

ON MEANING AND MANTRAS
ESSAYS IN HONOR OF FRITS STAAL



Frits Staal at the 2011 *agnicayana* in Kerala, India.
Photos courtesy of Michael Witzel.

On Meaning and Mantras

Essays in Honor of Frits Staal

Edited by

**George Thompson
and
Richard K. Payne**

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On the Date of Bhavatrāta, the *Jaiminīya* Commentator

Sudalaimuthu Palaniappan

Introduction

Bhavatrāta, the commentator of the *Jaiminīya Śrautasūtra*, occupies an important place in the history of the Vedic tradition of Kerala. Scholars have identified Bhavatrāta with Bhavarāta mentioned in the *Avantisundarikathā* by Daṇḍin who was in the court of the Pallava king Narasimhavarman I (630–68 C.E.).¹ This identification, made despite the difference in names, has been used to assign the date of the migration of Bhavatrāta's grandfather from the Cōḷa country into the Cēra country and the composition of the above-mentioned commentary. This identification has also been used to categorize the openness of Kerala's Nambudiri Brahmins to accept a brahmin from Tamil Nadu into their ranks in their earlier history. As we carefully look into this issue more closely, it becomes obvious that this identification is unwarranted on the basis of available evidence, and all conclusions deriving from this identification need to be revised.

Genealogical Problems in Identifying Bhavatrāta with Bhavarāta

While discussing Bhavatrāta's commentary on the *Jaiminīya Śrautasūtra* in his 1983 article, Asko Parpola writes:²

In the introductory verses, Bhavatrāta mentions his compassionate father Mātrdatta, who was a trivedin. Daṇḍin, who lived around A.D. 700,³ speaks in very much the same terms of his friend, the great Vedic scholar Mātrdatta, whose father and son were both called Bhavarāta (sic), the former a Kalpasūtraṭīkākāra from Kerala.⁴

It is obvious that the names indicated by Dandin are:

Bhavarāta—grandfather

Mātrdatta—father, the friend of Daṇḍin

Bhavarāta—son

While Parpola was careful to note the name Bhavarāta as given by Daṇḍin for Mātṛdatta’s father, K. K. Raja gives the name of Mātṛdatta’s father as Bhavatrāta in his 1983 article:

In the seventh century Daṇḍin refers in his *Avantisundarikatha* to some Brahmin friends in Kerala such as Mātṛdatta, a poet who wrote some commentaries, and his father, Bhavatrāta.⁵

Parpola’s 1984 article, “On the Jaiminiya and Vādhūla Traditions of South India and the Pāṇḍu/Pāṇḍava Problem,” provides more details regarding Bhavatrāta:

The migration of Tamil Jaiminiyas to Kerala had started considerably earlier, around the sixth century, for Bhavatrāta in the introductory verses of his commentary on the Jaiminiya-Śrautasūtra mentions that his paternal grandfather Hastiśarman came to Kerala from the village of Vasiṣṭhakuṭi in the Cōla country, described by him as an ancient settlement of Sāmavedins descended from the sage Maṭhara belonging to the Kāśyapa gotra; in Kerala Hastiśarman married the daughter of Brahmadatta from the line of Viśvāmitra, who became Bhavatrāta’s teacher: his father Mātṛdatta mastered fully the Sāma-, Ṛg- and Yajurvedas, śruti as well as smṛti, but was apparently too busy to teach him, since Bhavatrāta says that he was held in high regard by kings and was much consulted by the brahmans.⁶

So we have the following genealogy given by Bhavatrāta:

Hastiśarman—grandfather
Mātṛdatta—father
Bhavatrāta—son

The following table compares the names of Bhavarāta’s and Bhavatrāta’s genealogies as given by Daṇḍin and Bhavatrāta.

