CHAPTER VI

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

(A) JAINISM

Jainism was patronized in the early medieval period in Karnaṭaka on a large scale. Rulers like Mādhava II and his son Avīnīta made lavish grants to Jaina temples under the influence of their preceptors even in the first phase (A.D. 400 to A.D. 725). The rise in the popularity of Jainism was on account of changes within the sect itself.

By the opening centuries of the Christian era, Jainism had begun to develop Puranic forms of worship and numerous Jaina Purāṇas were composed. Even in the early Jaina canonical works such as the Nayadhammakārahā, worship of divinities such as Nāgas finds mention. Such worship involved the offering of flowers to the deity\(^1\). Now we begin to have the worship of the images of Jina enjoined as a pious duty particularly for laymen. Thus Samantabhadra in his Ratnakaranda Śrāvakācāra includes idol worship\(^2\) among the Śāmāyika Śiksā Vratas which traditionally comprised of fasting, the gift of food, medicine and protection, the cultivation of equanimity (samaṭa) and hospitality\(^3\). Similarly, the Paumacarīya of Vimalaśūri refers to the worship of images, their installation and the abhiṣēka ritual. The Paramātmaprakāṣa of Yogindudevā datable to the sixth century A.D. considers worship with eight articles as essential for liberation. The Padmapurāṇa of Raviśeṇa of the seventh century AD also exhorts the worship of Jina for both temporal and spiritual benefits. He enjoins arrangements for flowers, incense and lamp in temples. Another seventh century work, the Varāṅgacarīta of Jaṭāsimhaṇandi stresses the merit obtained by laymen through the building of temples, setting up images and the conduct of Jina worship\(^4\). The details of the abhiṣēka


\(^2\) Cited by R.B.P. Singh, Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka (c. AD 500-1200), Delhi (1976), pp 23-25.

\(^3\) Ponna’s Santi Puranam, I.90–

\(^4\) Cited in R.B.P. Singh op. cit. pp. 23-25
ritual are laid down in this work\textsuperscript{5}. The morning and evening worship in Jaina temples is also referred to in the \textit{Varāṅgacarita}.

This advocacy of image worship was probably the result of a desire to popularize the faith. Originally, Jainism had stressed the quest for salvation and enlightenment by means of a difficult regime of ascetic discipline to be followed by monks. This involved the acceptance of the \textit{pañcamahāvratas} of \textit{satya, āsteya, brahma-caryā, ahiṁsā} and \textit{aparigraha} to be applied without any exception throughout the remaining span of a monk's life\textsuperscript{6}. A path of wandering asceticism was also prescribed for monks. They were expected to seek shelter only during the four months of the rainy season. They could either follow the \textit{Jinakalpa} tradition of roaming as a solitary ascetic (\textit{ekavihārī}) engaged in austerities independent of the ecclesiastical community or \textit{sthavirakalpa} tradition as a member of a monastic group studying scriptures under the supervision of the \textit{ācāryas} to whom they were expected to be loyal and devoted\textsuperscript{7}. The \textit{Jinakalpa} as the path followed by Mahāvīra himself, was believed to be superior in all sects of Jainism\textsuperscript{8} and literature abounds in examples of ascetics engaged in austerities as an \textit{ekavihārī} following the rule of staying in a village for one night, in a town for five nights and in the forest for ten ("\textit{grāme ēka rātram nagare pāṇca rātram ātavyām ādaśa rātram}"\textsuperscript{9})

Laymen, too, were encouraged to accept the limited minor vows called the \textit{ānuvratas}. These were \textit{ahiṁsā}, \textit{svada-rāsantośa}, truthfulness, restraint on possession and abstention from theft\textsuperscript{10}. These \textit{ānuvratas} are reduced versions of the monk's \textit{mahāvratas}. The lay disciples who

\textsuperscript{5} R.N. Nandi, \textit{Religious Institutions and Cults in the Deccan (AD 600-1200)}, Delhi (1973), pp. 34-36


\textsuperscript{8} D.L. Narashimhachar (ed), \textit{Vaddārādhane}, op.cit, p.

\textsuperscript{9} \textit{Vaddārādhane}, op.cit pp. 57-66; Ponna's \textit{Sānti Purāṇam} I.88
accepted them were encouraged to progressively widen the scope of these initial śrāvaka vratas through an eleven-stage path called pratimā which culminated in renunciation.

The advocacy of image worship as a means of acquiring merit both by laymen and monks certainly popularized Jainism and won material support for the faith from the highest echelons of the feudal aristocracy. But it also undermined the ascetic discipline enjoined for both the monks and the laity. The construction of shrines, their endowment, the setting up of images and the institution of rituals became a major focus of attention for the laity. While some of the laity were initiated to vows of ritual death we have hardly any other evidence to show that they undertook to perform penances and austerities in general. In some cases initiation to ritual death seems to have been purely symbolic.

References to the construction and endowment of Jaina shrines may be noted from the fifth century onwards in this region. These Jaina shrines are denoted by the terms caitya, Cēdiya, Ānālaya, Jainēha, etc. In the second phase the term, basadi, the tadbhava form of Vasati meaning a dwelling place became popular. This was used to denote a Jaina temple with its associated monastery. This changing terminology itself demonstrates the tendency on the part of monks and nuns to settle down permanently in monasteries. Grants made for the maintenance of the shrines were entrusted to monks and sometimes to nuns as well, which seems paradoxical in view of their vow of aparigraha (non-possession).


*13. K. V. Ramesh, op. cit, No. 41.


*16. EC III (new ed) Gu 92, Hg 63; EC IV (new ed) Ch 404, 126, etc.

*17. F. Kittel, A Kannada-English Dictionary, q.v. basadi, vasati.

New monastic groups emerged flouting other traditional rules of mendicant conduct, such as the prohibition on bathing, the use of oil and perfumes, the eating of live gram etc. Rebel Orders such as the Drāvida Sangha, the Kāṣṭha and the Lāṭa Bāgād were formed as a result of the transgressing of such rules. These new groups also began to practice Tantric worship of minor divinities such as Jvalamālinī and Padmāvati. Thus we find that Jainas progressively lost their ascetic vigour of which these developments were symptomatic. Consequently while Jainism won the support of the sub-regional and regional powers such as the Gaṇgas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas they lost their popular base among the lower-ranking landlords who began to patronize Śaivism in a big way from the tenth century. Jainism was at the zenith of its influence at the close of the tenth century but it was also imperceptibly beginning to decline. Another feature of the early medieval Jaina monastic order was the reduced size of the units such as the gana and gaccha, which consisted on an average of three to four members. This tended to strengthen the personal bonds between the preceptor and the disciples. Loyalty and devotion to the ācāryas, a general future of the sthavirakalpa, became even more pronounced. The guru came to be looked upon as the means of salvation of the disciples and post mortem memorials of the preceptors (niśidhi) were worshipped. This was a reflection of the feudal ethos of the period. The loyalty and devotion of the disciple to his master had its counterpart in the loyalty and dedication of the servant (āl) toward his lord.
I) Patterns of Patronage

Sovereigns And High Ranking Feudatories

Several early Gaṅga inscriptions record grants of land and villages for Jaina shrines made by these monarchs. The earliest inscription to record such a grant is the Pērūr plates of Simhavarman of the Kaivāra branch. Grants of land were made for the Jaina shrine constructed at Pērūr (Coimbatore district, Tamil Nadu) at the request of the royal cocubine Nandavā by Simhavarman. Evidently this only indicates the faith of Nandavā, for other extant records of this monarch register brahmadeya grants.

The Noṇamangāla plates of Mādhava II and of his son Avinīta of the Talakāḍ branch record grants of land and a village for Jaina shrines situated at Pērbōḷal grāma and Uranūr respectively. They were influenced by their preceptors Ācārya Vīradēva and Vijayakīrtti respectively to make the grants. In all these cases the Mūla Saṅgha, the principal Digambara Church of South India was the beneficiary.

The Hosakōte plates of Avinīta, however, record grants of land for the Jaina temple established by the mother of Pallavādhirāja Simhaviśṭu, which was affiliated to the Yavanika Sangha. In the opinion of K.V. Ramesh the Yavanika Saṅgha was identical with the Yāpaniṇya Saṅgha.

These inscriptions indicate that the Jainas were well entrenched in the countryside.

*23. Ibid, No. 7, 156
*24. EC X (old ed) Mr 73
*25. Ibid, Mr. 72
*26. K.V. Ramesh, op. cit, No. 14
*27. Ibid, p. 51, fn. 2
With the exception of the temple established at Pērūr by Nandavva the remaining temples were situated in villages and received grants of land and whole villages from kings. This controverts Stein’s view that Jainas and Buddhists were entrenched in urban centres in the early period which led to the brāhmaṇas seeking the support of, and alliance with peasants*28.

After Avinītā we do not have much evidence for early Gaṅga patronage of Jainism. Durvinita appears to have been a staunch supporter of Vedic brāhmaṇism and all the extant records issued in his forty-year reign appear to have been for śrōtriya brāhmaṇas*29. His successors too appear to have followed the same policy.

It is only from the reign of Śivamāra I that we once again have evidence of patronage extended to Jaina shrines. Thus the Kulagāna copper plates register grants of lands, gardens and a house site made by Pallavēlarasa, the ruler of Koḍagūr, and Oranikal and Sīpālvoygar, the joint administrators of Tuppūr for the caitya at Kellipūr*30. Similarly, the eighth century Narasimharājapura Plates record grants for the caityālāya at Tōḷḷa from Nagavarma of the Pasīndī Gaṅga family, his brother-in-law Tūḷuga-āçī of the Kadamba family and Maṇāli Mane-ōdevōr of Kośika lineage*31. Although the places ruled by these personages are not specified they evidently belonged to noted ruling lineages of the region and apparently enjoyed a high rank in the feudatory hierarchy. Another set of copper plates of the reign of Śivamāra II register grants from Viṭṭarasā, the ruler of Sinda nāṭu and Tagare nāṭu and Viḷḷākṣati arasa the uncle (māman) of Śivamāra II for the caitya at Tōḷḷa and Mūḷīvalḷi respectively*32.

*29. K.V. Ramesh, op. cit, Nos. 16-25
*30. EC IV (new ed) Ch. 347.
*31. K.V. Ramesh, op.cit., No. 71
*32. Ibid, Nos. 85 and 86.
While the above records register grants of land for already existing Jaina shrines the Dévarahalli copper plates of AD 776 records the construction of a Jinarabhavana at the instance of Kundácci the queen of Paramagula Prthivi Nirgundarasa of Bāna vaṁśa at Sripura. At the request of Paramagula, Śripuruṣa granted a village, lands and house sites for the shrine which was named Lōkatilaka. Likewise, the Maṇṇa plates of Yuvarāja Márasimha of AD 798 states that his subordinate Sāmanta Sēnādhipati Śrivijaya who had built many Jaina shrines constructed as auspicious and lofty Jaina temple at Māṇyanagara and made grants for its maintenance. The temple is said to have been constructed for Prabhācandra of the Koṇḍakundānvaya.

The Devanūru copper plates of Raṇvalōka Kambhayya dated AD 808 register the grant of Badaṇeguppe village in Punnāḍa Eḍenāḍu viṣaya for the service of the Śrivijaya Vasati consecrated (pratisthitayai) at Taḷavaṇanagara at the request of his son Saṅkaragaṇṭa. It is not clear whether the temple was constructed at Saṅkaragaṇṭa’s instance. But at all events this Jaina shrine was patronized by him. Curiously, the Mercara copper plates which are spurious and assignable on palaeographic grounds to the ninth century, also record the grant of Badaṇeguppe village for the same Jaina shrine. The donor was a minister (mantri) of Akālavārṣa Prthivivallabha who had obtained the village by grant from Avinīta Gaṅga. It is possible that the Mercara Plates were forged to legitimize the change of guard at the Śrivijaya Vasati. While the temple trustee in the Devanūru copper plates was Vardhamāna guru of the Koṇḍakundānvaya and the Sirmalage gurugana, in the Mercara Plates the donee was Candaṇandi bhaṭāra of the Desīga gana and Koṇḍakundānvaya. At all events, in both these epigraphs the donors were high-ranking feudatories.

*33. EC VII (new ed) Ng. 149
*34. EC IX (old ed) Nl 60.
*35. EC III (new ed) Nj. 278
*36. EC I (new ed) No. 1
Several Ganga monarchs and members of the royal family actively patronized Jainism in the second phase by constructing basadis and making grants for their maintenance. Thus Rācamalla I had a basadi constructed at Vallimalai, a Jaina pilgrimage spot (in modern Tamil Nadu). He thus appears to have been a Jaina by faith although his Perjjarangi Grant describes him as a devotee of Viṣṇu. Nītimārga Ereyanga I and his son Būtuga I are described as devout Jainas in the Kerehalli plates of Nītimārga Ereyanga II. Rācamalla II granted the twelve hamlets of Bilūr to Sarvaṇandi dēva for the maintenance of the Satyavākya Jinālaya built at Peṇpekaṇḍaṅga. This shrine was evidently constructed at the instance of Racamalla himself who bore the title of Satyavākya. Rācamalla II and his nephew Ereyapparasa who were joint rulers also granted one sollage of white rice, forced labour and clarified butter for the Kella basadi constructed by Cāgi Permāṇaḍī. Similarly the Köligere inscription (Maddur taluk, Māṇḍya district) of AD 916-17 records that Ereyapparasa the reigning king consented to the grant of the revenue proceeds from Tippeyūr to the basadi constructed at Kanakagiri tīrtha by Maṇalēyara. In both these cases the social status of Cāgi Permāṇaḍī and Maṇalēyara cannot be discerned. But the support extended by the reigning Gaṅga kings is indubitable.

Būtuga II and his successors were staunch Jainas. Būtuga is described as a devout Jaina in the Kuḍḷur Plates of Mārasimha II. Mārasimha II is said to have erected basadis and small mānastambhas at various places before relinquishing sovereignty and

*37. EI IV, pp. 140-141.
*38. EC V (new ed) Kn 49.11, 102-103.
*39. EC IV (new ed) Ch 354 11. 49-50, 60
*40. EC I (new ed) No. 96 of AD 888.
*41. EC VI (new ed) Ppu 16 of the end of the ninth century.
*42. EC VII (new ed) Mu 100.
observing the vow of ritual death under the supervision of Ajitasena bhaṭṭāraka at Bankāpuṇa. His mother Kallabbē constructed a shrine with an accompanying monastery for which Mārasimha granted the village of Kādalūr in Koṅgal desa. Būtuga’s sister Pāmbabbe the queen of his feudatory Immaḍi Paḍiyāra Dhōrappayya is said to have taken vows as nun and practised penance for thirty years before inviting death. Mārasimha II’ sister Kundaṇasomīdevī, the queen of Rajaditya of Cāḷukya vaṁśa, got an image of Jina made.

Other notable patrons of Jainism in this period were Cāvuṇḍarāya and his son Jinadēvaṇa. Cāvuṇḍarāya, the vassal of Mārasimha II and Rācamalla IV Ganga had erected the Gommaṭa colossus on the big hill at Śravaṇabēḷgōḷa in c AD 983. The Cāvuṇḍarāya basadi on the small hill at Śravaṇabēḷgōḷa is also credited to him, but B.R. Gopal et.al. are of the opinion that the characters of this record belong to a later period. The inscription on the pedestal of the image of Pārśvanātha enshrined in the basadi states that a Jaina temple was caused to be constructed at Bēḷgōḷa by Jinadēvaṇa the son of Cāvuṇḍarāya and the laydisciple (guḍḍa) of Ajitasena bhaṭṭāraka. The editors, therefore, attribute the shrine to Jinadēvaṇa. Later additions to the Cāvuṇḍarāya basadi were made in the twelfth century by Ėcāṇa, the son of Gangaṇa at which time the temple itself was attributed to Cāvuṇḍarāya. Settar to assigns the Cāvuṇḍarāya basadi to the early eleventh century and is of the view that it was constructed by someone else.

*44. EC II (new ed) SB 64.
*45. K.V. Ramesh, op. cit., No 156.
*46. EC VI (old ed) Kd 1
*47. EC V (old ed) Mj 67.
*48. EC II (new ed) SB272-273.
*49. Ibid, SB 151.
*50. Ibid, Introduction, p. (LXXV)
*51. Ibid, SB 150
in Cāvundarāya’s memory. The image in the garbhagṛha of this basadi had originally belonged to a basadi called Trailokyaraṇjana or Boppaṇa caityālaya which had been built by Gangarāja’s son Ėcaṇa in the twelfth century. Apart from this, Cāvundarāya is also the author of the Trisasthilakṣana Mahāpurāṇam, a Kannada prose work which narrates the lives of the sixty-three salākāpurusas of Jainism.

Attimabbe, the patroness of Ranna was also a munificent champion of Jainism. She is said to have caused more than 1500 images of the Jaina made and countless Sahasraśīta basadis constructed. She also dedicated golden lamps and jewel-encrusted tōrāṇas for the Jina. She inspired Ranna to compose the Ajita Tīrthakara Purāṇa while her father Mallappayya and his younger brother Ponnamayya requested Ponna to compose the Sāntinātha-Purāṇa in honour of their deceased guru Jinacandra Muni of the Kāpur gana.

Thus we find princes and high-ranking feudatories actively participating in the construction of Jaina shrines. This was in accordance with the injunction of the Purāṇas wherein construction of jinālayas and grants for their maintenance were recommended as a pious duty for princes. This was also in keeping with the resources of these individuals who hailed from the highest echelons of the feudal aristocracy.

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*54. Ranna’s Ajita Tīrthakara Purāṇam I. 57-59.

*55. Ibid, I.77.

*56. Ponna’s Sāntinātha Purāṇa I-50-51

*57. Supra, p . fn 2-6, also Cāvundarāya Purāṇam, op. cit., p. 211.
Gāvundas, Sethis And Petty Landlords

One of the earliest instances of a low-ranking feudatory supporting Jainism comes from the Kuḷāgaṇa plates of Śivamāra I which record grants of land by Oraṇkal and Śipālvoyor, the joint administrators of Tuppūr for the caitya at Kellipūṣūr. The Hebbālaguppe inscription (Heggaḷedēvānakoṭe taluk, Mysore district) of the ninth century registers the grant of six khandugas of land each from Narasigere appōr and Goyyindammagāl for the basadi constructed for Duggamāra by Nārāyaṇa Peruntāccan. While the precise rank of these donors cannot be discerned, they were clearly landholders. Some tenth century inscriptions from Hangal (Gundlupeṭ taluk, Mysore district) record that Cikka Jōgabbe, the wife of Sarva Lōkāśraya, had a metallic Cauvīsā Tīrthānka image, four lamp stands and ten small utensils made for the worship of the Jinas. Once again, the precise social standing of Cikka Jōgabbe cannot be determined but the plural suffix to her name would indicate a respectable social position.

The Bandaḷike inscription (Shikārpur taluk, Shimoga district) of AD 919-20 mentions Jākiyabbe who is said to have displayed Jinasāsana bhakti. The grant of a four mattal field registered in the epigraph, however, may not have been for a Jaina shrine. The inscription employs the term dévāra to denote the temple in question. This term is usually taken to denote a Hindu shrine whereas Jaina temples are termed caitya or basadi. The Bandaḷike inscription goes on to record Jākiyabbe’s renunciation and the acceptance of the vow (nontu) probably of ritual death, with courage and devotion at the basadi at Bandaḷike.

Another Jaina devotee of indeterminate origins who had a temple constructed was Lokkiyabbe of Pombucca. This temple (Jinageha) was situated at the town of Kombāśi and received several grants for Jinābhīṣēka from gaudas and šettis.

*58. Supra, p320 , fn 30.
*59. EC III (new ed) Hg 63.
*60. EC III (new ed) Gu 203-205.
*61. EC VII (old ed) Sk 219.
*62. EC VII (old ed) Sh 114 of c.AD 950.
Several Jina votaries are recorded as having invited death by the acceptance of a ritual vow such as *samādhi marāṇa* or *sanyasana*. One such inscription records the death of Dejebbe, the daughter of Bhanḍārada Bāдавayya and the disciple of Candrabhajinendra. Bhāṇḍārada Bāдавayya was probably the Officer-in-Charge of the treasury. Thus this lady was the daughter of an official in all probability. An inscription from Chikka Hanasoge records the death of Jākkiyabbe the wife of Nāgakumara who is described as a *Jinabhakta* and a *subhāta* (warrior). Similarly an inscription from Ankanāṭhapura (Hoḍle Narsipur taluk, Hassan district) of the tenth century records the death of Cāmakkabbegal the mother of Dadiga Ṣetiyaṇ and Dēvaradāsayya.

Prime material support to Jainism came from higher ranking feudatories and sovereigns. Lower ranking feudatories such as the *gāvandas* and petty landlords were not so much involved in the construction and endowment of shrines. This could not have been due to a lack of material capacity since we find these classes actively constructing Šaiva shrines particularly in the tenth century. However, many of the lay disciples who were initiated into vows of ritual death were drawn from among lower ranking feudatories, landlords and merchants.

It is interesting to note that in literary works too the majority of those depicted as seeking release from the world by inviting death through the rite of *sanyasana* were drawn from the aristocracy or the prosperous mercantile community. Settar observes that literary references to commoners having been admitted to *sanyasana* were an exception. Repeated rebirths were considered the consequence of accumulated *karma* which in turn depended on the social order into which a person is reborn. It was not possible to realize the fruits of a pious death without improving social status and shedding *karma*. In this

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*64. EC V (new ed) Kn 74 - of the tenth century.*

*65. Ibid, Kn 34.*

*66. EC VIII (new ed), HN 62.*

connection he cites a passage from the Cāvundaṟṟāya Purāṇa which explicitly excludes artisans and other low caste groups from being initiated into the sanyasana rite.

The Jainas were thus as much bound by the varṇa system as the Hindus. The Ankanāthapura memorial of Cāmakkabbeḷa which was referred to above describes her sons as the support of the Cāturvarṇa and the Śravāṇa Saṅgha. This is brought out by the literary works as well. In Pampa’s Ādi Purāṇam, Ādinātha is credited with the creation of the kṣatriya, vaiśya and śūdra varṇas while his son, the first Cakravarti Bharata creates the brāhmaṇa varṇa. Ādi Tirthāṅkara also forbids varpaśaṅkara. This theme is repeated in other works as well. Thus in Ponna’s Śaṇṭi Purāṇam, Satyabhāma, the daughter of a Rājapuruḥita is unknowingly married to Kapila, the son of a brāhmaṇa by his house slave (toḷu). When she realizes this, she seeks the king’s protection from her husband exhorting him to perform his duty in protecting the Varpasramadharma. King Śrīśeṇa who was a devout Jaina acceded her request and drove out Kapila from his kingdom. This would indicate that the Jainas too attached great importance to the maintenance of Varpasramadharma. This is also brought out by the Vaddārañdhane which in its description of the evils of the Kaliyuga mentions miscegnation and brāhmaṇas taking to unworthy deeds as its characteristic features. This shows that Jainas abhorred miscegnation as much as the brāhmaṇa authors of the Dharmasāstras did.

