Sthalapuranas now say that in answer to the prayer of Sankara, Vishnu appeared there, the fact might be that these are Dvimurti alayams.

The Tri Murti Alayam.

The shrines of Vishnu, Sankara and Brahma will be separate, each having its own antarmandalam; but all of them will be in one compound having common set of compound walls. The arrangement of the Murtis is entirely a matter of discretion. Any one might be in the middle and the other two on either side in any order. This kind of temple is of rare occurrence. Sri Nammalvar's description of the temple in Tiruchchengunrūr *chitrātrānkarai* (திருச்செங்குன்றூர் சித்ராத்தந்தகரை) in Malai nādu bordering on Tiruvankur shows that temple as belonging to this type. His songs testify to his high appreciation of the amity that

TEMPLES AND THE AGAMAS

prevailed among the three thousand highly learned brahmins in worshipping daily all the three murtis on equal basis. It appears that the temple in Suchindram (Tamil Nadu) is also of this type. The archaeological remains of the cave temple in Mandagappattu point to that having been a Trimurti temple constructed by Mahendra Varman (Vichitra Chitta) about 650 A.D.

Temples and temple worship have not been a tame and dreary affair. There has been life in it.

CHAPTER XII—(Contd.)

TEMPLES AND THE AGAMAS.

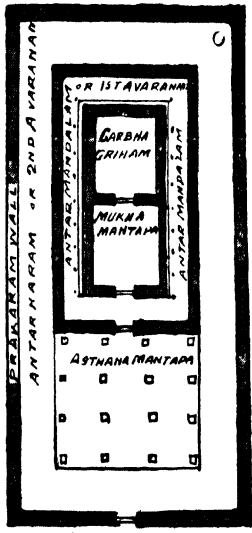
SECTION III.

The Ekatala Ekamurti ālayam.

HAVING described all the obsolete types of Āgama temples, the one type which we are and which our ancestors in South India have been accustomed to from at least the Seventh Century A.D., when cut-stone temple structures may be said to have commenced will now be described. It is the view of some Āgama pandits that all the types including ours were in use at all times in the past and that the survival of what is current is a matter of accident. If however we carefully analyse and compare the present design of a temple with the design of an Eka tala Eka vimāna Nava Shat Pancha mūrti ālayam, we have every reason to conclude that the present type is the natural evolution of the Nava Shat Pancha murti ālayam. We shall first describe the design of the current type.

The Eka tala Eka mūrti ālayam is not only confined to a single floor but is also dedicated to the worship of a single Dhruva Murti and its Kautuka Beram. Its Vimanam covers only the garbha griham. A simple design of a skeleton temple (Ekatala Eka Murti) of the current type is shown in the annexed sketch. The garbha griham and the mukha mantapam, which is its ante-chamber, form an integral structure up to the roof. The Vimanam would cover only the garbha griham, its walls and the terrace. Mukha mantapam will have only the terraced roof. The width of the mukha mantapam would be about the same as that of the garbha griham; but its length would be such that the area of its floor space equals the area of the Vimanam at its base. When the mūrti to be installed is in the standing or sitting posture the

EKATALAE KAMURTHI ALAYAM, CURRENT TYPE



MUKHA DWARAM
GO PURAM.

TO
TO FACE PAGE 320

7. K.7. Unnagharathi

320 Drawing 321

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garbha griham would be square in shape. The floor space (and therefore one side of this square space) is usually calculated after deciding on the area of the base of the vimanam (which determines the height of the vimanam also). The rule of thumb practice is to make the area of the garbha griham $1/3$, $2/4$, $3/5$, $4/7$, $5/9$ or $6/11$ th part of the base area of the Vimanam. In the design of the Nava Shat Pancha murti alayam (Eka tala Eka Vimanam) the rule was much cruder still. For a nine hastam square ālayam the floor space of the garbha griham would be $1/9$ th part of the area of the ālayam itself, or, $9/25$ th part of the base area of the vimanam. There will be an open space left at the terrace level on all the sides of these two structures (excepting on the front side) which space is called **Antaralam**. This open space separates the two structures from the corridor which surrounds them on all sides. This corridor is called the '**Antarmandalam**.' The antarmandalam corresponds to the alīndram of the Nava Shat Pancha murti ālayam. The roof of the antarmandalam is carried on walls on the outer side and on a row of stone pillars on the inner side on the three sides excepting the front. The slope of the terrace would be outwards. On the front side the antarmandalam widens into an Ardha mantapam or Snapanam mantapam and is also called Vesaram. Right below the antarālam opening and at the ground level there will be a fairly wide cutstone drain running round the three sides. The drainage water from the garbha griham will find its ways into this drain by an outlet in the north wall of the garbha griham having a carved face, like the face and mouth of a cow and therefore called **Gomukham**. The rain water flowing down the Vimanam will also fall into this drain. All the drainage water will be led into the **Pushkarini** or the holy tank which is usually situated on the north side of the temple and near the outer-most Prakaram or compound wall. No part of the roof of the corridor (Antarmandalam) will rest on or have contact with the garbha griham walls. On the front side the corridor roof would rest on the east wall of the mukha mantapam.

It will be seen that the garbha griham, the mukha mantapam and the antarmandalam have doorways placed centrally on the east side only. Attached to the east face of the antarmandalam will be an āsthana mantapam used for festival purposes. This

mantapam would be an open cutstone structure carried on 16, 32, or 64 pillars.

It is usual to have the shrine of Garuda (the Divine Eagle) in the middle of the eastern fringe of the above mantapam. The Dhvajastambham and Balipiṭham would be to the east of this Shrine. There are however alternative sites assigned for these which will be explained later.

The walls of the antarmandalam are also known as the first āvaranam or prākaram walls. There will be a fairly wide quadrangular open space running round these walls and the āsthānam mantapam. This space is enclosed by another set of quadrangular walls (massive and high) known as the second prākaram or āvaranam walls. There will be one wide and high opening on the east wall, corresponding to the doorways in the garbha griham, mukha mantapam and the first avaranam but very much higher and wider giving an imposing appearance. The roof will be surmounted by a gōpuram. The opening is usually called a mukhadvaram. Very many temples are content with having this second āvaranam, its mukhadvaram and gōpuram. A few have another set of quadrangular walls, mukhadvaram and gopuram with the open space between the second wall and this one made much wider than the second āvaranam space.

These three avaranams play an important part in the daily rituals of worship. Important Devas and Devatas are presumed to occupy their allotted places therein. Although at one time they were represented by images it is not the practice now. A chart showing these three avaranams and the Devatas at their appropriate places is appended to this chapter.

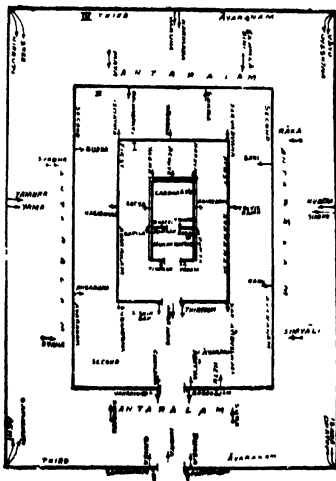
The quadrangular open space between the āvaranam walls is not left entirely open to the sky. There are a number of built structures required for the daily routine of the temple. The space actually left open to the sky is called **Antaralam**.

Points of difference between the Eka tala Eka murti alayam (current type) and the Eka tala Eka Vimana Nava shat pancha Alayammurti (the obsolete) type.

TEMPLES AND THE AGAMAS

CHAPTER XII SECTION 5.

CHART SHOWING THE FIRST THREE AVARANAS (PRĀKĀRAMS) SURROUNDING THE
SARANA ORNAM OF THE DEVAS AND DHARA PALAS LOCATED THERE IN
ARROW MARKS SHOW THE DIRECTION THEY FACE.



FACE PAGE

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EACH AVARANAM IS DIVIDED INTO
AN INNER & OUTER PORTION
THE INNER IS THE ANTARALAM.

K. V. Vinayachandran
17.9.1952

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(a) In the current type the antarmanḍalam surrounding the garbhagriham is very much wider than the alindram of the obsolete type. The alindram formed an integral part of the ālayam along with the garbhagriham, the terrace being continuous without openings. But the present antarmanḍalam is a separate structure detached from the garbhagriham by an open space (antarālam) at the roof level. The Vimanam of the obsolete type covered the alindram space also. In the current type the Vimanam covers the garbhagriham only.

(b) The mukha mantapam in the obsolete type stood outside the alindram of the ālayam. But in the current type the mukha mantapam is next to the garbha griham and the antarmanḍalam encloses the mukha mantapam also.

(c) In the obsolete temple there were the Vyūha images of Purusha, Satya, Achyuta, Aniruddha; the Vibhava images of Nara Narayana, Nṛisimha and Varāha and the Bhujanga Sayana murti, all arranged along the four sides of the alindram. In the current type the antarmanḍalam is left empty or unoccupied by any of these images; but Vishvaksena is assigned a place in the north wing of the antarmanḍalam near to the foot of the Vimanam corner. In the nava-shat-pancha murti ālayam Vishvaksena was not given a place in the alindram. The Vaikhanasa Āgama recommends painted representation. (Prāsādabhimukham chitra chitrārtham ābhasam) of the ten avatars of Vishnu on the walls of the antarmanḍalam and for purposes of archa, kanuka images also in front of each. This recommendation however did not gain currency (vide 21st patalam, Marichi Samhita; Telugu edition).

(d) The Vyūha murtis were worshipped daily as images in the alindram. In the current temple the worship of these has reduced itself to the offering of a nyāsa flower during Nityarchana of the Dhruva Murti, while mentioning the name of each Vyūha mūrti and depositing the same between the feet of the Dhruva Murti.

(e) In the current type Brahma and Siva were at one time (although not now) represented by separate images in the

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

garbha griham one on either side of the Dhruva Murti; and Garuda and Visvaksena in other parts of the ālayam proper. In the obsolete type there was really no room for these, even if we wish to assume that they were represented. The seven āvaranams of a temple are not mentioned in connection with the obsolete type. It is only in the dvadasa tala ālayam of the vertical type some of the parivāra devatas are represented as occupying separate tiers.

In spite of all these differences there is a strong resemblance between the obsolete and the current type. In the obsolete type the worshippers were obliged to stand in the mukha mantapam which was outside the alindram and therefore far away to have a clear view of the Dhruva Murti. But once the alindram was cleared of the Vyūha murtis it was found feasible to shift the mukha mantapam to be very near the Dhruva Murti. The desire would have been felt natural. The present type appears therefore to be the successor to the obsolete type.

SKETCH 'A' TO FACE PAGE.

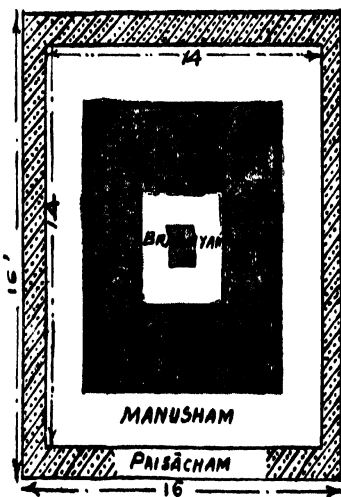
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GARBHA GARA, PADA VINYASAM.

or The Division of Garbha-
griham floor space into
4 Zones, as given in
Agumid

REFERENCE

KAUTUKA BERAM IN
THE MIDDLE OF
BRAHMASTANAM,
DHURVA MURTI IN
DAIVIKAM & PART
OF MANUSHAM AS
DISCUSSED IN THE
TEXT. THE PLACE
DEPENDS ON
WHETHER THE
MURTI IS STANDING
SITTING OR REPOSE
POSTURE



7.2.7. Unaregkavachin
12.9.1952

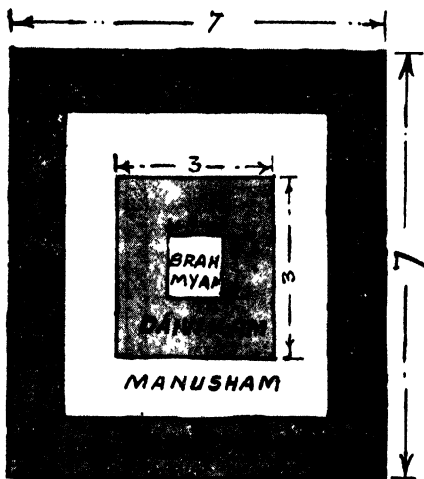
324 Drawing 325

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TO FACE PAGE 4Z (SKETCH')
GARBHA GARA PADA VINYASAM

OR THE DIVISION OF GARBAAGRINAM FLOOR SPACE
 INTO 4 ZONES AS GIVEN IN AGAMA

NOTE: - THIS DIVISION IS APPLICABLE
 WHEN NO KAUTUKA BERAM IS
 INSTALLED & DHRUVA MURTHI ALONG
 RECEIVES ARCHA.



DHRUVA MURTI IN
 BRAMMYAM
 DAIVIKAM
 MANUSHAM & DAIVIKAM }
 PARTLY

VIMANAM
 SĀNTIKAM.
 PAUSHTIKAM
 JAYADAM

7K7. Unaragharan
 12.9.1952

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CHAPTER XII—(Contd.)

SECTION IV.

GARBHAGRIHAM, VIMANAM AND PARIVARA DEVATAS.

Garbhagara Pada Vinyasam.

THE division of the floor space of the 'garbha griham into four zones, each outer zone surrounding the next inner one is called in the language of the Āgamas, Garbhāgāra Pada Vinyāsam. This division is made so that the images in the garbha griham may be arranged in the order which the Āgamas prescribe. If the temple is consecrated for installing a Dhruva Murti and a Kautuka Bēram the division will be in one way; if there is no Kautuka Bēram and a Dhruva Murti alone is installed and worshipped the division is effected in a different manner. The four zones are named thus. The central zone is called Brāhmyam; the one which surrounds it is called Daivikam; the third zone which surrounds the Daivikam is called Mānusham; the outermost one is called Paisācham. The import of these terms is so patent that no lengthy explanation is necessary. If the temple has in the garbha griham a Dhruva Murti and its Kautuka Beram, the Kautukam should be installed in the central zone called Brāhmyam. Most part of the daily archana will be to the Kautuka Beram and through it to the Dhruva Murti. If the temple was consecrated without the Kautukam, then the Dhruva Murti would occupy the Brāhmyam space. All archana would be done to the Dhruva Murti directly. Two sketches are drawn marked (a) and (b). Sketch (a) shows the arrangement when there is a kautukam and Sketch (b) shows the arrangement when there is no kautukam.

Sketch (a) Dhruva Murti and Kautukam installed—Each side of the square floor is divided into 16 equal parts and lines

drawn across to mark the divisions. There will thus be seen on the floor 256 small squares (16×16). Sixteen small squares which are right in the centre form the **Brahma Sthanam** or **Brahmyam** where the Kautukam will be placed. The next eighty four small squares surrounding the **Brāhmyam** will form the zone called **Daivikam**, so called because the Dēva (or Dhruva Murti) would be placed within that zone. This zone will be sub-divided into three sub-zones by drawing lines across at equal intervals. The Dhruva Murti if in the standing posture would occupy the rear third part of this zone. If in the sitting posture He would occupy in addition to the above rear third part a portion of the next zone which is called **Mānusham**. If He is in the Sayana posture much more of the **Mānusham** would be occupied as well.

Ninety six small squares surrounding the Daivikam will form the **Manusham** zone. The outer most zone is called **Paisacham** and is formed by the remaining 60 small squares.

*Sketch (b) no Kautukam installed:—*In this case the Dhruva Murti will be in the **Brahma Sthānam**.¹ The floor space is divided into 49 equal small squares by dividing each side into 7 equal parts and drawing lines across on the floor. It will be seen that of the 49 small squares there is one small square centrally placed. This is the **Brahmyam** where the Dhruva Murti will be installed and worshipped directly. Eight small squares surrounding the **Brahma Sthanam** will form the **Daivikam** zone ($3 \times 3 - 1 = 8$). Sixteen small squares surrounding the **Daivikam** will make up the **Mānusham** zone ($5 \times 5 - 3 \times 3 = 16$). The remaining twenty four squares will form the **Paisācha** zone. If the Dhruva Murti is in the sitting posture a portion of the **Daivikam** will also be appropriated. Similarly a portion of the **Mānusham** if in Sayana posture.

In addition to the Dhruva and the Kautuka Murtis there will be other images to be accommodated. **Brahma** will be to

1. "Dhruvaarchaa chēt garbhaagaaram saptasapta vibhaagam kritva. Tan madhyē chaikam padam Braahmam.Brahma Sthaane Sthaapayēt Saantikam, Daivikē paushukam, Dēva-manushayōr-madhyē Jayadam, Ēvam Dhruvarchaam samsthaapayēt".

Marichi Samhita 15th patalam p. 61, Telugu script edition.

the right side of the Dhruvam and Rudra on the left side. The former would occupy the Manusham zone and the latter partly Manusham and partly Paisacham zone. The allocation of the zone for the Dhruva Murti (according to Sketch b) is also dependant on the type of Vimanam over the garbha griham. If of the Paushtika type (ಪೌಷ್ಠಿಕ) the Murti will be placed in the Daivikam zone; if of the Sāntika type He will be in the Brahma Sthanam; and if of the Jayada type partly on the Daivikam and partly on the Mānusham zone. It will be noted that in the arrangement when the Vimanam is Paushtika or Jayada the Brahma Sthanam would be left vacant. There will be no place for a Kautukam in this class of temple. **One important inference we draw is that the installation of a Kautuka Beram is not an essential part of temple worship.** The Dhruva Murti could be worshipped directly.¹ The use of the terms Brāhmyam, Daivikam, Mānusham and Paisācham needs some explanation. According to mythology, in the Adi Murti or Brahmam the three guṇas Satvam, Rajas and Tamas are equally balanced and the one does not act on the other. When Brahma first commenced his creative activity he produced from the upper portion of his body the Devas who were all of pure Sātvic nature. The Daivika zone denotes this. Next from out of the mid portion of his body he produced human beings whose predominant guṇa is Rajas. So the next zone in the garbha griham is called Mānusham where images of human beings who rose to the rank of immortals would be placed. Brahma the foremost of the jivātmas occupies the same. Then Brahma from the lower portion of his body created Rākshasas, Pisāchas, etc., whose predominant guṇa is Tamas. Rudra whose predominant guṇa is Tamas is therefore placed in the Paisācha zone, while Brahma whose main guṇa is Rajas and who is the foremost of the jivatmas occupies the Mānusha zone. Bhrigu, Mārkaṇḍeya, Sanaka, Sanandana, Sanatkumāra and the Nava Brahmas crossed the ocean of birth by their bhakti and penance and are placed

1. The terms Saantikam, Paushtikam and Jayadam are used to denote Vimanams whose height in proportion to the base increases gradually:—
Vimana viculasya saptadasōtsēdham Santikam. arḍhaadhikōtsēdham Paushtikam, paadō.nadviguṇam Jayadam.

(Marichi p. 23-7th patalam)

in the Daivika zone very near to the Dhruva Murti. (The Kautuka, Snapana, Utsava and the Bali berams which are to be seen in the garbha griham will be considered separately).

The Dhruva Murti.

Except that the Dhruva Murti should have the distinctive features of Vishnu there is no restriction placed on the form which the Bimbam should assume, nor the name by which the Murti would be known. In very many of the old temples in the Tamil country which have been sung by the Ālvārs the Dhruva Murti is not a representation of any of the well known avatārs of Vishnu. Their names have been associated with or borrowed from the name of the village. But they bear those marks which unmistakably show that the Murti is Vishnu. The injunction given in the Āgama (Marichi Samhita:20th patalam ;page 88) is that for archana purposes the Murti should be distinctly described as having the characteristic features. The colour should be Sveta for a murti of the Krita yuga; Rukma (gold colour) for Trētāyuga; for Dvapara yuga, Rakta colour; for Kali yuga Syāma colour. In practice Syāma is considered to be the ruling colour for Murtis of all Yugas. Besides the colour the other characteristic features to be mentioned are Vāhana, Kētu (dhvaja); Nāma nakshatra, Patni, Bijākshara, Ravāh (Sabdām or dhvani). These have to be assigned to every deva. Vishnu is therefore described as being of Syāma varṇa, Pitāambaradhara (Yellow clothes), Kirīṭa, Kēyūra, Hāra, Pralamba Yagnopavīta, and as 'Srivatsānka, Chaturbhajah, Sankha chakra-dharh, Abhaya Katyavalambita hastah; Garudadhvajavāhanah, 'A' (ॐ) kāra Bīja, Pancha Sabda Ravō, Dakshina vāmayōh Sṛī Bhūmi Sahito 'Vishnuh.' The other divine weapons and divine ornaments are not mentioned here because they are optional. In some postures and mental conditions even Sankham and Chakram are omitted. The Pralamba Yagnopavītam (the sacred thread), Srivatsam and Katisūtram (waist thread) should invariably be seen. Even Sri Devi might be absent.

The Murti should be located on the pīṭham which as has already been mentioned consists of four planks (Dharmam,

Jñānam, Aiswaryam and Vairāgyam) bound together by three glittering bands called **Trimekhala** running round the four sides and spaced at equal intervals. On the pīṭham and under the mūrti is the eight or sixteen petal Padmam.

The Āgamas have designed different postures and different conditions in which the Murti could appear. The attendant dēvas for each such state are mentioned in the Āgamas. The postures as already mentioned are standing, sitting, reposing or lying in bed and moving or walking. The mental states in which He might appear in each of the above postures are Yōga, Bhōga, Vīra, and Ābhichārika. The type of Murti selected for installation would largely depend on the requirements of the locality and the bent of mind of the people. If spiritual culture is the pressing need a Yoga mūrti would be installed. The superstitious belief is that a Yōga murti in the heart of a town would bring about the extinction of its material prosperity. Therefore the site for such a temple should be on the outskirts of the town. If the desire of the people is to have greater material prosperity in the place and the promotion of fine arts and literature, a Bhōga murti would be installed in the heart of the town. If the promotion of war mentality and military science are the aims, a Vira Murti would be installed in a secluded place just outside the town. But for the effective defence of the country and the safety of the people, dependence is always on Vishnu. Therefore an Ābhicharika murti would be installed in forests and on hills along the boundary line between kingdoms; and overlooking the enemy country to keep off enemies.¹

1. "Yōgaadin yōga maargam; Bhōgaadin Bhōgam; Vīryaadin Vīra maargam; Satrujayaadin aabhicharikam kaarayēt. Graamaat bahyē, viviktē dēsē, nadī tīrē, tatsangamē, paarvatē, vanē parsvē vaa Yōga Sthaanakam. Graamaantarē Bhōga sthaanakam; Tasmīn-tadbaahyē vaa Vīra sthaanakam; Vana giri jala durgē raastantē Satrudin(k)mukhē cha Ābhicharikam bhavati".