Table 1. Names of Bhavarāta’s and Bhavatrāta’s Genealogies

	Bhavarāta’s lineage given by Daṇḍin	Bhavatrāta’s lineage in his own words
Grandfather	Bhavarāta	Hastiśarman
Father	Mātṛdatta	Mātṛdatta
Son	Bhavarāta	Bhavatrāta

Only the names of the father in the two lineages are identical. It is surprising that scholars so readily identified Daṇḍin’s Bhavarāta, the

grandfather, with Hastiśarman, the grandfather of Bhavatrāta. They also discounted the difference in names between Bhavarāta and Bhavatrāta. It is as if the scholars have assumed that Hastiśarman changed his name to Bhavatrāta on moving to Kerala!

When we look at the inscriptional evidence regarding the name Vasiṣṭhakuṭi for the village from where Bhavatrāta's grandfather migrated to Kerala, the identification of Bhavarāta with Bhavatrāta becomes even more untenable.

Inscriptional Data Concerning Vasiṣṭhakuṭi

Vasiṣṭhakuṭi was also called Tiṭṭakuṭi historically and is called Tiṭṭakuṭi (also written as Tiṭṭagudi) today. It is located near Vriddhachalam in the Cuddalore district of Tamil Nadu. The Vaidyanāthasvāmin temple and the Sukhāsana Perumāḷ temple in Tiṭṭakuṭi have 28 inscriptions of the Cōla, Pāṇṭiya, and Vijayanagara dynasties. Of these, datable inscriptions range from Cōla Rājadhira II's inscription of ca. 1168 C.E. to Vijayanagara's Vīra-Bhūpati's inscription of 1420 C.E.⁷ For over 200 years from 1168 C.E., the inscriptional record had only Tiṭṭakuṭi embedded in full locational descriptions such as Vaṭakarai Virutarājabhayaṅkara Vaḷanāṭṭu Merkānāṭṭu Brahmadeyam Tiṭṭakuṭiyāṇa Tirucciṛṇampalaccaturvetimaṅkalam or Tiṭṭakuṭiyāṇa Tirucciṛṇampalaccaturvetimaṅkalam or other variants.⁸ Here Vaṭakarai refers to the location of Tiṭṭakuṭi alias Tirucciṛṇampalaccaturvetimaṅkalam in Virutarājabhayaṅkara Vaḷanāṭṭu, a major Cōla administrative unit, on the northern bank of the river Veḷḷāru (also written as Vellar). Merkānāṭṭu referred to a minor administrative unit within Virutarājabhayaṅkara Vaḷanāṭṭu. It is only in the inscription of Viruppana (who was also called Virupākṣa and was the son of Harihara II of the Saṅgama dynasty of Vijayanagara) of 1399 C.E. the name Śrīvasiṣṭhakuṭiāṇa Vidyāraṇyapuram (meaning Śrīvasiṣṭhakuṭi alias Vidyāraṇyapuram) was mentioned for the first and only time in the epigraphic record.⁹ (Two later inscriptions only use Tiṭṭakuṭi and not Vasiṣṭhakuṭi.) The identity of this Śrīvasiṣṭhakuṭi with Tiṭṭakuṭi is confirmed by the inscription of Vīra-Bhūpati (1420 C.E.),¹⁰ which referred to Tiṭṭakuṭiāṇa Vidyāraṇyapuram.

Table 2 presents select inscriptions belonging to Cōla, Pāṇṭiya, and Vijayanagara kings mentioning Tiṭṭakuṭi or Vasiṣṭhakuṭi. One can see minor variations in spelling between the inscriptions for essentially the same name, mostly depending on whether Sanskrit phonemes are

naturalized into Tamil or not. For instance, we see Virutarāja- as well as Virutarāca-.