In sum Jainism derived its support for most part from the ruling classes and members of upper castes whether it was in construction and endowment of temples or in

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*68. Ibid.

*69. Supra, fn 66.

*70. K.L. Narasimha Sastri (ed, transl), Pampa’s Ādi Purāṇam, Bangore (1980), VIII 64 vacana.

*71. Ibid XV. 6-12.

*72. Ponna’s Śaṇṭi Purāṇam, Bangalore (1982); VII. 65 vacana.

*73. Vaddārañdhane, op. cit., p. 131.
the performance of the vows of ritual death. Lower ranking feudatories and landlords did not support Jainism in large numbers. By and large this class appears to have supported Śaivism particularly in the tenth century.

**Women:** The evidence reviewed above clearly reveals the popularity of Jainism among women from the earliest period. Even in the first phase women like the royal concubine Nandavā and the mother of Pallavādhirāja Simhaviṣṇu took the lead in construction and endowment of Jaina shrines. In the second phase the contributions of Kundācči, Attimabbe and the princesses and queens of the Ganga royal family may be recollected.

Occasionally we find the queens of staunch Śaiva princes supporting Jainism. Thus the Vārakōṇu niśidhi commemorates the death of Piṭṭabbe the queen of Durga by the acceptance of a ritual vow. Durga mentioned in this 7th century inscription was probably identical with the Cālukya Mahāsāmanta Durga whose grant of a village and other lands to the Būteśvara temple is recorded in a tenth century epigraph from Varuṇa. If so, it is interesting to observe that while the Mahāsāmanta patronized Śaivism, his queen was a Jaina by faith. Similarly the Nōlamba Mahēndrādhirāja was a staunch Śaiva but his queens Bijaya Mahādēvi, Parama Mahādēvi, Akkabbe and Dōmbabbe made grants of land for a basadi in their capacity as fief-holders.

Nandi relates the popularity of Jainism among women to the doctrinal changes introduced by the schismatic Yāpanīyas and later in his opinion, adopted by the orthodox Digambaras as well, which advocated the salvation of women in this birth. While the Yāpanīyas undeniably held that nuns could attain mokṣa in this very life since the only

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*74. EC V (new ed) My 129

*75. EC V (new ed) My 129.

*76. EC XII (old ed) Si 24 of CAD 880.

prerequisite for that was perfection of the Triratnas of samyagdarśana, samyagiññāna and samyagcaritra in which women are not deficient even according to the scriptures*78, the Digambaras held firmly to their view that women could not perfect the Three Jewels. This in their opinion, was due to the fact that nudity, one of the prerequisites of mokṣa, was forbidden to women. More fundamentally they hold that the bodies of women engender subtle life forms as a consequence of which nuns could not perfect the vow of ahimsa*79. The Digambara view is also put forward in the vernacular Jaina works composed in the tenth century, namely, the Vaddārādhane, Pampa’s Ādi Purāṇam, Ponna’s Śānti Purāṇam and Ranna’s Ajita Tīrthakara Purāṇam, as well the Cavundarāya Purāṇam. Thus in Cavundarāya Purāṇam, Sītā describes rebirth as a woman as a consequence of sin*80 while in the Vaddārādhane such rebirth is described as a consequence of mithyātva*81 (wrong views, knowledge and conduct).

In all these works women are never portrayed as achieving mokṣa without being reborn as a man. Nandi’s contention that the Digambaras too later adopted the Yāpanīya view on the salvation of women is thus unacceptable. He bases this on the mistaken premise that the fruit of sallēkhanā was believed to be nothing less than salvation and that we find numerous nuns whose death by performance of sallēkhanā is commemorated in the records of the period*82. However, sallēkhanā did not automatically lead to salvation even for men in the Digambara conception. Thus in the Śānti Purāṇa of Ponna, Megharatha who shuffled off his mortal coil observing the rite of Prāvōpagamana was

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*79. This view as first enunciated by Digambara Ācārya Kundakunda (c.AD 150) but was elaborated later by Prabhācandra in his Nyāyakumudacandra and Ācārya Jayasena in his Tatparvyavrtti in the early eleventh century, vide P.S. Jaini, op. cit., pp. 34-35.


*81. Vaddārādhane, op. cit., p. 69.

*82. R.N. Nandi, Religious Institutions and Cults, loc. cit., p. 60.
reborn as a consequence of the merit thus acquired in the heaven of Sarvārthasiddhi. Descending from there he was reborn as Śāntinātha.\footnote{83}

The Yāpanīyas had only a limited presence in Southern Karnataka being based primarily in the districts of Belgaum, Dharwad and Gulbarga in Northern Karnataka. The Digambara Mūla Saṅgha and its subdivisions held sway in Southern Karnataka. In view of this the appeal of Jainism to women becomes inexplicable unless we presume that its doctrine that the soul could be freed from its karmic bondage through one’s own efforts was more attractive to them than that of the rival Pāṣupata-Kālāmukhas who held that the almighty Śiva could ignore human karma altogether acting as an absolutist potentate on whose grace humans were abjectly dependent for mokṣa.\footnote{84}

\section*{II) The Jaina Pantheon}

The Jainas primarily worshipped by the Twenty-four Tīrthāṅkaras whose images were consecrated for worship in temples. Earlier scholars such as A.N. Upadhye, Sinclair Stevenson and others held that the Jaina motive in worship was not to receive boons or favours from the deity but to meditate on him as a model in order to obtain perfection. However, Singh points out that a study of Jaina literature particularly of the early medieval period would make it clear that a major motive of worship was the expectation of both temporal and spiritual benefits. Jaina deities were considered dispensers of grace in the same manner as the Hindu deities. He cites the Jaina Harivamsa Purāṇa which states that release from worldly afflictions, the attainment of worldly ends and release from the influence of evil spirits could be obtained by means of the worship of Jinas. Similarly, the Mahāpurāṇa of Jinasena and Guṇabhadra states that those desirous of wealth, freedom from bondage and disease should worship the Jina.\footnote{85} Pampa too

\footnote{83} Ponna’s Śānti Purāṇam IX. 118-119.


\footnote{85} R.B.P. Singh, op.cit., pp. 28-32.
recommends the worship of the Jina when afflicted by a maddened elephant, poisonous snake, a fire, an enemy, thieves or a spirit. The adoration of the Jinas is also said to bestow cakravarti status and all pleasures in this world and the next on the worshipper.*86

Tīrthaṅkaras were even identified with Hindu gods. Thus Ravīśeṇa identifies Ādinātha with Śiva and Svayambhū while Jinasēna describes him as Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Svayambhū.*87 The Jainas had earlier criticised the Hindu theory of creation and destruction of the universe. But in the early medieval period there was a change in the Jaina view of cosmogony. Now the Jinas were assigned both creative and destructive powers. Thus Ādinātha is spoken of as the creator and destroyer of the Universe in the Mahāpurāṇa of Jinasēna and Guṇabhadra*88. Similarly, in Pampa’s Ādi Purāṇam, Ādinātha is repeatedly described as Ādi Brahmā*89. In another context Tīrthaṅkaras generally are identified with Viṣṇu, Śiva and Brahmā*90.

The worship of the Pañcaparameśṭhinīs was closely related to the worship of the Tīrthaṅkaras. The Pañcaparameśṭhinīs constitute a group of five graded, purified souls. These include the Arhat or Jina who was omniscient and endowed with superhuman qualities; the siddha who had realized perfection; the Acārya or guide who regulated the social order in accordance with Jaina precepts; the Upādhyāya or preceptor who had the mastered the sacred lore and the sādhu or monk bent on salvation and engaged in austerities*91. The Jaina Purāṇas of our period commence with the salutations to the

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*86. Pampa’s Ādi Purāṇam, XVI, 8-9.
*88. Ibid.
*89. Pampa’s Ādi Purāṇam VIII. 66 Vacana, XV. 23.
*90. Ibid XVI. 6.
Pañcaparamēśthins. Their invocation was termed Pañcanamaskāra, Pañcapada, Pañcākṣārapada, or Namaskāramantra and was recommended both to the laity for overcoming mundane problems of daily life, and to the monks seeking final liberation. Thus the Cāvundarāya Purāṇa mentions two instances when the recitation of the Pañcanamaskāra proved efficacious in rescuing devout srāvikās from critical situations. Recitation of the Pañcapadas was also recommended to those seeking death as a means of attaining mokṣa. This was achieved by concentrating the mind on the Pañcanamaskāras while shuffling off the mortal coil.

Another associated practice was the worship of the footprints of spiritual teachers. The footprints of Jaina preceptors were engraved on stone and worshipped. Thus the Bhadrabāhu cave enshrines the footprints of Bhadrabāhu who is said to have spent his last days here. It was only a rock shelter originally to which the western wall and southern porch were added subsequently. An eleventh century inscription on the western wall states the Jinacandra bowed to the feet of Bhadrabāhusvāmī. It is difficult to date the Bhadrabāhu cave but it possible that it predated the eleventh century since two inscriptions from the Maṇḍya district of the early tenth century state that Kaḷbappu is blessed with the imprints of the feet of Bhadrabāhu and Candragupta. That the practice

*92. Pampa's Ādirūpānam l. 1-6; Ponna's Sāntipurānam l. 1-5. Ranna's Ajita Purāṇam l. 1-5.


*97. EC II. (new ed). SB 251.


*99. EC VI (new ed) Sr. 85, Ppu 16.
of reverencing the footprints of teachers dates back to at least the tenth century is also brought out by an inscription compiled by P.B. Desai which refers to the carving of footprints of Jatāsimhanadi by Cāvaya*100.

The practice of worshipping footprints was not limited to Jainism alone. The Buddha’s footprints were worshipped and in the early period the Buddha was represented only by such symbols*101. Among the Vaiśnavas there was already a tendency to relate the worship of the natural hollows and fetishes on hills and rocks to the myth of Trivikrama. But in the opinion of Jaiswal the practice of dedicating footprints as an object of worship and of erecting shrines over them gained popularity due to Buddhist influence*102. The Jaina practice was probably influenced by the Buddhist and Vaiśnava parallels.

Apart from the worship of the Tīrthaṅkaras and preceptors, the worship of the family members of the Tīrthaṅkara, particularly of Bāhubali, the son of Ādiṃātha became popular in Kārnāṭaka. This was especially so after the erection of the Gommaṭa Colossus on the big hill at Sravāṇabelgōḍa by Cāvunḍarāya. Singh relates this cult to brāhmaṇical influence. Thus the sons of the Jina were thus worshipped in the same manner as the sons of Śiva are worshipped by Hindus*103.

The Cāvunḍrāya Purāṇa states that the Jinājananis were worshipped, particularly by laywomen. Apart from this, the worship of Vaiśravaṇa, the keeper of treasure for acquiring punya, of Dharanendra for acquiring sons, and of Śrīdēvi for warding off the


*103. R.B.P. Singh, op. cit., p. 35.
influence of evil deities (vairi dēvategal) by the laity is also attested to in this work.*104. In the Vaḍḍārādhane, Sriyāḍēvatai is propitiated by the queen Ilā Mahādevi for sons after her temple is set up in the city. Sriyāḍēvata consulates Svayamprabha Tīrthaṅkara who tells her that a god would soon descend from heaven and be son to Ilā Mahādevī. That child, when born, was named Siridiṅa, the gift of Sri.*105.

Apart from these subordinate deities, Yakṣas and Yakṣis who were originally attendants of the Jinas came to be worshipped as independent deities in the early medieval period. Thus in the seventh century Mēguti temple at Aihole, Ambikā, the Yakṣi of Nēminātha who should have placed on his left, waiting on him, is shown independently*106. Likewise, the Yakṣa Sarvāṅna is extolled as the confessor of boons on the bhavyas, the crusher of enemies and the guide of the ardent to siddhi. His images were installed and worshipped in the majority of the Jaina basadis from the seventh to the twelfth centuries A.D. One of the earliest of such images ascribable to the eighth or ninth centuries is found in the vestibule of the Candragupta Basadi at Sravapuṣṭagola. Images of this Yakṣa also replaced Jina images atop mānastambhas*107.

The Yakṣis Jvālāmālini and Padmāvatī became the focus of Tantric cults as the composition of the Jvalini Kalpa and the Bhairava Padmāvati Kalpa in the ninth and tenth centuries attest. Jvālāmālini was the Yakṣi of the eighth Tīrthaṅkara Candraprabha in the Digambara works. She was an awe-inspiring goddess depicted with flames issuing forth from her head and holding a bow, a shield, an arrow, sword, cakra, and other weapons on her eight arms and riding a subdued buffalo*108. Settar notes the Hindu and Buddhist

parallels. In Buddhism a similar goddess Ekajata was introduced under Tantric influence. This goddess was also known as Vidyujvalakarali in one of her forms. In the Hindu Kaula Tantra, a goddess Jvalamalini is included in the list of sixteen nityas\textsuperscript{109}. The Tantric cult of this goddess among the Digambara Jains was inculcated by Elacarya or Helacarya, the leader of the Dravida gana and the native of Malaya Hemagrâma. He invoked the aid of the goddess to exorcise a Brahmâkâsasa who had possessed a female disciple named Kamalaśī. The goddess is said to have dwelt on top of Nilagiri hill. Settar identifies the village Malaya Hemagrâma with Ponnîr in the North Arcot district of Tamil Nadu while the Nilagiri Hill was in his opinion identifiable with either the Nilagiri in the Western Ghats or with the hill near Ponnûr\textsuperscript{110}. Nandi, on the other hand, identified Malaya Hemagrâma with Maleyûr in the Châmrajânanagar taluk of Mysore district which was famous in the early medieval period as Kanakagiri tīrtha, a Jaina centre of some importance\textsuperscript{111}. The Tantric cult of Jvalamalini was systematized by Indraṇandî whose JvaliniKalpa was completed by AD 939 at Mänyakheśa, the Râṣṭrákûṭa capital. The popularity of the cult was probably due to the tradition of Elacarya. In Kârâñaka the earliest independent images of Jvalamalini at Aihole date back to the eighth century\textsuperscript{112}. However the images the Yakshi at the Candraprabha basadi at Sravaṇabelgola is not that of Jvalamalini\textsuperscript{113}. The cult of Jvalamalini rose to greater eminence after the period under study. In the twelfth century and thereafter we have epigraphic references to independent temples of the deity\textsuperscript{114}.

Padmâvatî, the Yakshi of the twenty-third Jina Pârśvanâtha, was also the focus of a Tantric cult which was systematized by the eleventh century, when the Bhairava Padmâvatî Kalpa was composed. Nandi opines that the Jaina goddess was derived from the Hindu Purânic goddess Padmâvatî who was a consort of Viṣṇu. This suggestion gains

\begin{tabular}{l}
\textsuperscript{109.} S. Settar "The cult of Jvalamalini...", loc. cit., p. 308. \\
\textsuperscript{110.} Ibid. p. 309. \\
\textsuperscript{111.} R.N. Nandi Religious Institutions and Cults..., loc. cit., p. 154. \\
\textsuperscript{112.} S. Settar, "The cult of Jvalamalini...", loc. cit., p. 310. \\
\textsuperscript{113.} Ibid. \\
\textsuperscript{114.} Ibid. \\
\end{tabular}
strength from the fact that Padmāvatī and the Yakṣa Dharaṇēndra of the Jina Pārśvanātha are both depicted with seven-hooded snakes over their heads - an attribute of Viṣṇu as Anantaśayin *115.

The Yakṣi Padmāvatī also figures in the Shimoga inscriptions’ account of the origin of the Gaṅgas. She is said to have favoured Mādhava with a sword for breaking a stone pillar. However, although earlier records mention the breaking of the stone pillar by Kongaṇīvarman, the association of the goddess Padmāvatī with this legend occurs only in the Shimoga records of the eleventh and twelfth centuries*116. Therefore it is not possible to ascribe the cult of Padmāvatī as early as date as the fourth century A.D. But Padmāvatī figures prominently in Śāntara records. Jinadattarāya, the founder of the Śāntara kingdom is said to have established an image of Lokkiyabbe (another name of Padmāvatī) at Paṭṭi Pombuchapura, the capital of his kingdom in the tenth century *117. If so, the worship of this Yakṣi as an independent deity in Karnātaka dates back to at least the tenth century. The Kaṇṭātūr inscription of AD 1025*118 refers to a hill chieftein Māleparāditya Prāmadī who is described as the obtainer a boon from the goddess Padumāvatī. This would indicate that by the first quarter of the eleventh century the cult was fairly popular in this region.

The rise of the cults of Jaina Yakṣis was part of a general process in the early medieval period when mother- goddess cults gained in popularity *119. This may be traced to the influence of the aboriginal tribes in marginal areas which were in the process

*118. EC VIII (new ed) Al 8.
of being assimilated into the varṇa society of the early medieval period. Their mother-goddesses whether at the tribal level or the intermediate village level were then absorbed by both the Jainas and the Hindus.

A closely related factor was the rise in the popularity of Tantricism in this period. Sharma points out that some of the Tantric texts were clearly associated with particular tribes and almost all were composed in the outlying tribal areas. Many of the Tantric practices were thus influenced by the primitive religious observances of the aboriginal tribes. He suggests that the mystic diagrams (yantras), the sacred circles (cakras) of the Śaktas and the different Maṇḍala Krama rituals of Tantric worshippers possibly represented the continuation of the worship of stone tools and weapons as cult objects which were often associated with fertility rites. Similarly sexual rites formed an important part of aboriginal rituals for promoting fertility of the earth. Tantrism with its various magic rituals for the fulfilment of temporal and spiritual ends gained tremendous popularity in this period and affected Buddhism, Śaivism, Vaiśnavism and Jainism.

For the purpose of occult practices Tīrthaṅkaras could not act as agents. They occupied a presidential position in the pantheon somewhat akin to the position of the Buddha in the Sinhalese Buddhist pantheon. Obeysekere observes that this presidential position had two aspects. In the first place all other deities and even demons in the divine hierarchy derived their power from the Buddha. Secondly, the Buddha was not perceived as a deity in the conventional sense as interceding on behalf of humans to bring prosperity or punishing them for transgressions. Although Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras came to be looked upon as bestowers of boons and favours in the early medieval period, they too were remote for the ordinary layman. In Jainism also, the subordinate deities derived their

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authority from the Jinas as the story of Śrīyādevatā in the Vaddārahāne illustrates. Thus Jainism needed a category of subordinate deities who could act as agents for occult practices such as exorcism, subjugation (vaśikarana), and in stupefication (stambhana). Deities such as Śrīyādevatā or her consort Saudharmendra could not be invoked for this purpose though they could be propitiated for boons, since these deities were sufficiently high on the ladder of salvation and were future Jinas. The Yakṣis, particularly such fierce mother goddesses as Jvalāmālinī who were derived from the aboriginal mother goddess, were well suited for this purpose.

*122. Supra, p.334 fn. 105.

*123. In Sinhalese Buddhism, Guardian Deities who are considered as future Buddhas are propitiated for boons but unlike the demons are said not to cause possession. G. Obeyesekere, The Cult of the Goddess Pattini, Delhi 1987.
(III) THE JAINA TEMPLE:

The Jaina temples were generally smaller and simpler than the brahminical temples. R.N. Nandi observes that the structural growth of the brahmanical temple was related to an inflated ritual, large pantheon and a wide functional base. The sanctum, the vestibule, the assembly hall (sabha mandapa) and the dance hall (nāṭya mantapa) were all added to the temple structure as a corollary of ritual requirements, while numerous smaller shrines were added to the main temple to house attendant or related deities of the principal deity. Jaina basadis rarely reached such grotesque proportions since it ran counter to the Jaina ideal of simplicity and humility. *124

Although the worship of attendant deities became popular among the Jainas in the early medieval period it does not appear to have led to the architectural elaboration of the basadis apart from the replacement of Jina figures atop the Mānastambhas by that of Sarvāhāna Yakṣa. *125 No additional structures appear to have been added to house the Yakṣas and Yakṣis. Rather these images of the attendant deities were placed in the vestibule of the basadi. *126

Brahmanical temples were also distinguished by narrative sculptural friezes illustrating episodes from the epics and the purāṇas. This does not seem to characterize Jaina shrines where sculptural panels depict friezes of floral bands. The wall niches at the Paścakūṭa basadi at Kambadahalā (Nāgamangalā taluk, Maṇḍya district) are surmounted by floral or Makara tōraṇas with flying gandharvas or makaras ridden by Yakṣas.


*126 Ibid, P.32, ASMAR 1939,pp.45-46
The niches themselves were occupied by images of the Tīrthankaras. *127

The rare exception to this is provided by the perforated screens at the Candragupta basadi at Sravaṇabēḷgōla. This is believed to depict incidents connected with Candragupta Maurya and Bhadrabāhu.*128 However, this screen as well as the beautifully sculpted door jambs were added to the original ninth century structure by a sculptor named Dāsoja in the twelfth century.*129

(IV) THE JAINA MONASTIC ORDER:
MONKS: Monastic discipline among the Digambara Jains had originally been very strict. They were to discard clothes as part of their vow of non-possession (aparigraha).*130 They were not permitted even an alms bowl; pāṇipātra (palms used as bowl for receiving alms) is a distinctive feature of a Digambara monk.*131 They were allowed to eat or drink only once a day for which they were to visit a Jaina household whether rich or poor and if offered, were to accept food which they were to consume standing, off their palms. A path of roving asceticism was also prescribed. Monks were permitted to seek shelter only during the rainy season. The regimen of penance ideally to be followed by a monk is described by Ponna in his account of the mendicant conduct of Megharatha Muni who was reborn as Sāntinātha. After studying the scriptures under the guidance Ghanaratha Tīrthankara, he sets out as an ēkavihari, and adopts the anāśana tapa, the avamōdarya tapa, the vṛtti parisankhyāna tapa, the rasaparityāsa tapa, the viviktāvāsa tapa (penance in a spot not inhabited by animals, women or hermaphrodites), the Kāyaklēśa tapa (exposing the body to inclement weather with total indifference), etc. and conquered the twenty-two parīṣahas of hunger, thirst, heat etc.