**Distinguishing features of the Yoga, Bhoga, Vira
and Abhicharika forms.**

(Uttama, Madhyama & Adhama).

(1) **Colour of the Murti:**—(a) **Syama** in Yōga sthānakam, Bhōga sthānaka Bhoga āsanam and Bhoga sayanam; Vira sthānakam, Vira sayanam. (b) **Pīta** Syama (darkish yellow) in Yoga sayanam. (c) **Sveta** (white) in Yoga āsanam. (d) **Pravāla** (coral) in Vira āsanam. (e) **Dhūma** (Smoke) in abhichārika sthānakam, and (f) **Neela** (blue) in Abhicharika āsanam and sayanam.

(2) **Number of Hands:**—(a) **Four hands** in Yōga sthānakam, Yoga āsanam, Bhōga sthānakam, Bhōga āsanam and Bhōga sayanam Vira sthānakam and Vira sayana, Abhichārika sthānakam. (b) **Two hands** in Yōga sayanam, Abhichārika āsanam and sayanam.

(3) **Sri Devi and Bhu Devi:**—(a) **Without**, in Yōga sthānakam Yoga āsanam, Yoga sayanam, Vira sthānakam and in the three states of Ābhichārikam. (b) **Within** Bhōga sthānakam, āsanam and sayanam in Vira āsanam and sayanam.

(4) **Posture of lower hands:**—(a) In **Yoga sthanakam** lower right hand in **Abhaya** and the lower left hand in **Katyavalambita** (b) in **Bhoga sthanaka** lower right hand in **abhaya** or **varada** posture and the lower left in **Katyavalambita Simhakarna** posture (c) in **Vira asanam** lower right hand in **abhaya** and the left in **Simha Karna** posture (d) in **Bhoga asanam** lower right hand in **Varada Abhaya** posture and the lower left in juxtaposition with the thigh and waist in the **Ankakaṭhika Vinyasta Simha Karna** posture. (e) In **Yoga asana** lower right hand resting on the seat and the left hand on the thigh. (f) In **Yoga sayanam** one hand below the head and the other extended to the thigh. So also in the **Bhōga sayana** and **Vira sayana**. **Nothing stated about the posture of the hands in the case of Vira sthanakam and all Abhicharikam states.**

(5) **Sankha and Chakra** in hand:—(a) **With** in Yōga sthanakam, Bhōga sthanakam, Bhoga asanam, Vira sthanakam, Vira āsanam

and Vira Sayanam. (b) Included among the Panchayudhas in Yoga āsana and Bhōga sayana. (c) Without in Yōga sayana, and in all the Abhicharika states.

(6) **Abharanam**:—The divine ornaments are mentioned only in Yōga āsana and Yōga sayana states.

(7) **Ananta or Sesha**:—Without in all the sthanaka and asana postures. Mentioned only in sayana States. In the Yōga, Bhōga and Vira sayana, Ananta will have five, seven or nine hoods. In the uttama Abhicharika sayana two hoods, in the madhyama one hood. In the Adhama abhicharika there will be no anata and the Murti will be flat on the bare level floor.

(8) **Garuda and Vishvaksena and Sapta rishis**:—Represented in the Yōga sayanam. Garuda and Sapta rishes only in the Bhoga and Vira sayana. None of these will be seen in the sthanaka and āsana states of Yōga, Bhōga and Vira and in all three states of Ābhichārika.

(9) **Madhu Kaitabha and Brahma on the navel lotus**:—Represented only in the sayana condition of Yōga, Bhōga and Vira, but not in the Ābhichārika.

(10) **Brahma and Sankara**:—Will be present in all cases, except in the Yōga sthanaka-Madhyama and Adhama conditions.

(11) **Bhrigu and Markandeya**:—Omitted in the following cases; Yōga sthanaka adhama state; in the adhama state of Bhōga āsana, in the adhama state of all sayana forms and in none of the forms and states of the Ābhicharika.

(12) **Surya, Chandra**:—Present in the uttama states of Yōga asana, Yōga sayana, Bhōga sthānaka, āsana and sayana; Vira sthānaka, āsana and sayana. In the madhyama state of Bhōga sthānaka Vira sthanakam, Bhoga āsanam, Vira āsanam. In all the three states Bhoga and Vira sayanam. In other Cases not present.

Bhoga Sthanaka—Special assemblage.

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

Sanaka, Sanatkumara, Tumburu, Nārada, Māya Samhlāhini, Vyājini, Kinnara mithunas, Yaksha Vidyādharas form the special assemblage along with Sūrya and Chandra in the Uttama state. Tumburu, Nārada, Yaksha Vidyādharas are omitted in the madhyama and in the adhama state would also be omitted Sanaka, Sanat kumara, Surya Chandra and Bhṛigu Markendeya.

Vira Sthanakam:-Kishkindha, Sundara, Vyājini, Sanaka, Sanat-kumara, Surya and Chandra form the special assembly. Omission of Kishkindha, Sundara, Sanaka and Sanat Kumara makes it madhyama. For the Adhama State Surya and Chandra are also omitted.

Yoga asana:-Special assemblage is made by Sanaka, Sanat Kumara, Surya and Chandra (Uttamam). Their omission makes it madhyamam. Omission of Bhṛigu and Markandeya makes it adhama.

Bhoga asanam Special assemblage:—

Māya, Yaksha, Vidyadharas, Sanaka, Sanat Kumara, Surya, Chandra, Tumburu, Narada, Kinnara mithunas. Omission of Kinnara mithunas, Tumburu, Narada, Yaksha Vidhyadharas makes it madhyamam. Omission of also Sanaka, Sanat Kumara, Surya, Chandra and Bhṛigu and Markandeya makes it adhama.

Virasanam Special assemblage:-Sanaka, Sanat Kumara, Tumburu Narada, Vyajini. If the above omitted, madhyama. If Brahma, Sankara. Surya Chandra etc., omitted, adhama.

Bhoga Sayanam Special assemblage formed by:—

Vakratuṅḍa and Vindhyaśasini, Madhu Kaitabha, Garuḍa, Apsaras, Surya Chandra, Tumburu Narada, Asvinis, Aṣṭa lokapalas (Indra, etc.). If Tumburu Narada, the eight lokapalas and Asvinis are omitted it becomes madhyamam. If Bhṛigu, Markandeya and apsaras also omitted, the rest is adhama.

Vira Sayanam Special assemblage:—

Kinnara mithunams, Surya Chandra, Sapta Rishis, Dvādasa adityas, Ekadasa rudras, Jayādisā Apsaras, Tumburu Narada,

Sanaka Sanat Kumara make it **Uttama**. Omission of the **Rudras, Adityas, Apsaras** makes it **madhyama**. If **Kinnara mithunas, Sanaka Sanat Kumara** and **Bhrigu Markandeya** are omitted it will be **adhama**.

Abhicharika State:—In the **ābhicharika** condition (standing, sitting and sayana) excepting **Sesha** in the **Uttama** and **Madhyama** States (and not even he in the **Adhama** State) there will be no **deva** attendants. The temple will be without a **Vimanam** and the **mūrti** installed on an inauspicious day and hour. The **mūrti** will have lean and lanky limbs, the countenance, and particularly the eyes will be weird looking. The only marks to characterise the **murti** as **Vishnu** will be the **Yagnōpavitam**, the **Kaṭi sutram** and the **Srivatsam**. In the **sayana** posture of the **Uttama** state the **Murti** will be on the **Sesha** having two hoods; but one hood only in the **madhyama** State. The **murti's** look will be that of one who is pronouncing incantations against the enemy.

The **Dhruva Murti** might therefore assume any physical or mental state. It was also stated that He might occupy the **Brahma Sthanam** and have no **Kautuka Beram** with him. But it is not usual to instal a **Dhruva Murti** of this kind. We are used to seeing in almost all temples a number of portable images which are intended to represent the **Dhruva Murti** during the daily **puja** and on special occasions. We have in fact four such portable images called the **Kautuka**, the **Utsava**, the **Snapana** and the **Bali Berams**. All the four are considered by us to be essential for temple worship. But at one time it was not so considered. In the **Shanmurti** and the **Nava murti** alayams the **Kautuka Beram** only figured along with the **Dhruva Murti** and the four **Vyuha murtis**, or in addition to the above **Nara Narayana**, **Nrisimham** and **Vārahām**. There was obviously no provision for a **Utsava**, **Snapana** and **Bali Berams**, We are told that the **Vyuha murtis** had each its own Shrine and a seperate **Kautukam**. In this connection it is worth stating what the **Bhrigu Samhita** says in connection with the installation of **Murtis** in a new temple (Chapter 12, **Bhagavat Pratishtā Vidhih**, page 77 and 78). The maximum number of images which could be installed to represent the group—**Dhruva Murti** and associated **Berams**—is nine. They are the **Dhruva Murti Vishnu**, including

Sri Devi and Bhu Devi, Purusha, Satya, Achyuta and Aniruddha. All these are presumably stationary images. In addition to these five, are the four portable Idols of Kautuka, Utsava, Snapana and Bali Berams. (The Utsava Beram will have Sri Devi and Bhu Devi images in company). Thus nine images could be installed. But it is not mandatory. The Āgama says that it is left to the donor to choose those images only whose daily worship could unfailingly be provided for by him.¹

The karta could, if he is unable to provide for the narvedyam of all the bērams, instal only those for whom he could provide unfailingly. Thus he might instal the four Vyuha murtis and the Kautukam alone. Or he might dispense with the Vyuha murtis and instal the Dhruva Murti and the four bērams, viz., Kautukam, Utsavam, Snapanam and Bali, or any one or more of these. That such partial installations were not uncommon could be gathered from what is stated in the Samhitas² about finding a portable bēram for the annual festival celebrations. It says that if an Utsava bēram with the two Devis is not available, the Snapana beram could be used. If even that is not available the Bali bēram could be used. In the worst case the Kautuka bēram could be used even if it has no Dēvis by the side. Thus a temple having a Dhruva Murti and a Kautuka Bēram could well celebrate the Brahmotsavam making use of the Kautukam itself. A reading

1. Āyaatu Bhagavaan uktvaa Dhruva Bērasya mūrdhani
Vishnum cha Purusham Satyam Achyutam chaaniruddhakam

“Achalē Dēva dēvēsō vyaapya tishthatiti Srutih
'Sriyē jatēti' mantrēṇa Sriyam aavaahayēt budhah
'Mēdiniti' cha mantrēṇa Hariṇīm samyagaahvayēt
Kautukē chautsavē chaiva Snaapanē Bali bērakē
Prapīdhi muddhritya tatkaala dīpaat dipamiva kramaat
Dhruva bēraat samaavaahya Kūrcheṇaavaahayēt kramaat
Navadhā maargamalōkya Yadiṣṭam karturichchayaa
Avichchinnaarchanam nityam vidhinaiva prakalpayēt
Asaktaschēt tatha kartum pratishṭhaam naiva kaarayēt”

2. Vide page 326 Marichi “*శ్రీ దేవాలయం ప్రవేశ్య దేవం ప్రణమోక్తువ-
చింతం దేవ్యం తదలాభే స్నాపనం తదలాభే కౌతకం వాలహ్యక్యం*” and page 229
Bṛhigu Samhita: Telugu script edition stanzas 99 and 100.

of the T.T.D. inscriptions I. 8 para 5 and I. 9 para 2. shows that the Kautuka Beram, Bhoga Srinivasa (Maṇavāpperumāl) was actually used for the annual festival and was taken out in street processions also on all the nine days morning and night. In those days there was neither a Utsava Bēram nor a Snapana nor Bali bēram in Tirumala.

The above account shows the status and relative importance of the Kautuka, the Utsava, the Snapana and the Bali bērams. But the current practice is to instal all these four idols to serve as proxies of the Dhruva Murti. The Snapana bēram is used for all Snapana Tirumanjanams (ritualistic abhishekams). The Utsava bēram serves for all and the Bali bēram should be used for celebrating the nityōtsavam when Bali is distributed to all the parivāra devatas in the temple. The Kautukam alone should be the true and exact copy of the Dhruva Murti. He receives the abhishekam and the various acts of the daily archana. The Kautukam alone occupies the Brahmasthanam. The Utsava Bēram would be placed to the left of the Dhruva Murti; the Snapana and the Bali bēram would be on the right side.¹

But if there be insufficient space in the garbhagriham the Utsava, Snapana and Balibēram could be accommodated in the mukhamantapam or the antarālam as well.²

There is also one other feature in connection with the daily pūja which raises the suspicion that even the Kautuka bēram had some times been occupying a separate shrine within the limits

1. "Dēvasya varṁabhāgētu sthaapayet bimba maṁtsavam
Snaapanam Balibēram cha dakshinē sthaapayēt budhah. "
Bhṛigu Samhita (Chapter 11 p. 77)

2. " Atha vakshyē visēsēṇa pūjanam chau-ṛṣvaadishu
Brahmasthanam Kautukasya pūrvamēva samīritam,
Paravayōh kautukasyaatha Sthaapayet snaapanautavaṁ
Uttarē Kautukasyaiva balibērasya samsthitin
Garbhaalayasya sankochē tvathavā mukhamantapē
Antarāle' thava sthaapya pūjayēt snaapanotsavau."

Bhṛigu (Telugu ed. p. 146)

of the third āvaranam of the temple. After the daily abhishekam is finished the Kautuka bēram is shifted back to the Brahma sthanam (from the Snapana pīṭham) and nyāsam is done to the devas who occupy the first three āvaranas. The devas in the first two āvaranas surrounding the Dhruva murti are the murtis who are presumed to be in the actually existing āvaranams in the temple. They are the manifestations of the Adi murtis as Vyūhas and Vyuhāntaras occupying the first avaranam and the Vibhava and Vibhāvāntaras occupying the second āvaranam. The devatas in the third āvaranam are the Dikpalas (Indra, etc.). After nyasam is done to these, there is again nyāsam done for a duplicate set of āvarana devas surrounding the Kautuka Bēram. Two separate āvaranams are mentally conceived as if in existence. The devas for these two fictitious avaranas are separate from those of the Dhruva Murti's avaranams. Although this conception of a duplicate set of avaranas is now a mere fiction, there is the suspicion that the Kautuka bēram would have been accommodated separately, if not permanently yet temporarily for some days (as during festivals when the Kautuka acts the part of Utsava beram). This accommodation would have been inside the third avaranam, but away from the first two avaranams of the Dhruva Murti. A place like this would have been called Tiruvilamkoyil; such as the one in which Bhoga Srinivasa was first consecrated. The two Devis (Sri and Bhu) or Sri Devi only will be with the Dhruva Murti in almost all cases. But in the Yōga and Abhichārika sthitis there will be no Devi with the Dhruva Murti. Even if there should be the Devi, the nyāsam for Her will be done only after the nyāsam for the devas in the first two avaranams and the nyāsam for the Dikdevās are finished. This disregard is understandable to us who regard the Devis as being co-equal with Vishnu and therefore entitled to worship next only to Him. The Devas of the first two āvaranams are manifestations of the Adi murti and they face outwards, Bahir mukham. The devas of the third avaranas are beings created by Brahma and belong to the Brahmandam. They face inwards (antar mukham) and the nyāsam for them would therefore be inwards.

**Parivara devas within the garbhagriham, the Vimanam
and the first avaranam.**

Alongside of the **Dhruva Murti** some other devas should be and were installed according to the Āgama rules. In the more ancient temples these images could be seen even now. But in recent constructions they are omitted. During the daily pūja however they have to be thought of and nyāsa flowers in their name deposited between the feet of the **Dhruva Murti**. These devas are of two classes. Some are presumed to be present at all times and under all conditions. Others are permitted to be present when the **Dhruva Murti** is in certain Sthitis; such as **Yōga**, **Bhōga** and **Vīra**. This has already been tabulated in this chapter.

Dvara devas, dvarapalas, Vimana palas, Vishvaksena, Sri Bhutam and Garuda will always be in their respective places. They are **anapayins**. **Brahma**, **Sankara Mārkaṇḍeya** and **Bhrigu** will not be present in certain Sthitis. But during the daily puja they are treated as being present and nyāsam is done for them and the flower placed between the feet of the **Dhruva Murti**. Their names and the place they occupy will now be given.

DVARA DEVAS—Dhata and Vidhata (brothers) stand on either side of the **pradhāna dvāram** within the **garbha griham** in the spot called **Gandharva sthānam**. They are the sons of **Bhrigu** by his wife **Khyāti**. **Dhātā** is on the south side and **Vidhātā** on the north side of the entrance facing north and south respectively. The **door frame has four devatas in it**. On the bottom piece is **Bhuvanga** lying on his back with his head to the south and facing up. He is of **neela** colour. On the lower face of the top piece is **Patanga** lying on his back with his head to the north and facing down. He is of **white** colour (**sukla**). The side frames are occupied by **Patira and Varuna** (south and north side respectively) standing erect facing north and south. They are both of **suvarna** colour. **On the outside of the dvāram (doorway) are the two dvarapalas Manika and Sandhya**. **Manika** on the south side, of **svēta** colour; **Sandhyā** on the north side, of **kanaka** colour.

“ **Manikam mahābalaṃ vimalaṃ dvāra pālakaṃ. Sandhyāṃ Prabhāvatīm jyōtīrūpām drudhavratām.**”

The **VIMANAM** which towers above the Garbhagriham is guarded by four devas (Vimana palas). Nyaksha stands right above the doorway on the east side of the base of the Vimānam facing east. **VIVASVAN** is on the south side facing south; **MITRA** on the west facing west and **KSHATTA** on the north facing north. (When the temple is of the Adhama type there will be only Nyaksha, since there may be no Vimānam to boast of).

MUKHAMANTAPAM DVARAPALAS:—The dvārapalas standing on either side of the entrance into the mukhamantapam are **Vikhanas** on the south and **TAPASA** on the north side.

*“Vikhanasam tapdyuktam siddhidam sarvadarsinam
Tāpasam siddhirājam sarvadōshavivarjitam.”*

Vishvaksena:—He is as it were the commander-in-chief of the divine forces or, Vishnu ganas. His place is at the north-east corner of the north side of the first avaranam close to the foot of the Vimanam facing south.¹ He is agni colour, wears yellow (pīta) clothes; has all Vishnu's abharanam excepting Srivatsam and Yagnopavīta. Has two hands; wears flower garlands; holds sakti danḍam; Jayāpati; Srunga kētu.

(Sri Bhuta, Garuda, Chakra, Sankha, Dhvaja, Yudhadhipa and Pavakorjuna are the other indispensable parivara devatās called anapāyins. As their place is outside the Garbhagriham, they will be described later).

BRAHMA, SANKARA, MARKANDEYA AND BHRIGU.

The images of these dēvas will be found very near to the Dhruva Murti in almost all cases. The sthitis in which “Brahma, Sankara and Mārkaṇḍēya, Bhrigu” will be omitted have already been

1. Udaḥprakāraparsvē Vimānapārsvē Kubērēsānayoṛmadhyē dakshin-ābhimukhaḥ simhasanē samāśnāḥ.... ..”

(Mārchi Samhita Telugu edition page 100)

mentioned. They are however the most important parivāra dēvas in the Garbhagriham.

Markandeya is of Suvarna colour, a brahmachari (bachelor), wears rakta colour clothes, rides padma vāhanam. Kūrchan is his dhvajam, his sound is that of Sankam, 'ma' bījam. "Mārkandēyam Punyam Purānam amitam."

Bhṛigu:—agni colour; white (Sukla) clothes; padma vāhanam; Kamaṇḍalu dhvajam; Rohinisam; Sankha ravō, 'Bhri' bījam, 'Khyati' īsa; 'Padmā' pitā.

"Padmāpitaram Dhātrinātham, Khyātisam"

Brahma—His place in the garbhagriham is close to the south wall facing the north; is of gold colour; has four hands; hamsa vāhanam; holds Kamaṇḍalu in hand; born in Abhijit; husband of Sāvitrī; 'ma' bija; the sound of the Vēdas. "Brahmānam Prajāpatim, Pitāmaham Hiranyagarbham."

Sankara—His place is close to to the north wall; white colour (Sveta); wears Vyāghra charma (tiger skin) clothes; has parasu mriga in hand (four hands); Vrishabham (Bull is his vāhanam and dhvajam; his sound is that of 'damarukam'; 'ma' bijam; born in Ardra; Umapati, bears Ganga on his head." Vrishabha Vāhanam. Aṣṭa mūrtim, Umapatim."

The status accorded to Brahma and Sankara in the pantheon calls for some remarks. The Āgamas describe in one place the Trimurti and the Dvimurti temples where each has His own Shrine with separate antarmaṇḍalam round the Shrine. The temple and the prākarams are the same for all. Any one might occupy the central place and any one of the other two might be to the right or left side. This is tantamount to treating them as Devas of equal status. That such was the case is borne out by the description given by Sri Nammalvar in his account of the temple in Tiruchengunrūr (chiṭṭāṅkarai) in the Malai nādu country bordering on Tiruvānkur. The Ālvār speaks highly of the admirable way in which three thousand Brahmins well versed in the Vedas and

Vedangas were worshipping the Trimūrtis. The Āḷvār describes at the same time the subordinate status given to Rudra in the temple in his birth place and in other places. The Mudal ālvārs who flourished about two centuries earlier speak of Brahma, Vishnu and Rudra being only different manifestations of the same Nārāyaṇa. Pēyālvar in particular stated that in Tirumala, the Mūrti was decorated to look like Vishnu at one time and like Siva at another. He said that both the forms aptly fit the Mūrti. We however find that ultimately the Āgamas have placed Brahma and Rudra as Devas in attendance on Vishnu in the garbhagriham. In the nyāsam stage of the Nityārchana, Mārkaṇḍeya and Bhṛigu are given preference. Then comes the turn of Brahma and Rudra. The nyāsam is offered 'Abhimukham' because they face the Dhruva Murti just like the other mortals 'Indra, Varuna etc.' The nyāsam for the Devas who are considered to be the manifestations of the Adi Murti are offered "Bahir mukha,"¹ as if facing the created universe and its beings.

The lay worshipper could not by any means notice this differential status since the installation of the images of Brahma and Rudra has long been abandoned, evidently owing to the influence of the ācharyas. In temples where these images still stand as relics of the old order, the Sthalapurānams ascribe some reason or other for their retention.

The Vimanam and its Images.

The images found on the Vimanam are not objects of daily worship. But they deserve attention because they are connected with the Vimānam which is a sacred structure. The Āgamas specify the kind of image which could find a place therein. The other reason is that there are lay people who, if they only see on the Vimanam of a Vishnu Shrine any image, whether of a Deva or a beast, in any way connected with the Saivite pantheon, at once jump to the conclusion that the temple was at one time a

¹ Compare slokas 140 and 149 pp. 133, 134; Chap. 18 Bhṛigu Samhita Teluru edition.