**Table 2. Select Inscriptions Mentioning
Tiṭṭaikuṭi and Vasiṣṭhakuṭi**

Full Name of Tiṭṭaikuṭi and Vasiṣṭhakuṭi as Occurring in Inscriptions	King	Date	Inscription No. in <i>South Indian Inscriptions</i> , v. 8
Vaṭakarai Virutarājabhayaṇ- karavaḷanāṭṭu Merkānāṭṭu brahmadeyam Tiṭṭaikuṭiyāṇa Tiruccirāmpalacaturvvedi- maṅkalam	Cōla Rājā- dhirāja II	1168 C.E.	291
Tiṭṭaikuṭiyāṇa Tiruccirāṃ- palacaturvetimaṅkalam	Māṇavarman Vīra-Pāṇṭiya	1358 C.E.	300
Vaṭakarai Virutarācapayaṇ- kara Vaḷanāṭṭu Merkānāṭṭu brahmadeyam Tiṭṭaikuṭiyāṇa Tiruccirāmpalacaturveti- maṅkalam	Kampaṇa	1372 C.E.	282
Śrīvasiṣṭhakuṭiyāṇa Vidyā- raṇyapuram	Viruppaṇa	1399 C.E.	286
Tiṭṭaikuṭiyāṇa Vidyāraṇyapuram	Vīra-Bhūpati	1420 C.E.	275

Even the Vijayanagara inscription of Kampaṇa of 1372 C.E.¹¹ has only Tiṭṭaikuṭi. So, it is most likely that Viruppaṇa was the ruler, under whom was created the name Śrīvasiṣṭhakuṭiyāṇa Vidyāraṇyapuram (Śrīvasiṣṭhakuṭi alias Vidyāraṇyapuram). Viruppaṇa's high regard for Vidyāraṇya, of the Sringeri mutt, is known from his undated inscription in the Śrīraṅganātha temple in Śrīraṅgam.¹² So, it is not surprising that he would want to memorialize the Sringeri pontiff by renaming a village.

While new names for old places are not all that uncommon historically, when inscriptions want to refer to a place with two names, they use the format "name 1 alias name 2," i.e., as in Tiṭṭaikuṭi āṇa Tiruccirāmpalacaturvetimaṅkalam. Here Tiṭṭaikuṭi was most probably the old name, where Tamil *tiṭṭai* means "rising ground"¹³ and Tamil *kuti* means "village, town."¹⁴ In other words, the original name of the village meant that it was a village or town on a rising ground.¹⁵ Later another

name was given to the village when it was possibly converted to a *brahmadeya*, a village granted to the Brahmins. When that happened, the convention was to refer to it as *Tiṭṭaikuṭiāna Tirucciṛṇampalaccaturvetimaṅkalam*. While this makes logical sense, what seems to have happened between 1372 and 1399 is extraordinary. When the new name *Vidyāraṇyapuram* was created, the old name *Tiṭṭakuṭi* was most probably changed to *Vasiṣṭhakuṭi* too! After all, there is no other epigraphic record of the village *Tiṭṭaikuṭi* ever having been called *Vasiṣṭhakuṭi*.

This leads one to speculate what could have motivated the change of the name from *Tiṭṭaikuṭi* to *Vasiṣṭhakuti*. To answer this query, we have to consider the biography of *Vidyāraṇya*. Discussing the epigraphic and literary evidence regarding *Vidyāraṇya* and the *Vijayanagara* kingdom, Herman Kulke writes:

All this evidence leaves us in no doubt about the important and most influential role which *Vidyāraṇya* played as guru, scholar and mahant after he took charge of *Sringeri* in about 1374/75.¹⁶

Viruppaṇa's father, *Harihara II*, became a devotee of *Vidyāraṇya* after he ascended the throne of *Vijayanagara* in 1377.¹⁷ *Vidyāraṇya* died in 1386 C.E.¹⁸ and *Harihara II* established an *agrahāra* called *Vidyāraṇyapura* near *Sringeri* in 1386 C.E.¹⁹ *Viruppaṇa* had been *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* of the Tamil country from 1377 to 1400 C.E.²⁰ *Viruppaṇa* probably wanted to honor *Vidyāraṇya* even more by comparing him to *Vasiṣṭha*, who was the family guru to *Daśaratha*, the father of *Rāma*, the hero of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. So, *Viruppaṇa* or one of his officials not only created a new name, *Vidyāraṇyapuram*, but also most probably etymologized the old name *Tiṭṭaikuṭi* to *Vasiṣṭhakuti* sometime between 1386 and 1399 C.E.