*127 ASMAR 1939, p.44
*128 S.Settar, Sravanabelgola Monuments, loc.cit.,pp.174-175
*129 Ibid, p.102.
*130 Ponna's Śānti Purāṇam VIII 122 Vacana.
*131 P.S. Jaini, op.cit., p.34, p36, fn 4.
He practised the six penances of perfecting expiation (prāyaścitta) humility (vinaya), service (Vaiyārtya), study (svādhyāya), and meditation (dhyāna) in the Kāyotsarga posture.*132 He meditated on the twelve Anupreksas (essential principles such as anityatva, the state of transience āsrava, the influx of subtle Kārmic matter into the soul, samvara, the stoppage of new influx by the soul, nirjarā the dissociation of the soul from accumulated Kārmic matter, etc.)*133 and perfected the Triratnas foremost of which is mercy and forgiveness. By his faultless observance of the Pañcamahāvratas, the Pañcasamiti (five kinds of precautions against harming living creatures)*134 and the Triguptis (guarding of the three doors of action- the mind, speech and body) he achieved that equanimity by which he was alike indifferent to friend and foe, honour and dishonour. By practising these penances he became emaciated and acquired the seven siddhis (supernatural powers). He visited numerous caityālayas by means of cāraṇa (the power of roaming through the air). He thus acquired the merit by means of which he was born first in the Sarvārthasiddhi heaven and thereafter as a Tīrthankara.*135 A similar account is given by Ranna in his Ajita Tīrthakara Purāṇa when he describes the penances and observance undertaken by Vimalavāhana Muni, the future Ajitanātha.*136

While the early medieval Jaina works continue to uphold and commend these ancient ideals epigraphic evidence indicates that Jaina monks were gradually giving up the practice of roving asceticism and taking to settled life in monasteries. They were also entrusted with grants for temples which appears paradoxical in view of their vow of aparigraha.

*132 Ponna's Śāntipūrāṇam IX, 105-108
*134 H.P. Nagarajayya, op.cit, p.544, q.v. Pañcasamiti.
*135 Ponna's Śānti Purāṇam IX, 110-113, 117.
*136 Ranna's Ajita Tīrthakara Purāṇa, III 1-2 Vacana.
Some monks may have continued the ancient practice of wandering asceticism. An early fifth century inscription of Kadamba Ravivarman provided for the free feeding of Yāpanīya monks during the rainy season.*137 These were apparently groups of monks who were not attached to a place. Similarly, a tenth century nisidhi inscription from Chikka Hanasoge (Krishnarāja nagara taluk, Mysore district), mentions a monk, Kalneledeva who is described as a Jangama tīrtha (moving pilgrimage spot) as opposed to the Gommaṭa tīrtha which was stationary (sthāvara). The description of the monk as Jangama tīrtha might imply that he followed the rule of wandering asceticism.*138

The trend of growing laxity in ascetic discipline is noticeable in the records from Śravaṇabēlgōla. Settar *139 observes that between the seventh and ninth centuries the monks and nuns who came to Śravaṇabēlgōla in pursuit of death followed a rigorous ascetic discipline. They do not appear to have possessed more than the wooden bowl and peacock feather fan permitted to them. They did not aspire for a regular lay following and shunned attachment to a place. Their main quest was for personal salvation. During and after the tenth century at Śravaṇabēlgōla, the monks appear to have given up the rule of roving asceticism, attracted the laity closer to themselves with concomitant patronage for the basadis to which they acted as managers.

This transition appears to have taken place even earlier outside Śravaṇabēlgōla. The grants made by the early Ganga rulers were in all but one instance, entrusted to

*137 IA Vol VI, p.28
*138 EC V (new ed) Kn 36.
monks of the Mūla Sangha. Thus as early as the fifth century some monks appear to have settled down permanently in a temple. By the eighth century this had become common as temple worship gained in importance.*140

In Thailand, Tambaiah has found that newly founded kingdoms tended to patronize ascetic forest monk fraternities since they served as an effective counterweight to already established monasteries in villages and towns which were not of their creation. They preferred to sponsor new ordination lineages of forest monks whose ascetic pure practices could attract lay attention and support. The sponsorship of such forest monk fraternities served another purpose too. Such monasteries were situated on forest edges or frontiers of advancing settlements and could act as elite carriers of civilization. They could also act as the foci for the collective religious activities and moral sentiments of the frontier settlements.*141

It is not clear how far this is applicable to the Jaina monastic establishments of our region. As we have seen Jaina literary works uphold the ascetic practices of the wandering monks. In literary works, kings and other members of the laity bestowed on such monks the gifts of utensils (pātra dāna),*142 food (āhāradāna) *143 and medicine (auṣadhi dāna) *144 In these works we do not find monks receiving grants of land or villages for temple although such grants were recommended as a duty for the pious laity in some literary works. *145 However, inscriptions reveal that monks and nuns were settling down permanently and receiving grants of villages and plots of land. We cannot discern whether these temples and monastic establishments were located in frontier regions and whether kings sponsored new establishments in preference to already existing monastic groups.

*140 For details of grants to Jaina shrines vide supra, section A(I).
*145 Cāvūndarāyapurāṇam, op.cit., p.211.
It is possible that such a shift in patronage gave an additional fillip to the proliferation of the Jaina Sangha. Nandi relates this proliferation to the doctrinal differences that arose among the various groups. The Yāpaniṇīyas introduced certain doctrinal changes such as the advocacy of śrīmokṣa or salvation or women and chēdopasthāpana or resumption of meditation in spite of a break in relation to women. After the breakaway of the Yāpaniṇīyas we have references to several new monastic groups in the Digambara Mūla Sangha from the eighth century such as the Pūgarīya gaṇa, the Surastha gaṇa, the Drāviḍa sangha and the Nandi Sangha. A later tradition ascribed the origin of these new groups to the splitting of the Mūla sangha by the sage Arthabali into the Śēna, Nandi, Dēva and Simha subdivisions in order to minimize hatred and other evils. This would point to the revival of schismatic pressures within the Mūla sangha. Some of these new groups such as the Śēna Sangha had migrated from the Rājshahi district of Bangladesh to Mysore where they were then affiliated to the parent church, the Mūla Sangha. The Drāviḍa Sangha and the Kāśṭha Sangha arose out of a rebellion of sections of monks against particular ritual prescriptions such as the ban on bathing, the use of oil and perfumes, and the eating of live gram. Gradually, the rigid ascetic discipline of the Jaina monks appears to have been lost in these newly emergent monastic groups. Additionally, some of these new groups also sponsored the Tantric cult of Yakṣinīs. This too illustrates the loosening of the moral fibre among some Jaina monks.

Thus, while in Thailand kings seem to have turned to forest monks in order to revive the ascetic tradition in our region the patronage of the laity was extended to monks who settled down permanently and took to new practices such as Tantric worship and the perpetuation of malevolent deities.

*146 R.N. Nandi, Religious Institutions and Cults, loc.cit., p.60
*147 Ibid, pp 47-49
*148 Ibid p 49
*149 Ibid, pp57-58
*150 Supra, Section A(II) P, 33 fn 110-111
*151 EI IV, No.49, pp. 338 ff.
An important aspect of the Jaina monastic organization during this period was the reduced size of many monastic orders which feature seems to give the impression of a great deal of proliferation. Even as new groups emerged, the unit of organization was the \textit{gana} or \textit{gaccha} which consisted on an average of only three members. In these \textit{ganas} the preceptor became all-powerful. This increased importance of the \textit{guru} may have led to the splitting up of the Mūla Sangha into small units. The preceptor (\textit{ācārya}) was now responsible for the welfare of the members and was expected to be an able administrator in addition to possessing the requisite academic qualifications. He came to be considered as the means of the final deliverance of his disciples.*152

Thus Ranna in his \textit{Ajita Tirthakara Purānam} pays homage to his \textit{guru} who he says vouchsafed the fulfillment of his desires (\textit{emagiṣṭa-siddhiyam dorekoJisuttum}) *153 Ponna likewise devotes thirteen verses to the praise of his \textit{guru} Jinacandra who is finally described as the hero of the work (Kṛtināyaka) in effect identifying him with Jina Śāntinātha himself.*154 Similarly, Cāvunḍarāya eulogizes his preceptor Ajītasēna Munindra thus: “he removes the stain of \textit{Karma} and awakens the spirit of those close to him (āptavarga), he astonishes the rival disputants and secures the goddess of liberation (Mokṣalakṣmī) to those desiring it. O Bhavya, worship the lotus feet of Ajītasēna Munindra with a pure mind” *155 Pampa pays homage to such celebrated \textit{ācāryas} of the Koṅḍakundāvanaya as Samantabhadra, Kavi Paramēṣṭhi, Pūjyapāda, Grdhdhapinčhācārya, Jaṭāsimhanandi, Śrutakīrti, Maladhāri Munīśvara, Dēvēndra Muni and Jayanandi Muni.*156 The last mentioned individual was probably his preceptor.

*153 Ranna’s \textit{Ajita Tirthakara Purānam}, I.7.
*154 Ponna’s \textit{Sāntipurānam} I.25-37
*155 Cāvunḍarāya \textit{Purānam}, op.cit, p.4, v.19
*156 Pampa’s \textit{Ādi Purānam} I, II-14.
The guru was thus considered the means of deliverance of his disciples. He
guided the disciple whether a monk or a śrāvaka, to the right path to salvation. The
guru initiated the lay disciples (guddā or guddī) to the śrāvaka vrataś *157 and later
into the order. *158 When the disciple desired to invite death the consent of the guru
was indispensable.*159 The preceptor then guided the disciple, whether a śramaṇa or
a śrāvaka through to the successful completion of the vow.*160

Adoration of the preceptor grew into a cult by itself. Thus memorial stones
were erected in honour of preceptors by lay and spiritual disciples. One such instance
is provided by the inscription from Chikka Hanasoge of the tenth century which
commemorate the ritual vow of Āḷācārya of Enṭekula who subsisted on water for a
month, observed the five vows and and died by samādhi maraṇa. This niṣidhi was set
up by his disciple Kalnele dēva.*161 Between the seventh and ninth centuries
numerous monks and nuns chose to end their lives by accepting ritual vows of samādhi
maraṇa or sanyasana on the small hill at Śravaṇabēḷgōḷa. Numerous niṣidhis on the
rocks here commemorate their death *162 but in the majority of cases, the name of the
person who set up these niṣidhis is not recorded.

Nuns: The order of nuns (āryika or kāṇṭi) was inferior to that of the monks in all the
sects of Jainism. It was held that a newly ordained monk was superior to a nun of
longstanding and was worthy of respect from her. The ultimate authority in the case of
nuns was a male figure in the office of acārya and the pravartini and gaṇini who headed
the order of nuns were subordinate to him.*163

*157 Vaddaradhane, op.cit., p.55, 57; Ponna's Santi Puranam 1.87.
*158 Vaddaradhane op.cit p.123.
*160 Vaddaradhane, op. cit, pp 126-27.
*161 EC V (newed) Kn 35.
*162 EC II (newed) SB 1, 2, 14, 15, 16, 24, 25, 68, 85, 89, 90, 91, 94, 98, etc.
*163 S. B. Deo, A History of Jaina Monachism from Inscriptions and literature,
Nuns were not permitted to adopt nudity even among the Digambaras on grounds of their physical disabilities. This was the principal reason why the Digambaras, for whom nudity was an essential prerequisite for mokṣa, denied the ability of nuns to attain mokṣa in the same birth.  

The inferiority of the nuns was also reflected by the fact that it was not permitted for them to study certain texts. Even among the Śvetāmbaras the texts Drṣṭivāda, Drṣṭivāda, Mahāpārījña and Arunāpapātra were out of bounds for the nuns. Drṣṭivāda contained information on spells, and hence since women were considered to be of fickle nature and lacking in fortitude, nuns were not allowed to study them. Similarly, among the Digambaras, books attributed to Gāpandharas, Pratyēkabuddhas, Śrutakevalins and tenets propounded by holders of the knowledge of the ten Purvas were to be studied only by monks.

The subordination of nuns to the ācāryas is indicated in inscriptions as well. An early seventh century niśidhi from Śravaṇabelgola records the death of Nāgamati gānti, a Jaina Nun who was the disciple of Mōni guravaṭi. A tenth century niśidhi at Ankanāṭhapura (Hoḷe Narsipur taluk, Hassan district) records the death of Dēviyabbe kaṇṭi the disciple of Prabhacandra siddhaṭa. The Kaṭūr Pillar inscription of AD 971 records the death of Pāmbabbe Kaṇṭiyar, the elder sister of Būtuga II, Ganga who is said to belong to the Desiya gana of the Koṇḍakundānīyaya (Mūla Sangha).

*164 Ibid, p 497, Supra, Section A(l) p.388f.
*165 S.B. Deo, op.cit, p.492. *166 Direct disciple of the Tīrthankaras.
*167 Mendicant who attains omniscience without the direct aid of a teacher.
*168 Mendicant who has mastered the entire Jaina canon including both the Purvas and the Angas.
*169 An ancient now non-extant part of the Jaina canon.
*170 EC II (new ed) SB 23  
*171 EC VIII (new ed) HN 10
She was the disciple of Nānabbe Kaṇṭiyar and Abhayānandī Paṇḍita bhaṭārār.*172

However in some cases only the gana affiliation of a nun is specified without mentioning her preceptors. Several seventh century epitaphs on the small hill at Śravanabēlgōla commemorate the death by observance of a ritual vow, of nuns of the Navilūr sangha. 'Rajnīmati gaṇṭi of the Āji gana (order of nuns) of the Navilūr Sangha.*173 Anantamati gaṇṭiyar,*174 Prabhāvati and Amitamati *175 were some of the nuns thus commemorated. In all these cases the preceptors are not mentioned. A tenth century niṣidhi at Siddagānahāḷḷi (Kaḍūr taluk, Chikmagaḷḷūr district ) commemo­rates Bālambā Kaṇṭi of the Navilūr gana.*176 Once again no preceptor is mentioned. This appears to be a convention of the Navilūr Sangha since the majority of the monks of this monastic order too did not mention their preceptor.*177 Similarly the Kōḷāṭṭūr Sangha also does not appear to have the convention of acknowledging the guru. *178

Although nuns thus appear to be subordinate to monks in the Jaina monastic organization, we sometimes find them being entrusted independently with the land grants for basadis in effect vesting the nun with the management of the temple and its landed estate. The Narasapur copper plates of AD 902-03 provide us with one such instance gifts for a basadi constructed at Kaṇṇamangala by Ayyama Dēṇandākar were entrusted to Kamungāre Kaṇṭiyar the female disciple of Maṇḍala bhaṭārār of Uttanindipura which in turn was the disciple of Kaḍahūra bhaṭārā.*179 The Laksh­midēvīhāḷḷi inscription (Arsīkere taluk, Hāssan district) of the tenth century

*172 EC VI (old ed) Kd I. *173 EC II (old ed) SB 112
*177 EC II (newed) SB 117, 118, 123, 124. The exception is SB 121 which commemorates the death of Vṛṣabhanandi the disciple of Mauniācārya of Navilūra Sangha.
*178 Ibid SB 108, 111.
*179 EC X (old ed) KI 90
registers a grant of land for the Bīḍuga Jinālaya by Māraka which was entrusted to Paramabbe Kaṇṭi.*180 In least one case a nun appears to have had a layman as a disciple. This was Mākabbe Kaṇṭi whose epitaph was set up by Bīcā gāvūṇḍa of Mādība as parokṣa vinaya in AD 1013.*181

Thus, although Jaini is right in holding that the vows of the uttama śrāvikā nuns were given the status of Mahāvrata only as a matter of courtesy*182 while in fact they were considered incapable of achieving salvation in the same birth owing to mental and physical disabilities peculiar to their sex,*183 in practice nuns enjoyed considerable influence. This was perhaps a consequence of the patronage extended to the Digambaras by aristocratic women many of whom took vows as nuns. The pre-eminence of women in the political sphere in the second phase was thus reflected in their enhanced position in the ecclesiastical organization as well.

*180 EC V (old ed) Ak 209.
*181 EC IV (new ed) Hs 43
*183 Ibid, pp 34-35, pp 120-134, 141-146
(V) JAINA RITUALS AND OBSERVANCES:

TEMPLE RITUALS: We have very few epigraphic references to specific Jaina temple rituals. But this deficiency is made up by the literary works which provide us with a fairly detailed description of their rituals.

The most complete description is provided by the Ādi Purāṇam of Pampa and the Cāvundarāyapurāṇam. These works mention several mahāpūjās offered by different classes of the laity. Thus cakravartis are said to organize the Kalpadrumamahāmaha, mahāmandalikas and other chief princes (makuṭabaddhar) the Caturmukhamahāmaha. The ardhamandalika offered the Sarvatobhadramahāmaha while the various Indras offered the Aindradhvaja *184. Details of these various mahāpūjās are not given. But we do have further information on the astāhnika mahāmaha which all classes of the laity were expected to offer.

The astāhnika pūjā was major festival of the Jainas. It was celebrated over the last eight days of the month of Āśāṅgha, Kārttika and Phālguna and thus coincided with the summer, autumn and winter harvests *185. The rite was also known as Nandisvara Dvīpa. In the story of Siridinna bhaḷāra in the Vaddarādhane we have a reference to the special rites of worship of Arhad bhaṭṭāraka during the Phālguna Nandisvara *186. Likewise, the Sāntipurāṇam of Ponna advocates the performance of Nandisvara Dvīpa and other major pūjās as a means of obtaining merit. Accordingly, Sridēva, who in a later birth became Sāntinātha Tīrthankara instituted the astāhnika pūjā *187.

*184 Pampa's Ādi Purāṇam XV.13 Vacana,
*185 R.N.Nandi, Religious Institutions and cults...loc.cit, p 37
*186 Vaddārādhane Op.cit, p 150
*187 Ponna's Sānti Purāṇam VII. 31 Vacana-
One of the earliest references to the performance of the astāñika puja occurs in the Halsi charter of Ravivarman Kadamba in the early fifth century. This makes provision for the performance of this ritual in the month of Kārttika *188. Similarly, the Peggur inscription (Virāpēṭ taluk, Coorg district) of AD 978 which registers the grant of Peggaḍūr and Posavadaga for the maintenance of the basadi at Peggaḍūr, mentions the Phālguna Nandīvara. The grant was made on the last day (tale divasa) of the festival) *189. An eight day fast (aṣṭopavāsa) worship (arcanā) and abhiśeka appear to have been the major features of the astāñika puja. This is indicated by the performance of these rites by Vinayamati, a śrāvīka in the Vaddārādhane *190. While these were special festivals sponsored by the wealthier members of the laity, the daily ritual consisted of the offering of pāḍya (water to wash the feet), gandha (sandalpaste), aksatā (consecrated raw rice), and dhūpa (incense), dīpa (lamp) and phata (fruits), and the bathing (snāpana and abhiśeka) of the image with clarified butter (ghrīta), milk (Kṣira), tender coconut water (nālikēra tōya) mango juice (āmra rasa) sugarcane juice (īksu rasa) and diluted sandalpaste (gandhodaka) thrice a day *191.

Cāvunḍarāyapurāṇam advocates the offerings of gandha, puspā, aksatā, etc. to the Jinas by the laity *192. A common motif in Jaina stories is a maiden visiting a Jaina shrine with articles of worship after observing a fast. After duly worshipping the image and saluting the ascetics resident there, the girl returns home and offers the objects sanctified by worship to her parents, who, noting her youthful form, deliberate on a suitable match for her. Thus in the Vaddārādhane, in the story of Sukauśalasvāmi, Sukēśīni, the daughter of Nāgadatta setti visits the Sahasrakūṭa Jīnālaya with objects of worship often observing the vow (nontu) of astamī. There she is noticed by the king Gandhabhājana who later seeks her hand in marriage. Returning home from the temple,
Sukeśenī offers the Siddhasese (sanctified remnants) to her parents *193. Similarly, in the story of Kārttika Ṛṣi, the six daughters of king Agnirāja of Kṛttikāpura observe the fast during the Phālguna Nandīśvara and then visit the basadi with objects of worship, salute the deities and ascetics accept fresh vows and then return home to offer the siddhasese to their parents *194. Likewise, in Ponna's Sānti Purāṇaṁ, Svayamprabhā, the princess of Rathanāpuracakravāla observes a fast on Śripāṭām and goes to the Siddhakūṭa and has the Jinābhiseka performed. Returning home, she offers the siddhasese to her parents and brother *195. All this would indicate that it was a common practice among lay devotees, particularly the women, to carry objects of worship from home, offer them to the Jina and return with the sanctified remnants as enjoined in the Cāvunḍārayapurāṇa.

The abhiśēka ritual formed a part of the majority of rites concerning Jina worship. We have seen that it formed a part of the āstāṁśika pūja and the daily ritual in Jaina temples. In its most developed form it was a festival by itself. This aspect is reflected in the Varāṅgacarita which describes the ritual in great detail. *196 At its simplest, the rite involved ablutions of the image of the Arhat by śrāvaka himself *197. Alternatively, the śrāvaka or śrāvikā could institute the ritual at a shrine as was done by princess Svayamprabhā *198. Likewise, the king Gandhabhājana institutes the abhiśēka among other rites at the Sahasrakūṭa Jīnālaya caused to be constructed by him *199.

The Kumasi grāma inscription (Shimoga taluk, district) of c AD 950 which records the construction of a jinaścaha at the instance of Lokkiyabbe of Pombucca also registers grants for jinaścaha by certain gaudas and ṣettis *200.

*195 Sānti Purāṇaṁ v 18
RITUAL STAFF IN JAINA TEMPLES:

Our inscriptions do not clearly inform us as to who officiated as priests in Jaina temples. They merely mention the Jaina monks who were entrusted with the management of the shrines. However, Pampa's Ādi Purāṇam in describing the creation of the brāhmaṇa varṇa by Bharata informs us that pūjā, vārta (the right means of livelihood which included asi, māsi, kṛṣi, vanīgvidyā and śilpa), datti (various kinds of dāna), svādhya (which included study and teaching of śāstras to others), śamyama (the observance of the Pañcānuvratas and other vows) and tapas (fasts and other forms of penance) were set down as the established observances (kulacāra) for the brāhmaṇa varṇa.*201. Thus it would appear that brāhmaṇas were the officiating priests in Jaina temples too. This is supported by the Čaundarāyaapurāṇam which states that brāhmaṇas were invited to officiate at ceremonies of the lifecycle such as the garbhādāna-kriya, the līpi-sāmkhyāna-saṅgraha-kriyā, etc. *202.