Saivite place of worship. We have known this kind of argument in connection with the Tirumala Temple. The Vimānam also bears testimony to the fact that the Vyūha, Vyūhantāra, the Vibhava and the Vibhavantara forms were at one time being installed within the first and the second āvaranams of the temple. Although this practice was abandoned, their representation on the Vimanam structure continues.

There are several types of Vimanams, three of which the Sāntika, the Paushtika and the Jayada were already mentioned. Enumeration of the several types would interest only those who study the architectural side of the temple, and will therefore be omitted here. The more common type has a square base and is in height about $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 times the side of the base. It may consist of two, three or more tiers. Images made in stucco are usually set up on the four faces in each tier and at the angular points. The neck portion between one tier and the next one above are also adorned with images. These will now be mentioned.

On the base, or, first tier (Mūlatalam) Vishnu murti (of the type in the garbhagriham) would be placed on the east side. On the roof of the Mukhamantapam and in front of the Mūlatalam would be images of Tapasam and Siddhidam; on the south face of the Mūlatalam there would be Satya; on the west face Achyuta and on the north Aniruddha. Vinayaka and Vindhya Vasini (Durga) would be on the north and the south side of the roof of the mukhamantapam.

Second Tier. Purusha on the east side to the south of the centre and chakram would be to the north of the centre. On the south side Nrisimha; on the west Achyuta and on the north Varaham.

In the neck or galam between the two tiers there would be Purusha, Dakshinamurti, Pitamaha (or Brahma), Nrisimha, and Varaham, all at the angular points.

At all corners Garuda or Simham should be placed. Plenty of Nrisimhas on the south and the west sides ensure destruction of enemies and success to the King.

A slightly different arrangement in the galam (neck) is given in *Bhṛigu Saṁhita*. Puruṣa in the south; Nārasimham in the west; and in the north Hayagrīvam.

Images of the Salvite pantheon are also used along with those of the Vishnu pantheon—*Indra, Kumaraswami, Umapati, Dakṣina-murti, Nrisimha, Sridhara, Brahmanam, Dhanadipa, Adi Varaha, Narahari, Hayagriva, Nara Narayana, the four kinds of Krishna, Puruṣa, Satya, Achyuta, Ananta and Vasudeva* might appear on sides, *Ananta and Aniruddha* might appear more than once on the north sides just as *Nrisimha* does on the south and west sides. A true representation of the *Dhruva Murti* might be placed on the top on the north side.

Anapayi Parivara devatas.

It was already mentioned that these are *Sri Bhutam, Garuda, Nyaksha, Vishvaksena, Chakram, Dhvajam, Sankham, Yūdhādhipa, (Akshahanta or) Pāvakārjuna*. The place for *Nyaksha* and *Vishvaksena* was already described. It is curious that *Ananta* or *Sesha* is not mentioned as one of the *Anapayins*.

Sri Bhutam—is *brahmachāri* (bachelor). His weapon is a *danḍa* (stick); *vāhanam* and *dhvajam* *Simham*; He is of white colour, wears *rakta* colour clothes; faces outwards (*bahirmukha*); born in *Bharani* *nakshatra* of *Phalguna* month. His place is in the middle of the *Sōpanam* (stepping stone) of the *mukha-mantapam* doorway or in the third part of the first *avaranam* front space.

“*Sri Bhutam Svetavarnam Vaishnavam Mukhapālinam*”

Garuda—bright in colour; *Sukapinchāmbara* clothing; wears all *ābharanas*; wears *Kirītam*; has serpents of five colours on his body; two hands folded in *anjali* posture; *Vāyu vāhanam*; his place is usually in the second *avaranam*; but in a small temple having only one *avaranam* his place will be in the third quarter space of that *avaranam*. In fact *Chakram, Dhvajam, Sankham, Mahabbutam* and *akshahantam* would all be placed in this quarter

in successive order. If there are three avaranams Garuda will be located in the second quarter of the second avaranam.

Chakram, Dhvajam, Sankham, etc.

Chakram will be in the third quarter of the second avaranam.

Sankham will be in the second quarter of the third avaranam;

Dhavajam will be in the third quarter of the third avaranam.

Yudhadhipa will be in the third quarter of the fourth avaranam.

Akshahanta in the third quarter of the fifth āvaranam, or outside of the Gopuram and in front of, but just outside, the centre line. If as stated before all are placed in the first āvaranam itself, Garuda will be in the second quarter from the foot of the Vimanam; Balipīṭham will be in the third quarter. If there be only one āvaranam, the temple will be classed as adhamādhama (lowest). such a temple would have only Vishvaksena, Garuda, Sri bhūtam, Nyaksha and Bhūtapīṭham. There will not be Dhvajam, Chakra, Sankha, and akshahanta in an adhamādhama temple.

Chakra is of angāraka colour, rakta colour clothes, analaja-
pravritta vāhana, 'A' bija Sudarsana.

'Sudarsanam chakram Sahasra vikacham anapayinam.'

Sankham—to the east of Chakram. Pāñchajanya, Rakta-vastram, Bhūtakṛiti Siras, Sankha's sound, Hamsa vāhana, Karna Sabda rava, Vārunīpati; 'Sa' bija, analaja, "Pāñchajanyam, Sankham, ambujam Vishnu priyam."

Dhvajam—to the east of Sankham. Hāṭakābha Vāyu vāhanam, Simha ravō 'Ja, bijam; Jayapriyā pati, dvibhuja, Padmadhara āsanam; right foot extended, left foot bent and having serpent with it; hands folded over the heart in anjali.

"Jayam atyuchchritam dhanyam Dhvajam "

Yudhadhipa—to the east of above. Facing outwards on pīṭham, white colour, rakta clothes, Bhūta ākaram, two hands having danḍam, 'Bhu' bija; mahābhutam.

“Yudhadhipatim Nityamugram Mahābhūtam.”

Pavakorjuna—on pīṭham to the east of above, gold colour, Padmanetram, Krishna Kunchita mūrdhaja, Bhūtākāram, Krishna-vastram, Kumbha udaram, two hands with danḍam; asvini born, Simha Dhvaja Vahanam, 'Bhu' 'bija,' Samukhīpati, Vishnu bhutam.

“Pāvakōrjunam, akshahanta, Vishnu bhutam.”

In practice all the five Chakra, Sankha, Dhvaja, Yūdhadhipa and Pāvakōrjuna are placed in one line behind the Balipitham. “Balipīṭha pārsvē samyōjya archayet” iti kechit. (Marichi Samhita, Telugu Script, page 102, top two lines).

CHAPTER XII (Contd.)

SECTION V.

THE DEVAS IN THE SEVEN AVARANAS.

Prathamavarana devas.

THE devas at the four cardinal points (E. S. W. & N) are the well known Vyuha avataras, Purusha Satya, Achyuta and Aniruddha. Those at the four intermediate angular points commencing with S.E. are Kapila, Yagna, Nārāyana and Punya. These four seem to be from out of the Vyūhāntaras. But as was already pointed out more than once not one of these is represented as an image in that āvaranam. Their names are recited mentally and the archaka during the nyāsa is presumed to draw a picture with all particulars of each deva at the time. (These particulars will be given separately in a note).

Dvitiya avarana devas (Second enclosure).

As in the case of the first avarana devas, here also two sets of devas both of the **Vibhava** avatars and the Sub Vibhavas are selected. Those at the cardinal points from E to N. are Vāraham, Nārasimham, Vāmanam and Trivikramam; at the angular points S.E. to N.E. are Subhadram, Isitātmān, Sarvodvaham, Sarva-vidyesvaram. It will be noted that the four principal Vibhavas selected are those who were supernatural and not having human birth and human characteristics.

Similarly two sets of āvarana devas have been coined for the **Kautuka murti** as already pointed out. They are from east to north-east going clockwise.

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

First avaranam.

| E. | S.E. | S. | S.W. |
|------------------|-----------------|-------------------|---------------------|
| Subhadram, W. | Sarvam, N.W. | Hayātmakam, N. | Sukhāvaham, N.E. |
| Rāma dēvam, | Samvaham, | Punyam, | Suvaham |

Second avaranam.

| E. | S.E. | S. | S.W. |
|---------------------|--------------------|---------------|---------------------|
| Tadvinmitram, W. | Sanātanam, N.W. | Mitram, N. | Sanandanam, N.E. |
| Sivam, | Sanat Kumāram, | Visvam, | Sanakam. |

All the above devas face outwards or are Bahirmukham. Archana is done on this presumption only.

In the second avaranam apart from the Vibhava devas mentioned above there are also the nine planets or Nava Grahas, which face inwards or the garbhagriham; therefore **antarmukha**. The devas who belong to the Vyuha or Vibhava manifestations of the Adimūrti belong to the Vaishnavāndam. But the navagrahas belong to our material universe. Therefore the navagrahas are made to face the Supernatural world. It is therefore in this second avaranam of the Dhruvā murti that the supermundane and the mundane beings meet and face each other.

THE NAVAGRAHAS (Second avaranam).

Aditya (Sun, Ravi)—is placed on the north side of the mukha-dvāram of the second āvaranam and **Chandra**—is placed on the South side of the same. They face the west.

The position of Angāraka, Budha, Brihaspati, Sukra, Sani, Rāhu and Kētu, and the direction which each faces are shown on the enclosed chart. They are all of semidivine origin and perhaps for that reason find a place in the second avaranam in preference to Indra and the other Dik devas who are in the third

avaranam. Of the ashtamūrti forms of Rudra—Rudra's place is in Ravi and Ravi's son is Sani. Another form of Rudra is **Bhavam** residing in water whose son is **Sukra**; **Angaraka** is the son of sarvam who resides in Bhumi. **Īsana** another of the Rudra murti forms resides in Agni; **Mahādēvam** resides in Chandra whose son is **Budha**. They are all closely and directly connected with **Brahma** the creator.

The Third avarana devas.

They are the **Lōkapālas**—**Indra**, **Agni**, **Yama**, **Nirruṭi**, **Varuna**, **Vāyu**, **Kubēra** and **Īsana** counting from east to north east clockwise. All these devas are antarmukha or facing the sanctum. They represent the first Sātvic creation which came out of the upper portion of **Brahma's** body. They declined to line on earth and are therefore in the airy regions. The third avaranam affords accommodation for some more devatas along side of its outer portion (perhaps close to the walls) and also for some in the antarālam or open space between the second and the third avaranam walls.

Along side of the walls are—**Durga** on the north side of the mukhadvāram and **Ganga** on the south side, both facing west. **Sarasvati** is at S.E. and **Dhatrī** (**Mahā Kāli**) at N.E. **Yamuna**, **Sindhu**, **Narmada**. **Sree**, and **Jyeshtha** are the others. The chart showing the first three avaranams gives the particulars about where they are and which direction they face. In the antaralam are **Sura**, **Sundari**, **Svaha**, **Svadha**, **Samhladini**, **Raka** and **Sinivali**. Most of these female deities are the daughters of one or the other of the **Nava Brahmas**. The chart gives particulars of place and the direction they face.

The **Lōka pālas**, the river devis and the other female deities in the antaralam of the third āvaranam figure frequently in the rituals of the temple as well as in the rituals in our home. They form the connecting link between the **Dēvēsa** and the beings in the **Brahmandam**. **Agni** is the medium through whom all fire offerings are made to whichever **Devata** the offering may be intended. These ritualistic functions are conducted in accordance with the injunctions given in the **Rigveda** hymns.

Fourth avaranam.

The fourth āvaranam of the temple conformably represents the four Vedas, their respective Chandas, the kind of homam peculiar to each and so on. The devatas associated therewith are also placed in that āvaranam. As agni and angaraka are at the S. E. corners in the previous āvaranas Rig Vēdam is placed in that corner of the fourth avaranam. Atharva Vēdam is placed in the N.E. corner in which direction will be found all those deities which are connected with Isāna. **Durga and Mahakali** are in that corner in the third avaranam. Vishnu on the right and Siva on the left side will be found in the antarialām of this avaranam. The devas are **Harini, Agni, Toyam, Vayu, and Gavishta**. In the antaralam are **Vishnu, Kasyapa, Guha, Panktisa, Pavitra, Pavana, Takshaka, and Siva**. **Rig Vedam, Yajur Vedam, Sama Vedam and Atharva Vedam** are at the corners.

Fifth avarana devas.

Along the outer side in the avaranam are **Anumati, Vatsara, Saptamataras, Panchapranas, Jayadayas, Maruts, Sapta rohinis, Sata rudras and Kuhu** (Anumati and Kuhu are two out of the four daughters of Angiras, the other two being Raka and Sinivāli who are in the north wing of the third avaranam).

Those in the antaralam are **Ekadasa rudras, Dvadasa Adityas, Gandharvas, Munis, Apsaras, Asvinis, Vasavas and Vidyadaras**.

Some of the collective designations given will be explained in a note.

The sixth avarana Devas.

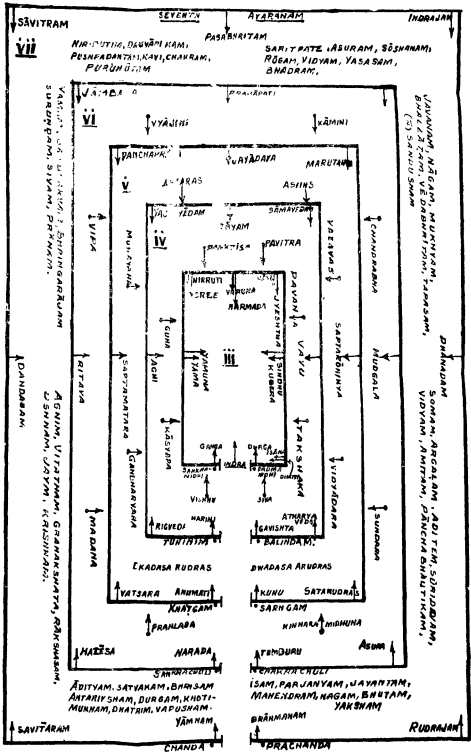
Narada and Tumburu lead standing on the right and the left side. The others are **Hatesa, Ritava, Jambava, Prajapati, Mudgala and Asura**. In the antaralam are **Prahlada and Kinnara** mithunas to the right and the left on the east side. Then **Madana, Vipa, Vyajini, Kamini, Chandrabha and Sundara**.

CHAPTER XII SECTION 5

CHART SHOWING THE DEVAS DEVAPALAS ETC IN AVARAMAS FOUR TO SEVEN

ARROW MARK SHOWS THE DIRECTION THE DEVAS FACE

INNER PORTION OF EACH AVARAMAM IS THE ANTARALAM.



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The Seventh Avarana devas.

Aryama and **Brahma** stand on either side of the east entrance as shown. The others are **Savita**, **Savitra Dandadhara**, **Indraja**, **Pasabhurut**, **Rudraja**, **Dhanada** and **Apa apavatsa**. In the antarala are a large number of devas. They are divided into eight groups. Two groups are placed on each side.

East side (South plank)—**Ādityā**, **Satyaka**, **Bhrisa**, **Antariksha**, **Durgā**, **Ghōṣimukhī**, **Dhatri** and **Vapusham**. (North plank) **Isa Parjanya**, **Jayanta**, **Mahendra**, **Nāga Bhūta**, and **Yaksha**.

South side (East plank)—**Agni**, **Vitata**, **Grahakshata**, **Rākshasa**, **Ushna**, **Jaya** and **Krishna**. (West plank) **Yama**, **Gandharva**, **Bhringarāja**, **Suruṇḍa**, **Siva** and **Prāna**.

West side (South plank)—**Nirruṭi**, **Dauvārika**, **Pushpadanta**, **Kavi**, **Chakra** and **Purūhuta**. (North plank) **Saritpati**, **Asura**, **Sōshana**, **Rōga**, **Vidyā**, **Yasas**, and **Bhadra**.

North side (West plank)—**Javana**, **Nāga**, **Mukhya**, **Bhallāta**, **Vēdabhurut**, **Tāṇasa**, **Sandhushā**; (East plank) **Sōma**, **Argaḷa**, **Aditi**, **Sūridēva**, **Vidya**, **Amita** and **Pānchabhautika**. The second chart shows the arrangement in avaranams IV to VII.

Dvarapālas.

The entrance into every one of the seven āvaranas is guarded by **Dvārapālas** in the same manner as are the entrances into the **garbhagriham** and the **mukhadvāram**. Commencing from the first āvaranam the names of these in pair are—

| | |
|------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| First avaranam, | Kishkindha and Tirtha; |
| Second do. | Vakratunda and Nagaraja; |
| Third do. | Sankhanidhi and Padmanidhi; |
| Fourth do. | Tuhina and Balinda; |
| Fifth do. | Khadga (Nandakam) and Sarngam; |
| Sixth do. | Sankhacauli and Chakrachuli; |
| Seventh do. | Chanda and Prachanda. |

Mahat Pitham.

Outside the prakaram walls and in front of the mukhadvāram will be the Mahat Pīṭham whereon the Bali offerings for all unnamed spirits including those of the under world are offered. “ Sarvān devān samarchayet.”

Ganas.

The devas who face inwards and who are in āvaranas two, three and four have a definite status. Those who are in the avaranas five to seven are of a mixed composition. They are collectively known as Ganas (parijanam or congregation of Spirits). By temperament and innate nature some are considered good, some middling and some bad. They are therefore divided into three classes—**Uttama ganas**, **Madhyama ganas** and **Adhama ganas**. The division is as follows:—

Uttama ganas:—Adityas, Vasudevas, Rudras, Sādhyas, Maruts, Visvėdėvas, Pitris, Mātris, Grihadėvatas, Angiras, Asvini dėvas, Stree devas, Lőkėsās, Vāstudėvas, Nakshatras, Pārshadas, Tatva patis.

Madhyama ganas:—Siddhas, Rishis, Nāgas, Asuras, Rākshasas, Yakshas, Vidyādharas, Saurabhēyas, Guhyakas, Gandharvas, Apsaras, Prajāpatis Martyas and Rohinis.

Adhama ganas:—Bhūtas, Prėtas, Pisāchas, Kūshmāndas, Pramathas, Skandas, Bālagrahas, Taitalas, Bhairavas, Kinnaras, Vėtālas, Apsmāras, Yōginis, Dākinis, Sākinis, Chankas, Mōhinis, Jāghanis.

Hindus believe that all these spirits play their part in the universe as much as we do and that therefore they should not be ignored.

CHAPTER XII (Contd.)

SECTION VI.

TEMPLES AND THE AGAMAS

Main Purpose of Temple Worship Universal Co-operation.

THE Āgama rituals are based on the recognition of the principle that all forms of life should be made to co-operate with each other. Co-operation facilitates not only material advancement but also spiritual evolution. The active co-operation and help of the more advanced beings are sought and ensured and the impediments likely to be placed by the backward and mischievous spirits are removed or weakened by extending good-will to them as well. It is only by ensuring peace, plenty, happiness and contentment all around us that the environment necessary for the practice of yoga and meditation leading to god-realisation could be created and kept up. Therefore **daily puja** is performed and bali offered to the various deities so that the general prosperity of the world with a stable and just governance is maintained. The object in performing puja six times a day is explained thus—**Prathakala puja** (early morning) is for ensuring the unfailing performance of japas and homas by those whose duty lies that way. **Madhyana puja** is to ensure a flourishing administration or *Rājarāshtra abhivridhi*. The **evening puja** is for ensuring abundance of food grains and pulses (*Sarva sasya abhivridhi*). The **dawn puja** (**Ushakala puja**) is for increase of population and cattle wealth (*Prajā pasu abhivridhi*); the **aparahna** (after-noon) puja is for the destruction of daityas (the evil doers) and the **ardharatra** pūja is for increase of all quadrupeds. Thus the daily puja is not only a prayer for being given our daily bread but also for all round happiness and contentment. The spirits to whom bali food is offered are not being thereby worshipped and propitiated. The food offering is made because we have to share our prosperity

with all living things. These devatas face the garbha griham in the same manner that we do. The Bali homam is done and the food so consecrated is distributed to all the devatas under the superintendence of the Bali Beram. This is universal charity which must be practiced in self interest at least. We and the spirits are interdependent and co-operative effort is necessary for the fulfilment of the purpose of creation as we understand it.

Annual Festivals or Kalotsavam.

The purposes for which the recurring annual festival is celebrated are for world-wide peace, all round plenty and prosperity, for successful administration of the country, for the destruction of all its enemies and for freedom from fear of famine and pestilence.¹ This kind of festival is considered imperative and should be timed every year in the month in which the first consecration took place so that the 9th. day day (forenoon) is concurrent with the installation nakshatram. Flag hoisting should invariably be done. The period might be 21 days, 14 days, or 9 days. Such long period festivals might also be celebrated when foreign invasion, pestilence or the appearance of comets forebode evil to the country. Private individuals might also celebrate in fulfilment of vows taken.

The main point which deserves our attention is the manner of celebration. The festival is for the benefit of all living things in the universe. All beings irrespective of their spiritual attainments and relative importance are invited to attend the grand festival or Yagna for Sri Vishnu.² They are invited and installed each

1. 'Varshadam sarvalōkasya saantidam sarva Pushtidam Rajñaam vijaya-
daanaya Satiñna n naasa lētavē Vyadhi durbhiksha saantyartham ut-avam
karaye budhah'.

Bhṛigu Samhita 24th Chapter (p 201)

2. Priyatam Bhagavaan Vishnu sarva lokesvarō Harih
Brahmēsaabhyam cha sahiṭschōtsavē nah prasidatu
Dēvaascha rishayassarvē Pitarscha grahaadayah
Vishnu lōka gataas sarvē naanaa lōka nivasinah
Sarvēnyē devatasarvaah parivaara ganais saba
Visvē te Vishnu Yaugēmin srag .hchchanṭu saadaraah
Havyam Balim samaadaaya bhavantu subhadaayinah
Ityuktvaa ghōshayet Sandhau chaktaçyaabhimukhah punah.

Bhṛigu Samhita Chapter 24, p. 211 (Slokas 117-120)

in its appropriated place. Food, water and flowers are provided for all. This function of extending universal invitation is a grand idea and bears testimony to the spirit in which the Āgamas work temple worship. The grand procession at its commencement with full temple paraphernalia and the representative murti in Tiruchchi vehicle starts from the garbha griham, goes round the temple prākārams, then through the streets surrounding the prākārams and thence to all streets, lanes, nooks and corners. All the devas are named and invited; then the collective or group spirits are likewise called to take part in the festival or Yagna and make it a success. They are assured of lodging and food at least twice a day. The proclamation should be made in a stentorian voice at all well recognised points in the village or town.¹ Slokas 153 to 165 of chapter 24 p. 215, 216 (Bhrigu Samhita) give a clear description of all the devas and ganas who are invited and shown their place in the temple. All the ganas and devas² are also shown in the two charts annexed to this chapter showing the seven āvaranams.