In this context, it is good to remember what Colin P. Masica notes elsewhere in a different context:

[M]aking a borrowed work look native . . . was unfortunately the special forte of the old Sanskrit lexicographers. Aided by a precocious discovery of the laws of sound change and the assumption that all languages were corruptions of Sanskrit, they were able not only to turn Prakrit and Modern Indo-Aryan forms "back into" Sanskrit but also to manufacture plausible-looking Sanskrit out of material that had never been Sanskrit.²¹

Only in this case, *Viruppaṇa* or some other official of his must have backformed the hybrid name *Vasiṣṭhakuṭi* out of the original Tamil name *Tiṭṭaikuṭi*. Whoever did this must have been well aware of the fact that the Sanskrit name *Vasiṣṭha* can be naturalized into Tamil as *Vatiṭṭa* in the ab-

sence of masculine ending “n.”²² When we consider that *Tiṭṭaikuṭi* becomes colloquially *Tiṭṭakuṭi*, one can see the Sanskritizers’ effort of making *Tiṭṭakuṭi* seem to be nothing but a corrupt form resulting from *Vasiṣṭhakuṭi* > *Vatiṭṭakuṭi* > *Tiṭṭakuṭi* with the loss of the initial syllable, “Va.”

As mentioned above, today *Tiṭṭaikuṭi* is called *Tiṭṭakuṭi* and there is a part of *Tiṭṭakuṭi* called *Vatiṭṭapuram*—not *Vatiṭṭakuṭi*. The name *Vatiṭṭapuram* seems to combine *Vatiṭṭa-* (<*Vasiṣṭha*) from *Vasiṣṭhakuṭi* and *-puram* from *Vidyaranyapuram*. *Vatiṭṭapuram* seems to be clearly a post-1399 C.E. name since it combines parts of the two names that are mentioned for the first time in the inscription of 1399 C.E.

A question might arise as to whether it was not possible for the name *Tiṭṭaikuṭi* to have been derived from *Vasiṣṭhakuṭi* at all. As we noted earlier, the name *Vatiṭṭan* occurs in the *Kamparāmāyaṇam*, a Tamil literary text. As a Tamil literary text, the *Kamparāmāyaṇam* eschews the use of non-Tamil phonemes, and naturalizes non-Tamil phonemes into Tamil phonemes. But the case of Tamil inscriptions is very different. Tamil inscriptions use significant number of Sanskrit words rendered in Grantha script, interspersing Grantha letters even in the middle of Tamil words. In such a situation, there is no barrier against the use of a name such as *Vasiṣṭhakuṭi* in the several inscriptions that mention *Tiṭṭaikuṭi*. So the logical inference for the lack of occurrence of the name *Vasiṣṭhakuṭi* in inscriptions before 1399 C.E. could only be that the name did not exist earlier.

This means that *Hastiśarman* could not have gone to Kerala from *Vasiṣṭhakuṭi* in the *Cōla* country before 1372 C.E., when the inscription issued under *Kampaṇa* still called present-day *Tiṭṭakuṭi* as *Tiṭṭaikuṭi*. So, I do not think the identification of *Bhavatrāta*, the author of the commentary on *Jaiminīya Śrautasūtra*, with *Bhavarāta*, the person mentioned by *Daṇḍin* in his *Avantisundarīkathā*, is justified.