In the modern period, Dundas observes that the Digambaras of South India employ priests designated as Upadhyes, who, carry out pūjā involving decoration and anointment of the image. Among the Śvetāmbaras, in contrast, the lay devotees conduct such ceremonies themselves and temple servants called pūjārīs are employed merely to clear up after any ritual. He notes, further, that worship with the eight articles (dravya pūjā) is the prerogative of the laity only. The ascetics are debarred from direct contact with the image because of their physical impurity, having abandoned the normal social activity of washing. They confine themselves to bhāva pūjā (inner worship of contemplation).*203.


*201 Ādi Purāṇam XV. 13 vacana


While our sources do mention worship conducted by the lay devotees in person, the context appears to be a domestic shrine and not a temple. In temples we get the impression that ritual specialists were employed; probably the Jaina brāhmaṇas. The ban on dravya pūjā by ascetics though not clearly stated, appears to be borne out by inscriptions, which never mention a monk or a nun engaged in ritual activities of this kind.

Neither literary nor epigraphic sources give us any further information on the ritual staff of the Jaina temples. Chenakka Yeligar has opined on the basis of an inscription from Manne that Jaina temples to a employed courtesans (devasile) *204. But this, if at all, was a later development, for none of the inscriptions of the period AD 400 to AD 1030 refers to them.

*204 Chenakka Yeligar, Sāsanagalalli Karnātakada Strīsamāja (in Kannada) Ph.D. Thesis submitted to the Karnataka University, Dharwad, (1980), p 86.
B) VEDIC BRAHMANISM

I) The First Phase: The first phase of the period under study (c. AD 400-AD 725) was marked by royal patronage of the brāhmaṇas well versed in vedic lore. This was the case not only with the Gaṅgas but also with their contemporaries the Kadambas, the Pallavas, and a little later, the Bādāmi Cāḷukyās as well. The influence of Vedic Brāhmanism in this phase was pervasive. It can be seen not merely in the patronage of stotra brāhmaṇas but also in the claim to gotra affiliation by royal dynasties and in the performance of Vedic sacrifices and rites such as the asvamedha and the hiranyagarbha.

The brāhmaṇas who received land grants in the first phase are identified in terms of their gotra affiliation as well as the specific branch of Vedic lore that they had specialized in. Thus the Bendiganahalli copper plates of Kṛṣṇavarman of the Kaivāra branch of the Gaṅgas record the grant of Karu-ura as brahmadeya to Mātrar man of the Rathitarā sa gotra and Taittirīya carana while his Bangalore copper plates record the grant of Kuḍilīyam grāma to the six sons of Bhūti Ārma of Vārākya gotra and Chāndogyā carana. Similarly, Divākara Ārma, the donee of the Chaluvanahalli copper plates of Mādhava II. (Talakāḍ branch) is said to belong to the Vatsa gotra and Vājasaneyi sakha. The Kūṭalūr Grant of Mādhavavarman (Paruvi branch) registers the gift of the village to Kumāra Ārma and Bhava Ārma of Kausika gotra and Taittirīya carana. The Kudagere copper plates of Vijayāva Māndhātrya-stack of the close of the fourth century record the grant of twenty nivarttanas of wet land to Devasarma of Kaunḍinya gotra and Dattānyu vōga, who is described as Taittirīya brahmacārī. The Kaḍagaṭṭūr plates of the fourth regnal year of Durvīnūta record the grant of Tipperu village in Perukhoga and Vaṇṇe viṣaya to Skanda Ārma of Bhāradvāja gotra.

*205. Supra, Chapter III, Section B, pp. 14 ff
*206. K.V. Ramesh, Inscriptions of the Western Gaṅgas, No. 5.
*207. Ibid No. 6
*208. Ibid No. 157
*209. Ibid No. 4, 11.10-11
*210. EC VII (old ed) Sk 29.
Taittiriya carana and Apastambha sutra. This brahma is further described as knowing the meaning of mantras and sutras and the essence of sacred precepts as being well-versed in the six auxiliary branches of vedic study and being engaged only in the practice of his own dharma\textsuperscript{211}. Sêna Sarma and his son, the beneficiaries of the Nallalam grant charter of the same monarch belonged to the Bhâradvâja gotra, Taittiriya carana and Prâvacana kalpa\textsuperscript{212}.

Some charters describe the grantees as "adept at self-control, religious austerity and penance, in study and teaching, performing and conducting sacrifices, pronouncing blessings and curses." This is the case with the Cukuṭṭur Grant of Simhavarman (Kaivāra branch)\textsuperscript{213} which records the gift of Cukuṭṭur grâma to seventy-four brahmanas some of whom are identified by name and gotra affiliation. The seventy-four brahma donees of the Koḍunjegruvu charter of Avînta\textsuperscript{214} are also described thus.

Some inscriptions go further and describe the brahma grantees as "incessantly drinking soma juice" and "well-versed in the lore of performing sacrifices". This is the case with the Gummareṇḍipura plates of Durvînta\textsuperscript{215}. The performance of various hōmas and yajñas by brahmaṇas in agrahāras is also borne out by the Pampa Bhârata wherein Pampa's ancestor, Mâdhava Sûmayâjî, an inhabitant of Vengipalu with its associated agrahāras of Vasantakoṭṭuru, Niduguṇḍi and Vikramapura, is said to have performed numerous yajñas notably the sarvâkratu\textsuperscript{216}.

\textsuperscript{211} K.V. Ramesh op. cit, No. 20, 11. 38-43
\textsuperscript{212} Ibid No. 25.
\textsuperscript{213} Ibid No. 7, 11. 11-12
\textsuperscript{214} Ibid No. 15, 11 28-34
\textsuperscript{215} Ibid No. 24, 11. 28-34.
\textsuperscript{216} Pampa Bhârata XIV 40-44.
By and large, however, such rituals were commissioned by kings particularly those of obscure origins as a means of validating their power. Thus Kadamba Krishnavarman II is said to have been anointed by the waters of the Asvamedha sacrifice\(^{217}\). Similarly, Durvinita is said to have performed numerous special sacrifices every year and to have been anointed by the waters of the great sacrifice called the Hiranyakagharbha\(^{218}\).

**(II) The Second Phase (AD 725 - AD 1030)**

Patronage of Śrōtiya brāhmaṇas continued in the second phase. This was in particular a feature of the reign of Śripuruṣa. Thereafter royal and aristocratic patronage to Vaidika brāhmaṇas declined significantly. Brāhmaṇas adjusted to the new situation by entering the service of the various ruling lineages as administrators and military vassals. As a powerful section of the landed aristocracy they also patronized puranic Hindu cults of Śiva, Viṣṇu and the mother-goddesses. In many cases they were entrusted with temple management as well.

Among the Śrōtiya brāhmaṇas who received grants of land and villages in the second phase we may mention Sakkhare Sarman, a Sōmayāji who received Attigundur grāma from Śripuruṣa Mahārāja\(^{219}\). Similarly, the Jávalī Plates of AD 750-51 record the grant of Belpur village to 120 brāhmaṇas who were well versed in the four branches of learning, masters of the Vedas and Vedāṅgas and knew well the conventions of the Dharmasāstras\(^{220}\). The donor, once again, was Śripuruṣa. Other instances of brahmādyā grants by this monarch have been enumerated earlier\(^{221}\).

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*218. Ibid No. 25, 1.32, also Supra, Chapter III, Section B, p.53.f. 264.

*219. EC IX (old ed) Nl 33 of the eighth century.

*220. K. V. Ramesh, op. cit. No. 43

*221. Supra, Chapter IV, Section F (I)
After Śripuruṣa, patronage of srotriya brāhmaṇas was continued by Yuvarāja Mārasimha the son of Śivamāra II who granted the village Tippērūr as brahmadeva to Ponnaḍi the oḍeya of Āppola at the request of Nayadhīra the son of Kali Nōlambādhirāja Kolliyarasa. However, while the Gaṇjam copper plates specify the gotra of Ponnaḍi, his expertise in Vedic study is not clearly mentioned. But he appears to have been the chief of an agrahāra. The Koṭṭimba grant of yuvarāja Mārasimha in AD 799 also registers a brahmadeva grant of a village. The donee was Śrīdharā of Bhāradvāja gotra who is described as a performer of sacrifices.

The Perjjarāṅgī charter of the first regnal year of Rācamalla I of AD 819 offers another instance of a second phase grant to a srotriya brāhmaṇa. The donee was Nāgadeva bhaṭṭa who was "deeply versed in the Rgveda his mind solely bent on doing good to others, and engaged in serving gods and brāhmaṇas". His father Tadanguṭṭi Sōmayāji Bhaṭṭa was skilled in the performance of all sacrifices and is described as ever-tasting the soma juice. On the other hand Śivārya the beneficiary of the Gaṭṭavāḍī plates of AD 904 a brāhmaṇa of Kauśika gotra is described merely as "of pure character, free from sin, worthy of worship, having fully realized the three objects of human desire, in policy like Bṛhaspati and a skillful pilot in steering the ship, the kingdom of the Gaṇgas". His forefathers had migrated to Tānagundūr in Vanavāsi viṣaya from Ahicchatra and belonged to the Viśvāmitraghamarshaṇa pravara. His grandfather, Dīvāma Śrīdhara is eulogized as being well-versed in the whole meaning of the three Vedas.

*222. EC VI (new ed) Sr. 66
*223. K.V. Ramesh, op. cit, No. 50
*225. EC III (new ed) Nj 402, 11. 73-75
*226. Ibid, 11. 69-71
administrator. If the beneficiary of the Kerehalli plates\(^{227}\) also Sivāryya by name, was identical with the donee of the Gaṭṭavādi plates, then it would suggest that brāhmaṇas could serve ruling lineages in multiple capacities, as purūhita (as participation in the coronation of Nitimārga Ereyappa would imply)\(^{228}\) as a military vassal (as reference to the maintenance of a thousand elephants would indicate)\(^{229}\) and a royal counsellor (as the Gaṭṭavādi plates attest)\(^{230}\).

Another instance of a royal counsellor of brāhmaṇa descent being granted a village comes from the Küḍūr plates of Mārasimha II of AD 962-63. The grantee was Vādighanghala Bhāṭṭa of Parāsara gōtra and Caḷukivāda carana. Like Sivāryya, his forbears too had migrated from the North, from Pippala agrahāra in Vāraṭa dēśa. Like Sivāryya again, Vādighanghala bhāṭṭa's father was apparently a warrior since he is described as "the delighter of the lord of the Vārāṭa contry with his fierce valour"\(^{231}\). Vādighanghala Bhāṭṭa himself was an advisor of Rastrakūta Kṛṣṇa III and is said to have won the esteem of all his Mandalikas and Sāmantas. The difference between Sivāryya and Vādighanghala Bhāṭṭa lies in the fact that the latter was Jaina preceptor as well. In this respect he resembles Pampa in pride in both his brāhmaṇa descent and Jaina faith\(^{232}\). Vādighaṅghala Bhāṭṭa received from Mārasimha II the gift of Bāgiyūr village which carried an income of twenty gadyāṇas in cash and twelve khandugas in grain. This gift appears to have been in appreciation of his sevices as a counsellor and were not meant for a Jaina shrine. In contrast, the Kādalūr grant of the same monarch is expressly stated to have been made for the purpose of facilitating the conduct of worship at the Jaina temple\(^{233}\). The gift of Bāgiyūr to Vādighaṅghala Bhāṭṭa may be more aptly likened to the gift

\(^{227}\) EC IV (new ed) Ch 354.

\(^{228}\) Ibid, 1.77.

\(^{229}\) Ibid, 1.76

\(^{230}\) EC III (new ed) Nj 402

\(^{231}\) K.V. Ramesh, op. cit, No. 138, V. 39.

\(^{232}\) Pampa Bhārata XIV. 50, 59.

\(^{233}\) K.V. Ramesh, op. cit., No. 139
of Dharmapura āgrahāra to Pampa by Arikēsari as a reward for his services as poet and warrior"234.

Brāhmaṇa participation in administration was not a new phenomenon as we have seen earlier"235. Indeed, the appointment of high-ranking śrotriya brāhmaṇas to high administrative and military posts is recommended in such texts as the Manusmṛti, the Agni Purāṇa and the Matsya Purāṇa. "236 But in the first phase the Vedic credentials of such brāhmaṇas were stressed as the Keregalūr plates demonstrate"237. In the second phase the personal qualifications of the individual brāhmaṇa in government service is not stressed but the fact that they came from śrotriya brāhmaṇa families is emphasized. In the second phase with decreasing patronage to Vedic brāhmaṇism it was perhaps sufficient for brāhmaṇas entering government service to emphasize their lineage-as coming from śrotriya brāhmaṇa families already enjoying superior rights to land in an āgrahāra. Their personal qualifications as having studied the vēdas was possibly not as important now as it was earlier.

Indeed it is interesting to note that even the Kukkanūr plates of Mārasimha II of AD 968-69"238 which record a brahmaḍēya grant of a village to a brāhmaṇa who was apparently not in government service, do not specify the Vedic lore in which he had specialized. Partly this may be due to the fact that the donor, Kundaṇasāmi, the sister of Mārasimha, was Jaina by faith and thus specialization in Vedic study was not considered essential. In part it may also be a reflection of the existing situation wherein Vedic Brāhmaṇism was declining and temple-based puranic cults were at the height of their popularity.

*234. Pampa Bhārata XIV 50, 59
*235. Supra, Chapter III, Section B, Chapter IV, Section F.
*237. EC VIII (new ed) Hn 10
*238. K.V. Ramesh, op.cit, No. 159
Nevertheless, private donations to brahmanas continued to be made throughout the second phase. Thus the ninth century Ghaṭāmāranahalir inscription (Sidlaghatta taluk, Kōlār district) records grants by Noḷambarasa for the feeding of brahmānas by the Jana (? Mahājanaprakara)\textsuperscript{239}. Likewise Sivārapattathāna inscription of c.AD 925 records a cash gift of sixteen gadyānas from Nāgavyya and Kōṇḍayya the sons of Tombuṇпутa for feeding two brahmaṇas\textsuperscript{240}. The gift was received by the Mahājanas of Meṇḍimaṅgaḷa. Similarly, the Kaisōḍī virgal of AD 951-52 records a gift of gold to the Mahājanas of Tāgarati by the hero Bellangara Dāsavarma prior to his death\textsuperscript{241}. Likewise the Beḷagi inscription (Sorab taluk, Shimoga district) of AD 964 records the cash gift of 55 pon gadyānas to the Mahājanas of Elūse by Kōṭeyamma Gōsahasra\textsuperscript{242}. The Uttarīn inscription of AD 968 records gift of a hundred gadyānas to the Mahājanas of Uttarīn for the purpose of feeding five brahmaṇas. The donor was Noḷamba ṭetti\textsuperscript{243}.

Thus although royal and aristocratic patronage to śrotriya brahmānas was declining, private grants to the Mahājanas of agrahāras continued throughout the second phase as an expression of piety.

(III) Interfusion of Vedic and Puranic Elements

We have some evidence of śrotriya brahmaṇa participation in the Purānic forms of worship in the first phase. Several early Gaṅga rulers are described as devotees of particular Hindu deities. Thus Viṣṇugōpa is said to have meditated on the feet of Nārāyaṇa while his son Mādhava II was a worshipper of Tryambaka\textsuperscript{244}. Similarly, Durvīnīta is said to have meditated at the feet of

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\textsuperscript{239} ASMAR 1929, No. 36, p. 103

\textsuperscript{240} EC X (old ed) K1 9.

\textsuperscript{241} EC VIII (old ed) Sb 570

\textsuperscript{242} ASMAR 1929, No. 76, p. 150

\textsuperscript{243} EC X (old ed) Mb.122

\textsuperscript{244} EC X (old ed) Mr. 73
Kamalodara (Viṣṇu) in his Bangalore Museum plates while his Peṇṇa-ūr Grant states that his inner soul was purified by his obeisance to the goddess Kātyāyani. R.N. Nandi has suggested that in this early period, worship of Hindu deities was conducted in private chapels which were serviced by orthodox śrotrāya brāhmaṇas since regular temple worship had not developed at this stage. This would mean the involvement of śrotrāya brāhmaṇas in Purāṇic forms of worship acting as purāhitas of important lineages.

However, some inscriptions from the Shimoga district do indicate the existence of temples as early as the fourth century A.D. at least, if not earlier. The Malavalli inscription of the late third century of Kadamba Śivaskandavarman records a re-grant of several villages which had fallen to disuse, for the deity Maṭṭapaṭṭi dēva. The inscription was inscribed on an eight-sided pillar at Malavalli (Shikarpur taluk, Shimoga district) which also bore an inscription of Vinhukaṭṭa Cūṭukulānanda Śātakarṇī for the same deity. The temple itself is no longer in existence now but it was apparently a recipient of royal patronage at least from the period of the late Śātavāhanas.

Similarly, the Tāлагunda Pillar Inscription of the late fourth century A.D. mentions the temple of Mahādēva situated at the Sthānagundūr agrahāra which is said to have been patronized by Śātakarṇī and other kings. This temple was evidently the Praṇavēśvara temple at Tāлагunda which bears inscriptions of Prabhāvati, the queen of Kadamba Mrgēśavarman and of Ravivarman. This would date it at least to the close of the fourth

*245. EC IX (old ed) Bn 141, 1.36
*246. ASMAR 1932, pp 131-143, 1.37
*248. EC VII (old ed) Sk. 364.
*249. ASMAR 1941, p. 36
*250. EC VII (old ed) Sk. 263
*251. Ibid Sk 176
*252. ASMAR 1932, pp. 56-57
century and if the Pillar inscription be credited it was in existence as early as the third century A.D. Excavations at Banavasi (Sirsi taluk, N.Kanara district) have revealed the existence of an apsidal temple there which, unfortunately, has not been dated\textsuperscript{253}.

In all these cases except at the Banavasi temple we have clear evidence of their association with vedic brāhmaṇas. The grant for the Maṭṭapatti dēva was entrusted to a brāhmaṇa Śrī Nāgadatta of Koṇinya gōtra (Kaundinya gōtra) while the location of the Prapaveśvara temple at an agrahāra would indicate that the brahmadeśa sabhā controlled it. Likewise, the Keregular Plates of Mādhava II (Talakāḍ branch) of the fifth century record the gift of (an image of) Viṣṇu along with all ornaments (sarvābharanām) as ṣālabhōga to brāhmaṇas who are described as being "devoted to the six duties of performing and officiating at sacrifices, studying and teaching the Vedas, engaged in making offerings to the gods, in the study of the śāstras, the performance of pitrvajñās, offering food to animals (baliyajña) and congregational services"\textsuperscript{254}. Ṣālabhōga has been interpreted as "gift for the congregation hall" by M.H. Krishna\textsuperscript{255}. The gift of the image of Viṣṇu might indicate that it was worshipped there. Here again the association with vaidika brāhmaṇas is noteworthy.

Orthodox brāhmaṇas also appear to have adopted the popular practice of building memorials to deceased heroes. A fragmentary inscription from Aihoṭe in seventh century Kannada characters on the facade of a cave states that the cavern was excavated by the Mahājanas presumably of Aihoṭe as a memorial temple to Satyaśrīya Mahārāja, i.e. Pulakeśī II\textsuperscript{256}. This practice of constructing memorial shrines to the deceased continued in the second phase as well, but the lead as usually taken by the relatives of the dead\textsuperscript{257}.

\textsuperscript{253} I.A.R. 1970-71, p. 29
\textsuperscript{254} EC VIII (new ed) Hn 10.
\textsuperscript{255} ASMAR 1930, pp 113 ff.
\textsuperscript{256} I.A.R. 1982-83, p. 119
\textsuperscript{257} Infra, Section F
One of the exceptions to this is an inscription from Āvani (Mūlbāgāl taluk, Kōlār district) which records that Mahēndra bhāṭṭa constructed a small temple (‘Kiri degula’) for Mahēndra Kaliyuga Rudra. While the surname of Bhāṭṭa would indicate that the bearer was a brāhmaṇa, the identity of Mahēndra Kaliyuga Rudra is unclear. It might denote Mahēndrādhirāja Nōlamba who was slain in battle at the end of the ninth century. But it is more likely that he was the sthānādhipati of Āvanya sthāna, the predecessor of Tribhuvana karttāra bhaṭāra who ruled Āvanya from c. AD 920 to AD 961. It is interesting to note that while the inscription recording the death of Tribhuvana Karttāra bhaṭāra was inscribed on a rock to the west of Gīndi tīrtha at Āvanya, the present record is inscribed on a rock to the west of Āvani tīrtha. This similarity in the location of the memorial inscriptions would seem to support our contention that Mahēndra Kaliyuga Rudra was like Tribhuvana Karttāra bhaṭāra, the sthānādhipati of Āvani. At all events this inscription would indicate that continuation of the practice of constructing memorial shrines by brāhmaṇas, a practice first attested to by the Aihoḷe inscription cited above.

The Hecche inscription (Sorab taluk, Shimoga district) of c. AD 991 records the grant of twenty-four Pūra drammas which were entrusted to the Mahājanas of Else probably for the conduct of worship at the memorial of veḷe Akatega who sacrificed his life to secure for his master Śāntivarma of Hēdese an heir. Here again we note the association of Mahājanas with a memorial shrine. In the second phase the corporate body of the agrahāras frequently acted as patron of temples and sometimes were entrusted with devabhoga grants as well.

Among the grants made by the Mahājanas we may mention the Puṇajūr stone inscription (Chāmrājnagar taluk, Mysore district) and the Maddūr inscription (Yelandur

*258. EC X (old ed) Mb 65. of c. AD 920

*259. Ibid, Mb. 38 of c. AD 890

*260. Ibid, Mb 67

*261. EC VIII (old ed) Sb 479

*262. EC IV (new ed) Ch 241
taluk, Mysore district) both of AD 982 which record identical grants of ten khandugas of wet
land by the Thousand Brāhmaṇas of Mālūr and Mālūr respectively for the temples constructed
by Mallayya and Pollayya. Similarly, the Nārāyaṇavāmi temple at Mālūrpāṇa (Channapaṭṭana
taluk, Bangalore district) received several devadāna grants from the sabhā of Irājentirasīnga
Caturvēśīmārgalām (Periya Maḷavūr)264, Śōlamādēva Caturvēśīmārgalām (Vandūr)265 and
Irājarāja Caturvēśīmārgalām (Kūḍalūr)266. These grants of three khandugas each were meant
for the daily offerings of two nālis of rice (arisi) to the deity.

The sabhā of Śōlamādēva caturvēśīmārgalām was also the donor in an inscription of
AD 1015 from Mālūrpāṇa267 which records grants for the deity Arumōliśvaram Udaiyar at
Nigarilī sōlapuram, a suburb of Manalūr.