Alternative procedure.

All temples are not constructed with seven āvaranams. Most temples have only one to three āvaranams. A few might be having

1 Sarvē dēvaah, Sarva dēvyah Saive Rishayah, Sarvaa Rishipatnyah, sarvē pitarah sarvaah pitri patnyah Siddha Vidyaadhara Garuda Gandharva, Yaksha Kinnara, Naaga, Bhūta Asura Rakshasaadyashtaadasa ganaas sarvēpyaant vityuktvaa ghōshayēt. (Marichi Samhita p 322 Telugu edition)

2. Āhūtavyā utsavarthē devassamyak Prakrītāah
Deva dīmaancha sarvēsham tēshāam sthaanam pravakshyatē
Iṅ raadayō mahaa dikshu vidikshu cha samaasritaah
Gaahaikaadasa Rudras cha Dvaadasaahaskaraah api
Vasavas syurathaash'ru cha ōmkaaras cha vashatkrutam
Ētē dēvaas trayastrimsat kathitaa brahmanaa puraa
Asvinavapi tatrēti kēchidaahur manshiqah
Trayastrimsat dēvataanaam sthaanam aisaanyamuchyate
Apare chaapi kartavyaa nadiparavē visēshatah.
Ashtaad asagaṇaantu Bhūtapīṭhasya dakshinē
Dēvas cha Rishayah sarvē pitarō Daitya Daanavaah
Asuraas chaiva Gandharvaas tadhaivaapsaraasaanganaah
Yakshaas cha Rakshasaas chaiva Naaga Bhūtah pisaachakaah
Annavrishṭi ganaas chatva tathai mrtamucham ganaah
Maataras chaiva Rōhinīyas Sūryaa ashtaadasa smritaah
Ashtadasa garaschaitē prōktā vai dēvayōnayah.
Aruktān anyadēvāmscha Indraparsve samarchayēt
Dēvaanam chaiva patnischa tattatpārsve samarchayēt
Skandō Vighnascha Durgaa cha Jyeshṭha chaiva Sarasvatī

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more. The Agamas therefore divide temples into three main divisions and again provide three sub-divisions in each. These divisions are intended to specify less number of parivara devatas and anapāyinis and therefore fewer archakas, paricharakas and less provision for food offerings. The main divisions are Adhama, Madhyama and Uttama. Again the sub-divisions are one avaranam Adhamādhama; two avaranams Adhama madhyama; three avaranams Adhamottama and Madhyama adhama; four avaranams Madhyama madhyama; five avaranams Madhyamottama and Uttama adhama; six avaranams Uttama madhyama and seven avaranams Uttamottama. The number of parivāra devas, the number of archakas, paricharakas and the quantity for food offering are tabulated hereunder (the parivara devas are in addition to those in the garbhagriham and the anapayins which are essential for all temples).

| Class of temple. | Addi- tional Parivara devas. | No. of archakas. | No. of Pari- charakas. | Food offerings, Bārams of rice. |
|-------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------|------------------------------|--|
| Adhamadhama | 5 | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| Adhama madhyama | 16 | 2 | 4 | 2 |
| Adhama uttama | 21 | 3 | 9 | 3 |
| Madhyama adhama | 32 | 4 | 16 | 4 |
| Madhyama madhyama | 42 | 6 | 25 | 5 |
| Madhyama uttama | 53 | 8 | 32 | 6 |
| Uttama adhama | 63 | 12 | 50 | 7 |
| Uttama madhyama | 65 | 18 | 64 | 8 |
| Uttama uttama | 68 | 20 | 80 | 10 |

Note:—The other provisions besides rice are not given in the table. One bāram of rice may be taken to be thirty Madras measures.

Tad alayē balim dadyat praakaarē chottarēpi va
 Parivaarōktadēsē tu Rōhinyō maataras tatha
 Rishipatnīcha tas sapta Rishibhissaha charchayēt
 Siddhaan Vidyaadharaamschaiva Garuda Gandharva Kinnaraan
 Kimpuru hanas chaaranaan dēvan mahaadikshu samachayēt
 Bhūtebyaschautha Yaakshaabhyah Pasaachēbhyas tathavivacha
 Raskhasēbhyascha Nagēbhyas sandhau sandhau balim dadēt
 Rajavēsmaanganē madhyē Indram chaiva samarchayēt
 Tasya dakshinaparsvē tu Jayasrkirtis samarchayēt”

(Bhṛigu Samhita 24th Chapter; slokas 153 to 165)

TEMPLES AND THE AGAMAS

The essential dēvas common to all temples are:—The Dhruva Murti and the Devi or Devis; Brahmā, Sankara, Mārkaṇḍēya, Bhrigu, Dhātā, Vidhatā, Bhuvanga, Patanga; Patera, Varuna, Maṇikam and Sandhyā, Vikhanas and Tāpasa; Kishkindam and Tirtham).

The names of the additional parivāra devatas shown in column two of the above statement will now be given only up to Madhyama uttama classes and not for the Uttama series.

Adhamādhama temple—Vishvakṣena, Garuda, Sribhūtam, Nyaksha and Bhūta pītham (5).

Adhama madhyama—(eleven more than above) Indra and the other seven lōka pālas, Bhāskara, Sankha and Chakram. (Total 16).

Adhama uttama—(five more) Vivasvān, Mitra, Kshatta, Dhvaja, Yūdhadhīpa. (Total 21)

Madhyama adhama—(eleven more) Siddhi, Sree, Havihālaka, Skanda, Vighnēsa, Sapta mātaraḥ, Puruṣa, Jyēshṭha, Bhārgava, Brahma, Chandra (Total 32).

Madhyama madhyama—(ten more) Bhāskara, Angāraka, Skanda, Durga, Saptarohinyah, Manda, Saptamātaraḥ, Budha, Brihaspati, Puruṣa. (Total 42).

Madhyama uttama—Jyēshṭha, Sukra, Ganga, Saptarishis, Brahma, Chandra, Rudra, Asvini, Kapila, Panchabhūtas, Sarasvatī etc. The same name is found repeated. It is therefore not useful to attempt giving a correct list. We may as well as read from the chart what parivāradevas are in successive avaranams.

The Tirumala temple has three avaranams only. The temples in Tirupati have only two avaranams. A permanent Dhvaja is not essential. The Āgama does not consider Sēsha to be necessary for any class of temple unless the Dhruva Murti is in the Sayana posture. The table given above showing the classification of temples will however show that a very large number of parivāra

devatas are intended to be set up as images and that they play their part in the daily worship of an Uttama temple having five to seven avaranams.

The Āgamas place before us a form of temple worship which postulates that an atmosphere of Godliness and spirituality could best be created and sustained only under conditions of peace, plenty and contentment in the land. It invites the co-operation of all men, even those of differing creed. We could sense this spirit of catholicity in the use of the different kinds of Samit (twigs of certain sacred trees and plants put into the homam fire) used in the daily homam during the festival days. On the first day pālāsam and the second day Bilvam, third day Sāmīlam, fourth day nygrodam, Udumbaram, sixth day asvattam, seventh day Khādiram, eighth day plāksham, ninth day pālasam, but pālasam and asvattham are considered the best and therefore could be substituted for any of the others when unavailable.

But temple worship is however no substitute for personal worship in every home. Temple worship serves to keep our environments in an atmosphere of spirituality most congenial to the practice of personal worship, meditation and dhyānam. This is why our ancients have enjoined us not to live in a place where there is no temple. The form of personal worship is however different from that of temple worship in some particulars. In personal worship the pantheon contains only the Vishnu murti. There is no place for any of the satellite deities excepting Ananta, Garuda and Vishvaksena. The ganas are all of the Vishnu class. The worship is directly to Srīman Narayana. This is the form which is given in Sri Ramanuja's Nityam. Temple worship and Personal worship are therefore supplementary to each other. The ācharyas do not at the same time underestimate the part played by the subordinate deities in spiritual evolution. Many do upāsana of one or the other of these for the bestowal of material benefits or such spiritual powers as the particular dēvata has in its power.

The lower deities more readily bestow their gifts. "*Kānkshantah karmanām siddhīm Yojanta iha devatah. Kshipram hi*

mānushē lōkē siddhirbhavati karmajā” (Gīta 4—12). Even the bestowal of such transcendent gifts is due to their devotion to the Supreme Deity.

“ Labhatē cha tatah kāmān
Mayaiva vihitān hi tān.”

It is also the accepted belief that even such worship or Upāsana gradually leads the upāsaka to climb higher and higher in the ladder of spiritual evolution till the final goal is reached. Thus with uninterrupted and continuous bhakti of Surya during seven consecutive births, a mortal as a reward therefor becomes a Rudra bhakta. This continued during seven consecutive births results in his becoming a Vishnu bhakta. Continuous bhakti of Vāsudeva (Vishnu) during seven more consecutive births brings as reward his becoming one with Vāsudeva (Laya) or Sayujyam.¹

The Āgamas therefore place before the world a form of worship which gives full scope for all human beings struggling for attainment of spiritual development even while fulfilling the duties of a house holder in this material world. The establishment of material prosperity is a prerequisite for all attempts at renunciation which consists in giving up the enjoyment of the fruits of one's actions. Phalatyāgam, not Karmatyāgam. This concern of the Āgamas is well displayed in the order which they prescribe for the celebration of the annual festival or Kalōtsavam (or Brahmotsavam) of Vishnu. The festival for Mahā Kālī should first be celebrated to grant us immunity from everything which result in sorrows. Next should be celebrated² the festival of Sankara (Rudra) for the appeasement

1. “ Sūryasayaiva tu yō bhakta saptajanmaंतरam narah
Tasyaiva tu prasadena Rudra bhaktah prajaayate
Sankarsyatu Yō bhaktas sapta janmaंतरam narah
Tasyaiva tu prasadēna Vishnu bhaktah prajaayate
Vasudēvasya yō bhaktas saptajanmaंतरam narah
Tasyaivatu prasadēna Vasudēve praliyate ”
2. “ Sarvadukhaarti saantyartham sadau Kālīyutsavam charēt
Anyēshaam krūra dēvaanaam sishtabhūta bhāṣasya cha
Saantyartham karayēt paschaat saastroktām Sankarōtsavam
Visastriḅṅna saantyartham samya maarḅḅēṇa vaastushu

of Krūra and Sishta ganas. Then a separate festival in honour of Sri Durgā Devi for the appeasement of Viśāstri gaṇas and for proper functioning of everything. In this festival Sri Vishnu's chakram and Vishvaksēna should escort Sri Durgā Dēvi. As the last item comes the Brahmotsavam of Vishnu (Dēvēsa) for peace to all Devas, all munis, all pirtis and their ladies, all Dvijas and for peace and prosperity to all the lokas. If anything is done contrary to this arrangement great calamity (vinasam) would certainly take place. Therefore the festival commences first with the grāmadēvata. The idea is that all obstacles should first be removed so that the resulting conditions might prove favourable for spiritual advancement and the practice of personal worship and Yoga. Thus the co-operation of all created beings good and evil is sought and obtained. This appears to be the path pursued by the Āgama form of Temple worship.

Chakra senēsa samyuktam kuryat Durḡḍ.savam punah
 Sarvēshamapi dēveanam munīnaamapi sarvasah
 Pitruṇāncha ḡrahaṇānam cha tatpatnīnam cha sarvasah
 Dvijānamapi Saantyarthem lōkaanaamapi sarvasah
 Pushtyarthem kaarayet paschat Dēvesasyōtsavam kramaat
 Anyathaa chēt vīnaśas'syat sarvēśham cha na samsayah
 Tasmaat parihareet vidvaan ḡrasmaadau tam viśeshatah "

Bhriḡu Samhita Chapter 24 (p. 201, 202)

CHAPTER XIII.

RETROSPECT.

AT this stage it is desirable to review the changes which have been taking place in the character of worship in Tirumala from time to time.

From the chronologist's or the historian's point of view no date can be assigned for the first appearance of the Dhruva Murti of Tiruvengadamuḍaiyān. **The image takes its name from the hill Vengadam which by itself was always—i.e., as far back as tradition can take us—considered as sacred as the God thereon and therefore formed an object of worship.** Like Badri, Brindavan, Gaya or Ahobilam the place itself was sacred and an object of pilgrimage. So did the Vaishnavite ālwars praise Tiruvengadam in their songs. Many who could not find it possible to ascend the thickly wooded hill worshipped the hill and its God at its foot alone and discharged their vows. Great men were doing it and the fact is recorded in an inscription on the north wall of the Mukkoti Pradakshinam.¹ This was presumably the practice till the end of the Pallava rule. Some Brahmins of the mid-country called Tondaimandalam who had seen the Chola and the Pandya Desas entertained new ideas. **There was to all purposes a self-incarnate image on the Hill, the very idol for an Archa form of worship but without a temple or perhaps sheltered in a small stone mantapa or pavilion, illuminated by the blazing sun or the moon by night.** In imitation of the southern Tamils a small stone temple of the Pallava style of architecture was put up consisting of a chamber for the sanctum sanctorum (or Kōyilālvār) and an antechamber for the worshippers to stand. One or two ghee or oil lights (Nandā Vilakku) were arranged for

1 ஸ்ரீவைஷ்ணவர்களில் பெருமக்கள்—

திருமலையில் திருவடி வாரத்திலே திருவா—

கடமை செலுத்து வதானோம் [முக்கோ—] I. 165

by the devotees. There must have been some sort of food offering which after the pūja went to feed the pūjari and the few other temple servants.

Original Simplicity.

There obviously was not a rigidly ritualistic form of daily worship before we reach the year 966 A.D. The old annual festival in Purattasi month took since then a more rigid shape according to the Vaikhānasa Āgama. Four other rituals connected with the sun's motion in the heavens and the Mukkoti Dvādasi formed the principal, rather, the only festive occasions. If a devotee so desired he could celebrate an additional Brahmotsavam technically called Sraddhotsavam and in Tamil Tirukkoḍittirunāl (திருக்கொடித்திருநாள). The temple structure was designed and constructed to satisfy these elementary needs. The consecration of a small silver image in 966 A.D. brought along with it another hall called Tiruvilankoyil with probably a small pavilion in front to screen it from the north-east monsoon rains.

Neither Sri Alavandar, nor his successors, Tirumala Nambi, Sri Ramanuja or Anantālvār made any attempt to tamper with or alter the Vaikhānasa form of worship. The only addition made seems to have been the building of Gōpurams and compound walls (prākārams). The food that was offered to the God was simple in quality and limited in quantity, so much so that special instructions were issued that those who were connected with the temple services should feel content with partaking of such food as was offered to the Deity.¹ They were also enjoined to lead a celebate life while on Tirumala and to go to Tirupati to have a relaxation in family life I. 124 (fragmentary).

There was nothing grandiose in the daily services and in the festivals. But there has been from ancient times the faith that the

1, Fragmentary inscription I. 174—கடவாகளாகவும் தத்—,
—கோயில் பூவாடி பூணி—,—கட்டுவட்டி திருமலை ஊ—
—த்தில கொள்ளக்கடவதாக—

God of Vengadam Hill grants all human desires, material and spiritual, leading by stages to the grant of the boon of God-realisation. The Alvars have sung this unequivocally. When a Sāmavai installed a silver image of Him or a Parāntaka Devi-amman (both in widowhood, for aught we know) presented a gold pattam we may be certain that the act was for spiritual welfare. When Ghaṭṭideva, one of the Yādavarāyas built the temple under the spiritual inspiration of Sri Ramanuja it must have been likewise. When Ghattideva's descendants, Virarakshasa, Tiruvenkatanātha and Sri-ranganatha granted villages for the maintenance of temple worship in due form, it was because there was the family prestige and the innate feeling that their success in life depended on their faith in Tiruvengaḍamuḍaiyān. If Sundra Pandya placed a gold gilt Kalasam (in 1260 A.D.) on the Vimānam or when his queen arranged for the perpetual supply of milk and curds to supplement the daily food offerings, it must have been a thanksgiving service to Tiruvengaḍamuḍaiyān, as much as when at a later date Mangideva Maharaja gilded the Vimanam and Kalasam in 1359 A.D.¹ Such services and grants were of a simple nature. Besides the Yādavarāyas including Vira Narasinga, there was also Vijaya Gaṇḍagōpala of the Telugu Pallava lineage who looked to Tiruvengadam for material success in life. In pursuit of this several acts of simple charity were done, such as feeding the limited number of pilgrims resorting to the shrine.

Changes after the influx of the southern Tamils.

It was this normal course of temple worship that underwent a change consequent on the influx of the Tamil Sri Vaishnavas of the South well versed in the Bhakti form of worship which the Tamil Prabandhams of the Alvārs brought into existence. All the good things of this world were made to serve the enjoyment of the Deity and the Bhakta in his ecstasy considered himself even as the consort of God.

The presence in the Tirumala temple of a Utsava (or festival) Murti with Bhūdevi and Sri Devi by His side is heard of for the

first time in the third year of the reign of Sriranganatha Yadavaraya, 1339 A.D.¹ when an endowment was transferred to the jiyar or Siyan among Siyars (men from the extreme South of India) and reference made therein to the Utsava Murti being seated with Nachchimar. It has also been noticed that **Tiruvoimozhi was sung in Tirumala in 1360 A.D.² for the first time.** The **Sri Andal cult enters the Tirupati Govindaraja temple about the same time.** The Vaikhanasa form of worship has been always free from this form of deification. At any rate Utsavar with Bhūdevi and Sridevi has not been referred to in any of the inscriptions till 1339 A.D. But thereafter they are invariably mentioned in inscriptions of every festival procession etc. The only inference one can draw is that Bhūdevi and Sridevi did not form a part of the Vaikhanasa form of festival celebrations in Tirumala at any rate. In fact the silver Murti alone was the Utsava murti.

As for Andal and the Alvars, even to this day they are not to be found in the Tirumala pantheon, although their Prabandhams were invariably recited from after 1360 A.D. **Adhyayanotsavam was celebrated for the first time in 1467 A.D. with Sattumurai** (birth day celebrations) performed in Sri Ramanuja's shrine to the memory of the Alvars. To this extent there has been a change after 1360 A.D. The numerous festivals which have been a characteristic feature of the South have been slowly introduced in Tirumala and Tirupati. But these will be dealt with in detail when we go to the Saluva and Vijayanagar period of the history of our temple.

What has to be noted prominently is that, **after the invasion of the South by the Muslims in 1310 and 1328 A.D.** and the sojourn of Sriranganatha of Srirangam for a fairly long period in Tirumala, the **unadulterated form of the Vaikhanasa System underwent a change incorporating some of the features of the Pancharatra system introduced by the southern acharyas in the temple.** Even **nautch girls or Tiruvīdhi Sānis, who somehow were designated as Emperumānaḍiyārs,¹ became a permanent feature on the Vaikhanasa temples**

1. சீயாகளில் சேயனாம I 104.

2. I. 107

1. I. 220, 1346 A. D. Emperumanadiyaars were in the Pancharatra Tiruvliankoyil in Tiruchchukanur even during the eleventh and twelfth centuries A.D.

before the end of the fourteenth century. It was no longer worship of the strictly puritan type. but worship combined with profit and pleasure, and therefore ever more popular.

Bhakti form of worship.

It may not be out of place here to dilate a little on how this **Bhakti form of worship** would have exhibited itself in temple worship. The Bhakta clothes himself with the garment which has adorned his favourite Deity, he eats the food which has been offered to Him and he adorns himself with the sandal paste and the flowers which adorned Him. Thus equipped, in ecstasy he sings His praise and dances. So it became desirable, and even necessary, that the best things of this world should first be offered to the Deity and then shared together by His devotees. The sacred texts in Sanskrit and in the vernacular were repeated before Him in devotion. Thus probably came into existence in the early days the gōshtis of brahmīns repeating the Vedas and the Tamil Tiruvaymōḷi Prabandhams voluntarily and with no expectation of reward or remuneration. So also the Emperumānadiyārs (vestal virgins) danced and sung and offered Kumbhahārathis at the close of the street processions. So also Bhajana parties and the Nadasvara parties.

But in a place like Tirumala or Tirupati where the temple worship was of the Vaikhanasa school the response must have been poor. So **from the beginning artificial aid had to be given in the shape of emoluments.** Adhyāpakam, Vedapārāyanam, Emperumanadiyars or Tiruvidhisani girls **had all to be remunerated.** **In spite of these inducements the festivals and other functions were not considered sufficiently grandiose.** So one Kaṇḍāḍai Ramanuja Ayyangar who had visited all the 108 sacred Temples for Sri Vaishnavas **set about a through overhauling from about the year 1468 A.D.** For over half-a-century from then this gentleman's attempts were to introduce new festivals due attention being paid to every details of every function. He was largely responsible for getting Sāluva Narasimha Deva to help carry out his ideas and recommendations. **In spite of over five centuries of this grafting**

The Vijayanagar Period.

We must pass on to the period when the **Vijayanagar kings played the most prominent part in enhancing the fame of this temple.**

How they happen to come into the picture must first be understood. It is known that the Hoysāla-Vira Ballala III marshalled his forces to wipe out the Sultanate of Madura. But he is said to have been captured in an ambush and put to death near Trichinopoly. There was however, Singayya Dānnāyaka, his military commander who left Tirupati about 1336 A.D. handing over his Arisanālayam Nandavanam and the trust properties attached thereto to one of the Jiyars in Tirumala presumably to enable him to be by the side of his master, the Hoysala King. There was also Sri Vira Kumara Kempana Uḍaiyār, the son of Bukkaraya I, conducting the campaign and Saluva Mangi-Deva ably assisting the former as one of the generals. The campaign was successful and the Sultanate of Madura was annihilated.

Looking at these happenings from the point of view of our temple we have to note that upto this date the great patrons and devotees of the temple came exclusively from the Tamil country, with a few exceptions from the extreme south of the west coast. Not a single inscription do we come across to show that people of the Kannada and Telugu country ever came on pilgrimage to Tirumala. The first to do so was Singayya Dānnāyaka who came more or less on a military mission, but took that opportunity to do service to the temple by establishing two maṭhams and Nandavanams each of which he had to hand over to a Tamilian Sanyasi or Jiyar for due performance of the trust charities. Even the inscription relating to this is in Tamil script.