In support of his identification of *Bhavatrāta*, *Parpola* also described several legends prevailing in Kerala that suggested *Bhavatrāta* lived several centuries earlier than the fourteenth century C.E.:²³

This information matches with several other data. In 1971, I wished to check whether any *Jaiminīyas* were left in *Vasiṣṭhakuṭi* and found some of them still living in the present-day village of *Tiṭṭakuṭi* in South Arcot district. In Kerala, on the other hand, *Śrī Īṭṭi Ravi* told me many unwritten legends about *Bhavatrāta*. *Bhavatrāta* is definitely considered to have been a *Nambudiri* and he is associated especially with the *Narippaṭṭa mana* (no. 9): it is only this and the three neighboring *manas* that belong to the *Kāśyapa gotra* and it is only in these houses that the uncommon name *Bhavatrāta* is current (traditionally, the first son of a *Nambudiri* is given the name of his

paternal grandfather, the second son that of his maternal grandfather, and the third son that of his father). Moreover, Bhavatrāta is said to have been the grandson of Mēlattōḷ Agnihotri, a famous culture hero of Kerala, a performer of 99 śrauta sacrifices during his lifetime, traditionally dated to 343–378 A.D.²⁴ Bhavatrāta allegedly functioned as the Subrahmaṇya priest in Agnihotri's sacrifices; the Yajñeśvara temple associated with the site of those sacrifices is in the immediate vicinity of the Naripaṇṇa mana. According to a medieval commentary written by Nīlakaṇṭha Nambudiri of the Kūtallūr mana of Nāgaśreṇi (Nāreṇi), his father Brahmadaṭṭa belonging to the Viśvāmītra gotra is a descendant of that Yajñeśvara Agnihotri;²⁵ the name Brahmadaṭṭa (going down in the family line) and his gotra match with those of Bhavatrāta's grandfather.

Raja provides more details regarding some of the legends regarding Mēlattōḷ Agnihotri, who was also referred to as Yajñeśvara Agnihotri:

According to popular tradition the first person to perform sacrifices in Kerala was Mēlattōḷ Agnihotri, the son of the legendary sage Vararuci. It is said that Vararuci married a low-caste girl unwittingly and had twelve children by her, each being brought up in a different community. The eldest child, Mēlattōḷ Agnihotri, performed 99 sacrifices on the banks of the Nīlā (Bhāratappuḷa). The dates of his birth and death are traditionally given as 343 and 378 (represented by the Kali dates given in the chronograms *yajñasthānam saṃrakṣyam* and *purudhīsamāśrayaḥ*). Much credence cannot be given to the tradition about Vararuci, although a similar scandal about Vararuci is mentioned by Bhoja in his *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*.²⁶ A similar story is also popular in Tamilnāḍ.²⁷

The Tamil story mentioned by Raja occurs in a text called the *Kapilara-kaval*.²⁸ According to the story, a Brahman named Pakavaṇ married a Pulaiya woman named Āti and had seven children, each of whom was brought up in a different community. The eldest of the children, Kapilaṇ, was brought up in a Brahman family. Two of his siblings were Auvai, and Valluvar. Kapilaṇ, Auvai, and Valluvar were ancient poets of Tamil Nadu and no historicity can be attributed to this story. Justifiably, K. K. Raja did not give much credence to the tradition about Mēlattōḷ Agnihotri too. Also, the legendary fourth-century date of Mēlattōḷ, traditionally considered to be the maternal grandfather of Bhavatrāta, does not fit with the seventh-century date attributed to Bhavatrāta if he is identified with Bhavarāta. So, one cannot put much faith into the historicity of these legends. In fact, one can argue that these legends were possibly created to produce an ancient Nambudiri pedigree for a non-Nambudiri Brahman from the Cōḷa country.

Any conclusions regarding the date of the movement of Sāma Vedic traditions or Brahmans from the Cōla country to Kerala based on Bhavatrāta's commentary need to be revised despite whatever legends that might prevail among Nambudiri families regarding Bhavatrāta.²⁹

Based on his identification of Bhavarāta with Bhavatrāta, Parpola had come to the following conclusions regarding the relations between Kerala Nambudiris and immigrant Tamil Brahmans:

Bhavatrāta's grandfather belonged to the early Tamil immigrants, who were still treated as equals and also accepted into marriage. Inscriptions from the 9th century suggest that owing to Cōla invasions, Brahman students carried weapons³⁰ From these times the relations between the immigrant Tamil Brahmans and the Nambudiris have not been so cordial, and at least in the case of the Jaiminiyas the two groups have kept strictly separate.³¹