Brāhmaṇas were also involved in the construction of temples. Mention has already
been made of the Mahājanas of Aihoḷe who had a memorial shrine prepared for Pulakeśi II in
the seventh century268. Similarly, the Sāsarvalī inscription (Shikārpur taluk, Shimoga district)
appears to indicate that the Mahājanas of Tāṇagunḍūr joined Aycayya gāvūṇḍa of Sasagavaḷī
in the excavation of a rockcut (Jari) temple for which the gāvūṇḍa made some grant269. The
Tāgarati agrahāra inscription of AD 1027. (Shikārpur taluk) records the construction of a
temple of Nārāyaṇadēva by Perbārva Mādhavayya, the son of the ūrodeva of Tāgaracce270.

*263. Ibid Y1.40

*264. EC IX (old ed) Cp. 128 of AD 1007

*265. Ibid, Cp 132. of AD 1007.

*266. Ibid Cp 130 of AD 1030

*267. Ibid, Cp 139

*268. Supra fn.256.

*269. ASMAR 1942, No. 61 of AD 1001-2

*270. EC VII (old ed) Sk 53.
Perbarva is the Kannada equivalent of the Sanskrit term Mahajanā. Here then, we have an instance of a member of the corporate body of an agrahāra constructing a temple.

We also have several instances of the sabhā being entrusted with grants for temples. The Kakkarasi inscription (Sorab taluk, Shimoga district) of AD 954 records the grant of Muṭṭiguppe to the Mahajanās of some place which is now lost. This grant by a donor whose name is now lost is probably related to the tank and temple mentioned in the inscription as having been constructed by the donor's grandfather (‘tammajam’). The Uttanur inscription (Mūlāgal taluk, Kōlār district) of AD 968 includes a cash gift of fifteen gadyānas by Nōlamba setti which were entrusted to the Mahajanās of Bādanur for food offerings to Mahādeva.

Likewise the Bechirākh Karadihalli inscription of AD 1011 (Shikarpur taluk) records a grant of a field (pola) for the naivedya, dipa and pāñḍapuja of the god Cāndesvara from Todaka Keśavayya of Viśvāmitra goitra and his wife Mārabbē. The grant was entrusted to the Thousand Mahajanās of Sālipura agrahāra.

Similarly, the Balamuri inscription of AD 1012-13 (Srirangapattana taluk, Māṇḍya district) records that Paṅcabha Mahārāja, the Mahādānapāṇiavaka of Beṇgi and Gaṅga Manḍala, a subordinate of Rājarāja I Cōla bathed at the Balambu tīrtha at Bālegula and made a grant of land to the deity of Balambari for the naivedya to be offered twice daily and for a perpetual lamp. The land grant was apparently entrusted to Mahajanās.

However, the sabhā was not always associated with devadāna grants’ management even when the temple was situated in the agrahāra. Thus the Tālagunda inscription of AD

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*271. K.V. Ramesh, op. cit, P. 108, fn.1

*272. EC VIII (old ed) Sb 574

*273. EC X (old ed) Mb 122

*274. EC VII (old ed) Sk 287.

*275. EC VI (new ed) Sr 78
935 which records the construction of a tank at Tālagunda and grants of land by Pergade Puliyamma for the deity's naivēdyā and nandādīpa states that the grants were entrusted to the Hundred and not to the Mahājanas. It is possible that the temple in question was not located at Tālagunda. Similarly, in the case of the Sāsarvalji inscription cited earlier although the Mahājanas of Tālagundūr (Tālagunda) were involved in the excavation of the rock-cut shrine the grant was entrusted to Amṛtarāśi, apparently a Śaiva preceptor.

Although the trend had started as early as the fourth century, at the close of the tenth century and particularly in the beginning of the eleventh century under the Cōḷas, the orthodox brāhmaṇas resident in agrahāras were beginning to participate actively in Purānic forms of worship, patronizing temples, constructing new ones and acting as trustees for dēvabhōga grants in some cases. This was one method of adapting to the declining patronage to Vedic Brāhmaṇism. Apart from this many such brāhmaṇas were active in the administration of the numerous regional and sub-regional principalities.

*276. EC VII (old ed) Sk 322.

*277. Supra, p 365 fn 269
C) SAIVISM

Although we have a reference to at least one Śiva temple in the first phase, the Pranamesvara at the agrahāra of Sthanagundūr, Śaivism appears to have gained in popularity only in the second phase. After the eighth century we have numerous instances of Śiva temples being constructed by practically all sections of the landed elite, whether high ranking feudatories, gauvandas or small landlords. Apart from these, corporate groups of landholders in villages, the Samaya and the Sabhā of agraharas made donations for the upkeep of Śaiva shrines.

Part of the reason for this widespread popularity was the very nature of the cult of Śiva. The linga which generally represents the deity is an aniconic symbol which could incorporate aboriginal deities represented similarly by aniconic symbols. Temples of Śiva also generally included, in this period, subordinate shrines of the mother goddesses and Sūrya. The cults of these deities were thus subsumed by Śaivism.

Secondly, the Kālaṃukha monks who are first attested to in our region in the early ninth century did much to popularize the cult. They actively promoted the construction of Śiva temples. They followed the Pāsūpata doctrine which emphasized the all inclusive, encompassing nature of Śiva who was the cause of the creation, preservation and destruction of the universe. As such, Viṣṇu and Brahmā are clearly subordinate to him - a theme which is brought out by the lingodbhavamūrti which is frequently depicted on the walls of early medieval Śaiva shrines. The Kālaṃukhas also stressed devotion to this supreme god who could even act independently of human karma. Bhakti in the early medieval period connoted completed dependence on and surrender to the supreme deity who bore full responsibility for the devotee. In this way, the deity was akin to a lord who nurtured his dependents, who in turn were expected to be totally dedicated to their master. The Kālaṃukha doctrine then was in tune with the times. The concept itself was common to all Hindu sects. However, the chief reason for the Śaivas outstripping all rival sects in popularity lay in their monastic organisation.
(I) PATTERNS OF PATRONAGE:

HIGH RANKING FEUDATORIES: The feudatory lineages of the Bāṇas, Nāḷambas and Cālukyas were among the noteworthy patrons of Śaivism in the second phase. The Nandi copper plates of Gōvinda III Rāstrakūṭa of AD 800 record the grant of Kandamangala village by the suzerain for the incense, lamp, sandalpaste, bali, caru etc. required for the worship of Śiva. The temple was probably constructed by Māpikabbe, the daughter of Indapparasa and the queen of Bāṇa Naramga. She appears to have granted some lands at Kaivāra for the temple. *278 Another temple was constructed at Nandi in AD 810 by the mother of Bāpa Daḍḍa Narādhīpa, the ruler of Koyattūr-12000. The details of the land granted for this Śivālaya is not very clear from this record.*279

Another inscription which mentions the Bāṇas supporting Śaivism is the Gaṇiganūru inscription of the tenth century (Yelandūr taluk, Mysore district) which registers grants of land by Ghanarudra Arakuṭṭi of the Bali vanīśa for the Arakuṭṭisvara temple which was then constructed by Śivasakti bhaṭṭārār who was also entrusted with its management.*280

Mahēndrādhīrāja Nāḷamba was one of the earliest rulers of his lineage to patronize Śaivism. He offered his own palace at Bāragūr in AD 878 for the establishment of Mahādēva. The temple was named Mahēndrēśvara after its patron and granted Nāndūr in Sire nāḍ for its maintenance. *281

After the death of Mahēndrādhīrāja, his mother, the Kadamba princess Dīvalabbarasi, constructed a Śiva temple at Āvani (Mūlbāgāl taluk, Kōlār district) which was named Nāḷamba Nārāyanēśvara after him.*282

*278 EC XVII (reved) CB 106. *279 Ibid, CB 66
*282 EC X (old ed) Mb 50 of c.AD 890.
It was apparently a samādhi shrine. The inscription recording this is found on the basement of the Bharatēśvara temple at Āvani which was probably the temple constructed by Dīvalabbarasi. However, the editor of the Archaeological Survey of Mysore's Annual Report for 1935 speculates whether the temple constructed by her was the huge and ancient-looking Lakṣmaṇēśvara temple, the more centrally located Rāmeśvara linga or the whole group of lingas at Āvani.*283 At all events the inscriptions cited above would indicate the patronage extended by the Nōlambas to Śaivism as well as the tendency to name shrines after patrons. This in part was an attempt to identify the kings with the deity as discussed earlier.*284

The continuing Nōlamba patronage to Śaivism is brought out by another inscription of AD 914 from Bāragūr which records grants of land for two temples at the Mūlasṭhāna of Bāragūr by Nāgiyabbe and Neleyabbe the queens of Ayyapadeva Nōlamba. The grant was made at Mahēndrēśvara temple and was received by Vimalamati bhaṭārara of the Eastern (mūdaṇa) Maṭha.*285 It would imply that by the early eleventh century Bāragūr was developing as a temple and monastic complex.

Dilipayya Nōlamba was also an ardent champion of Śaivism. In AD 942-43 he granted land for the deity Ninnēśvara dēva.*286 He also granted the proceeds from minor taxes (Kīrudēra) in favour of the deity Mahādēva of Āvani.*287 Moreover, he exempted the payment of harvest dues (suggālge) from the sthāna of Āvanya.*288

Apart from the Nōlambas, the Cālukyan chiefs of Mysore also patronized Śaivism, constructing temple and granting villages for their upkeep. Thus the Kukkarahalji inscription of the tenth century records the construction of the Narasimgēśvara temple by the Cālukya Mahāsāmanta Narasingayya and grant of Manaḷeṇḍaṇi for its maintenance.*289

*283 ASMAR 1935, pp 99 ff.  
*284 Supra, Chapter V, Section B  
*285 EC VI (old ed) Si 39  
*286 Ibid, Si 28.  
*287 EC X (old ed) Mb 57 of c. AD 950.  
*288 Ibid Mb 52.  
*289 EC V (new ed) My 223
Likewise the temple of Būtēśvara at Varuṇa (Mysore taluk) received the grant of Aragōḍu *290 from the Cālukya Mahāsāmanta Goggi while the Mahāsāmanta Durga granted Torevaljī village for the same temple.*291 The Śīrālakoppa inscription (Shikārpur taluk, Shimoga district) of AD 1019 *292 records the renovation of and talavṛtī grants for the Mūlasthāna Nandikesvara temple. The donor was Kundamarasa the son of Iriveṛṣaṅga and ruler of Banavasi who held the title of Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara and the right to play the five instruments. He was a subordinate of the Cālukya emperor Jayasinghadēva. If the Iriveṛṣaṅga referred to in this record was identical with Ranna’s patron Iriveṛṣaṅga Satyaśraya,*293 then Kundamarasa would also be of Cālukyan extraction. At all events the Śīrālakoppa inscription records the patronage extended to a Śaiva temple by a high ranking feudatory.

In AD 1029 a middle ranking feudatory Vāmanayya the Dāṇḍanāyaka and Mantri of Yuddhamalladeva constructed a temple named Siddhēśvara in memory of his guru Mauni bhāṭṭaraka who attained siddhi. The temple was granted twelve khaṇḍugalas of land at Bāṇapura for naivēdyā, nandādvīge and gandha.*294

*290 Ibid My 169
*291 Ibid, My 168
*292 EC VII (old ed) Sk 125
*293 Ranna’s Gadāyuddham II 8
*294 EC IX (old ed) Nl-1.
GAVUNDAS AND SMALL LANDLORDS:

We have several instances of temples constructed by lower ranking gavūdas and landlords. One such instance is provided by the ninth century Basavanahalli inscription (T. Narasipur taluk, Mysore district) which records the grant of land for the Ereyangēvara temple by Ereyamma. The granted land was initially purchased by Ereyamma from Śrikanṭha pandita bhātarar. Ereyamma's rank and social status have not been specified. He was perhaps, a landlord and the temple was possibly named after him. Alternatively, it is possible that the temple had been constructed earlier by Ganga Nītimārga Ereyanga I and now only received a grant from Ereyamma for the stated purpose of whitewashing (sunakke) and mortar painting (sōtage).

The Punajūr stone inscription *296 (Chamrajnagar taluk) and the Maddūr inscription (Yelandūr taluk)*297 both of AD 982 record identical grants of ten Khaṇḍugas of land for the temples constructed by Mallayya and Pollayya from the Thousand Brāhmaṇas of Mālūr and Malḍūr respectively. The rank and social status of these individuals is not specified in the epigraphs.

The Kempanapura inscription of AD 991 (Chāmrānjagar taluk) on the other hand specifically mentions that the donor Poleyya of Kellūr possessed an estate (māṇya) at Pōginūr out of which he granted some land for the renovation of a temple the feeding of ascetics and education.*298 Poleyya was evidently a landlord but did not enjoy a high rank in the feudatory hierarchy.

*295 EC V (new ed) Tn 320.
*296 EC IV (new ed) Ch 241.
*297 Ibid, Yl 40.
*298 EC IV (new ed) Ch 145.
A similar grant for education and the feeding of ascetics (bratiga) residing at the Nagarala temple (Nanjanagudi taluk) constructed by Nannayya was made by Vidyadharayya with the permission of the king Satyavakya Permāṇadigala. *299 The rank of both Nannayya and Vidyadharayya cannot be discerned.

This difficulty does not arise with the Heggoṭhara epigraph of the ninth century which records the construction of a temple (dēgulava) by Permāṇ gāvunda's wife Cāvunḍabbe who was a daughter of Jōgabbe, the sūle of Permāṇ who might possibly be identified with the Ganga ruler.*300 Only the area of jurisdiction of the gāvunda has not been specified in this record. On the other hand the Belatūr inscription (Heggadēvanakōte taluk, Mysore district) of AD 1020 *301 records the renovation of a ruined Śiva temple and its reconstruction by the gāvunda of Belattūru named Jayangonda Sōla Permāṇ gāvunda who was the odeva of Nuguśu. The inscription goes on to record the performance of a Rudra hōma and a feast for a thousand men by Basavi setti, the son of Nalla Muruga setti and Māgabbe. The setti also purchased some land and endowed it to the temple for the maintenance of a perpetual lamp.

An earlier endowment by a setti is recorded in the Uttanūr inscription of AD 968 (Mūlbāgāl taluk, Kōlār district). This records a cash gift of forty gadyānas for a perpetual lamp and daily offerings to Paramēśvara. Land was purchased out of this gift of cash and bestowed.*302 The Suttūr inscription of AD 1032 (Nanjanagudi taluk, Mysore district) records the construction of the temple of Išāna Iśvaramuḍaiyar and Mūlasthānamuḍaiyar by Guṇḍabbe, the wife of Mārayya setti of Śrōtriyūr. Grants of land, of oil for a perpetual lamp, the grant of five instruments to be played thrice daily, and specified contributions from each okkal were also made by her and entrusted to Brahmalingi bhaṭārar.

*299 EC III (new ed) Nj 239 of the tenth century.
*300 EC IV (new ed) Ch 385
*301 EC III (new ed) Hg 58.
*302 EC X(old ed) Mb 122
Similar grants were also made by the sabhā of Śrōtriyūr and the Samaya which included the Nānādesīś.

We have seen earlier that several high-ranking feudatories had constructed temples which were then named after them. This tendency was not limited to feudatories alone. An inscription from Ārūr (Chintāmaṇi taluk, Kōlār district) of AD 957 records the grant of land by Nōlamba and his subordinate Tiruvayya for the Bhimēśvara temple at the the request of Bhīmayya, the son of Rājayya. The temple was evidently named after Bhīmayya who was apparently an ordinary landholder without a rank in the feudatory hierarchy. Likewise the Nandigunda inscription (Nanjanagūḍ taluk) of AD 1021 registers the grant of lands and a handmill (Kaygana) for the priest (devalaka), food offerings (naivedya) of one time and a perpetual lamp (nandādivige) at the temple of Malleśvara at Nandigunda which had been constructed by Malla gāvūḍa and evidently named after him.

A samādhi shrine for a gāvūḍa is mentioned in the Mūḍūpālīya inscription (Māgadi taluk, Bangalore district) of AD 968. This records the death of Daṅgīga, the son of Gangagacca, the Nālgāvūḍa of Manne nāḍ - 300 in defence of his village. A temple, Daṅgigēśvarā was constructed as a memorial and land grants made for its maintenance. This is reminiscent of the construction of the Nōlamba Nārāyanēśvara in the memory of Mahendrādhīrāja Nōlamba after he perished in a battle with Ganga Ereyappa II. Thus we find gāvūḍas and landlords patronizing Śaivism on a large scale in the ninth and particularly, the tenth century.

*304 EC X (old ed) Ct 49
*305 EC III (new ed) Nj 201
*306 EC IX (old ed) Ma 75
*307 Supra, fn 282
ROYAL OFFICIALS: Royal officials formed another category of patrons. The Talagunda inscription of AD 935 records that Pergade Puliyamma constructed the big tank at Tanagundur and made a grant for the god's naivedya and nandātipa.*308 The deity in question was probably Praparnēvara of Talagunda. Similarly, the other inscription (Sorab taluk, Shimoga district) of AD 938 records that Pergade Nakiyayya the ruler of Cittaraṭehalli Oṭur, constructed a temple (degula) and granted fields for its maintenance. His younger brother, Pergade Veleyamma had a monastery (mata) constructed.*309 This makes it probable that they were Śaiva by faith since Vaiṣṇavas do not appear to have developed a monastic movement in this period. Moreover, the inscription also records the setting up of a Keśavāditya (Śūryanārāyaṇa) image by Poleyyamma's wife Gombabbe and the grants of land for its upkeep. This seems to indicate the presence of a subsidiary shrine of Śūryanārāyaṇa in the premises of the temple constructed by Pergade Nakiyayya. Another royal official who made grants for a Śaiva temple, the Śrīkaṇṭhēsvara, was the Kaṭakada gōva, Caṭṭayyadēva of Banavasi. Talavṛtti grants were made for the maintenance of the temple and conduct of various rituals.*310 The Bāgalī inscription of the tenth century (Chāmrājnagar taluk) records grants for the Bhujarīgēsvara temple by a Pergade, a Sēnabōva and a corporate group, the Three Hundred.*311

LOCAL CORPORATE GROUPS:

Local corporate groups frequently made grants for temples. Their influence often extended beyond a single settlement. This is revealed by the Suttūr inscription cited earlier which includes grants by the Samaya. *312 The Keregōḍi Rangapura Platges of the ninth century record the grant of the village Keḍasūr in Nirggunda Viṣaya for the repairs and renovation of the Īśvara temple at the village Ālūr in the Magare viṣya by the Three Hundred.*313

*308 EC VI (old ed) Sk 322. *309 EC VIII (old ed) Sb 70
*310 Ibid, Sb476 from Hecche of AD 939
*311 EC IV (new ed) Ch 114. *312 Supra p335fn.303.
*313 K.V. Ramesh, op. cit, No.113
It is not clear who the Three Hundred were and how they could wield power over two different visayas. The epigraph also mentions Kesibhatta and Nadi gavunda of Madeyanur, Maragavunda of Tirbru and Pora gavunda of Keregudal who were to protect the grant. It is possible that they were members of the Three Hundred although it is not specifically stated. As we have seen above, the Three Hundred was also involved in the grant for the Balgaliyur temple of Bhujangesvara.*314 Whether the two groups were identical is not known. It is possible that they were identical given that the group mentioned in the Keregodi Rangapur plates was a supralocal body. As we have seen earlier, the corporate bodies of agraharas also patronized temples and participate in temple management in the second phase.*315

ROLE OF SECTARIAN PRECEPTORS:

Temple priests and Saiva preceptors played an active role in the promotion of temple construction. One of the earliest inscriptions to throw light on this is the eighth century epigraph from Homma (Chamrajnagar taluk, Mysore district) which registers the grants of a field, house and garden from Devendra Tamma and Muddegal for the Vinitesvara temple at Polma. It also records the purchase of the vāniga totta by Devendra, evidently for bestowal on the temple, and the construction of the north and south porch of the temple by him. In addition Manda-ten-Nandarakar and Marat-ten-Nandarakar caused the temple tower to be constructed.*316 The principal patron of the Vinitesvara temple as it emerges from this record was unquestionably Devendra Tamma. Tamma signified a Saiva priest in Telugu while it meant an attendant in an idol in Kannada. At all events, he was a temple priest. This would indicate that Saiva priests were already taking an active part in temple construction in the eighth century.