We also find that Bukka I made an endowment of lands for one Tirupponakam food offering (or two) every day (known ever since as the Bukkarayan Sandhi) and for a Brahmotsavam. This may have been in 1365 A.D. to commemorate the capture of the Mudgal fortress by him. To assign a village he must by then have come in possession of the country... Soon after the conclusion of the campaign Mahāmandalēsvara Mīsaraganda Mangi Deva

Maharaja did the great service of gold gilding the Vimanam and the Sikharam of Tirumaladeva. The inscription is in Telugu as well as in Tamil (I. 179, 180, 6-7-1359 A.D.) which may be taken to connote the transition period. The citation is not the usual regnal year of the local Yādavarayas or the Pāṇḍyas but the Sāka year and the name Vikāri of the Jupiter Cycle. The last time (I. 7) we noticed mention of the Sāka year was in Sāka 824 (1002 A. D.) when the Pallava rule had broken down and the Chola supremacy was in the course of being established in this part of the country. On the present occasion the Pāṇḍyas and the Yādavarayas had both broken down, the Vijayanagar rule had not established itself thoroughly and Mangi Deva himself was not a ruling prince. So the citation of the Sāka year seems to have been once more brought into use and was to continue uninterrupted thereafter. There are also other administrative changes in the temple machinery which have to be considered by us. That a distinctive political change had come over the country is evidenced by the citation of Saka year. This is borne out by another inscription where also the name Vikari and the Saka 1281 (1359) are mentioned in Tamil, the donor being Kariyamanikka Pillai of Paramesvaramangalam (I. 110). Next the Perkaḍai (minister) of Sri Vira Kumara Kempana Uḍaiyar offered 32 cows and a breeding bull (probably a thanks-giving offering for his military success) for burning one nandavilakku. These are indicative of the fact that besides the Tamils, the Telugus and the Kannada speaking people also had begun to look to Tirumala Deva for granting boons. In the wake of these endowments, we find Mullai Tiruvenkata Jiyar appearing on the stage as the agent of Harihararaya for instituting a new festival (tirunāl) called Māsi Tirunāl (in that month) in 1387 and 1390 A.D. The cyclic year alone is mentioned in these inscriptions and not even the Sāka year (I. 185; 196, Prabhava and Pramodūta).

Another feature to be noticed is that although endowments and gifts are made it is not clearly stated who is the trustee to accept these and to hold himself responsible. We have also to note that Harihararaya's name is given in the singular as **ஹரிஹரராயன்**. From all previous inscriptions it is plain that there was a body of

temple managers which looked to the due performance of all functions. But that body does not figure formally in these Silā-Sāsanams (inscriptions on stone) as taking over the trust gifts from the donors and binding itself to discharge the trust according to the wishes of the donor. The Tiruninra-ūr-uḍaiyar (the accountants) recorded these two gifts, not the Sthanattār. The temple authorities do not seem to have realised in 1390 that Harihararayar had become the ruler of this part of the country. If they had done so Harihararaya's name should have had some *prasasti* prefixed to it and the name itself would have been recorded in the respectable plural form.

THE ADMINISTRATIVE MACHINERY.

The first administrative machinery constituted by Sāmavai was called the Managers of Tiruvengadam temple (திருவேங்கடத்து மாடபத்தியம் செய்வார்.), "those who do the Māthapatyam," something very vague. Sri Ramanuja's arrangement is said to have been a committee consisting of the Archakar, Tirumalai Nambi and Anandālvān. But that is only a traditional statement. During the period of Chola rule it was the manager of the temple (மாடபத்தியம் செய்வார்) who held himself responsible for the performance of the trust, but the officers of the King held the whip in their hands. The endowment made by the Periya Nāṭṭar (senior men of the villages) of some of the villages as per the oral orders of the King Raja Raja Dever (l. 40. 1234 A.D.) was issued only as an edict of Bhūpatidēva Chitramēla (for the amudupaḍi and Sāttuppaḍi of Tirumangai Alwar). It might however, be believed that the Sthanattar (Sthanikas) were in existence from very early days. At any rate their existence is clearly recognised by Tirukkalatti Deva Yadavaraya. The Sthanattar approached the ruler (l. 81 1209 A.D.) with a request to make adequate provision for the conduct of daily worship in the Tirumala temple and the King set apart the lands in Kudavūr and got the same demarcated with Vishnu Chakram stones. The lands were not however handed over to the Sthanattar, for all one can read in the inscription. All such gifts became the property of the Sri Bhandāram (temple

properties) which might have formed a separate head of account in the Government Treasury. The Sthanattar would have been receiving only the income from endowments to meet current expenditure. Endowments earmarked for public works (construction and repairs) were credited to a head called "Tiruppani Bhandāram." The Sthanattar seem to have acted as agents, but not as trustees of the property.

When there was at a later date a complaint that the income of the temple was insufficient to meet satisfactorily all the demands for the due performance of daily worship and the nimandam of Tiruvengadamudaiyan, Sri Tiruvengaḍanatha Yadavaraya made certain arrangements (Narayanan Sandhi) for the conversion of Tirupati lands as sarvamanya grant and intimated the fact to the Sthanattar for information. (I. 100. 1332 A. D.) திருமலையில் ஓர்ானத்தார்க்கு நினைப்பு

That the Sthanattār were on occasions consulted and their advice even accepted can be seen from the inscription which states that Singayya Dēnnayaka, at whose request Tiruvenkatanatha set apart Pongalur as a Sarvamanya village for the celebration of Adi Tirunal and the Sitakaraganḍam Sandhi daily, respectfully approached the Sthanattar for acceptance of the arrangement (I. 103, 1328 A.D.). He also agreed to the Sthanattar's stipulation about the utilisation of any surplus income for certain additional charities such as feeding 32 Brahmins and maintaining a flower garden and water shed. That however, would not show that the Sthanattar had of right any real power.

That the Sthānattars were, at any rate in the view of Singayya Dēnnayaka, a highly respected body in the temple administration may be seen from the wording—ஸ்தானத்தார் ஸ்ரீபாதத்தேறி¹—approaching the feet of the Sthanattar, done by so powerful a man as Singayya.

Neither Mangideva nor Sri Vira Kumara Kempanna Uḍaiyar's Pērkadai nor Bukka mentioned the name of the Sthanattar in

1. '• திருமலையில் ஓர்ானத்தார் ஸ்ரீபாதத்தேறி ஸ்ரீமஹா பூசாரீகள் இம்மடி ராகுத்தராயன் சிங்கயடுள்ளையகன்:'

the inscriptions recording their respective endowments, nor of the regnal year of the Yadavaraya.¹ We therefore infer that till about 1387 A.D. the Sthanattar did not form a regularly constituted body.

In 1379—80 (I. 184), one Alagappiranar Tirukkali Kanridasar paid 450 panams into the Sri Bhandaram for certain food offerings to be made on occasions. Mullai Tiruvenkata Jiyar also paid 100 panams into the Sri Bhandāram in 1387 and 1390, with no mention of the name, Sthanattar (I. 185, 186).

Sthanattar figure as Trustees.

For the first time we find in an inscription of 24—2—1387 A.D. (I. 228) that the Sthanattar figure as Trustees accepting an endowment by Kollikkāvalidāsar and on 8—12—1390 A.D. (I. 187, 189) the Sthanattar figure as trustees executing a Silasanam in favour of Mullai Tiruvenkata Jiyar accepting his endowment of 1200 panams paid into the Sri Bhandāram for making food offerings on the occasion of Tiruppāvai singing during ten days in Margali month. Thereafter the Sthanattar figure invariably as trustees accepting endowments and gifts, the silāsāsanam being drawn up by the temple accounts, Tiruninra-ūr-udaiyar, under the orders of the Sri Vaishnavas, which latter is only a traditional compliment to the Sri Vaishnava community.

The entry of the Tiruninra-ur-udaiyar (Accountant) was itself an innovation which was started ten years earlier, *i.e.*, in January 1380 A.D. (I. 184).

It is worth while making an attempt to find out why and how the Sthanattar gave up their sub-servience to the Yādavarayas and their successors who were the rulers of the land, and also how and when they constituted themselves as Trustees accepting endowments. There is nothing in the published inscriptions to show that they were so authorised by the rulers. Tiruvenkata-natha Yadavaraya's name appears in I. 100 with his regnal year

1. I. 179. 1359 A.D. I. 181, 1368 A.D. I. 178

12, corresponding to 1332 A.D. Then comes Sriranganatha Yadavaraya's 3rd year which by a process of working backwards appears to be about 1339 A.D. Inscriptions (I. 113, 114, 110) recording gifts of such distinguished military generals as the Eṭṭamanchi brothers Periya Pemma Nayakkar and Pappu Nayakkar Pemma Nayakkar of the year 1360 mention Sriranganatha Yadavaraya as the ruler.

Sri Ranganatha is said to have built a palace for himself in his 16th regnal year on the Tirumala Hill (I. 109. 1351-52) A.D. to rest his war-weary limbs, after having defeated his foes. After 1360 A.D. his name is not heard of, nor does any successor to his throne and title appear on record. Inscription I. 110 which obviously speaks of the Yadavaraya as a Rama in battle mentions the year only as Vikari Saka (1281) or 1359-60 A.D. The Yadavaraya's regnal year is not noted there.

There is another matter also to be noted in connection with this name Sri Ranganatha. From tradition, which, also is perfectly true, it is well known that Sri Ranganatha Swami had to be shifted from His Temple in Sri Rangam and after a long and circuitous journey finally found a safe asylum in Tirumala. Dr. S. Krishna-swami Ayyangar recounts in his *History of Tirupati*, Vol. I, pages 417—421, the Srirangam temple (Kōyil Oḷuhu) account of this episode. But the portion of the story (p. 419) which says that the priest who carried the image of Sri Ranganatha tied himself to the image and got himself let down the steep scarp of a part of the Tirumala hill is really fantastic and unbelievable. Once the image reached the safe height of the Tirumala temple there was as much safety for Sri Ranganatha as for Tiruvengadamudaiyan. The fact appears to be that Sri Ranganatha was safely housed in a new, though small, structure within the temple at one end of a big mantapam (since called Ranga mantapam) till he was taken back and installed in Srirangam about 1369—70. Sri Ranganātha's image may have arrived in Tirumala about 1330 or 1332 A.D. No one can however give the exact year. Yadava Sri Ranganatha seems to have commenced his reign about 1336 according to some calculations. Sri Ranganatha of Srirangam may have left Tirumala some time between 1361 and 1367 because

the idol was in Senji (Gengee) for some years before being taken to Srirangam in 1371; and the Yadavaraya's name is not heard of after 1360. Was the Yadavaraya's real name Sri Ranganatha, or did he take on the Srirangam God's name under the then circumstances? His predecessor had for himself the name of the Tirumala God, Tiruvenkata.

After the disappearance of the above Yadavarayas some other ruler should have taken their place. From the relative magnitude of gifts made to Tiruvengadamudaiyan by Mangideva, the minister of Sri Vira Kempana Udaiyar, and the others, we are led to infer that Mangideva was more devoted to Tiruvēṅgaḍamuḍaiyan than the others. He was only a subordinate of the Vijayanagar Kings (Bukka I and Harihara). In inditing his gift of gold-gilding the vimanam and kalasam, he does not, in the preamble, give the Vijayanagar regnal year. The inscription is in Telugu as well as Tamil (a new feature). The omission cannot be construed as accidental. He was in all probability the successor to the Yadavarayas in being the Governor of this part of the Vijayanagar territories. He gives only the Saka year Vikari 1281 (I. 179, 180) and does not quote his own regnal year; nor does he quote the regnal year of Bukka I. Vira Kumara Kempana Udaiyar likewise quotes (I. 181) only the cyclic year Kilaka.

In the wake of these comes another inscription of January 1380 A.D. (I. 184) by one Alagappirānnār Tirukkalikanri Dasar, a Srivaishnava of Tirupati, which also quotes only the Saka year 1301, Siddhārti. For the first time it is observed that the inscription is the draft of Tiruninra-ūr-udaiyan, the temple accountant, a new officer of the temple.

Reading between the lines the inference is that after Sri Ranganatha swami was removed from Tirumala and after the demise of the Yadava Sri Ranganatha, there was some confusion in the management of the Tirumala temple and that a full time and qualified accountant was found essential for the proper maintenance of records. So the Sthanattar seem to have imported one of the Tiruninra-ūr-udaiyar a little before January 1380 A.D. In 1387 (I. 228) the Sthanattar set themselves up as the full-fledged trustees of the

Devasthanam and not merely the executive agency which they were under the Yadavarayas. This is a step they had to take and which they were quite competent to do. The ruler of the country (whoever he may have been) due to the political turmoils prevailing could not be expected to bestow any attention worth the name to the temple affairs. The interest of the Yadavarayas is taken to have commenced with Ghatti Deva about 1100 A.D. and lasted till 1360 A.D. for two centuries and a half. Any new ruler was yet to acquire a spiritual or sentimental attachment to the temple. The Sthanattar at the time were men of high character and reputation. We saw that Singayya Dannayaka approached their feet with great respect and even Tiruvengatanatha had to couch his edicts as being made for their hearing (நினைப்பக்கு). In reference to the Sthanattar setting themselves, up as full-fledged trustees, an incomplete inscription in Sanskrit Grantha Script on the north wall (left inner side) of the base of the Paḍi Kāvāli Gopuram in Tirumala may perhaps be considered relevant. It is to the effect (as translated by the epigraphist I. 161).

.....the best king having deceased.....
 the proper course being adopted மதவவி வரஸாலாஸநே; க்ரஹி
 சிவாராகம் (NOTE:—Perhaps the portions left dotted above are
 being hidden by some wall or other and could be read if the
 obstruction is removed).

If the inscription refers to the death of Sri Ranganatha Yadavara-
 raya and to the subsequent course of independent action taken
 by the Sthanattar, the relevancy may be admitted.

Although the Sthanattar set themselves to be the effective trustees of the Devasthanams, royal Dharmasasanams were being issued without any specific mention of the Sthanattar. Thus Sri Virapratapa Devaraya Maharaya's Dharmasasana recorded in Kannada on the Bangaru Vakil (or door jamb covered with gilded copper plate at the entrance to the main shrine in Tirumala) on the occasion of the Emperor's visit on Monday, the Sukla Dasami of Margasira, Saumya year (Saka 1351) (5th December 1429) (I. 192) makes the statement that two thousand two hundred honnu (gold) were transferred from the Raja Bhandara to the Chandragiri Bhandara and that in addition three villages mentioned therein were also

granted as Sarvamanya for the celebration of a nine days' festival every year and for certain other daily services. There is no mention of the Sthanattar as trustees taking charge of these properties. So also when Sirigirēsvara, son of Vissanna Devaraya, presented his gold pattam (1-7-1430) I. 193 set with gems to the God of the Sri Venkata Hill, there is no mention of the Sthanattar. The sila sasanam is in Sanskrit (Grantha characters).

Teppada Nāgaya Nayakkaru (son of Muddaya Nayara) on (I. 209) 12-1-1443 executed his dharmasasana in Kannada denoting 3000 honnu for preparing three gold plates in his name and another 100 pon for a daily offering of two flower garlands, two barivāha and eight upora.....The Sthanattars are enjoined to carry out this charity scrupulously (12-1-1443).

Specific mention is not made of the composition of this council or committee of Sthanattar. There need be no doubt that it would have taken about 30 years for this body to take a definite shape after 1360 A.D. After the disappearance of the Yadavarayas from the temple overlordship and after Sri Ranganathaswami was taken back to Srirangam there must have been great need felt for overhauling the accounts and verifying temple properties. A staff of competent accountants was set up in the temple and we found in 1379—80 that the Tiruninra-ur udaiyan made his debut. Ten years later in 1390 the Sthanattar as a self-constituted body came to view. Their composition is revealed in the same inscription No. 187 which has already been noticed. Therein is found a scheme of distribution of the quarter share of the prasadam due to the donor of the gift. Among others the Sthanattar are allotted a share in the following proportion making a total of 12 nirvāhams:¹—

| | | | |
|---------------------------------|----|-----------|---|
| Tirupati Srivaishnavas | :: | 4 | } This proportion was observed even in the Tirupati temple. |
| Tiruchānur Sabhaiyar | :: | 3 | |
| Nāmbimār | :: | 1 | |
| Koḷḷ Kelkum Jiyars | :: | 2 | |
| Koḷḷ-Kānakku Tiruninral-udaiyar | :: | 2 | |
| Total: | :: | 12 | |

1. Nirvāham is subsistence allowance, or means of living.

So we draw the inference that the Sthanattar were twelve in number.

Mullai Tiruvenkata Jiyar.

Inscription 187 Vol. I of 1390 refers to an endowment by one Mullai Tiruvenkata jiyar, manager of the Arisāñālayam maṭham and nandavanam. We must know how he came in, for he and his successors were destined to play their part in this temple.

We have seen that Singayya Dannayaka transferred the Arisanalayam Nandavanams and the maṭhams at Tirumala and a Tirupati to a certain Siyan or Jiyar for management and for the enjoyment of emoluments therefrom during his lifetime, after the due performance of certain charities in the temple (I. 104, 1339 A.D.). The stipulation was that, on the demise of that Siyan or Jiyar his successor should be appointed by the Dannayakars alone from among the Desāntaries (or outsiders). We do not know when that Siyan died. But we find in January 1388 and in June 1390 (I. 185, 186) that one Mūllai Tiruvenkata Jiyar came forward as the agent of Hariharaya paying 100 panams for the performance of a festival (masi-Tirumal) in the name of Harihararaya. On 8th December 1390 (I. 187), he described himself as the Manager of the Arisanālayam Tirunandavanam at Tirumala and made an endowment of 1200 panams as capital for certain festivals. He was a Sanyasi. But he does not state in the inscriptions relating to his endowments who his guru or acharya was. Sishyas (and more so Sanyasis) consider it a sacred duty and an honour to acknowledge their acharya on all possible occasions. It is evident that he got possession of the Arisanalayam Tirunandavanam between June and December 1390 through the favour of Harihararaya himself. It must be that the Siyar or Jiyer appointed in 1339 by Dannayaka died and that there was no Dannayaka to appoint a successor. The Tamil word Arisanālayam Tirunandavanam indicates that the Arasan or (King) planted a Tirunanda-

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vanam or garden for the use of the ālayam or temple (ஆலயம்). The words mean the temple garden planted by the King. It was probably a temple property and Mullai Tiruvenkata jiyar was made its Kartar by the Vijayanagar King Harihara.

CHAPTER XIV.

EXPANSION OF SRI VAISHNAVA ACTIVITIES.

Sthanattar and Sthanikas.

FROM the analysis of the composition of the Sthanattar given in the previous chapter it will be seen that it is not quite similar to the composition of the 'Sthanikas' in other important temples. The term 'Sthānikas' usually conveys the impression that it is composed of the religious functionaries in a temple, who receive a sort of preferential treatment in the matter of being served with tīrtham and prasādam (consecrated water and food) in the gōshti or assembly of worshippers. In the Tirumala and Tirupati temples this class is represented by the Archakas, the Jiyangars and the Āchārya purushas. The Sthanattar form a different class whose function is secular and not religious, although there can be no rigid line of demarcation drawn between the two. In fact some of the Sthanattar particularly the Tiruninra-ūr-uḍaiyars, were the spiritual disciples of the Achāryapurushas, usually showing a respect to the Acharya which would prevent their sitting together on a footing of equality.

The political changes in the country have already been reviewed to explain the emergence of the Sthanattar as Independent Trustees. There were also religious and social conditions which contributed to this step.

Srirangam which stood out as the foremost rallying point for Vaishnavas from time immemorial became a vulnerable place. Kanchipuram, which took the next rank ever since Sri Ramanuja promulgated his Visishtādvaita philosophy, did not also prove to be the safest place. All Sri Vaishnavas had to look to Tiruvēṅgaḍam when the Muslims remorselessly demolished and pillaged the temples, broke the idols and forcibly converted or massacred Hindu men and abducted Hindu women. Tirumala somehow

escaped the danger and all the religious minded Sri Vaishnavar counted on the God of the Vēṅgaḍam Hills for the safety of their religion. In Vēṅgaḍam the Tamilian came into contact with the Kannada Hoysālas, the Telugu Chālukyas, the Telugu Pallavas and others attached to the new Vijayanagar Kings of the Sangama line. The past history and affluence of the Tirumala temple was till then bound up with the fortunes of the Tamil-loving Chōlas, Pāṇḍyas, Yādavarayas and Gaṇḍagōpalas. The Muslim invasion completely crushed these kings and put an end as well to their rivalries. For the moment the Muslim danger was arrested by their combined action. But who will rise as the next dominant Hindu power was yet an uncertain matter in the period between 1340 and 1390. Yadava Sri Ranganatha died about 1360 A.D. and the religious order of the temple which hitherto looked to him for support had to chalk out its own future and it did so.

Separation of secular administration from the religious propaganda.

The task before them was not merely one of keeping the temple services and festivals going without a break. It was certainly more than that. Sri Vedānta Desika and Pillai Lokāchārya represented the cream of the Tamil speaking Sri Vaishnavas and were the real inspirers and guides at the time. There were also the local Achāryapurushas, the numerous Jiyars and their followers in the ma'hams who came from the extreme south, the Sabhaiyars of Tiruchchukanur and the Archakas, all of whom had an abiding interest in the temple. They seem to have realised that they could not confine their activities to the Tamil country alone if their temples and Sri Ramanuja's Visiṣṭhādvaitam were to gain predominance in the land. They could not rely solely on the support of the kings as their position itself was unstable. They had therefore to educate the masses and make them religious-minded. For the achievement of the latter object Sri Vedānta Dēsika had already produced an unsurpassable volume of literature in Tamil bringing the highest truths within the easy reach and understanding of the common man. Similar work had to be undertaken for the Kannada and the Telugu countries. The Brahmaṅtra Swami,

an immediate disciple of Sri Vedanta Desika, had taken up his place in the Mysore country for this work. The Telugu country needed attention. **The plan therefore seems to have been that the Acharyapurushas—how many families they were at the time we do not know, but they number seven now—should take up propaganda and proselytising work, retaining at the same time their peculiar spiritual position in Tirumala and Tirupati, and leave it to the Sthanattar to manage the secular affairs of the temples.** Ādi Vaṅ Saṭhakōpaswami also started his evangelical mission about the middle of the 15th century and his successors of the Ahobila Mutt carried on the mission in the Telugu country penetrating even into Orissa. **The history of the temple from 1390 A.D. onwards, when the new scheme might be considered to have been put into effect, shows how remarkably well this system worked.** While time had an adverse effect on the fortunes of other temples, **the Tirumala temple went on towering higher and higher.**

How the Scheme worked.

A cursory reading of the inscriptions of the 15th and 16th centuries A.D. shows that within a century and a half they were able to make the different branches of the royal family with their ministers and generals the spiritual disciples of a mutt or of one or the other of the Achāryapurusha families. The great agricultural and trading communities had likewise been made Sri Vaishnavas.