Thennilapuram Mahadevan uses Parpola's conclusions as additional evidence for his theory of tracing the origin of Kerala's Nambudiris to locations that are presently in Tamil Nadu. Discussing the term *paviliyam* for the Āśvalāyana tradition, Mahadevan notes:

Today, the term has survived only among the Nambudiri Pūrvaśikhās, designating the Āśvalāyana tradition, placing the Nambudiri Pūrvaśikhās thus in north-eastern part of the Tamil country as late as the 8th century C.E. . . . We know as well that a Vedic ritualist like Hastīśarman—of Kāśyapa gotra and Jaiminiya Sūtra—of Vasiṣṭhakuṭi, thus with the historical identity of a Śōliya Pūrvaśikhā and from the southern parts of the Tonṭaimaṇṭalam area in the Tamil country, could arrive at Kerala and become a "Nambudiri" Pūrvaśikhā there in roughly the same period: the impediment of the language and the alienation from long separation having not yet arisen.³²

Based on the revised date of Bhavatrāta's grandfather's migration to Kerala proposed here, we have to conclude that cordial relationship between at least a section of Malayalam Nambudiris and Tamil Brahmans must have existed well into the fourteenth century C.E. Also, whatever other facts one may point to regarding the original home of Nambudiris, one cannot rely on the assumption that Bhavatrāta's grandfather migrated to Kerala from the Cōla country in the seventh century C.E. Finally, we have to conclude that most probably Bhavatrāta belonged to the fifteenth century C.E.

Conclusions

Earlier scholars' identification of Bhavatrāta with Bhavarāta mentioned by Daṇḍin ignores the difference in the names of the grandfathers,

Hastiśarman vs. Bhavarāta as well as the difference in names between Bhavatrāta and Bhavarāta. When we look at the epigraphic records related to Vasiṣṭhakuṭi, from where Bhavatrāta's grandfather had migrated, we find that there was no record of the name Vasiṣṭhakuṭi prior to the late fourteenth century and all earlier inscriptions use the name Tiṭṭakuṭi. It is most probably due to a desire on the part of Viruppaṇa, the Vijayanagara Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara, to honor Vidyāraṇya, the pontiff of Sringeri, Tiṭṭakuṭi was Sanskritized and renamed Vasiṣṭhakuti alias Vidyarāṇyapuram. This means earlier views regarding the history of Sāma Vedic traditions in Kerala based on Bhavatrāta's seventh-century C.E. date have to be revised based on Bhavatrāta's fourteenth-century date proposed here.

Notes

- ¹ K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *A History of South India*, 4th ed. (Madras: Oxford University Press, 1975, 1987, seventh impression), p. 345.
- ² Asko Parpola, "The Passages of the *Jaiminiya Śrautasūtra* Dealing with the *Agnicayana*, together with Bhavatrāta's Commentary: The Sanskrit Text, and English Translation, and Notes," in Frits Staal, ed., *Agni: The Vedic Ritual of the Fire Altar* (Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press, 1983), vol. 2, p. 700.
- ³ See Śuranad Kunjan Pillai, *Avantisundarī of Ācārya Daṇḍin* (Trivandrum: University of Travancore, 1954), p. 23.
- ⁴ See S. K. Pillai, *Avantisundarī of Ācārya Daṇḍin*, p. 13, II.21 ff.
- ⁵ K. K. Raja, "Sanskrit and Malayalam References from Kerala," in Frits Staal, ed., *Agni: The Vedic Ritual of the Fire Altar* (Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press, 1983), vol. 2, p. 307.
- ⁶ Asko Parpola, "On the Jaiminiya and Vādhūla Traditions of South India and the Pāṇḍu/Pāṇḍava Problem," *Studia Orientalia* 55/22 (1984): 445.
- ⁷ *South Indian Inscriptions* (Mysore: Archaeological Survey of India, 1937, 2001, reprint), inscription nos. 273–300, vol. 8, pp. 397–400.
- ⁸ Tamil *āṇa* means "alias" and *-nāṭṭu* is the oblique form of *-nāṭu*.
- ⁹ *South Indian Inscriptions*, no. 286, vol. 8, p. 400.
- ¹⁰ *South Indian Inscriptions*, no. 275, vol. 8, p. 400.
- ¹¹ *South Indian Inscriptions*, no. 282, vol. 8, p. 399.
- ¹² *South Indian Inscriptions*, no. 294, vol. 24.
- ¹³ T. Burrow and M. B. Emeneau, *A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984, second ed.), no. 3221.
- ¹⁴ S. Vaiyapuri Pillai, ed., *Tamil Lexicon*, 6 vols. and supplement (Madras: University of Madras, 1924–1939).
- ¹⁵ As a name of a place, Tiṭṭakuṭi is not unique. We find another Tiṭṭakuṭi near Pattukkottai in the Tanjavur district of Tamil Nadu as well.