*314 Supra, fn 311.
*315 Supra Section B(III) Interfusion of Vedic and Puranic elements.
*316 EC IV (new ed) Ch 147.
In the ninth century the Bhōganandīśvara temple was constructed at Nandigrāma. Unfortunately we do not know at whose instance this temple was built. But an inscription of the ninth century\(^{317}\) records the construction of a tower (gōpakāṭta) for Nandi by Paliyaṇa, the son of Aṁīrvaśāri, possibly at the instance of Dharmāśakti paṇḍita and a gāvunda. Dharmāśakti Paṇḍita was probably a Śaiva Monk and successor of Īśvaradāsa Muni as the pontiff of Nandi. This inscription once again brings out the involvement of Śaiva monks in the promotion of temple construction. This is best brought out by the epitaph of Tribhuvana Kartṭāra bhaṭāra, the pontiff of Avanya which credits him with the construction of fifty temples and several new tanks in his forty years of pontificate.\(^{318}\)

Occasionally, sectarian preceptors undertook construction of Śiva temples at the instance of other patrons. Thus Śivaśakti bhaṭārar undertook construction of the Arakūṭṭīśvara temple on behalf of Ghanarudra Arakūṭṭi.\(^{319}\)

The Gaṇjiṅgere inscription of the close of the ninth century (Chikmagalūr taluk) indicates that initiative for the construction of a temple was often taken by Śaiva Monks even if they lacked resources. Thus Amṛtarāsi, a monk, is said to have observed a vow and out of the money collected for this purpose by Permaḍi caused a temple of Śiva to be constructed. Images of Nandi and the goddess (Bhagavati) were commissioned and prepared by Narasayya, Varṛdhana Cakravarti and Eṛeya Nāγamma.\(^{320}\)

Śaivism appears to have had a wider social basis than Jainism in this period. Part of the reason might lie in the fact that it was an entirely temple-based cult and the

\(^{317}\) EC X (old ed) CB 26.
\(^{318}\) EC X (old ed) Mb 65 of AD 961; also supra, chapter IV, section F(II) for further discussion of the role of this pontiff.
\(^{319}\) EC IV (new ed) Y1 174. \(^{320}\) EC VI (old ed) Cm 133.
energies of the Śaiva monks were directed essentially towards garnering support for the construction of temples. For the Jainas construction of shrines was important in this period and was recommended but it represented a deviation from their original stress on rigorous ascetic practices as the means of salvation - a view that was still commended in their works. The Śaivas did not suffer from such dualism although their monks too followed an ascetic regimen similar to the Jainas.
SAIVA PANTHEON

Saiva temples usually enshrine the linga in their sanctum sanctorum. The linga served a useful function in the early medieval context when more and more marginal tribal groups were being assimilated into a class divided state society. In Tamil Nadu the early Colas systematically promoted the linga due to its assimilative capacity. As an accepted aniconic symbol of the deity it could incorporate local cult practices centred around the pillar or the tree. In Vaishnavism, the cult of Narasimha with its myth of the deity bursting forth from a pillar probably served a similar purpose of absorbing the cult of a pillar deity. The hill-born (Girija) form of Narasimha was also particularly suitable for absorbing aniconical symbols situated at the top of hills and worshipped by tribals. This form is particularly attested to in Andhra Pradesh and Orissa. In Southern Karnataka although we have evidence for the existence of Narasimha temples in this period, the Yoga Narasimha form of the deity appears to have preferred. The "Hinduizing" potential of this form does not appear to have been very great. Rather it appears to be a result of the influence of Jainism and Saivism with their emphais on dhyana and yoga. The Siva linga thus appears to have been the primary instrument of acculuration in our region. Svayambhul lingas in particular, which were natural rocks encircled by a sakti could be easily used for this purpose by reidentifying the aniconical symbols of the goddess as a svayambhulinga. While similar evidence is not forthcoming in our region, it is possible that similar processes operated here too. Certainly aniconic symbols of the primitive mother-goddesses are not unknown even today. At Midigesi (Tumkur district), the Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of Mysore for the year 1938 states that the goddess Kanyakamma is still worshipped in the form of a linga-like stone. Although the symbol of the goddess has not been identified as a linga in this case, it is very likely that other cults of this kind went through a process of re-identification and assimilation. Such a process was no doubt partly responsible for the widespread popularity of Saivism in our period. Most of the lingas in the temples under study appear to have been man-made. In one such linga the all-encompassing nature of Siva was illustrated. Thus the linga enshrined in the Desesvara temple at Maddur

(Yelandūr taluk, Mysore district) constructed in AD 982, has a damaged spherical top with Gañapati, Śiva and Pārvati etched on it *327.

The linga was not the only object of worship in these temples. Nandi, the attendant deity of Śiva, is usually enshrined in a separate pavilion facing the sanctum. Thus the Bhōga Nandīśvara temple inscription (Chikka Ballāpura taluk, Kōḷār district) of the ninth century records the construction of a pavilion (gopakatta) for Nandi by Paliyaṇa, the son of Ainūrvācārī *328. Similar pavilions for Nandi are also in evidence at the Oṇakahōṇḍada Basavaṇṇa temple at Belgāmi (Shikārpur taluk, Shimoga district) of the ninth century *329, the Rāmēśvara temple at Kuṭāṭur(Sbrāb taluk) of c.AD 900 *330 and the Arκēśvarasvāmi temple at Āḷūr (Chāmrājanagar taluk, Mysore district) of the early Cōḷa period *331.

A shrine of the mother goddess is also often present in the precincts of Śaiva temples. The Kuntūr inscription of the tenth century (Kollegāl taluk, Mysore district) which records grants for the deity Vinga Mahēśvara by the Twelve of Kundattūru also includes a grant for the goddess Bhalārī *332. This would imply that a shrine of the goddess was included in the premises. This is the case with the Rāmēśvara temple at Narasamangāḷa (Chāmrājanagar taluk) which has been assigned to c.AD 800. Here a separate shrine to the south-west of the temple houses the saptamāṭṭika group consisting of Brāhma, Mahēśvāra, Kaumārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Vārāhi, Aindrī and Cāmuṇḍā accompanied by Viṟabhadra, Gaṅēṣa, Dākṣa-Brahma or Kubēra and Bhairava. To the east of this shrine an image of Mahiśasuramardini of the Ganga period was found which was possibly earlier accomodated in a separate shrine *333.

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*322 S. Jaiswal, Origin and Development of Vaisṇavism, loc. cit., p. 137
*324 infra, Section D
*325 A. Eschmann, 'Hinduisation of Tribal Deities in Orissa: The Sakta and Saiva Typologies', in Eschmann, Kulke and Tripathi (edited), op.cit. p.96
*326 ASMAR 1938, p.11
*330 Ibid, p-37 *331 ASMAR 1937, p.37 *332 EC IV (new ed) K0.10
*336 ASMAR 1914-15 p.16
In several other temples the Saptamātrka group or the Mahiśāsura-Mardīṇī images were placed in the sukanasi or the navarangamantapa of the main temple. This is the case with the Mahiśāsuramardīṇī image at the Arkaśvara temple at Talakāḍ which is placed in the sukanasi*334. Similarly a Saptamātrka panel and an image of Mahiśāsura-Mardīṇī are placed in the navaranga of the Kubatūr Rāmēśvara temple*335. An image of the goddess also finds a place in the navaranga of the Nāgēśvara temple at Bēgūr (Bangalore district). However, neither the image nor the temple have been clearly dated by the editor *336.

Apart from the mother goddesses, Śaiva temples also usually enshrined images of Śūrya. Thus the Gāpiganūr inscription (Yelandūr taluk, Mysore district) of the tenth century which records land grants for the Arakuṭṭāvāra temple by Ghanarudra Arakuṭṭi also included grants for Āditya Bhātāra by Ḫalabbe and Polalabbe*337. Subsidiary Śūrya shrines are also attested to in the Gautameśvara temple at Gauja (Shikarpur 45 taluk, Shimoga district) *338 and the Iśvara temple at Nandiguḍi (Chitrādurga district) of the tenth century*339. At the Rāmēśvara temple at Narasamangala, an empty pedestal with seven horses etched on it is found to the east of the Saptamātrka shrine. This probably was an image of Śūrya which was possibly accommodated in a separate shrine earlier*340. At the Arkaśvara temple at Talakāḍ*341 the Nāgēśvara temple of Bēgūr *342 and the eleventh century Dādīgēśvara temple at Kōdiḥallī*343 images of Śūrya were kept in the Navaranga Mantapa. It is not known whether they were earlier kept in separate cells.

Śaiva temples are also distinguished by sculptural friezes illustrating puranic and epic themes. These puranic friezes depict not merely Śaiva myths and legends but also themes from the epics which are essentially Vaiṣṇava in character. Thus the four central pillars of the navaranga of the Kallesvara temple at Garji (Kaḍūr taluk, Chikmagalūr district) depict various aspect of Shiva such as Naṭarāja Bhairava, the

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*337 EC IV (new ed) Y I.174.  
*340 ASMAR 1937 p.36  
*343 ASMAR 1940 P.56  
*346 Ibid  
*338 ASMAR 1941 pp.76-77  
*341 ASMAR 1946 p.14  
*344 ASMAR, 1942 PP.61-62  
*347 ASMAR 1941, pp.99 ff  
*339 ASMAR 1937 p.  
*342 ASMAR 1914-15 p.16  
*345 ASMAR 1937 PP.30-32  
*348 ASMAR 1935 pp.11-12
Lingodbhavamūrti, Ardhanārīśvara, Gajāsuramardana, Harihara etc. Apart from these Śaiva themes, these pillars ascribable to the late tenth or early eleventh century also depict Lakṣmī in padmāsana, Venkaṭeśa and Mahiṣāsuramardini. Similarly, the Rāmēśvara temple at Narasamangala ascribable to the early ninth century depicts on the beams supporting the navaranga ceiling, the babe Kṛṣṇa lying on a banyan leaf, Rāma and Lakṣmana conferring with Sugrīva, the bridging of the ocean, Gajalakṣmī, Viṣṇu reclining on Adiśeṣa, Sītā in Asokavana, etc. The sikhara of the temple also bears stucco images of Tāṇḍavēśvara Śiva, Gajāsuramardana, Dakṣināmūrti, Viṣṇu treading on Bālī’s head, Umā-Mahēśvara and dancing Durgā among others. The navaranga ceiling of the Rāmēśvara temple at Kubāṭūr and the Kalleśvara temple at Arajaguppe depict Tāṇḍavēśvara Śiva attended by Nandi, Pārvāti, Gaṇesh, Kumāra, and musicians and surrounded by ten Aṣṭadikpālas.

The inclusion of Vaiṣṇava themes in Śaiva temples, together with shrines of the mother-goddesses and Sūrya were probably a means of asserting the inclusiveness and all-encompassing nature of Śiva. H.V. Stietencron reports a similar situation in Orissa where many works of art relating to Viṣṇu are found in temples of Śiva at Bhubanesvar and other places. But these images were distinctly Śaiva in character although their appreciation pre-supposed an acquaintance of the educated viewer with Vaiṣṇava mythology.

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(III) THE SAIVA MONASTIC ORDER

Although the Pāśupata doctrine presumably followed by the Kālamukhas laid down residence in a temple only in the first stage of an initiate's life, the Kālamukhas appear to have been essentially a resident order from the very beginning in this region.

The principal Śaiva monastic establishments in our region may be noticed here. The earliest reference in Southern Karnataka to a Śaiva Monastic establishment occurs in the Nandi copper plates of Gōvinda III Raśtrakūṭa of AD 806 as well as another set of copper plates dated AD 810 from the same place. In both cases, Īśvaradāsa Muni, the sthānādhīpati of Nandigiri and the chief disciple of Kālasakti guru was the trustee for the grants to Śiva temples at Nandi. Dharmaśakti Paṇḍita who is mentioned in a late ninth century inscription from the Bhōganandiśvara temple at Nandi was probably a successor of Īśvaradāsa Muni.

Another Śaiva monastic centre was situated at Āvani (Mūlāgāl taluk, Kōlār district) where a cluster of temples had come up in the ninth and tenth centuries. Tribhuvana Kartāra bhaṭṭāra and his possible predecessor Mahēndra Kaliyuga Rudra have been noticed earlier, to have been the pontiffs of Āvanyā sthāna in the tenth century.

*350 Since no Kalamukha work has survived, Lorenzen has presumed in his work, The Kapalikas and Kālamukhas : Two lost Śaivite Sects, California (1972) P183 that they maintained Pāśupata doctrines and cults. For further evidence in support, vide M.Chidanandamurthy, Kannada Śāsanagaśa Sanskritika Adhyayana, 2nd ed, (Mysore, 1979), pp 129-133.

*351 EC XVII (rev ed) CB 106
*352 Ibid, CB 66,
*353 EC X (old ed) CB 26
*354 Supra Section B, P 364
A ninth century inscription on a pillar near the Bharatēśvara temple at Avani *355 indicates that the pontificate of Āvani had been established in the ninth century. The epigraph records that minor Ganga chief, Prāthīvi Gangarasa visited Bānēśvara and sought an audience with Paṇḍita bhaṭāra who was evidently the sthānadhīparītī at that time. An inscription from Balla village (Mūlbāgāl taluk) dated AD 1007 *356 mentions Tribhuvanakartta linga dēvar as the ruler of Āvanya sthāna. He is the last pontiff of Āvani to find mention in our inscriptions.

Hebbāṭa (Śrīnivāspur taluk, Kōlār district) was also the site of a Śaiva monastic establishment in the first quarter of the tenth century. We have references to the Ācārya's sthāna at Perbhāta in the two virgals *357 of this place. But it is not clear whether this was a temple or merely a monastery.

The late ninth century Mōgenāhālli inscription (Channapaṭṭaṇa taluk, Bangalore district) *358 mentions Mūvaḍi Cilluka dēvar as the ruler (ālva) of the temples of Śivamārēśvara, Jagdhara Nagharēśvara and Nītimārēśvara. Unfortunately the location of these temples is not specified. But at all events this Śaiva monastic establishment appears to be of considerable antiquity even at the end of the ninth century when it comes to our notice to judge from the title "Mūvaḍi" (third) prefixed to the name of this preceptor.

Another temple and monastic complex was situated at Bāragūr. Bāragūr's career as a Śaiva centre started in AD 878 when Mahēndrādhīrāja Nōlamba dedicated his own palace there for the establishment of the Mahēndrēśvara temple. The sthānapati was Mahāvrata-pradhāna Dinakara Sōma bhaṭārār of Gauha gōtra. Apparently a monastery (matha) was attached to the temple. *359

*355 ASMAR 1935, p.87, No.15
*356 EC X (old ed) Mb 91.
*357 EC X (old ed) Sp 29 of c AD 900 and Sp.28 of c AD 920
*358 EC IX (old ed) Cp.48.
*359 EC XII (old ed) Si 38
Another inscription from Bāragūr dated AD 919 attests to the existence of two other temples there as well as at least two monasteries. *360

Hēmāvati (Sira taluk, Tumkur district) was another Śaiva Centre. The temple of Ninnēśvara dēva situated here received a grant of land,*361 which was entrusted to Cillumka bhaṭārār who was the disciple of Vakkāni bhaṭārār and is eulogized as the re-incarnation of Lakulīśa. *362

Peṃjēpu which is described as a Paṅcamatā śṭhāna in one of the Bāragūr records *363 appears to be a major Śaiva monastic centre in the tenth century and was apparently closely linked to the monastic establishments at Bāragūr and Hēmāvati. *364 In the western division we have several references to Śaiva monastic establishments from the Mysore and Shimoga districts. In Mysore district one of the earliest references comes from the Basavanahalli inscription of the late ninth century (T. Narsipur taluk). This mentions Lakulīśvara bhaṭārār, the disciple of Śrīkaṇṭha pāṇḍita bhaṭārār as the sthānīka(manager) of the Ereyaṅgēśvara temple. *365 Unfortunately, the location of this temple cannot be ascertained.

Nannayya's temple at Nagarala (Nanjanagūḍ taluk) was another monastery for Śaiva monks in the tenth century. The pontiff of this centre has not been named but the inscription makes arrangements for the feeding of ascetics resident there (bratigajge unban) and for education (vidyādāna). *366

*360 Ibid, Si 39.
*361 Ibid, Si 28, dated AD 942-43
*362 Ibid, Si 28 II.73-77,
*363 Ibid, Si 39.
*365 EC V (new ed) TN 320
*366 EC III (new ed) Nj 239.
Piriyaholma (Nanjanaagūḍ taluk) was the centre of one of the two major subdivisions of the Kālamukhas, the Śakti Pariṣe in AD 977. The temple of the mother goddess situated here was also under their control. We also have reference to the temple of Cikkēśvara in the course of the boundary details. *367

Suttur (Nanjanaagūḍ taluk) was the site of a Śaiva monastery in the first quarter of the eleventh century. An inscription of AD 1032 records grants for the newly constructed temples of Īśāna Īśvaramuḍaiyar and Mūlaśṭhānam uḍaiyar which were entrusted to the pontiff Brahmlangi bhalāra. The reference to Mathada Pūvina Śetti (flower merchant of the Matha) would indicate that there was separate monastery here *368. It is interesting to note that the temple endowments were controlled by the Śaiva pontiff and not the brahmadeya sabha of Suttur.

The Būṭēśvara temple at Varuṇa (Mysore taluk) was the seat of Nannikartāra bhāṭāra in the tenth century. This monk was entrusted with grants from the Cāluṇkyan chiefs Goggi and Durga for the temple. *369

Similarly the Bhujaṅgēśvara temple at Bāḷgalijūr (Modern Bāgali, Chāmrājnagar taluk) was ruled by Kūci bhāṭāra, who also bore the title of Nirgunda gōrava, in the tenth century. This monk was entrusted with the management of grants made for the temple by Pergade Jōgapayya a sēnabōva and the Three Hundred *370. Another tenth century shrine under the control of the Kālamukhas was the Arakuṭṭēśvara which was commissioned by Ghanarudra Arakuṭṭi of the Balī vaṁśa. The grants for the temple were entrusted to Śivaśakti bhāṭāra who then had the temple constructed. He is said to have situated himself near Nandi. *371 It is possible that he belonged to the spiritual lineage of Kālasakti guru and Īṣvaradasa Muni. *372 The location of the Arakuṭṭēśvara temple itself is not specified clearly but it is possible that this too was situated in the vicinity of Nandi.

*367 Ibid, NJ 294

*368 Ibid, Nj 215

*369 FC V (new ed) My 168, 169.

*371 Ibid, Yl 174.

*370 FC IV (new ed)Ch 114

*372 Supra, p383, fn.353
The Mahādeva sthāna of Kundattūr (Modern Kuntūr, Kollegāl taluk) was the seat of Paramasatti bhaṭāra in the tenth century. The preceptor as well as the shrine of Vinga Maheśvara and the subsidiary shrine of Bhalāri were recipients of grants of land from the Twelve of Kundattūr and the king Nītimārga Permānaṭīgaḷ. *373

The Kempanapura inscription of AD 991 (Chāmājanagar taluk) records grants for feeding ascetics, education and the renovation of a temple by Pojeyya of Kellūr. The grants were entrusted to Somarāśi bhaṭāraka of Iśvara lineage. *374 Evidently, this temple whose location is unfortunately not specified served as a residence for Kālāmukha monks. The Āṭakūr inscription of AD 949-50 (Maddūr taluk, Maṇḍya district) *375 indicates that the Calleshvāra temple was similarly the centre of Kālāmukha monks although the pontiff's name is not given. This inscription records, the settling up of a memorial stone for the hound Kali in front of the Calleshvāra temple at Āṭakūr and stipulates that the gōrava ruling the sthāna was to worship the stone before his meal. D.C. Sircar explains gōrava as a Saiva priest *376 while Kittel opines that gōravas were a class of Saiva mendicants *377. We have seen above that Kūci bhaṭārār, the Odeva of the Bhujangēśvara temple at Bālgaliyūr was conferred the title of Nirggunda gōrava by the local ruler *378. This would indicate that Saiva pontiffs were addressed as gōravas. This is also borne out by the Hebbaṭa inscription which mentions Bhāvaśiva as ruling the kingdom of tapas and registers the grant of good quality cows (aggala turu) for a hero who perished in a cattle raid, by the gōrava. *379 Here gōrava appears to refer to Bhāvaśeva. Thus the term gōrava applies not merely to Saiva priests but to ascetics of the Saiva monastic order as well. The Calleshvāra temple at Āṭakūr thus appears to be a monastic centre as well. The inscription implies that ascetics discharged priestly functions also.

*373 EC IV (new ed) Ko 10. *374 EC IV (new ed) Ch 145
*375 EC VII (new ed) Mu 42. *376 D.C. Sircar, I.E.G. Q.V. Gorava
The Kannambādi inscription *380 (Pāḍavapura taluk, Maṇḍya district) mentions the Sāviyabbesvara temple which also perhaps served as a residence for Śaiva Monks. At all events the details of land granted for this shrine includes a reference to the gōravakere (tank of the gōrava). The location of the Sāviyabbesvara temple is unfortunately left unspecified. It is possible that it is identical with the Kannvesvara temple at Kannambādi near which the inscription, which is datable to the close of the tenth century, was found. The location of the gōravakere is also not specified but if it too was situated at Kannambādi then it would strengthen the premise that the Sāviyabbesvara had an attached monastery. On the other hand, the Haḷe Būdanūr inscription (Maṇḍya taluk) of AD 1024 *381 does not mention either a temple or a monastery but refers to a pontiff, Sōvirāṣi bhāṭṭaraka who constructed a tank for which the gāvundas of Būdanūr granted some land as bittuvattā. It appears from this record that Sōvirāṣi bhāṭṭaraka exercised authority over at least some part of Būdanūr or in its vicinity.

We have only one reference to a Kālāmukha centre from the Hāssan district. This comes from the ninth century Marūru inscription (Arkalgūḍ taluk).*382 It registers grants of land to Akhaṇḍa bhāṭara as vidyādāna. This would indicate the existence of a monastery which also served as a centre for imparting theological instruction to the laity. Unfortunately, we are not told where this monastery was situated. The inscription itself was found in a field at Marūru and contains details of lands granted in terms of fields and tanks but the place name is not specified. It is possible that both the land and the monastery were located at Marūru itself.

In the Chikmagalūr district reference to a Kālāmukha monk comes only from the Gaṭhigere inscription (Chikmagalūr taluk) of the close of the ninth century.*383 This inscription records the crusading zeal of a monk Amṛtarāṣi in the construction of a Śaiva temple in Kolūr nāḍ with subsidiary shrines of Nandi and Bhagavatī.

*378 Supra, p.382, fn.370.  
*379 EC X (old ed) Sp.29.  
*380 EC VII (new ed) Ppu 43.  
*381 EC VII (new ed) Md 54.  
*382 EC VIII (new ed) Ag 28.  
*383 EC VI (old ed) Cm 133.
The precise location of this temple in Kolūr nāḍ is not specified but it probably served as seat for this monk who performed a vow and collected funds for its construction.

Chikamagālūr inscriptions refer to other Śaiva temples, the Kīlgaṇēśvara at Kīgga *384 and the Jīviteśvara at Chittavāḷi *385 of the 7th and the 11th centuries respectively. But in both cases we do not have evidence of association of Kālāmukha monks. In Shimoga district, the earliest reference to a Kālāmukha comes from the Hecce inscription *386 (Sorab taluk) of AD 939 which registers grants for the Śrīkanṭhēśvara temple for the conduct of angabhoga, rangabhoga and caitrapavitra, the feeding of ascetics (tapōdanara āhārādana), naivedya and the maintenance of temple structure. The grants were entrusted to Rudrāṣakti Paṇḍitatadēvar. The epigraph also mentions Brahmabhujanga Paramasvāmigāḷ who was evidently a witness to the grant.

Similarly, the Mūlāsthāṇa Nandikēśvara temple at Sirālakoppa (Shikārpur taluk) which was renovated in AD 1019 served as the seat of Mūliga Śivaśakti paṇḍitatadēvar who was entrusted with talavṛtī grants made for its maintenance *387. The Īḷīr inscription (Sōrāb taluk) of c.AD 938 records the construction of a temple (dēgula) a monastery (matha) and a subsidiary shrine of Kesavāditya by Pergade Nākiyayya and members of his family. *388 Although the record does not mention any Śaiva pontiff, the reference to a monastery indicates that it was a seat of the Kālāmukhas, the only Hindu sect to develop a monastic order in this period.