The equality of social treatment which all were accorded in the presence of the Deity was a great cementing factor between the Achārya and the disciple. Some of the Achāryapurushas went even a bit further in bridging social inequalities. Even in so conservative a function as the Sradha they so arranged the ceremonial functions, that at a certain stage all their disciples could come and worship before the sacrificial fire. The Achāryapurushas were not behind their opulent disciples in making endowments to the temple. In not a few cases the amounts were large. In one notable instance a village Pedda Ekkalur, with an annual net income of 2000 varahas gifted by the Vijayanagar King Sadasivaraya Maharaya to Sottai Tirumalai Nambi Srinivasa Ayyangar,

was soon after transferred to his God Tiruvengaḍamuḍaiyan as an endowment for the perpetual performance of certain festivals etc. The same person made a subsequent endowment of villages with an annual income of about 1000 varahas. The moral effect of the transactions could not but have had an elevating influence on his disciples. All these charities will be catalogued in due course. Here it has to be remembered that the members of these Āchāryapurushas and other families connected with this temple were not leading a parasitic existence. They worked with a will for the spread of their religion and for maintaining the high traditions of their temple. The prefixing of the word Tirumala to their name was a matter of great pride. It is decidedly so even to this day in the Telugu and Kannada countries from Ganjam downwards. Whatever the family name may be the prefixing of the word Tirumala has always been considered a great honour and privilege. In the Tamil country a Tatachari in whatever part of the country he may be, claims ancestry from Tirumalai Nambi. The disappearance of the Tamil kings and the emergence of the Vijayanagar kings and their dependents brought about this transformation. These Āchāryapurushas and the Mathādhipatis overspread the land for doing evangelical work in the name of Tiruvengaḍamuḍaiyān. They had temples built in various places. There is a Dwaraka Tirumala in the West Godavary district. There were Venkatesvara temples built in very many villages. So also temples to Narasimhaswami. They did the pratishṭhā and received the Tirtham in these temples. The temples assumed the status of Tirthaparigraham temples for all others. The Antarvēdi Narasimhaswami temple in the East Godavary district owes its origin to the Prativādi Bhayankaram family; the Simhachalam temple to the first Vaṅ Saṭhakopa Jiyar and so also the one in Mangalagiri. These Āchāryapurushas and Mathādhipatis did not make religion a close preserve in their own hands. The religious orders known as **Sattada Srivaishnavas, the Konda dasaris and the Mala dasaris** bear testimony to their efforts to take religious instruction to the very door of even the lowliest and the loneliest of Hindus. The Sāttāda Sri Vaishnavas were drawn from all classes of non-brahmin caste-Hindus. The **Koṇḍa dasaris**' work lay with the hill tribes living in lonely places. The **Māla dasaris**' work was among the

antyaajas. These dasaris were the trusted disciples of the Āchārya-purushas and continue to be so even to this day. Their civil and even petty criminal disputes are adjudicated by their Acharya. They do not go to any other court. The Sāttāda Sri Vaishnava was as well-versed in the Tiruvoimoli as the Sāttina Srivaishnava and ministered to the religious needs of a section of Hindus. They performed puja also in certain temples and do so even now.

For the benefit of the dāsaris a religious literature was got up in the form of songs which they get by heart. These songs enshrine the highest philosophical doctrines and forms of worship. When they appear in public with the lamp and the gong in hand they arrest attention. The light symbolises true knowledge and the gong symbolises the divine call to reform one's life and conduct.

There are in the Telugu country very many Tirumalai Tata-charis. Prativādi Bhayankarams, Nallānchakravartis, Māḍabhusis, Naḍādurs and other families who do not know the Tamil alphabet or the language, but yet get by heart the Tiruvoymoli in Telugu script. They are the descendants of families who infiltrated into the Telugu country after 1390 A.D. All of them take pride in calling themselves Tirumalaivāramu.

It was not the Acharyapurushas alone who did this work of proselytising and of bringing adherents and benefactions to the Tirumala Temple. There was the Brahma Tantram or Parakala-swami with his Math in Mysore. The Maharajas of Mysore have been for very many generations the disciples of the Parakālamatham. There was the Van Sathakopan Nandavanam and matham in Tirumala early in the 14th century A. D. which ultimately became the Ahōbila mutt. The founder of this mutt was Adi van Sathakopaswami who was the spiritual guru of the great Telugu poet Allasāni Peddanna. The mutt's influence was felt all over the Andhra country right upto Orissa. The Tallapakam poets and philosophers of the great Nandavarika family who became ardent Sri Vaishnavas also contributed to making Sri Vaishnavism popular in the Telugu country.

Then came the great Vyasaraya Mutt during the reign of Krishnadevarāya with its unrivalled hold on the Kannada country. All

the Vaishnava mutts considered it a great privilege to have a foothold in Tirumala and to receive honours in the temple. Standing on a Hill where the Tamil, the Telugu and the Kannadigas meet, this Deity of Tiruvēṅgaḍam continues to draw more and more devotees to His Shrine as the centuries roll on.

Local Support and Royal benefactions.

But it took five or six decades before any tangible results could be detected in the popularity of the shrine in the Telugu country. During this period, the residents of Tirupati and of the villages around it did not fail in their duty. The note at the end of this chapter shows a list of all their endowments. The endowments by the local people took the form of food offerings. The reason was that in the unsettled condition of the country what the pilgrim wanted was food. If the endowments made by the residents of Tirupati and the surrounding villages have been enumerated, it is not to produce the impression that the Sangama kings and their officers did nothing for this temple. Bukkaraya I endowed for a daily Sandhi offering and for a Brahmōtsavam in the month of Kartigai. This was about 1365 A.D. Harihara II gave in 1387 A.D. probably on the persuasion of Mullai Tiruvenkata Jiyar 100 panams a year for the Māsi Brahmotsavam, which capitalised at the rate of interest in those days would be about 1000 panams (I. 185). Giridēvappagal, younger brother of Santappa Naggappan, probably an officer under Hari Hara II, endowed 600 panams for the purchase of a flower garden and the Lakshmi Narasimha mantapam and for food offerings on a particular festival day (I. 191; 18-12-1404 A.D.).

Neither Bukka II, nor Devaraya I, nor Vira Vijaya, the successors of Harihara II seem to have made any gifts or endowments during their reign *i.e.*, till we reach 1419 A.D. There is nothing to be wondered at if these Kings were indifferent to the Tirumala Temple. They were in the midst of a life and death struggle with the Muslim Brahmin Kings. They were also all largely under Saivite influence. The only Vaishnava temple within easy reach for them was that of Ahōbila Narasimhaswami.

Even this may be due to the fact that Sri Sankaracharya has sung the Lakshmi Narasimhasotram. The Upper Ahobilam temple (on the Hill) is a compromise temple where Ugra Narasimha and Siva Lingam stand in amity with only a stone screen cut out of the hill rock separating the two. It is in fact a Hari Hara Kshethram. Kings with an ambition to carve out an Empire could not afford to label themselves as belonging to this or that sect. Attachment to a particular Deity is however inculcated by the slow growth of the belief that success is due to the special favour of a particular Deity enshrined in a particular temple. This faith in Tiruvēṅgaḍamuḍaiyan had yet to catch the imagination of the Vijayanagar Kings. The Achāryas played no small part in shaping this faith. There is the tradition about how the Rayar of Vijayanagar became the spiritual disciple of a Venkata Dikshitar of the Tirumalai Nambi family of Tirupati and made a grant of the village Bodipad (thereafter renamed as the present Rāyadurg) in addition to Eṭṭūr and Immadi. At the instance of his Acharya, nine more families of different gōtras were imported to make it possible for his Acharya to reside in that country and carry on his havyakavya. It was all the result of a dream which the Āchārya had while halting one night in a village called Hanumanthagundam (Kurnool district) on his return journey from Ahobilam after attending the Brahmotsavam there. His dream of a Bimba of Nrisimha being buried in a white ant-hill and asking him to get it exhumed by the king. It proved true and the Rayar became a disciple of the Acharya who was well known as a great pandit of saintly character. This is a story which we may believe or not. But the fact remains that in the life of men certain inexplicable incidents create deep impression and faith. The descendants of this Acharya are living in Anagundi and other places in the Bellary District. Till we go to the year 1429-1430 A.D. we do not find any strong attachment to the God of Tiruvengadam among the members of the royal family of Vijayanagar.

In 1430 Srigirisvara the son of Vissanna Devaraya who is identified as the brother of Devaraya II, presented a gold pattam set with gems to "Sri Venkatadri Prabhu" (I. 193, 1-7-1430).

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In 1433 Tirukkalikkanri dasar Alagappiranar was able to prevail upon Uḍaiyar Devana Uḍayar (Devaraya II) to help instituting Vedaparayanam recital in Tirumala, which as could be seen from the series of transactions involved, (as shown by the inscription I. 199 to 203) was no easy matter.

In 1443 Teppada Nagaya Nayakkar, son of Muddayya Nāyakar (obviously an officer under the King), donated 3000 pon (30000 panams) for three gold plates for presenting food offerings daily to the Deity and also another 100 pon (1000 panams) for the daily food offerings (Kannada Inscription I. 209).

In 1446 Periya Mallaya Deva Maharaja (Mahamanḍalesvara Mēdini Mīsaraganḍa Kaṭhāri Sāluva) paid 1000 panams for offering 1 Tiruppōnakam daily (I. 210). In 1450 Siru Mallaya Deva Maharaja, son of Malagangayadeva (of the same family as above) paid 1200 panams for 1 Tiruppōnakam daily (I. 218).

In 1429 Sriman Maharajadhiraja Rajaparamesvara Sri Virapratapa Dēvaraya Maharaya gave three villages and 2200 ponnu (22000 panams) for a daily offering of 30 platefuls of food etc., and instituted a Brahmotsavam in Tirumala to be celebrated in the month of Asvija (I. 192; 5-12-1429).

It will be noted that Devaraya II and Teppada Nagaya Nayakkar showed by the largeness of their endowments a more than passing faith in Venkatadri Prabhu.

It will thus be seen that by a scheme of devolution of responsibility the Acharyapurushas and the Matadhipathies gave a new drive to make people realise the high ideals for which this temple stood, so that there may be no dependence on kings alone. This was the good that came out of the evil of the Muslim invasion.

Note:—List of endowments made by local people.

Mullai Tiruvenkata Jiyar made two endowments in 1390 and 1393 amounting in all to 1800 panams. Mallanna or Madhava

Dasar of Chandragiri made an endowment for one Tirupponakam offering daily in 1409 and constructed the Tirumamani mantapam in front of the Tirumala shrine in 1417 A.D.

Mallāṇḍayar's (Chandragiri) endowment dated 2-10-1444 was for two Tirupponakam daily (irrigation channels dug).

Through the efforts of Tirukkalikkanri Dasar Aḷagappirānar, Udaiyar Dēvana Udaiyar made over to the Temple the Raja Bhaṇḍaram income from Siddhakuṭṭai for instituting Veda-parayanam service in Tirumala (which was not being done till then) from 1433 A.D. Since the amount was found insufficient to maintain 24 Brahmins for the purpose, all the villagers of the sixteen Tiruvidaiyāttam villages of the Temple undertook to contribute yearly 200 panams (I. 200, 201, 202, 203). The same Alagappiranar instituted the Arunōdayam Sandhi for six months in a year and some other food offerings also (4000 panams) (I. 207, 208).

In 1442 A.D. Karunakaradasar, a Sāttāda Sri Vaishnava of Tirupati made an endowment offering one Tirupponakam daily. Smaller offerings on occasions were instituted by Ālvār Mudaliyar, Ulaguḍaiya Perumal and Govindan Tiruvandālvār accountants from 1445 (450 panams) (I. 212).

The Sabhaiyars of Tiruchchukanur (probably members of the Sthanattar Committee) viz., Anantasayanar and Vadamamalaidasar, Alagar Appillai alias Tiruvanandalvar Periya perumal, also one Alagiya perumal, son of Ramanuja dasar made endowments of 300 panams, 120 panams and 200 panams respectively for food offerings on certain festival days (I. 213, 215, 216; 1445 and 1446 A.D.).

Koyil Kelvi Emperumanar Jiyar who perhaps was the successor of Mullai Tiruvenkata Jiyar, from about 1445 A.D., made a number of endowments all of which were for food offerings on the various Brahmotsavam festival days at Tirumala and Tirupati. They are of the value of 2000, 1000, 1000, 1000 and 5000 panams respectively (total 10,000). The dates of these endowments extend

over a period of 12 years from 1445-1457 A.D. (I. 219, 220, 221, 222 and 223). One Channakesava Dasar excavated in 1450 A.D. an irrigation channel for Tirupati lands at a cost of 1000 panams (I. 224) and from the proceeds certain food offerings in his name were to be made. One Rama Dasar, a hermit living in Papanasa Waterfalls, endowed 1000 panams for one food offering daily (7-7-1454) (I. 225). One Perumal (Kollikkavalidasar) a Sri Vaishnava of Tirupati paid 1000 panams as fund for one food offering daily (for Govindaraja), (I. 228, 1387 A.D.). There are a few other fragmentary inscriptions whose dates cannot be fixed. A Periyaperumaldasar Devaman made a fair amount of deposit about 13-12-1445. Hariyappa of Chandragiri paid 3000 panams for one food offering and for feeding 12 Brahmins daily. (II. 2, 25-8-1454 A.D.).

Thus the total endowments by the residents of the place amounted to about 24000 panams during the period 1380 to 1450 (or 70 years).

In 1464 A.D. Sottai Tirumalai Nambi Tolappar Ayyangar made an endowment of 7000/- panams for offering every night one appapadi to Sri Govindaraja.



APPENDICES

APPENDIX I—(TO CHAPTER I)

Reprint of an article relating to the
Tirumala Temple published in the Asiatic Journal
and Monthly Register for British and Foreign
India, China and Australia, issue of
May—August, 1831 A.D.¹

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This temple is distinguished by oblations which are offered to its God by Vishnu's Votaries from all parts of the Indian world. Princes send vakeels or ambassadors to present their offerings to the shrine; whilst the poorer peasant, who may have little else to offer, wraps up some petty oblation in a piece of waxcloth, a handful of rice stained with manjall makes it into a larger packet. The cause of these offerings is as follows: the idol smitten with love for the blooming Tudmavutta daughter of Akasarajah of Narrainnum in the Bomrauze Zemindaree determined to espouse her. but wanting coin for the matrimonial expenses; he raised with wind by the aid of Cuvēra the Indian Plutus. This God, however, directed that the monies thus lent should be repaid annually to the sovereign of the countries lying between the Palaur and Soona mookai rivers, and the votaries at the shrine pour in great numbers during the Brahmotsavam or nine days celebration of the nuptials; and annually at this period two thirds of the usual collection are made.

The Brahmins maintain that the Hindu Princes allowed the revenues from this source to be entirely employed on the spot in

1. The author is indebted to Sri M. C. Subramania Iyer, Assistant Curator, Madras Records Office, for bringing this article to notice

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religious ceremonies and that the musaulman first appropriated on the score of the above claim, the produce of these oblations. During the early wars we had with the French, in this part of the world, this source of revenue was one of the first fruits of our conquests; though certainly its legitimacy is much to be doubted. These offerings or caunickee, are made generally from interested motives, and are of every diversity or articles conceivable; gold and silver lumps, coins of all sorts, bags of rupees, copper money, spices, asofotidea, the hair cut off the head, frequently vowed from infancy, and given up by some beautiful virgin in compliance with her parents' oath. A man who is lame presents a silver leg; if blind a silver or gold eye; in fact there would be no end when I enumerate the various ways in which Hindu superstition develops itself on this occasion. The jewels which a woman has worn with pride from infancy are voluntarily left before the idol; she appears with a shabby cloth before the stone God, and presents a splendid one which has never been worn, she tears the bangles from her infant's little legs and fondly hopes that the God whom she "sees in the clouds and hears in the wind" will shower down his blessings on her and hers. She has haply travelled hundreds of miles and accomplished her object: and perhaps before a journey which to her might have been one of terror, never left her village and bosom of her own family. The birth of a son, reconciliation with enemies, success against the foe, safe termination of a journey, the marriage of a son or daughter, prosperity in trade, enjoyment of health, and the reverse of these are among the reasons which lead together in the direction of Tripetty, the wise as well as the ignorant heathens.

The offerings are not always presented by the interested party. They may be sent by relations, friends, vakeels; but they are frequently forwarded by Goseynes. A goseyne is a servant of the temple; there are a considerable number of them. A few months of the Brahmotsavam, they set out in different directions, and reaching the country they intend to commence their operations insin, they unfurl the sa and flag of the God, with which each is entrusted. Round the idolatrous banner the Hindus gather and either entrust their offerings to its bearer, or carry the caunickee

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themselves to the foot of the idol. A sufficient mass being congregated the blind leader of the blind strikes the standard and returns whither he came in time for a nuptial anniversary. The former of the customs generally permit all pilgrims to pass free to the temple. The Goseynes seldom are detected in stealing the caunickee entrusted to their care, but they no doubt derive some emolument from the pilgrim as their presence alone secures them from trouble; taxation and other annoyance. As they journey they chaunt out, every five or six minutes and attributes of the God—"Gōv. Gōv. Govinda Al May—Mungoo....," the whole party men, women and children successively take up the word as rapidly as possible, and then simultaneously burst out with it. On my road to Tripetty we passed several groups of these besoted heathens and it made the road quite lively whilst, strange anomaly, a slight reflexion excited mournful feelings.

The offerings are, of course, of various extent; they seldom exceed 1000 rupees. The God compliments the worshippers at his alter with presents proportioned to the liberality of their oblation; if the victim gives 100 rupees, he receives a turband; from 100 to 500, a flowered silk vestment; from this to 1000, a shawl, etc. A second source of revenue is called *Wurtena*, presents given to the idol for its own use; whether jewels or horse's cloths, etc. The donor is made to pay the estimate value of the offering to government before he is allowed to make the idol its present; however the article is then retained for the use of the temple. A third source of revenue is designated *Arjectum*, or receipts and is of three classes, *viz.*, Abhishekam or purifications; Naivaidoom or offerings; Wahanums or processions.

"1st Abbesheykoom, every Friday throughout the year the idol is anointed with civet, musk, camphor etc., and washed clean again with milk. So important a spectacle cannot be seen for love, and the devotee, desirous of viewing the operation, pays what he chooses during the rest of the year, but at Bramhautsowum, pays through the nose, in a sum formerly more, but now reduced to fifty rupees. This ceremony of rubbing, scrubbling and causing the God to smell sweet, and vice versa, is styled poolkaub. 2nd Porlungsee Seeva, or enrobing his excellence the God in a flower

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garment. This ceremony takes place every Thursday. During the festival sixty rupees are paid for seeing the business. 3rd Suka alankara seva. Twelve rupees are paid under this head by all who delight in seeing the idol decorated with a necklace of flowers, and this pleasure may, for this daily payment, be enjoyment for 365 days of the year. 4th Sahasranamarchana. This term signifies the diurnal worship of the god under his thousand names; five rupees is the price of this piece of devotion. 5th Munsoon Seva is an imposing ceremony, and the spectator yields forth twelve rupees for seeing the mighty object of his worship rocked to sleep;

“ Proceed we to naivedoom, or offerings: 1st Annaidoom. Under this head are 1st Purmanum, 2nd Poolecayarrum, 3rd Mudgarrum and 4th Duddudavam.

The first is an offering of milk, sugar, rice; the second tamarinds, sweet oil and rice; the third doll ghee (clarified butter) and rice; 4th buttermilk and rice. These good offerings may be prepared severally by the offerer at option, in which case he pays six rupees only, but if the circar prepared he pays sixteen; second Bugchana vaidoom, or offerings of sweetmeats; the devotee has the offering prepared by the circar, and twenty to twenty eight rupees are paid for the honour of presenting it. Third, Malamavaidoom¹ (maha naivedyam) commonly called Teeroopowra² (Tiruppaavadai) is a large offering are from 1000 to 2000 puccha seers of rice provided by the circar but paid for in one hundred or two hundred pagodas. Fourth, ‘ Amunthanmarumoocha ’ (Amantharana utsavam) are united offerings of all daily offers, but of course for a less extent. The price is sixty five rupees. Fifth Ookaipadchadee a presentation of the plant Ookai sitloo (കുഴിപ്പുഴു) peculiar to the Tripetty hill. This is four rupees.

There remains now to describe *Vahanum* or processions of the idol. They are twelve in number and each has a reference to

1. Mahanaivedyam
2. Tiruppavadai
3. Amantharana utsavam

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different parts of a Hindu mythology as connected with the adoration of Vishnu. (The idol exhibited on these occasions is a gilded representation made of metal, of the stone fellow in the temple who is too lazy to turn out himself).

Kalpa Varucha Vahanam is a procession of the idol placed under a gilt wooden tree. Andoleeka Vahanam is a procession attending his excellency in a palankeen; Sessa Vahanam is the God carried forth on a gilt serpent sessa. Saroah Bhoopala Vahanam signifies the carrying the idol on a gilt throne; Suria prabha Vahanam is a procession of the idol attended by a gilt sun. Addah arah is a trip of the gentleman to a room surrounded by looking glasses adjusted to reflect him several times; Andola Vahanam is another kind of palankeen procession. For all the above the votary who gives the idol the trouble of coming out is forty rupees less rich than he was before. Gudu Vahanam is a procession in which the idol is mounted on a gilt parrot; Chandra prabah is a procession of the idol accompanied by a gilt moon; Hanumantha Vahanam is a procession of the idol mounted upon a gilt figure like an elephant. Sometime in representation of Hanuman, the Indian pan. Simha Vahanam is a procession in which the idol rides a gilt lion. Bala sessa Vahanam is the last procession of the idol sitting upon a gilt serpent."