- ¹⁶ Herman Kulke, "Mahārājas, Mahants, and Historians: Reflections on the Historiography of Early Vijayanagara and Sringeri," in Anna Libera Dallapiccola, ed., in collaboration with Stephanie Zingel-Ave Lallemant, *Vijayanagara—City and Empire: New Currents of Research* (Stuttgart: Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GMBH, 1985), p. 132.
- ¹⁷ Kulke, "Mahārājas, Mahants and Historians," p. 131.
- ¹⁸ Kulke, "Mahārājas, Mahants and Historians," p. 131.
- ¹⁹ Leela Prasad, *Poetics of Conduct: Oral Narrative and Moral Being in a South Indian Town* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), p. 44.
- ²⁰ A. Krishnaswami, *The Tamil Country Under Vijayanagar* (Annamalainagar: Annamalai University, 1964), p. 71.
- ²¹ Colin P. Masica, "Aryan and Non-Aryan Elements in North Indian Agriculture," in Madhav M. Deshpande and Peter Edwin Hook, eds., *Aryan and Non-Aryan in India* (Ann Arbor: Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies, University of Michigan, 1979), p. 60.
- ²² S. V. Pillai, ed., *Tamil Lexicon*, gives the name Vatiṭṭaṇ with the masculine suffix *ṇ* occurring in the *Kamparāmāyanam*. The name Vasiṣṭha is also naturalized as Vacitṭaṇ.
- ²³ Parpola, "On the Jaiminiya and Vādhūla Traditions of South India," p. 446.
- ²⁴ On *agnihotri*, cf. Raja, "Sanskrit and Malayalam References from Kerala," p. 304f.
- ²⁵ Raja, "Sanskrit and Malayalam References from Kerala," p. 304f.
- ²⁶ See V. Raghavan, *Bhoja's Śṛṅgārāprakāśa* (Madras: Self-published, 1963), p. 829.
- ²⁷ Raja, "Sanskrit and Malayalam References from Kerala," p. 304.
- ²⁸ A. V. Subramaniya Aiyar, *Kapilarahaval: A Tamil Poem on Caste* (Madras: n.p., 1975), pp. 103–105.
- ²⁹ Parpola, "On the Jaiminiya and Vādhūla Traditions of South India," p. 446.
- ³⁰ Cf. Raja, "Sanskrit and Malayalam References from Kerala," p. 302.
- ³¹ Parpola, "On the Jaiminiya and Vādhūla Traditions of South India," p. 446.
- ³² Thennilapuram P. Mahadevan, "On the Southern Recension of the *Mahābhārata*, Brahman Migrations, and Brāhmi Paleography," *Electronic Journal of Vedic Studies* 15/2 (2008): 34.

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- . "The Passages of the *Jaiminīya Śrautasūtra* dealing with the *Agnicayana*, together with Bhavatrāta's Commentary: The Sanskrit Text, an English Translation, and Notes," in Frits Staal, ed., *Agni: The Vedic Ritual of the Fire Altar*, vol. 2, pp. 700–736. Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press, 1983.
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