*384 Ibid, Kp 37, 38, 39, 40.
*385 Ibid Cm 95
*386 EC VIII (old ed) Sb 476.
*387 EC VII (old ed) Sk 125
*388 EC VIII (old ed) Sb 70.
We have epigraphic references to several other Saiva temples in Shimoga district such as the Pranavēśvara at Sthānakundūragrahara, *389 the Gautamēśvara at Gaujāgrahara *390 the Caṇḍēśvara at Śālipura agrahara *391 and the lingas established at Uttarāṇihāḷḷī (Shikārpur taluk) in AD 1012 *392 and Nellūr (Sōrāb taluk) in AD 1013. *393 In all these cases, however, we have no evidence of the association of Kālāmukha monks.

The Kālāmukhas thus appear to have been entrenched in the Kōlār, Tumkūr and Mysore districts and were more sparsely distributed in other districts. The reason for this sparse distribution in the Hässan-Chikmagalūr tract may be in the fact that this area was a Jaina stronghold. It is less easy to explain why the Bangalore district yields but two references to the Kālāmukhas. The area was dominated by the Nōḷambas and Bāṇas who patronized Śaivism rather than Jainism. Although we have archaeological and epigraphic evidence for the existence of Śaiva temples few of these appear to have been associated with the Kālāmukhas. The inscriptions examined above give us an idea of the extent of support extended by the laity to these monks. Grants were made to support ascetics resident in a temple(bratigalge unban *394 tapōdanara āhāradāna, *395) for the imparting of education to the laity (vidyā dāna) *396 as well as the conduct of rites in a temple. The Āṭākūr inscription *397 appears to indicate that Śaiva ascetics were also priests officiating in the temples. They were also responsible for the administration of the temple and its estates. In the case of monastic centres such as Āvanya the jurisdiction of the pontiffs could extend to the neighbouring settlements as well and encompassed not merely the religious sphere but the temporal one as well. *398

*389 EC VII (old ed) Sk 176 of the fourth century, Sk 322 of AD 935-36.
*390 Ibid, Sk 45(b) of c AD 890.
*393 EC VII (old ed) Sb 471.
Several inscriptions give us some idea of the ascetic regimen of the Kālāmukhas. Thus Iśvaradāsa Muni the sthānādhipati of Nandi Hill in AD 806 is said to be observant of vows (vrata Niyama), penance (tapa) and daily prayers (japa hōma).

Similarly, the Bāragūr inscription of AD 878 which mentions Dinakara Sōma bhaṭṭāraka of the Gauha gotra and pravara as the trustee describes him as Mahāvrata-Pradhāna. The grant was to pass on in the lineage of the guru provided the disciples remained brahmaśīris. Evidently, celibacy was a rule of this order. The sect to which this preceptor belonged is not very clear since both the Kālāmukhas and the Kāpālikas were associated with the penance or vow called Mahāvrata.

The Kāpālika Mahāvrata, was an imitative repetition of Śiva's performance of the Mahāvrata as expiation for beheading the fifth head of Brahmā. Through the performance of this vow, the Kāpālikas believed that they became ritually homologized with the god and partook of his divine powers. On the other hand, the Kālāmukha Mahāvrata was probably related to that described in Patañjali's Yōgasutra which holds that when the five Yamas of satya, asteya, ahimsa, brahmaśācarya and aparigraha are practised without exceptions being made of time or place, status or occasion, the observance is known as Mahāvrata. Lorenzen argues that the Pāśupatas attached great importance to the performance of the five Yamas and five niyamas. He adds that most Kālāmukha inscriptions stress the yogic attainments of these ascetics. One such instance is provided by the Hāle Būdanūr record of AD 1024 which describes Sōvirāśi bhaṭṭāraka as possessing Yama (restraint), niyama (discipline), svādhyāya (study) samādhi (absorption in holy thought), dhyāna (meditation), mauna (silence) and anuṣṭhāna (performance of duties).

*394 EC III (new ed) Nj 239. *395 EC VII (old ed) Sb 476
*396 EC III (new ed) Nj 239; EC VIII (new ed) Ag 28; EC IV (new ed) Ch 145.
*397 EC VII (new ed) Mu 42 *398 Supra, Chapter IV, Section F-II.
*399 EC XVII (rev ed) CB 106. *400 EC XII (old ed) Si 38.
*401 D. N. Lorenzen, The Kāpālikas and Kālāmukhas, op. cit., p. 73.
If it is accepted that the Kālāmukha Mahāvrata consisted of unqualified observance of the five yamas, then it is interesting to note that it was identical with the Jaina version of Mahāvrata for monks. *406 Jaini suggests that both the Jaina Mahāvratas and the yamas of the Yoga school were derived from a common source. *407 But it is possible that its adoption by the Kālāmukhas was a result of Jaina influence.

To return to the question of the sectarian affiliation of Dinakara Sōma bhaṭṭarar, the special stress on brahmacarya one of the five yamas, in the Bāragūr inscription would suggest that he was a Kālāmukha. In Nandi's opinion his position as a sthānādhipati would also point to his being a Kālāmukha. The Kāpālikas by contrast are generally associated with orgic and gruesome rites in cremation grounds.*408 However, Lorenzen has cited an inscription from Kolanupāka (Nalgoṇḍa district, Andhra Pradesh) of AD 1050 which appears to relate to a Kāpālikā sthānādhipati. *409 The Kāpālikas in fact enjoyed tremendous influence among the ruling elite in the early medieval period.*410 It is, therefore, difficult to conclude merely on the basis of his position as sthānādhipati that Dinakara Sōma bhaṭṭarar was a Kālāmukha. In contrast, Cilluka bhaṭṭarar, the trustee of Ninnesvara deva, is specifically stated to have followed the Sīva āgama of the Lakulīṣa sect - a statement which unambiguously identifies him as a Kālāmukha. *411

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*406 Supra, Section A p.316
*407 P.S Jaini, Gender and Salvation. Op cit, p.38, fn.9
*408 R.N. Nandi, Religious Institutions and Cults... loc cit, pp 85-86.
*410 B.D Chattopadhyaya, "Religion in a Royal Household; A study of some aspects of Rajasekhara's Karpuramanjari" in idem, The Making of Early Medieval India, OUP,(New Delhi,1994)
*411 EC XII (old ed) Si 28 of AD 942-43.
Kālāmukhas performed the basic upacāras such as bali, caṅu, dhūpa and dīpa in their temples as attested by the Nandi plates of AD 806.*412 Bali might have signified one of the brahmaṇa pañcamahāyajnas which implied offerings to creatures.*413 If so, it would controvert the view of the Śrīvaiṣṇava teachers of the eleventh and twelfth centuries who described the Kālāmukhas as anti-vedic and anti-caste in character.*414 Davis points out that the Śaivāgamas do not reject the vēdas altogether but have appropriated some of the vedic rituals as a subordinate component within their own system.*415

The Kālāmukhas were staunch Śaivas. The Kerēgōḍi Rangāpura plates describe the trustee Netraśivācārya, as "belonging to the line of pure Śaivism and devoted to Tripurahara who is an embodiment of the triad of gods causing the creation, protection and destruction of the whole world". This corresponds to the second principal topic of Kauṭsīṣyā's exposition of Pāṣupata doctrine namely, kāraṇa (cause). God or Iśvara is described as the creator, sustainer and destroyer of the universe with both an immanent and a transcendent aspect. In both aspects he is characterized by unlimited power of knowledge (jñāna sakti) and power of action (kriya sakti).*416

*412 EC XVIII (rev.ed) CB 106  
*413 The pañcamahāyajña later underwent modifications and were recommended for sudras as well. S.Jaiswal, "Studies in Early Indian Social History: Trends and Possibilities", in IHR, Vol VI, Nos.1-2(1979-80),p.43.  
*416 D.N. Lorenzen, Kāpālikas and Kālāmukhas, loc.cit, pp 134, 190.
Another distinctive Kālāmukha-Paśupata tenet was a belief in Śiva's absolute independence. They believed that Śiva was not bound even by human Karma. Although this belief was later modified by certain groups within the Kālāmukha school its acceptance by the majority shows that for the Kālāmukhas,*417 Śiva was an absolutist potentate on whom the devotees were completely dependent for liberation. Such complete dependence on the deity and the total dedication required of the devotee mirrors the relations between the lord and the servant (ā, bhrtya) in the temporal sphere.*418 It would seem that even among the Śaivas the practice of erecting memorials to preceptors after death was in vogue. Thus the Nelamaṅgaḷa inscription of AD 1029·*419 (Bangalore district) records the construction of the Siddhēśvara temple by Vāmanayya, a dandanāyaka and mantri of Yuddhamalladeva, in the memory of his guru Mauni bhāṭṭāraka Samādhi shrines were constructed for heroes who perished in battle as well. But there is a certain difference. Individuals like Nōḷamba Mahēndra and Daḍiga gāvunda fall in the category of bhūbhukṣu or seekers of worldly benefits, whose souls transmigrate to newly emitted bodies after death Mauni bhāṭṭāraka's attainment of siddhi on the other hand, implies according to the Saivāgamas, his passage from bondage (bandhatva) to mokṣa. The soul freed of its fetters would regain its innate character of Śiva-ness.*420 The identification of the guru with the deity would then be complete and the construction of the Siddhēśvara temple an apt memorial. This practice also reflects the growing tendency among the Śaivas of deifying the preceptor.

*417 Ibid.
*418 Supra, Chapter V, Section B
*419 EC IX (old ed) Nl 1
In comparison with Jainism and Śaivism Vaiṣṇavism enjoyed much less support among the landed magnates of the period. Ganga Rācamalla I was one of the few rulers who is described as a devotee of Viṣṇu in the second phase. But the Perjjarangi grant which records this registers a land grant for a śrotriya brāhmaṇa and not a temple. Moreover, Rācamalla I appears to have been a Jaina personally, as we have seen above. It is possible that the donee of the Perjjarangi grant was a Vaiṣṇava and hence Rācamalla, in order to refrain from hunting his sentiments, and perhaps to win his support, is described as a Vaiṣṇava himself. A similar policy was adopted by Anantavarman Cōḍagangadēva who was personally Śaiva by conviction but whose records depict him as Parama-Māheśvara or Parama-Vaiṣṇava according to the religious persuasion of the donee. This shows that sectarian differences based on special devotion to a Jaina, Śaiva or Vaiṣṇava deity did not have a corresponding segregative reflection on the social base. Hence husband and wife could be devoted to different deities and a devotee of Śiva could also be described as a devotee of Viṣṇu.

Prior to the advent of the Cōḷas in Southern Karnāṭaka we have few references in inscriptions to Vaiṣṇava shrines in our region. An inscription from Kalkunda (Nanjanagūḍ taluk) of the close of the ninth century mentions the deity Nārāyaṇasvāmi for whom Duggayya of Edakoḷaṅgēri granted some pasture land (pasalam) to the west of Belavakāle. The location of the temple and the social status of the donor are both not discernible from the record.

Another temple of Viṣṇu was constructed by Dīvalabbarasi, the Nōḷamba queen of Kadamba extraction who had also caused the Nōḷamba Nārāyaṇeśvara temple at Āvani to be built. This Viṣṇugṛha was situated at Pēraramangala.

*421 EC V (new ed) Kn 49.
*422 Supra, Section A(I)
*423 H.V. Stietencron, "The Advent of Vaisnavism in Orissa..." op.cit, pp.22-23.
*424 EC III (new ed) Nj 249
*425 EC X (old ed) Mb 38.
A temple of Viṣṇu was constructed by the son of Tāgaracce's āurodya, Perbārva Mādhavayya. The location of this temple is not specified in the inscription of AD 1027 *426. But it is possible that it was situated at Tāgaracce (Shikarpur taluk, Shimoga district) itself. The deity of this shrine Nārāyaṇadēva received the grant of Kūḍīgere Manneva as abhyantara siddhi probably from Nanni Sāntara Anṇaḷa dēva the ruler of Sāntalige-1000 and Koḍanāḍu-30.

After the establishment of Cōla rule, several Viṣṇu temples appear to have been established in Southern Karnataka. The major shrines were those of Iravikula-Mānika-Viṇṇagar ālvār at Taḍimālingi (T.Narasipur taluk) *427, Jayangopḍa Śōla Viṇṇagar-ālvār at Manalūr (Channapatṇa taluk, Bangalore district) *428, the Apramēyasvāmi temple at Mālūr (Channapatṇa taluk) *429 and the Rājaśraya-Viṇṇagar-ālvār temple at Mārehalā (Maḷavaḷi taluk, Maṇḍya district) *430. A perusal of grants made for these shrines indicates that prince support for Vaiṣṇavism came from the sabhās of agrahāras *431 as well as other temple managements. Thus the Iravikula-Mānika- Viṇṇagar ālvār temple was endowed out of the treasury of the Periya Kundavai-Ālvār temple *432. But apart from this, the feudatories of the Cōlas such as Daṇḍanāyaka Paṅcavan Manukuṇakēsari Mārāyan *433 and Perundanam Šēnāpati Kuravan Ulugalāṇḍan Rājendra Śōla Jayamūr Nāḍāłvan *434 also made donation for the ritual requirements of these temples. The local body of the town, the Nagarattār of Janaṇāthapuram acted as trustee for these gifts but it is interesting to note that they do not make grants themselves. It is also noteworthy that these subordinates of the Cōlas were not local men but brought from Tamil Nadu. This would indicate that the Tamil members of the Śrīvaiṣṇava community took an active interest in furthering the cause of Vaiṣṇavism in Southern Karnataka perhaps with the encouragement of their suzerains.

*426 EC VII (old ed) Sk 53. * 427 EC V (new ed) TN 227, 229, etc.
*428 EC IX (old ed) Cp 127, 129, etc.
*429 ASMAR 1942, No. 5 and 6 of the eleventh century.
But the Colas do not themselves make any grants for these Vaiṣṇava shrines whereas they actively patronized the Kōḷārāmμa temple enshrining the Saptamātrkās at Kōḷār, granting the income from the revenue of several villages in Kuvalālā nādu for that temple *435.

Apart from these temples mentioned in inscriptions we may notice here the various Vaiṣṇava icons which have been assigned to this period by art historians. These icons reveal to us the various forms in which Viṣṇu was worshipped in our region. At Suttūr *436 (Nanjanagūḍ taluk) the Nārāyaṇāsvāmi temple enshrines an image of Varadarāja which has been assigned to the Ganga period. This image in high relief has its front hands disposed in the abhaya and varada mudras while the back hands hold the cakra and śankha. The mace is in the background behind the right front arm. It wears a tall tumbler shaped Kurīṭa and is adorned with necklet, Vajjāpāvītā a girdle and bracelets. Similarly, the Varadarāja temple at Maddūr (Maṇḍya district) which is either a pre-Cōḷa or an early Cōḷa structure enshrines an image of Janārādana holding padma, cakra, śankha, and gada *437.

Another late Ganga Viṣṇu temple was situated at Hangalā (Gaṇḍilupēṭ taluk, Mysore district). Although the Varadarāja temple here now enshrines a Hoysāḷa period image, the original image is to be found in the navaranga of the temple. This icon of Mādhava has its front right hand disposed in abhaya mudrā while the two back hands hold the cakra and śankha. The front left hand holds a lump of butter—an iconographic feature with no parallels *438 but which perhaps evokes the pastoral Kṛṣṇa. The image has been assigned to the tenth century on stylistic grounds.

The Kōḍaṇḍarāmā temple at Hīremagalūr (Chikmagalūr taluk, district) was probably originally built in AD 879 but was almost entirely reconstructed in the Hoysāḷa period.

* 435 EC X (old ed) K1 112(a), K1 111 of AD 1022, 1028.
*436 ASMAR 1944, P 19. *437 ASMAR 1946, P 11
*438 ASMAR 1937, PP 17-18
At the Southern end of the temple enclosure is an image of Mādhava which has been assigned to the Ganga period. Three of its hands hold a padma, cakra and sāṅkha while the fourth is placed on the thigh (kaṭihasta) *439.

The structure of the Yōga Narasiṁha temple at Māchēri (Kaḍūr taluk, Chikmagalūr district) is datable to c.AD 900 on stylistic grounds but unfortunately, the original image is now lost and is replaced by a thirteenth century icon of Yōga Narasimha with crossed legs tied by a broken yogapattā, front heads freely resting on the knees and back hands holding the sāṅkha and cakra. The main image is supported by small figures of his consorts on either side. The dasāvatāras of Viṣṇu are carved on the prabhāvali. It is not known how far this image resembles the original icon *440.

The remaining instances belong to the eleventh century A.D. Of these the Yōga Narasiṁha temple at Agara (Yelandur taluk, Mysore district) enshrines a beautiful image of the deity seated with its legs tied by a yogapattā in a yogasana posture. The two front hands are freely hanging down while resting on the knees while the two back hands hold cakra and sāṅkha. It is open-mouthed showing tongue and fangs but in a peaceful mood. A small Lakiṃi is etched on the right breast and a third eye adorns the forehead *441.

Another Yōga Narasiṁha temple of the Cōla period is situated at Daṭaga (Nāgamangala taluk, Maṇḍya district). The main image of Yōga Narasimha is seated in yogāsana with knees tied up in yogapatta, the forehands rest on the knees while the other hands hold cakra and sāṅkha. The face and mane are well-worked and the expression is peaceful *442.

*439 ASMAR 1931, P22
*440 ASMAR 1942, PP.56-57.
*441 ASMAR 1938, P26
*442 ASMAR 1940, p.54-55.
A temple of Narasimha is situated at Māregaḷḷi (Maḷavaḷḷi taluk, Maṇḍya district) and is referred to as the Rājaśraya Viṇḍagar-āḷvār *443 in inscriptions. The main image of this temple depicts the deity seated in sukhāsana with Lakṣmī on his lap. It is depicted with an open mouth but a peaceful expression. The deity's hind hands hold the cakra and śankha while the right front hand is disposed in abhaya mudrā and the front left holds Lakṣmī's arm. Lakṣmī holds a lotus in her left hand while her foot rests on a padmā near which a kalāsa is placed. The tōrāṇa of the image is serpentine with the ten avatars of Viṣṇu depicted on the edge *444. The Report does not specify the avatars.

While the Narasimha temples at Daḍaga, Agara and Māregaḷḷi are situated in areas which came under Cōla domination in the early eleventh century the Cintāmaṇi Narasimha temple at Kubaḷṛ (Sorab taluk) depicts the deity in a form peculiar to the Shimoga district *445. The image of Narasimha in the garbhagṛha is two-handed. It is seated with the right knee folded up and the left in padmāsana. The face is that of a natural lion. The period of this image is probably late Cālukyan (eleventh or twelfth century) although this has not been clearly stated by the editor.

Finally, we may consider the peculiar image of Janārdana found at Pālya (Hāssan district) which has been assigned to the eleventh century. The image is in samabhanga posture and holds the prayōga cakra and śankha in its back hands. One of the forehands is disposed in abhaya mudrā while the other is placed on the thigh (kaṭi hasta). It wears a jatamakuta, makara kundala, vajñāpavītā kaupīna, gracefully flowing ghantaṁ armlets wrestlets, anklets and necklaces. The form thus depicted is said to represent all the Trimurtis, the jaṭā indicating Śiva, ghantaṁ indicating Brahmā and the conch and discus, Viṣṇu *446.

*443 Supra, p 39, fn 430*444 ASMAR 1938, PP 39-40
*445 ASMAR 1941, P 100.
*446 ASMAR 1942, P21.
The above survey reveals that in Southern Karnataka Viṣṇu was most often depicted as a four-armed deity bearing the śankha, cakra, gada and padma. The god was usually portrayed in the standing posture with the various attributes; the śankha and cakra are invariably associated with him while the other two are sometimes left out to depict the god instead as extending protection and boons to the devotee. The Pālya image of Janārđana represents this class in its most developed form as it portrays the deity encompassing the supreme trinity. It is possible that these Viṣṇu images foreshadow the HoysaJa period when images corresponding to the twenty-four chief names names of Viṣṇu *447 were sculptured in Vaishnava temples.

Narasimha was the other popular form in which Viṣṇu was worshipped. This form became particularly popular in the period of Cōla rule in Southern Karnataka. The Yōga Narasimha is the most frequently worshipped icon in this period.

According to T.A Gopinatha Rao, Yōga Narasimha is another name for the Girija Narasimha, a variety of image which conceives of the deity as coming forth from a mountain cave *448. This aspect of Narasimha has been shown to be the most suitable for the Hinduization of tribal deities. Accentuating this is the Tantric character of Narasimha who is often worshipped together with Lakṣmī who alone had the power to appease him and with whom he had an amorous relationship *449. Although the Yōga Narasimha images studied above depict him with Lakṣmī (at Mācheri and Māreppalli) or with Lakṣmī etched on his breast (as at Agara) and thus epitomize the Tantric character of the god, the deity's fierce aspect which is a major component of the Girija Narasimha form *450 is never brought out except at Agara where the image is adorned with a third eye on the forehead, an attribute of Śiva in his fierce form.

we have suggested earlier that the Yoga Narasimha images might have been the result of influence by the Jainas and Saivas with their emphasis on dhyāna and yōga. The yōgāpatṭa adorning the Yoga Narasimha images bring to mind the standard depiction of Jaina self-mortifiers in nisidhis at Sravaṇabelgōḷa *451. However, that may be, the thereomorphic form of this deity, particularly in the Chintāmaṇi Narasimha of Kubāṭūr would indicate its potential as an agent of Hinduization and might explain its popularity.

Sculptural friezes depicting puranic legends relating to Viṣṇu in temples *452 the few icons of Viṣṇu in the temples of this region and the contemporary literary works reveal an awareness of Vaiṣṇava mythology and iconography at least among the literati in society. Thus in the Pampa Bhārata the iconographic conception of Viṣṇu as the four-armed deity who bore the conch, discus and mace *453 and as reclining on Ananta on the milk ocean *454 find mention. The childhood exploits of Kṛṣṇa as cowherd *455 and the slayer of demons such as Khara and Dhēnuka *456 and the subduer of the serpent Kāliya are also referred to. Ranna’s Gadāyuddham describes Kṛṣṇa as one of the Tripuruṇas, as Ādideva, asuradhvamsi and Jagadguru *457. The ten avatāras of Viṣṇu such as the fish (Animeśādi) are also mentioned therein *458. Pampa specifically mentions the Trivikrama legend in connection with Kṛṣṇa displaying his Virāṭarūpa in the Kaurava court *459.