The whole of the revenue of the temple, from whatever source derived, are under the management of and appropriated by the circar or government. A regular establishment is entertained paid by salaries; and a horde of bramins are maintained by lands, appropriated for that purpose, over the face of the surrounding country, called mannyums or estates enjoyed on very favourable terms under government, subject only to a slight jody or tax. The temple is kept up in all its dignity; and the average receipts on the account of government, for the last ten years, or fuslies, will show what a good thing we make of it. The head general officer there is called Tahsildar, whose business is the general superintendence over the others; to see the pilgrims are well treated and lodged in proper places; supplies kept fairly in the bazaars, ceremonies duly performed as paid for, and that no bribery, tyranny or oppression of any sort takes place. He reports to the collector or his

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assistants, according to orders, on all cases of doubt or importance. Next is the Sheristadar or head native accountant, who acts under the tahsildar, assists him in all his responsible duties, and superintends the regularly kept accounts of all disbursements and receipts for the use of the temple. Under him are four gumastas or native writers. The rysagu is a police clerk and is assisted by a ghola and obeys the tahsildar in all magisterial matters. Common servants are allowed for taking care of dufters, or records, lighting, sweeping the cutchery and etc., and twenty peons attend the tahsildar's cutchery and are paid a pagoda (8 shillings) a month; with the duffedars or head peons with larger salary. During the Bramhautsoem or nine days festival an additional sibbandi is allowed with twenty five peons, twenty putwars (and that kind of peon in lower salaries) and five hircurraks or scouts to bring intelligence of the arrival of any pilgrim of rank, and to keep the peace among the enormous crowd that annually fills this part of the country. They also assist the tahsildar with forty or fifty peons, a party of whom are constantly on the hills looking out for the thieves who congregate where the prey may be, whilst another party range the country, assisted by the village police, who apprehend suspicious characters. A company also of sepoy's under a native officer are stationed as the tahsildar may choose as permanent guards. The temple has attached to it a granary and store house under charge of Jeengar and Ekangi or his deputy. These have under them a goomasta^h an Allowagar or grain measurer, three peons, a sandal-wood carrier, a flower carrier, a musk extractor, a pottu, a wood-man for the cook, a golla, a sweeper, a mossoli or man to light up the place. The tahsildar always sees that the store has a sufficient stock for any sum upon it. He keeps regular accounts of all that enters the granary. The Jeengar keeps account of all that is disbursed upon the orders of the Parapatyadar or manager of the temple. The Parapatyadar or manager supplies daily ration of food to all the numerous servants of the temple; sees that they all do their several duties and is second only to the tahsildar in general superintendence. He takes care that the gifts presented are duly disposed of, searches the guards and others over the place for receiving the offerings and with the result of the day's oblations accompanies them to the tahsildar who with him seals

up in gunny bags whatever is collected in money, jewels and copper plates, etc. Attached to this officer is a goomastah, alowghar and four peons, and he keeps another account of all he receives from the stores. The offerings of foods, sweets, etc., presented by the pilgrims are prepared for them by his orders and his accounts are counter examined by the tahsildar. The parapatyadar previous to drawing in any large quantity on the store sends the estimate to the tahsildar who signs it.

“ Passing through the Bangaru Vakili or silver porch the pilgrims are admitted into a rather confined part and are introduced to the God in front of whom are two vessels, one called the gangalam or vase, the other Kopra or large cup and into these things votaries drop their respective offerings and making their obeisance pass out through another door. At the close of the day the guards both of peons and sepoy round these vessels are searched. Without examination of any sort offerings are thrown into bags and are sealed first with the seal of the pagoda, then by the tahsildar and jeengar; after which the bag is sent down to the cutchery below the hill Govindarauz pettai. At the end of the month these bags are transmitted to our cutchery here or huzur (meaning the presence); and they are there opened, sorted, valued and finally sold at auction. However during the Brahmotsavam either the collector or a subordinate must be on the spot owing to the value of the offerings, there number the crowds of people, and to see that no cheating takes place from the want of power of immediate representation. And on the duty I was bound when I wrote from Chandragiri. I have little more to add except the average revenue of the last ten years. The annual nett proceeds from this source is about eighty seven thousands rupees. In 1822 collections were one lakh fortytwo thousand and odd but this is exclusive of expenses, wherewith twenty thousand may be deducted. In 1820 or fasli 1230 the collections were 1,02,000.

You may perhaps start at such organised system of religious, or rather you will say profane, plunder on the part of the government, but such, strange as it may appear, is far from the case. Those who without just reflection join the spiritless cry against our government are rejoiced in soul to start up such a topic as

this, as an admirable specimen of what, with other things, should draw down vengeance of heaven on us. The fact is this: we find that the resources of the pagoda were legitimately enjoyed by the musalman government, for services earned with blood and presence, and that at the risk of losing our trade on the coramandel coast. One of the first rewards, or rather poor payment, was this revenue; and it has been paid unremittingly ever since. We found the allowing the temple to support itself upon its own funds lead to the grossest imposition upon settlement of Kists; moreover that the only cultivation in that part of the country was in the hands of Bramins who cannot legally touch a plough; and therefore all other castes of riots were virtually their slaves; and it was absurd for them to dream of holding lands when it embraced competition with Vishnu's Bramins under the very nose of the sacred Hill; the consequence was the priests had it all their own way: labour was drawn towards their district to the comparative impoverishment of the surrounding ones; and such was found to be the case all over the presidency. Every village pagoda was the petty oppresser of its range, and the influence only stopped when the effects of a neighbouring one interfered with it. It was a strange but determined piece of policy when throughout the country the pagoda lands were resumed by the company and tustik allowance granted in their place; the lands passed into other hands and the riches solely grasped by the Bramin are diffused amongst the real cultivators of the soil and the coffers of the state replenished by the new stimulus thus afforded to every branch of native manufacture. Our tenure of the country was then very precarious; and while as to the Hindu, he has fought, and will fight again perhaps sooner than we think of; and the experience of ages tells us what religious enthusiasm or fanaticism—or call it what you will—will do when wrought up to despair. What did we? Why, secured them in the exercise of their religion—tolerated it—we never encouraged it. We could not if we would. Now let us contemplate result of this plan. From one end of the country to the other pagodas are ruined, unmaintained. Bramins are in trade, serving in the army and generally learning that even to them begging is no livelihood. The oppressive hand of the bramin was removed from the neck of the people, and the influence they once had will never again be felt

APPENDIX I

to a similar extent. The revenues of Tripetty are on a gradual decline and will die in the lapse of years a natural death. Some of the most celebrated temples in the country are worse off. But there are still, alas, many more strong holds of the 'devil.

For the correctness of all the above details I cannot answer as the temple or Devasthanam is not within the scope of my duties, although I have the revenue administration of the taluk in which Tripetty is. But to the best of my knowledge the information I have given is correct. It is derived from what I can collect in my office; but the natives in general are deplorably ignorant when you push them on such a subject or perhaps pretends to do so."

"AUTHOR'S OBSERVATIONS."

(The concluding portions of the above article plainly show that the British policy was to drive the brahmins out of the temple, to deprive temples of their landed property which were endowed by devotees for specific religious services, the ultimate aim being the complete ruination of all temples. This point is plainly told in the above article. It is plain now that the British Government resumed all the landed property of the Tirumalai Temple with a sinister motive. The Brahmin in spite of all the disadvantages created is still a devout servant of Hinduism and the revenues of the Tirumala temple mounted up from one lakh a year to about thirty five lakhs¹ a year every pie of which comes from men of all classes and castes of Hindus).

1. The present revenue of the Temple has gone up to more than 10 crores a year.

APPENDIX II,

The under mentioned four inscriptions which have been numbered by the T.T.D. Epigraphist as No. 17, 18, 19 and 20 and which in the first Volume of the printed book of inscriptions bear the numbers 88, 8, 9, 19 (appearing on pages 119, 120; 12 to 17 and 28 to 31) were originally on the outer faces of the walls of the Koyil-alvār or garbhagriham before the latter was renovated by adding on another set of walls with covered faces. Copies of these inscriptions were taken under the orders of Vira Narasinga Yadavaraya before commencing the renovation work. After the completion of the renovation work and after the new first prakaram walls were constructed the inscriptions were re-engraved on the outer face of its north wall. The first inscription which is tacked on to the *prasasti* of Ko-Vira Raja Rajendra Panmar is the one marked No. 17 T.T. (or No. 88 in Vol. I). The second one is No. 18. T.T. (or No. 8 Vol. I); The third is No. 19 (or No. 9. Vol. I). The fourth is No. 20 T. T. (No. 19 Vol. I).

The inscriptions are represented hereunder in the above order. It is stated in No. 17 T. T. above that the re-engraving was completed on Friday combined with the asterism Uttirādādam (or Uttirāshādha) being 22nd day of Chittirai month of the year of engraving. The Tamil word used to denote the year is **இவ்வாண்ட** or this year, which is not the same thing as saying the year in which the order was issued for commencing the work (40th regnal year of Vira Narasinga) which would be 1244 A.D. arpisi month. The Chittirai month thereafter would not be in the same year. There is no year before 1267 in which Friday, Uttiradam, and 22nd Chittirai would be concurrent. In 1250, Friday Uttiram and 22nd Chittirai are concurrent. Uttiradam seems to be incorrectly engraved for Uttiram.

APPENDIX II

No. 88.

(No. 17—T. T.)

(On the north wall in the first prākāra of
Tirumala Temple)

Text

- 1 ஸ்ரீ நாயனார் விரநாரசிங்க தெவயாதவராயற்கு
யாண்டு நாற்பதாவது ஐப்பசி மாதம் இருபதாந்தியதி
கொயிலாழ்வார்க்கு ரொயிலுக்கு கொயில் செய்ய
தெசாந்திரிகள் திருப்புல்லாணி¹ ஸ்ரீ ஆரம்பிக்கையில்
முன்பு தந்த கொயில் ஆழ்வாரில் கல்வெட்டுப்படி
எடுத்து முதல் ஸ்ரீ² காரத்திலே வடக்கு விசையில் புற
வாயிலே கல்வெட்டுவிப்பதென்று தானத்தார்க்கு நாயனார்
திருமுகம் வருகையில் திருமுகப்படி கல்வெட்டுவதென்று
தானமாக நியமிக்க இவ்வாண்டை சித்திரை மாதம் ௨௦௨
ந் தியதி வெள்ளிக்கிழமை உத்திராடத்துநாள கல்லு
வெட்டினபடி ஸ்ரீ
- 2 ஸ்ரீ திருமுகம் பொலப் பெருநிலச்செவ்வியும் ¹தன்கொணு
ரிமை ²பூண்டமைக்கொள ³காந்தனார்ச் ⁴சகலக⁵ யறுத்
தருளி வெங்கை ⁶நாசமும் ⁷துளப்பாடியும் கங்கபாடியும்
⁸கடிகைவிழியும் குடமகிநாடும் ⁹கொல்லாபுரமுங் கலிங்
கமும் திண்டிபுறல் வென்றி தண்டால் வளைகொண்ட தன்

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1. Read தனக்கே உரிமை.
 2. Read பூண்டமை.
 3. Read காந்தனார்—
 4. Read சாலைகலமறுத்தருளி.
 5. Read நாமும்.
 6. Read துளப்பாடியும்.
 7. Read தடிகைவிழியும்.
 8. Read கொல்லமும்.

நெழில் ¹[வ]ரை [ஊ]ழியு[ள்]ளெல்வாம் ஆண்டு தொழு
தக ²பிவைகும் ஆண்டெ செழியன் தெககொள் ³கொவி
ராஜராஜேபன்மற்கு யாண்டு யீசு வது செரமானார்
மகளார் பொன் மாளிகையில் துஞ்சிநான் தெவியார்
தெவி அம்மனார் திருவெங்கடதெவற்கு இட்ட பட்ட.

ம் குடினக்கல்லால் பொன் ஓடு ⁴ச [கழங்க] இதிலமுத்
தின மாணிக்கம் ஆறும் வயிரம் நாலும் முத்து இருபத்
தெட்டும் இப்பட்டம் இட்டார் பராந்தகதெவி அம்மன்வ

Translation.

Hail, Prosperity! on the 20th day in the month of Arpaṣi in the 40th year of the reign of Nāyanār Vīra-Nārasingadēva Yādarāyar, on the receipt of the order of Nāyanār by the *Sthānattar* (to the effect) that at the time of the commencement by Tiruppullānidāsar, one of the Desāntaris, of the renovation⁵ of the shrine of *koyilālvār*, the old inscriptions engraved on the central shrine built in the past shall be re-engraved at the north corner on the outer side of the first *prākāra*, and the *Sthānattār* having in pursuance of the order, directed their re-engraving, this is the document so re-engraved on Friday combined with Uttirāḍam, being the 22nd day of the Chittirai month in the same year⁶ of reign, to wit.

1. Read வளர்

2. Read விளங்கும்

3. This historical introduction relates to Rājarāja I and not to Kō-Vira Rāja-Rājendra

4. This symbol stands for கழங்க

5. The translation, using the word 'renovation' does not bring out the implication of the Tamil expression "கோயிலாவ்வார்க்கு கோயிலுக்கு கோயில்செய்ய". The proper translation would be 'of building a temple for the temple of the Kōyilālvār (or central shrine)'. -

6. 'in the same year' is not the proper translation of the Tamil word இவ்வாண்டு which means 'this year' in the year of re-engraving.

APPENDIX II

In the 16th year of the reign of Kō-Vira-Rājarājendra-Panmar, "who,—while (his) heart rejoiced, that, like the goddess of fortune, the goddess of the great earth had become his wife,—in his life of growing strength, during which, having been pleased to destroy the ships (at) Kāndaḷūr-Sālai, he conquered by his army, which was victorious in great battles," Vēngai-nāḍu, Tuḷappāḍi (Nuḷamba-paḍi), Ganga-paḍi, Kaḍigai-viḷi (Taḍigai-vaḷi), Kuḍamalai-nāḍu, Kollāpuram (Kollam) and Kaliṅgam,—“deprived the Sēḷiyas of their splendour, while (he) was resplendent (to such a degree) that (he) was worthy to be worshipped every where,”

the *paṭṭam* (ornamental plate for the forehead) presented by the chief queen of him (the king) who slept (died) at the Golden Hall and the daughter of the Chēramānār (Chēra king) is 52 *kaḷaūju* of gold weighed by the *kuḍinaikkal* and contains 6 rubies, 4 diamonds and 28 pearls. This *paṭṭam* Parāntakadevi-amman presented to Tiruvēṅkaṭadēvar.

No. 8.

(No. 18—T. T.)¹

(On the north wall in the first Prākāra of
Tirumala Temple.)

The two subjoined inscriptions are dated in the 14th year of the reign of Koppātra-Panmar or Koppātrā-Mahendra-Panmar.² He was probably descended from the Pallava kings who were supplanted by the Chōḷas. He may be identified with Kō-Pārthivēndravarman, whose inscriptions have been found in the Chittoor, North Arcot and Chingleput districts. He was a vassal of Parāntaka II Sundara-Chōḷa and ruled over the part of the Toṅḍamaṅdalam comprised within the above three districts.

A certain Kāḍava (*i.e.* Pallava) chief by name Sattivīṭṭan, *i.e.*, Saktivīṭṭan, was a subordinate of this Pārthivēndravarman.

1. Numbers 18, 19, 20 and 17-T T. were re-engraved in the time of Vira-Narasimha Yādavarāya.

2. Vide Tirupati Dēvasthānam Epigraphical Report, pages. 100-101.

His wife Sāmvai, the donor in these two epigraphs, was the daughter of a Pallavapperḡaḍaiyār, *i.e.*, a Pallava chief. The similarity of names of this Kāḍava Saktiviṭṭan̄kan and Danti-Saktiviṭṭan̄ki alias Lōkamahādēvi, one of the queens of Rājarāja, I, suggests a certain relationship between the two and evidences the existence of Pallava chiefs as Chōḷa subordinates, long after the extinction of Pallava rule at the end of the 9th century.

Here we come across the earliest instance of the consecration of metallic images, in this case a silver image, in the representation of the original idol of Sṛī Vēṅkatēṣa, and the institution of special festivals and processions for these images twice a day for a period of seven days. These festivals were later on prolonged through twelve days and in many cases individual donors provided for the expenses of the processions and offerings on some of these days.

Text

- 1 ஸ்ரீ¹வலி¹ஸ்ரீ¹கொப்பா¹ஸ்ரீ¹ஹெ¹ஸ்ரீ¹பம்மற்கு யாண்டு செ வது சத்திவீடங்கநாகிய²ஸ்ரீ¹காடபட்டிகள் தெவியார் பல்வவப் பெறக்கடையார் மகள் சாமவையாகிய கரடவன் பெருந் தெவியென் ஸ்ரீ¹வெங்கடத்து எழுந்தருளி நின்ற பெருமா மடிசைக்கு³ ஸ்ரீ¹வெங்கடத்து கொண்டருளி திருவி(ள்)ளங் கொயிலில் எழுந்தருளுவித்த வெள்ளித்திருமேனியின் திருமுடி-
- 2 யில(முத்தி)ன வயிரம் உரு¹ ம் பருமுத்து ரு(க) நாயக மாண மாணிக்கம் உம் தடவிக் கட்டின மாணிக்கம்² ம் ஆக மாணிக்கம் று¹ று¹ திருமுடி ஒன்றும் திருக்காதில் பொன்னின் மகரம் இ(ர¹)¹ண்டும் பவமுத்தின் கொப்பு ஒன்றும் திருக்கமுத்தின் மாலையிலெறினவயிரம் செ ம் மணிக்கம்² ம் பருமுத்து¹ ரு¹ ம் நெர்முத்து பல[வும்]

1 Read கோ - வா¹ஸ்ரீ¹வெ¹ஸ்ரீ¹வ¹ஸ்ரீ¹.

2. Read ஸ்ரீ¹ காடுவெட்டிகள்.

APPENDIX II

இட்டுக் கட்டின மானி [ச] ம் பொன்னின் ¹உதரபெந்த(ன)ம் க ம் திருவரைப்பட்டிகை க ச்கும் இட்டுக்கட்டின மாணிக்கம் சீனாட் பட்டிகை க ம் ²வாஹுவலையம் உ க்கு தடவிக்கட்டின மாணிக்-

3 கம் உ தடவிக்கட்டின மாணிக்கம் உ சட்டின திருச்சந்தம் ச ம் திருக்கமுத்தின் ³வலையிச் சீ-ம் திருக்-காலுக் + முத்தின காறை உ ம் இடையிட்ட ⁴பொன்னின் மணியும் பலழமும் முத்தும் ஆக ⁵உரு ⁶ரு உ பாதசாயலம் உ ம் வெள்ளி வு ⁷ரெயில் ஏறின நாயகமான மாணிக்கம் (க) இத்தனை ஆபரணங்களும் இட்டு செய்த பொன் சீமள சீ ம் இத்தனையும் கொண்டு அலிஷெக்மும் செய்வித்து எழுந்தருளுவித்த மணவாளம் பெருமானுக்கு ஸ்ரீவெங்கட கொட்டத்து திருக்குடலூர்நாட்டு திருச்சகனூர் ஸ்ரீமெயார் பக்கலும் மடமுடை.

4 ய இலக்ஷுமணநம்பி பக்கலும் பொன் குடுத்து விலை கொண்டு திருவிளங்கொயில் பெருமானுக்கும் பொன் குடுத்து இறை இழித்திக்கொண்ட நிலமும் சபையார்பக்கல் கொண்ட நிலமும் நந்திஎரிப்பட்டியும் மடுப்பூட்டையும் இலக்ஷுமணநம்பி அடை கொண்ட ⁸நிலமும் மது குதன் ஆவியரையும் வு ⁹ஷோத்தமன்படியும் ஆக மூன்று பட்டி நிலமும் கடிகைக்கொலால் அளந்து பதினறு சாண் கொலால் முவாயிரம் குழி விலை கொண்டு சபையாற்கும் தெவ(ற்)கும் விலை பொன் குடுத்து இறை இழித்(தி) மணவாளப் பெருவானுக்கு நிமந்த-

1. Read உ டு ஸ ஸ 0 ய த ம்
2. Read ஸாஹுவலயம்
3. Read வலையல்
4. கொன்னும்
5. உரு = உருவு
6. The total is 22 not 52
7. This symbol stands for கழஞ்சு
8. Read நிலமும்.

- 5 த்துக்கு வைத்தபடியாவது நிமந்தம் நானூழி அரிசி திருவமுதும் திருநநதாவிளககு ஒன்றும் இரண்டு கயந¹ 20 மூ² 20 மூ³ 20 மூ⁴ இரண்டு விஷு⁵ 20 மூ⁶ 20 மூ⁷ 20 மூ⁸ மஞ்சனம் புருவிப்பதற்கும் ⁹புரட்டாதித்திருநாள் எழுந்தருளிப் பொதுகைக்கு (விழா)வெழுந்தருளும்மன்றுமதவ முன்றுமதன் முன்புர இரண்டுநாள திருவிழா எழுந்தருள விப்பதா(க)கவும சித்திரை முதலாக திருமுனையட்டி ஒன்பதுநாள் திருவிழா வெழுந்தருளிவிக்க(வு)ம் இத்தனையுஞ் செயவிப்பார் திருவெங்கடத்து மாடாபத்தியஞ் செய்வாரெயாகவும் இந்நிலம் இறைகாத்து விட சபையார் இரகூிப்பாராகவும் இப்பரிசு ¹⁰சனூ¹¹தித்தவரை நிற்பதாக-
- 6 செய்தென் சத்திவிடங்கனுகைய காடவன் பெருந்தெவியார் பல்லவப்பெறக்கடையார் மகள் சாமவையாகிய காடவன் பெருந்தெவியென் ¹²இத்தன்மம் இரகூிப்பார் ஸ்ரீபாதம் என தலைமெலது ஸ்ரீ¹³கூ¹⁴வர்கள் இ¹⁵கூ¹⁶(||*) இவை சாத்தந்தை எழுத்து உ

Translation.

Hail, Prosperity! In the 14th year of the reign of Koppātra-Mahēndra-Panmar, I, Sāmavai alias Kaḍavan Perundevis, (queen) of Sattiviṭṭāṅkan (Saktiviṭṭāṅkan) alias Sri Kāḍappaṭṭigal and daughter of Pallavapperkaḍaiyār, founded this charity so as to last as long as the moon and the sun endure, having arranged for the daily propitiation (*nimandā*m) with 4 *nāli* of cooked rice (*tiruvamudu*) and one perpetual lamp (*nandavilakku*), for the conduct of ablutions (*tirumañjanam*) on the two *Ayana-Saṅkrānti* and

1. Read ல¹ 20 மூ² 20 மூ³ 20 மூ⁴.
2. Read புரட்டாசி.
3. Read 20 மூ⁵ 20 மூ⁶ 20 மூ⁷ 20 மூ⁸.
4. Read இத்தர்மம்.

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the two *Vishu-Saṅkrānti* (days) and for the celebration of the *Puraṭṭāsi* festival wherein to conduct a festival for two days before the commencement of the (main) festival and to conduct the (main) festival for nine days beginning with the seed-sowing (*tirumuḷai-yaṭṭi*) on the day of Chittirai (star) for the Maṅavāḷapperumāl (image) made of silver and installed in the *Tiruviḷaṅkōyil* after performing special worship for the God presiding over the sacred Vēṅkaṭa Hill and after presenting for the consecrated silver image.

(1) 1 crown (*tirumuḍi*) containing 23 diamonds, 16 big pearls, 2 big central rubies and 3 cut rubies, in all 5 rubies,

(2) 2 ornaments (of the shape of the) *makara* and 1 pair of coral *koppu* for the two holy ears,

(3) 4 strings (*mālai*) for the holy neck into which are set 14 diamonds, 3 rubies, 11 big pearls and many (small) red pearls,

(4) 1 belt (*udarabandhanam*) of gold,

(5) 1 girdle (*tiruvarai paṭṭikai*) with 4 rubies,

(6) 2 circular ornaments for the arms (*bāhuvalayam*),

(7) 4 bracelets (*tiruchchandam*) set with 2 cut rubies,

(8) 4 circular ornaments (*vaḷaiyal*) for the holy neck,

(9) 2 solid anklets (*kārai*) for the holy feet, being ornaments made of gold set with precious stones, corals and pearls totalling 52 articles;

(10) 2 anklets with belts (*pādachāyalam*) and 1 luminous disc (*prabha*) of silver set with 1 big central ruby; the gold used in making these articles being 47 *kaḷaṅju*; and the land given to this Maṅavāḷapperumāl, for whom all these (ornaments) were presented and ablutions were also conducted and who was consecrated, comprises the pieces of land purchased from the *Sabhaiyar* of Tiruchchukanūr situated in the Tirukkuḍavūr-nāḍu in Sṛi Vēṅkaṭa-kōṭṭam and from Lakshmananambi residing in the *Maṭham* and for which was also paid money to the God Tiruviḷaṅkōyil-Perumāl and which was made tax-free; the piece of land purchased from the

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- 8 வாள்பெருமானுக்கு மார்கழித் திருத்துவாரொடுசிக்கு முன்பு திருக்கொடி 1எற்ற(த்து) திருமுனை ஆட்டி எழு நா[ள்] திருவிழா இரண்டு பொழுதும் எழுந்தருளியிப் பதற்கு வைத்த பூமி வெங்கடக கொட்டத்து 2திருக்கட ஆர்நாட்டு திருச்சகனூர் சபையார்க்கும் தெவர்க்கும் பொன் குடுத்து இறை இழித்தி கொண்ட நிலம் வடக்கு னெக்கிப் பொவதயில் மெற்கில் ஆயப்பட்டி யில் குழி கடிக்கைகொலால் அளந்து பத்நறுசாண் கொலால் 3ச உரகயள[வஉ] 4 (ம்) குழிப்பட்டி குழி
- 3 னாகயள ம் பெரும்பாண எதிர்வாயில் குழி னாகயள ம் நாவிசப்பட்டி 5 ககூஉரஉயகம் குசப்பட்டி 6 னாகயள[வம்] புருஷொத்தமப்பட்டி 7 னாகயளம் புருஷொத்தம பள்ளம் 8 னாகயளம் பஞ்சவணமாதெவி வரிசீழ் 9 னாகயளம் காலிப் பெருமானும் தம்பிபட்டனும் பக்கல்கொண்ட நாதர்செறு 10 னாகயளம் சாலைபெருமாள் திருமலைக்கல் கொண்ட கொட[டு]க் கிழப்பட்டி 11 னாகயளம் ஆக 12 சநாஸயகனை 13 குழியும் திருவெங்கடத்து மாடபத்தியஞ் செய்வார் கடுகைக்கொட-
- 4 னு 14 சனை 15 தித்தவரை செல்லதாக குத்தொடசாமவை யாகிய காடவன் பெருந்தெவியென் வ

Translation.

Hail, Prosperity! In the 14th year of the reign of Koppātra-Panmar, I, Sāmavai alias Kāḍavan-Perundēvi (queen) of Satti-
viṭṭāṅkan alias Srī Kāḍappaṭṭigal, and daughter of Peṭṭaiyār,

1. Read ஏற்றி.
2. Read திருக்குடலூர் —
3. Read குழி wherever this figure occurs in this inscription
4. This symbol stands for—ம்
5. Read ககூ = ஆயிரம்.
6. The total is wrongly given.
7. Read உஓடி 14 தித்தவரை

HISTORY OF TIRUPATI

presented towards the expenses of conducting a festival twice a day for seven days prior to *Mārgaḷi-tirudvādasi* (*Mukkōti-dvādasi*), after raising the flag (to the top of the flag-staff) and sowing (the nine kinds of) seeds, for the image of Maṇavāḷapperumaḷ made of silver, after having performed special rites for the presiding deity of the sacred Vēṅkaṭa Hill (*Srī Vēṅkaṭattu eḷandarūḷi ninṇa Perumānaḍigal*), land for which money was paid to the deity and to the *Sabhayār* of Tiruchchukanūr situated in the Tirukkuḍavūr-nāḍu in Vēṅkaṭa-kōṭṭam and which was made tax-free; and measured with the *kaḍikai-kōl* and reckoned in *kuḷi* as equated with the rod of 16 spans:—

(1) 267 *kuḷi* in the *Āyappaṭṭi* land lying to the west of the high road running northwards,

(2) 367 *kuḷi* known as the *Kuḷippaṭṭi* land,

(3) 340 *kuḷi* lying opposite to the Perumbāṇa (tank),

(4) 1221 *kuḷi* known as *Nāviṣappaṭṭi*,

(5) 144 *kuḷi* known as *Kuṣappaṭṭi*,

(6) 121 *kuḷi* known as *Purushōttamappaṭṭi*,

(7) 505 *kuḷi* in *Purushōttaman-paḷḷam*,

(8) 1000 *kuḷi* below the *Pañchavanmādēvi-ēri*,

(9) 250 *kuḷi* purchased from Kālipperumān and Tambibhaṭṭan, and known as *Nādarseṇu*, and

(10) 600 *kuḷi* purchased from Kālipperumāl-Tirumalai, known as *Kīḷi-paṭṭi* in Kōṭṭūr village,

aggregating to 4176½ *kuḷi*.

I, Sāmavai alias Kāḍavan-Perundēvi, have granted them (with the desire) that these (several) *kuḷi* of land be taken possession of by the managers of the temple of Srī Vēṅkaṭeṣa and that the charity may be conducted as long as the moon and the sun (last)

APPENDIX II

No. 19.

(No. 20—T.T.)

(On the north wall in the first Prākāra of
Tirumala Temple).

RAJENDRA-CHOLA I

No. 20—T.T. is dated on the 7th day, apparently in the first year, of the reign of Rājendra-Chōla I. It embodies an order of the king's *Adhikāri* named Koṣṣamaṅgalamudaiyān who held an enquiry regarding the conduct of certain charities and services instituted in the temple of Sri Vēṅkaṭeśvara at Tirumala. The enquiry revealed that the charity of putting up lights in the temple, which the assembly of Tirumuṇḍiyam undertook to execute in pursuance of an earlier document engraved on stone, was being only partially carried out by them. The witnesses summoned to depose the facts were Kaḍappaṅkuḍaiyān designated *Śiṟutanattuppaṇimakan* who was the administrative officer of the sub-district of Kuḍavūr-nāḍu (*Kuḍavūr-nāṭṭu vaḡai-ṣeygira śiṟutanattuppaṇimakan*) and the priests (*pūjāris*) or the servants of the temple (*dēvarkanmigal*). The *Adhikāri* was impressed with the negligence of the *Sabhaiyār* of Tirumuṇḍiyam and ordered that the original capital for this charity be recovered from them and credited to the general funds of the temple and the lamps lighted by the managers of the temple through the supply of the necessary ghee made from its stores.

This epigraph gives us a glimpse of the Chōla administrative system. The *Adhikāri* was perhaps a governor placed over a province and, in this instance over the Jayaṅkoṇḍa-Chōla-maṅḍalam or Toṇḍamaṅḍalam. During his itineracy through the country under his charge he took cognizance of all matters, both secular and religious, investigated them and decided them. There was an officer of a lower rank known as the *Śiṟutanattuppaṇimakan*, administering the *nāḍu* and he maintained a record of all transactions pertaining to his charge. An assembly hall existed in the temple at Tiruchchānūr where the *Adhikāri* held his court to which were

summoned the witnesses who had knowledge of the affairs enquired into.

The administrative divisions of the kingdom were the *maṅḍalams* or provinces which were divided into *kōṭṭams* or districts; and these *kōṭṭams* were again sub-divided into *nāḍus* or sub-districts which comprised several *kūrṟams* formed of a number of villages grouped together. In consonance with this division of the kingdom, the hierarchy of officials must have consisted of the *Adhikāri* over the *maṅḍalam*, next in rank to him the *Perutanattuppaṇimakan*, over the *kottam* on the analogy of the *ṣiruttanattuppaṇimakan* of the *nāḍu* and below the latter the officer in charge of the *kūrṟam* and lastly the headman of the single village.

No. 210—G. T., from Sri Kapilēśvara's temple at the foot of the hill near Tirupati, records that the central shrine of the temple was constructed by Rāyan-Rājendra-Sōḷan *alias* Brahma-mārāyan-Munaiyadarayan who was the head of *kōṭṭūr* at the time. The name indicates that he was an officer of Rājendra-Chōḷa I and administered the village of Kōṭṭūr. No traces of this village are now possible, though we find it mentioned in three inscriptions of different dates. The first mention occurs in No. 19 T. T. belonging to the third quarter of the 10th century A.D., the second reference in No. 210—G.T. falling into the third quarter of the 11th century and the last in No. 355—G.T. dated in the second quarter of the 16th century during the reign of king Achyutarāya of Vijayanagara. From these references it appears that it must have been situated somewhere to the east of Tirupati and north of Tiruchānūr and its boundaries must have extended towards Tiruchānūr on the one side and the foot of the hill to the north of Tirupati on the other.

Text.

1 வலிபுரீ 1புரீகொப்பா(ர)கூ கொரிபன்மரான 2புரீரா
கொஞ்சு சொழ்தெவற்கு யாண்டு எழுவது நாள அதிகாரி

1. Read கோ-பரகேவாரி 1பு-ரான.

2. Read 2புரீரீகொஞ்சு—

APPENDIX II

செயங்கொண்ட சோழமண்டலத்து பெரும்பாண்பபாடி திருவெங்கட சொட்டத்து குடலூர்நாட்டு ¹தெவர் தெவ தானம் திருச்சகனூரில் நாம் விட்ட விட்டிலில் முன்பு(ச) கொட்டிலிலே இருந்து கோயிற்காரியபாரா[ய்*]ந்த- இடத்து குடலூர்நாட்டு வகை செய்கிற சிறுதனத்துப் பணிமகன க[ட]-

2 ப்பங்குடையானையும் திருவெங்கடதெவர் ²கன்மி³னையும் அழைத்து திருவெங்கட[த்]தெவர் நிமந்தப்படி உள்ளன சொல்லுங் கொள்ளென்று வினவின இடத்து இத்தெவர் தெவதானம் திருமுண்டியத்து ஸ்ரெயார் பல கல் வெட்டினபடி பொல் கைக்கொண்டு சற்பூரவிளக்கு ஒன்றுஉட்டி)பட கட்டக்கடவ திருநுதாவிளக்கு உ[யச] இவையிற்றுள் இவாசள் ⁴எரித்து வரும் திருவிளக்கு உ நிக்கி இத்திருமுண்டியம் குடிபற்றும் மயில் திருச்சகனூரில் அகப்ப-

2 ட்ட முதலுக்கு உடைய பொன் உய³ச ம் இவர்கள் இத் தெவர்க்கு பரிசாரகம் செய்து தெவர்பண்டாரத்தில் உடைய பொன் ⁴ச ம் ஆசப் பொன் உய⁵ச ம் இவர் கள் கடவர்கள் கன்மிகளுக்கு ருட்டாமல் நிசதப்படி யொமெ கூட எண்ணை கட்டி திருமலைக்கு ஏற்றி எரிப் பிக்க[க்க⁶]டவர்களாக நிமர்கம் செய்க என்று அதிகாரி கொற்றமங்கல மடையான் சொல்ல இப்பரீச திருமுண்டி யத்து ஸ்ரெயார் கடவ திருநந்தாவிளக்கு(ம்) ⁴இவர் கள் உடைய பொன்

4 உய⁵ச ம் இத்தெவர்பண்டாரத்துச்சுருமுதலாக்கிக் கொண்டு இத்தெவர் பண்டாரத்தக்கு திருமலைக்கு ஏற்றி

1. This may be read இத்தேவா.
2. Read கலிகைனயும்.
3. This symbol stands throughout the inscription for கழஞ்ச.
4. Read இவாசளுடைய

திருநந்தாளினகரும் கறபூர்விளக்கு ஒன்று உட்பட¹ திரு
விளககு திருவெங்கட தெவாசகு ஸ்ரீ காரியம செயலாரும்
²தெவகனமிநனும்³ சனூரநி⁴ தவரை எரிடபதாக நிவந
தய செய்தது ஸ்ரீமென்கொளாம வ

Translation.

Hail, Prosperity! On the 7th day in the reign of Sri Koppātra-kēsari - panmar alias Srī Rājendra - Sōladēva, while *Adhikāri* (governor) Korramaṅgalamudaiyān enquired into the affairs of the temple from his seat in the assembly-hall built by us in Tiruchchukanūr, a *dēvadānam* of this God, in Kudavūr-nāḍu, (a sub-division) of Tiruvēnkatakōṭṭam, (a district comprised in the division) of Perumbānappādi (in the province) of Jayankonda-Sōlaman-ḍalam having summoned Kadappankudaiyān the Sūtanattuppanimakan (subordinate administrative officer) who administered the Kudavūrnādu, and the servants of Tiruvēnkaṭadēvar, and called upon them to depose as to the condition of the permanent daily provision (existing) for Tiruvēnkaṭadēvar, they stated that, as per the old document registered on stone, the *Sabhaiyār* of Tirumundiyaṁ, a grant to this God, received money and undertook to light 24 lamps, including one light of camphor, but that the villagers of Tirumundiyaṁ discontinued to burn all of them excepting two lights which they still burn

2 Thereupon Adhikāri Kor amangalamudaiyān ordered that, with the 20 *pon* being the sum available at Tiruchchukanūr and the 3 *pon* remaining in deposit in this deity's treasury (as remuneration) for the *parichārakam* service rendered by them to this God, aggregating to 23 *pon*, (the ghee) might be well-packed and transported to Tirumala along with the articles of daily provision and the servants working in this behalf might be enabled to burn (the lights) without any impediment

-
- 1 Read திருவிளக்கும
2 Read தெவகனிநனும்.
3 Read அபகாரிதது—

APPENDIX II

3. Towards this charity of the *nandāvilakku*, therefore, to be maintained by the *Sabhaiyār* of Tirumuṇḍiyam, the Śrī-vaishṇavas ordered that the 23 *pon* belonging to them shall be credited to the capital fund of this God's treasury, (the ghee) shall be transported to this God's treasury (store-house) at Tirumala and the managers of the temple and the servants of Tiruvēṅkaṭa-dēvar alone shall burn the lights, including the *nandāvilakku* and one *karpūravilakku*, as long as the moon and the sun last.

APPENDIX III—(TO VOL. I.)

Extract from the Silappadhikaram.

மதுரைக்காண்டி:—க ௩. காடுகாண் காதை.

௩௫. நீலமேகம் நெடும் பொற் குன்றத்துப்
பால்விரிந் தகலாது படிந்தது போல
ஆயிரம் விரித்தெழு தலையுடை அருந்திறற்
பாயற் பள்ளி பலர் தொழுதேத்த
விரிதிரைக் காவிரி வியன் பெருந்துருத்தி
திருவமர் மார்பன் கிடந்த வண்ணமும்—
வீங்கு நீரருவி வேங்கட மென்னும்
ஓங்குயர் மலையத் துச்சி மீ மிசை
விரிகதிர் ஞாயிறுந் திங்களும் விளங்கி (விளங்க)
இருமருங் கோங்கிய இடைநிலைத் தானத்து
மின்னுக் கொடியுடுத்து விளங்கு விற்பூண்டு
நன்னிற மேகம் நின்றது லோலப்
பகையணங் காழியும் பால்வென் சங்கமும்
தகைபெறு தாமரைக் கையி னேந்தி
நலங்கிளர் ஆரம் மார்பிற் பூண்டு
பொலம்பூ வாடையிற் பொலிந்து தோன்றிய
செங்கண் நெடியோன் நின்றவண்ணமும்
என்கண் காட்டென் றென்னுளங் கவந்த.

௩௬. வந்தேன் குடமலை மாங்காட்டுள்ளேன்.

௩௭. தென்னவன் சிறுமலை திகழ்ந்து தோன்றும்
அம்மலை வலங்காண்டு டகன்பதிச் செல்லுமின்
அவ்வழிப் படரீ ராயி னிடத்துச்
செவ்வழி பண்ணிற் சிரைவன் டரற்றும்
தடந்தாழ் வயலொடு தன்பூங் காவொடு

APPENDIX III

கடம்பல கிடந்த காடுடன கழிந்து
திருமால் குன்றுத்துச் செக்குவி ராயின்
பெருமால கெடுக்கும் பிலமுண் டாங்கு
விண்ணோர் ஏத்தும் வியத்தகு மரபிற
புண்ணிய சரவணம் பவகா ரணியோ
டிட்ட சித்தி எனும்பெயர் போகி
விட்டு நீங்கா விளங்கிய பொய்கை
முட்டாச் சிறப்பின் மூன்றுள வாங்குப்

... ..

ஆங்குப் பிலம்புக வேண்டுதி ராயின்
ஒங்குயர் மலையத் துயர்ந்தோற் றொழுது
சிந்தையில் அவன்தன் சேவடி வைத்து
வந்தனை மும்முறை மலைவலஞ் செய்தால்
நிலம்பக வீழ்ந்த

APPENDIX IV—(TO VOL. I.)

Note on the probable date of birth of Vijayaditya Banaraya (See page 73).

From a connected reading of the following three inscriptions the probable date of birth of Vijayaditya Banaraya could be fixed approximately.

(1) The Tiruvallum Rock inscription in archaic Grantha in the 62nd regnal year of Nandi Vikrama Varman (Ep. Coll. 76 of 1899 and S. I. I. Vol. III, page 90).

(2) Ep. Coll. 226 of 1903 in Tamil in the Gudimallam Paramesvara Temple (Chittoor District) in the 49th year of Vijaya Danti Vikrama.

(3) Bana inscriptions in Gudimallam, Ep. Coll. 228 of 1907 in the Paramesvara Temple in the 24th year of Nṛpatunga Varman.

The first one may be assigned to the year 772 A.D. Māvali Vānarāya was then ruling the Vaḍuguvaḷi (twelve thousand) just three years before the death of Nandi Vikrama Varman. From the second one we learn that Vijayāditya was ruling in the 49th year of Danti Vikrama. This may be taken to be 823—24 A.D. The third inscription has to be assigned to the year 873 A.D. when Mavali Vanaraya was ruling the (west portion) of the Vaḍuguvaḷi merku in the 24th year of Nṛpatunga. The inference drawn from the above inscriptions is that Mavali Vijayaditya is the son of Mavali Vanaraya; and that Vijayaditya's son was also known as Mavali Vanarayar, which was his grand-father's name. The years before us are 772 A.D., 824 A.D. and 873 A.D. If it is assumed that Vijayaditya was born about 800 A.D. and his son about 840 A.D. the latter would have succeeded the former about 870 A.D. This assumption will give Vijayaditya seventy years of life which is not improbable. Vijayaditya's birth date would therefore have been between 790 and 800 A.D.

APPENDIX V—(TO VOL. I.)

English rendering of the relevant portion of the passage in the fifth adhyaya of Mausala parvam of Sri Mahabharatam.

(Translated from the Tamil translation by Vedanta Vibhushanam Karungulam Krishna Sastrigal and edited by Sri M. V. Ramanujachariar Kesari Printing works. Madras).

“ . . . He (Sri Krishna) who knew the Tatvas of all things and although He was the Deva (of all creation) decided on the manner of His departing from this Sarira (body) so as to discharge His function of sustaining all the three worlds and also to fulfil the Sāpam (curse) which Durvāsas had pronounced. So Krishna brought under control His Indriyas, speech and manas and lay down into a state of deep Yoga. It (therefore) happened that at that moment a cruel hearted hunter by name Jara who was desirous of bagging a beast sighted the spot where Krishna lay. Jara in his eagerness to have his prey mistook for a beast the Bhagavan who was lying in deep Yoga, and shot his sharp arrow which stuck into the sole of His foot. But when he approached to pick up his prey he found to his surprise that it was a human being with many hands clad in pitāmbara and concentrated in Yoga. Deeply regretting the huge blunder he had committed, he fell at the feet of Sri Krishna and craved for pardon. He was consoled by Sri Krishna in consideration of his birth and his avocation in this life. As a result of his having the good fortune of worshipping the mightiest dēva Krishna with contrition and bhakti he was freed from any future birth and taken by the devas to Svarga. Sri Vāsudeva was then worshipped by all the gathered Munis and (the Spirit) ascended up the heavens with a glow which overspread the worlds. He was given a great ovation in the heavens by Indra, the Asvini devas, the Rudras, the Adityas, the Vasus, Visvēdevas, Munis, Siddhas, the elite of Gandharvas and Apsaras. O Rajan, then Narayana the Bhagavan of dazzling tejas (splendour), who is the Creator, the Everlasting one, the Yogacharya, and Mahatma

ascended to his place of immeasurable greatness, enveloping the earth and heavens with His brilliance. Then all the devas, rishis, charanas, gandharva sreshtas and great apsaras went near Krishna, worshipped and did puja. The devas welcomed His return with great exuberance. Munisreshtas did puja with (Vedic) Riks and gandharvas stood chanting praises. Indra approached with great love and devotion. Then the devas addressed Him ' O Bhagavan, who wields the bow Sarngam we do namaskaram to You repeatedly. You made Your avatāṅ on earth to re-establish Dharma. All the enemies of the devas, such as Kamsa, have been killed and the earth has been lightened of its load of sin. If it is your pleasure to go back to that place which is Divyam (Divyaloka) where there is no old age, where there is limitless mahima and which is beyond our conception, except through the Vedas, in every Kalpa of time, do save the Jivas who are subject to the great disabilities of birth and death. Crowds of devas praised in this manner and as they retraced their steps showered flowers on His Form on which was Sri Devi also. O Rajan! As he entered the centre of the Sun, thence came forth Asariri vāk (a voice from the heavens) " O ye devas, worship ye this Form (which you behold) which has four hands, which is mighty with life, stiff and unchangeable and (which) is on earth. I will always dwell in this." Then all the devas headed by the Great Brahma unable to accompany Him to Paramapadam returned to their own worlds singing His praises with thoughtful devotion".



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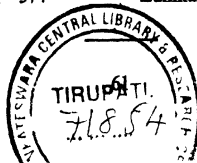
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