*452 Supra, Section C(II), pp.376f. 
*453 Pampa Bhārata IX.30.
*454 Ibid IV.58, IX.44 
*455 Ibid IX. 44. 
*456 Ibid v. 68. 
*457 Gadāyuddham II.43. 
*458 Ibid, III 44. 
*459 Pampa Bhārata IX.60.
That this awareness was not translated into popularity of the Vaisnava cult among the upper classes is perhaps to be attributed to the fact that both the Śaiva's and Jainas borrowed elements from Vaiṣṇava mythology and gave it a subordinate place in their weltanschaung. Since sustenance, the function of Viṣṇu in the Trimūrti concept was also attributed to Śiva by the Pāśupatas and Kālāmukhas, Viṣṇu clearly, had a subordinate place in their world view. Indeed, in the Śiva Purāṇa and Linga Purāṇa versions of the Narasimha myths, Śiva as Sarabha destroys Narasimha and merges Viṣṇu into himself.*460

The Jainas included the nine Baladevas and nine Vāṣudēvas among their sixty-three salakapurusas. While they produced their own versions of the Vaiṣṇava epics *461 the subordination of the Vaiṣṇava elements is suggested by the fact that the nine Vāṣudēvas including Kṛṣṇa are usually depicted as descending to hell on their death and only gradually working their way up the ladder to final liberation *462. Although the Vaiṣṇavas too had a similar conception of Viṣṇu as the supreme, all encompassing deity, this cult could not match either Jainism or Śaivism in popularity. The lack of a monastic order probably was a major factor in the low popularity of Vaiṣṇavism. While the Jaina and Śaiva ascetics actively propagated their faith, the Vaiṣṇavas lacked this influential class of votaries and thus lagged behind Jainism and Śaivism in the construction of temples.

The lack of a monastic order probably led to the growth of a managerial cadre in Vaiṣṇava temples in the early medieval period. The existence of such a cadre is revealed in the Nārāyaṇaswamy temple inscription at Malurpatna (Channapatna taluk) of A.D. 1014 records that the sabhā of Śōlamādevī

*462 Ponna's Śāntipurāṇam, V.74, IX.39 Cāvunḍarāvapurāṇam, op.cit., p363
Caturvedimangalam received from the temple servants (Kaṁṭikal) of Jayangoṇḍa Viṇṇagār Alvār temple, 320 kalams of paddy from the temple treasury. As interest, the sabhā was to provide specified amounts of paddy to the temple twice annually. The Kaṁṭikal of this record appear to have been more concerned with the management of temple endowments than with the worship of the deity. They are also mentioned in several other records registering grants of land to the same temple. But in these inscriptions their functions are not clearly specified.

We do not have references to the Kaṁṭikal in any other inscription but we have evidence for the existence of temple treasuries in Viṇṇapaṇa temples which might have necessitated the presence of a separate managerial cadre.

*463 ECIX (old ed) Cp 129.
*466 ECV (new ed.) TN 230 & TN 227 of the early 11th century.
E) MOTHER GODDESS CULTS:

We have seen earlier that cults of the mother goddesses were to some extent incorporated into Saivism where the mother goddess as consort of Śiva was an aspect of his all-encompassing nature. But separate temples of the mother goddess also existed. One such example is provided by the Maṇḍā plates of Rācamalla I of AD 828 *467. These record the establishment of the goddess Kiṭa-bāl-eretti bhatāri (goddess famed for her sharp, drawn sword) who has been identified as a form of Śakti by R. Narasimhachar. The temple was situated in the Daddavādi village in the Mānya viṣaya and the village itself was granted for the bāḷi, dhūpa and dīpa of the deity. The grant was entrusted to Devaśarma, a Vaikhanasa. The deity appears to have been a fierce form of the mother goddess and may have been tribal in origin. But the cult was apparently well-integrated into the folds of Purānic Hinduism and at least the basic upacāras appear to have been performed regularly.

Such unambiguous information is not available for the cults of the goddess (Bhaṭṭāraki) of Ponriṅḍki (Honnuḍike, Tumkur district) *468 and Bhagavati of Puttūr *469. Both received grants from the local rulers in the eighth century, we do not know whether these were fully brahmanical cults with canonical worship or merely local cults of some importance which were being promoted by the local rulers and in the process of Hinduization *470.

No such doubts arise in the case of the temple of Bhaḷāri at Periyahoḷma (Nanjanagūḍ taluk). The Śakti Pariṣe of the Kālāmukhas probably sponsored the construction of this purely śakti shrine of Bhaḷāri-Mahādeva-Bhagavati for which the twelve of Piriyahoḷma and Ayyapa gāvūṇḍa made a gift of land free of taxes.

*467 S. Settar, ASMAR 1910-A Study, Vol III, (Dharwad, 1976), No.4, pp 33-34.
*468 K. V. Ramesh, op.cit, No.64.
*469 EC X (old ed) Kl 230.
*470 A Eschmann "Hinduization of Tribal Deities in Orissa.... loc.cit., pp 82-84
Contributions from the land of each okkal and a pair of bullocks were also levied for the temple. The gifts were entrusted to Kuchi baṭṭarar the disciple of Bālasakti baṭṭāra of Sakti Pariṣe *471. The fact that the temple was under the management of the Kālāmukhas clearly indicates that the worship of the goddess conformed to the Hindu canon.

Another major shrine of a mother goddess was located at the Jayangoṇḍa Sōla Caturvedimangalam an agrahāra in Kaivāra nāḍu *472. The goddess Cāmūṇḍēśvari of this agrahāra was recognized as the guardian deity of the nāḍu as a whole, and the nattōm bound themselves to provide one goat per inhabitant every Tuesday to the goddess. Evidently, blood sacrifices were regularly offered to the goddess and on a large scale. That this was done in a temple in an agrahāra is surprising for normally brahmanical cults are not associated with blood sacrifices. In some cases Eschmann points out that blood sacrifices are made to the original symbol of the deity while the main Hinduized deity represented by the anthropomorphic image is sheltered from the blood sacrifice by closing the door of the temple *473.

Fuller *474 relates the practice of blood sacrifices to the independent character of the goddess. He observes that independent goddesses generally tend to be fierce, bloodthirsty and unpredictably angry and aggressive. They prefer meat offerings and blood sacrifices and possess people either ritually or through the infliction of illness. Goddesses with male consorts, on the other hand, are normally pacific infrequently angry or aggressive accept only vegetarian offerings and rarely possess human beings. The fierceness and aggressive power of the independent goddesses in his opinion is derived from their chastity and asceticism which generate heat and power involving anger and aggression as well in Hindu mythology.

*471 EC III (new ed) Nj 294 of AD 977
*472 EC X (old ed) Kl26
*473 A. Eschmann, "Hinduization of Tribal Deities in Orissa", loc.cit.p.90.
While Fuller's explanation in terms of Hindu mythological notions is valid to some extent, it is noteworthy that all the features described by him as characteristic of independent goddesses are basic to aboriginal cult deities. Thus, Nandi's linkage of blood offerings to the goddess to the process of aboriginal assimilation appears to be more apt. Tribals worshipped the deity with blood rites and this was continued when her worship was adopted by brahmanical groups. Thus the Devi Māhātmya and Kālīkā Purāṇa advocate offerings of blood and flesh from their own bodies to the deity by the devotee. This practice is probably the one depicted in the Draupadī ratha at Mahabalipuram and the Singāvaram and Pullamāṅkai temples in Tamil Nadu. The Tamil versions of the Mahābhārata incorporate the sacrifice of Aravan, the son of Arjuna and Ulūpi before the altar of Kāli, in their accounts. This story is also presented in the festivals of Draupadī in the form of a Terukkūṭu drama wherein Aravan sacrifices himself in a pre-war rite which included the Āyudha pūjā to ensure victory to the Pāṇḍavas. A ritual enactment of this story is also performed wherein the pujari and members of the local community worship Aravan and administer cuts on the effigy which stand for his self-mutilation and ultimate sacrifice.

Other hints of the aboriginal roots of the worship of the goddess can be glimpsed in theĀryastava which characterizes the goddess as surā-māṁsabali-priyā (delighting in offerings of flesh and wine). In the Devi-Māhātmya too, the goddess is said to have had a draught of wine before slaying Mahiśāsura. In the buffalo sacrifice carried out in village festivals, a pot of toddy may be set before the goddess prior to the sacrifice.

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*475 A. Eschmann, "Hinduization of Tribal Deities in Orissa", loc.cit, pp 81-82
*476 R.N. Nandi, Religious Institutions and cults... loc.cit, pp 142-43.
*479 R.N.Nandi, 'Religious Institutions and cults... loc.cit, pp 142 ff
That the mother goddess was generally associated with blood sacrifices in the Purāṇas themselves might explain the prevalence of this rite in a temple situated in an agrahāra. Another factor which might explain the prevalence of blood sacrifices is the widespread influence of Tantrism in the early medieval period. Tantrism, as we have seen earlier, adopted many aboriginal rituals such as blood sacrifices, the worship of Yantras etc. *481 and these were focussed on mother goddesses such as Čaṁuṇḍēsvari and the saptamāṭrkas, and the Jaina Yakṣipīśis. The prevalence of blood rites has been attested to by the Sulidēnahalli inscription cited above *482. The use of yantra stones to invoke the goddess is brought out by the yantra stone inscribed in tenth century characters found at Bannūr in the vicinity of the Rāmasvāmi temple. The meaning of the inscription is unclear but it is probably a mystic incantation *483. Thus Tantric rites appear to have been very popular in our region in the early medieval period. Two saptamāṭrka shrines existed in Kōḷār in the Cōla period. The Kōḷarāṇa temple and an adjoining subsidiary shrine both enshrine images of Saptamāṭrka. The temple was under the control of Tamil Śiva brāhmaṇas and enjoyed the patronage of the Cōla suzerains *484. We have noted above, that the Saptamāṭrka were the foci of Tantric cults in this period. However, whether this held good for the Kōḷarāṇa temple is not clear from the evidence. It is interesting to note that in Champakalakshmi's opinion, Śiva-Brāhmaṇas were those temple priests who had been earlier priests of a local cult. *485. In the Cōla period at all events they had a gōṭra affiliation and were clearly recognized as brāhmaṇas *486. The evidence on the basis of which she draws this conclusion is not clearly stated. The two Śiva-brāhmaṇas mentioned in the Kōḷarāṇa temple inscriptions of the early eleventh century, Śoṁapuruliyan and Viṅakkaḷan were clearly Tamils and not locals of Kāṛṇāṭaka.

*481 Supra, Section A(II) Jaina Pantheon. *482 Supra, p 49*, fn 472.
*483 EC V(new ed) TN 49. *484 EC X (old ed) Kl. 112(a) and Kl. 111.
*486 EC X (old ed) Kl. 106 (a) of AD 1019-20.
If Champakalakshmi is right in viewing them as having been drawn from aboriginal priesthood, it is possible that the rituals followed in the Kōlāramma temple had aboriginal elements. Inscriptions, however, refer merely to offerings of perpetual lamps (Vilakku) and arrangements made to meet this ritual *487.

Another Saptamātrka temple was situated at Suttūr (Nanjanagud taluk) *488 and was designated the Suttūramma temple in an inscription of AD 1032. The temple appears to have been endowed by the wife of a merchant who also had two Śaiva temples constructed at Suttūr. The inscription does not clearly state who worshipped at the mother goddess shrine. But it is possible that the Kālāmukha Brahmalingi bhaṭṭāra who managed the Śaiva temples of Suttūr also controlled the Suttūramma temple *489.

The popularity of the cults of mother goddesses at the temple level in our region is evident from the large number of images of Mahiśāsuramardini Durgā and the Saptamātrkas ascribable to the period under study *490. Part of this popularity was due to the fact that the goddess was regarded as the bestower of victory in battle. The cult was, therefore, promoted by kings and feudatories. Some lineages such as the Kadambas and Cāḷukyas adopted the Saptamātrkas as their tutelary deities *491, while a lord of Banavāśi-12,000 is described as the obtainer of a boon from Cāmuṇḍēśvarī *492. At a much later period, navarātra and Daśara with elaborate buffalo and goat sacrifices in honour of Durgā as the goddess of victory (Vijayā) framed one the most important royal festivals of the Vijayanagara dynasty *493 and its successor states including the Woḍeyars of Mysore.

*487 EC X. (old ed) Kl 106(a) and 112(f).  *488 ASMAR 1944, pp. 19-20.  
*489 EC III (new ed) Nj 215  
*490 Supra, Section C(II), fn 332-336 The instances cited here are far from exhaustive.  
At a more popular level local goddesses such as Māri were probably worshipped. The mode of worship probably differed little from the modern period when their festival is celebrated by the entire village community as and when the need arises to propitiate them to ward off evil particularly epidemic disease. Blood offerings of buffaloes and goats are generally made by the community and the officiating priests are generally drawn not from the brāhmaṇas but the lower castes, particularly, the potters, barbers, washermen or untouchables who are the primary ritual service castes in village. The presence of the deity is conveyed through a medium who in the trance of possession communicates with the devotees. However, our sources provide us with limited evidence on this point. Māri is the only local goddess we can identify and she is merely conceived of as a terrific, destructive deity. Whether she was also conceived of as the deity who afflicted with small pox as she is known today is not known although it is very likely to be the case.

*496 EC IV (new ed) Ch 164, EC VI (new ed) Sr 78.
The practice of worshipping the dead can be traced back to the Sangam period. Sangam works speak of the divine as dwelling in hero stones (vīral or natukal) which commemorated a hero killed in battle. These stones which were worshipped by warriors going to battle, were set up under a shady tree decorated with flowers and peacock feathers and enclosed in a canopy of cloth. The hero's spear and shield were placed close to it. The spear and peacock feathers suggest links with the worship of Murugan, the Tamil god par excellence in whom the Sangam ideals of beauty, love and heroism were personified on the divine plane. Murugan was worshipped with flower garlands and music. He could also induce possession not only in the veḷan, the shaman, but also in any individual dancing the vēriyāṭu (the dance of wild frenzy) in worship.

Music and dance serving as a catalyst for possession, is even now a central feature of the modern local cults of the deified dead such as the Tēyyam in North Kerala, the vīlpāṭṭu in southern Tamil Nadu and pād-dana of coastal Kārnāṭaka. Oral performance of the deity's story is a primary feature of all these cults. The narrative high point of such performances is the death of the hero—a point at which the deified dead possesses his human mediums. The principal reason for this appears to be the fact that their deification was a result of their untimely, violent death.


Kurup, in his study of the memorial stones of Kerala distinguishes between the practice of sitting up of hero stones and the cult of Teyyam with its possession rituals. He observes that the practice of erecting hero stones existed only till the thirteenth century after which it appears to have been given up. Instead the cult of Teyyam developed, incorporating within itself the worship of several folk heroes. Thus the practice of worshipping the dead passed into the realm of performing arts. This also appears to be the case with the neighbouring district of South Kanara where few memorial stones have been found but defied heroes such as Kōṭi and Chennayya are worshipped in festivals incorporating, music, dance and possession. However, in both the Teyyam and Bhūta cults, the insignia of the deified spirit, such as a sword or spear are placed or a wooden pitham within a sthānam or sana which are plain rectangular, windowless structures adjoined by an open portico of twin pillars. The structure of these sthānams is reminiscent of Megalithic chamber tombs while the placing of the sword or spear recall the Sangam practice of placing the spear before the natukal. Strong continuities from the Megalithic and Sangam periods thus mark the modern cults of the deified dead. It remains to be seen whether the distinction made by Kurup between the practice of erecting hero-stones and observance of festivals involving possession can be sustained on the basis of evidence for early medieval southern Karnataka.

The custom of erecting hero-stones for heroes who fell in battle is first attested to by the Kallur virgal which commemorates the death of Pabbhu in the battle of Rakkasanūru in the sixth century. The practice appears to have been more popular and widespread in the second phase.

*502 Ibid, p 190.
*503 K.V. Ramesh, Op.cit, No.28
Hero stones both purely commemorative and donative dating to the eighth, ninth and tenth centuries are found in hundreds throughout the region under study. 504. It came to be believed that the hero slain in battle was transported to heaven by the apsaras eager for union with him. This is depicted on hero stones which by the eleventh century usually have three panels - the lowest depicting a battle, the middle one showing the hero being carried to heaven by one or two apsaras and the third with the hero in heaven sometimes worshipping a liṅga. 505. Literary works such as the Pampa Bhārata 506 or Ranna's Gadāyuddham 507 and Ajita Tīrthakara Purāṇam 508 also attest to this belief. The Śangam practice of warriors seeking the blessings of the slain hero is also demonstrated by Ranna's Gadāyuddham wherein Duryodhana pays his respects to the mortal remains of Abhimanyu and prays for a fraction of his valour and a heroic death to match it 509.

Beyond this, we have little information on the rituals of the worship of hero-stones. The one virgil inscription to mention such worship is the Āṭakur virgil which as we have seen specifically states that the gōrava ruling the Callēśvara temple before which the memorial stone was set up must worship the stone before taking his meal 510. This would imply that the virgil was worshipped daily and since the worship was carried out by Saiva ascetics it probably consisted of the basic upacāras of offering gandha (sandal paste), dhupa.

*504 Chapter IV, Section E
*505 ASMAR 1942, p.201; Inscriptions also bring this out. For instance EC VIII (old ed) Sb 22 of the late eighth century and EC XII (old ed) Si 26 of the tenth century both mention the hero being carried to heaven by the suravadhu.

*506 Pampa Bhārata X.45.  
*508 Ajita Tīrthakara Purāṇam, I.48  
*510 EC VII (new ed) Mu 42.
(incense), dipa (lamp), puspa (flowers) and naivedya (food) *511 It may be instructive to examine the rituals associated with Aravan, the self-sacrificing hero of the cult of Draupadi. The priest of the local Draupadi temple offers diparadhanā to the effigy of Aravan with lighted camphor. Then administering a few cuts to the effigy and cutting up a pumpkin to represent his self-mutilation and sacrifice, he flings up rice mixed with blood to feed Aravan *512.

Such blood rites may not have been followed by the gorava at Atakūr as violating his basic vow of ahimsā. But in the case of Akatega whose self-sacrifice is recorded in the virgal at Hecche *513 a rite similar to that observed for Aravan may well have been followed. Akatega’s was a self-sacrifice to ensure an heir for his lord. The king Sāntivarma of Heqdese then made a grant which was entrusted to the Mahājanas of Elase for the maintenance of rituals at the memorial, in all probability. We have seen in the instance of the Cānapdeśavāri temple of Jayangonda śoḷa catuvēdimanāgalam *514 that blood sacrifices could be performed in temples in agrahāras. In the case of the Hecche virgal the memorial is not stated to be located in an agrahāra nor were the Mahājanas the officiating priests. They were merely responsible for ensuring the maintenance of the memorial.

While the Ātakūr and the Hecche virgals relate to worship offered to the hero-stones themselves, the Toṇacī inscription (Krishṇarājapēṭe taluk, Māṇḍya district) of the close of the tenth century *515 records the grant of thirty Koḷagas of land made by the Peralke heggade and the gavunda of Toṇacī for the festival (parba nimittam) of Aṅkakāradaēva. An Aṅkakārā is a leading hero or an influential servant of a lord *516.

*511 Supra Section C.
*514 Supra, Section E, p 406, fn 472. *515 EC VI (new ed) Kr.51.
The reference to a festival might imply an oral performance of the hero's story such as is part of modern hero cults. The Toṇacī epigraph is apparently not a vīrgal and mentions in addition to Aṅkakāraḍēva, Mahāḍēva and Mōriyadēva as well. It is possible that Aṅkakāraḍēva was enshrined in a subsidiary shrine within the precincts of the local Śaiva temple. At all events the inscription does not clarify whether the deified hero was represented by a vīrgal or by his insignia as in the cult of Bhūtas or Teyam. In any case, if the suggestion that the festival of Aṅkakāraḍēva consisted of the oral performance of his story be accepted, it would mean that the early medieval Kannadigas honoured deified heroes both by setting up hero stones and holding possession-oriented rituals. Whether these two modes were combined or were mutually exclusive alternatives cannot be discerned at present.

Another method of deification was the practice of setting up samādhi shrines for the deceased. This was done both for heroes who perished in battle *517 and for religious preceptors such as Mahēśṭra Kaliyuga Rudra *518 and Mauni bhaṭṭāraka *519. Such a practice of setting up Sīvalayas named after the dead is authorized by the Āgamas which speak of religious edifices in which the deceased were enshrined in the form of a linga or a portrait relief. Such shrines were found in Tamil Nādu as well where they were termed pallipadai *520.

Mastikals (memorial stones for a sati) form another category of memorials erected for the deceased. We have but three instances of sati, i.e. widows following their husband after death. Of these, only one appears to have been commemorated by erecting a māstikal. This Māstikal was found at Mallandūr (Sāgar taluk, Shimoga district) and bears an inscription of the tenth century.

*518 EC X (old ed) Mb 67. *519 Supra Section c(III), p 394, fn 419
*520 S.Settar "Memorial Stones in South India", loc.cit, p.185.
It has the large figure of a Mahāsāti with her right hand raised *521 - a characteristic feature in the depiction of a satī *522.

An inscription from Kāvaḍi (Sōrab taluk. Shimoga district) of the fifth century A.D. records the death of Rāvivarman, the son of Kādamba Mṛgēśavarman, and his queen (rājī) who was liberated along with him *523. This might represent the earliest example of sahagamana in our region.

Clear evidence for Sāti comes from the Ajita Tīrthakara Purāṇam of Ranna composed at the end of the tenth century. This records the self-immolation of Gūndamabbe the sister of Attimabbe, Ranna's patroness, following the death of their husband Nāgadeva in a battle *524.

The Pampa Bhārata depicts the wives of warriors resolving to perform self-immolation on the eve of the battle in case of their husband's death *525. However, the practice was not yet very popular in this period. It is else inconceivable that in a region where the practice of erecting memorial stones was so widespread, there should be only one Mastikal and one epigraphic reference to Sahagamana.

In sum worship of the dead appears to have been a common practice in our region in the early medieval period. The erection of a hero stone was a major expression of such devotion particularly after the eighth century. These hero-stones may have been worshipped but the details of such rites cannot be clearly discerned. We also have a reference to a festival in honour of a deified hero which after modern parallels, perhaps consisted of a performance of his story. Since

*521 ASMAR 1941, p.74.
*522 M. Chidanandamurti, "Two Māṭi Temples in Karnataka". in S. Settar and G.D.Sontheimer (ed), op.cit, p 129.
*523 EC VIII (old ed) Sb 523.
*525 Pampa Bhārata X 45
the inscription recording this festival was not a virgal it is not clear whether such festivals formed part of the rites of worship associated with memorial stones.

Ægamic Śaivism incorporated the worship of the dead through the custom of erecting Śivālayas in their name, where worship in accordance with Ægamic injunctions was evidently carried out. Both laymen who perished in battle as well as preceptors were thus honoured though the latter had a higher spiritual status as mumukṣus.