CHAPTER-IV

Doctrines, Sects and Monastic Organization

We have seen in Chapter I that the āramaṇa culture was the direct antecedent of the different monastical organizations. Śramaṇism, as G.C.Pande¹ has explained, represented a particular weltanschauung, containing many of the old non-Aryan elements of Indian life. Śramaṇic doctrine made its impact on Upaniṣadic philosophy — which became the basis of most of the ascetic movements. The Upaniṣads absorbed the typical Śramaṇic ideas of karma, saṁsāras and renouncement. Influenced by the Śramaṇic ascetic practices, orthodox Brahmanism made a slot for the sannyāsin in the social structure as the fourth āśrama. Brahmanism, nevertheless, was slow in accepting Śramaṇic practices, while the Śramaṇic sects continued their severe criticism of Brahmanism and its universal pretensions. Several contemporary authors indicated that brāhmaṇa meant an excellent state of body, mind and soul, that one becomes brāhmaṇa by merit and not by birth alone. "It is through austerities, chastity, self-restraint and control of the senses that one becomes brāhmaṇa."² In this social transformation, even non-kṣatriyas were accepted as kṣatriyas, as we saw in Chapter III. The phenomenon of Brahmanical monasticism in the early medieval times was intimately related to the transformation society was then undergoing, and it was not a mere coincidence that organized ascetic groups elicited high reverence and respect. The
ideologies of many such groups were non-Brahmanical and their members came from lower castes. Notwithstanding this admixture of composite and sectarian ideologies, we may still consider this category of ascetics as representing "early medieval Brahmanical monasticism", because they well represent the process towards monastical organization at a time when, what presently is known as Hinduism, consolidated itself, Buddhism slowly receded and Jainism was confined to certain regions. All over north India, the maṭhas and the schools attached to temples became the abodes of Brahmanical monasticism.

Patrick Clivelle, in a well-documented study, has examined the early medieval debate on the ways and signs of renunciation. He contrasts the opinions of both Brahmanical mainstreams, Advaitas and Viśiṣṭādvaītas, about what is the real way of renunciation. Advaita recommended absolute renunciation of any karma (i.e., the way of non-action) and the search for liberation through knowledge. Viśiṣṭādvaita, on the other hand, propounded that Supreme Knowledge must be combined with the assumption of duties proper to one's caste and position in society. Advaita would appear to have been more liberal in social values but extremely demanding philosophically: a true renouncer did not participate howsoever in the social or economical structures; he could come from any level of society; the initiation itself transformed him into a new man. Viśiṣṭādvaita, closer to the Brahmanical traditional orthodoxy, insisted on respect for the
status quo; the ascetic had to maintain the norms and patterns of society, or at least not change them. Śaṅkaraśārya, the pre-eminent of all advaitins, made a clear distinction between those who were real renouncers and those who merely belonged to the fourth āśrama. The true renouncer, he who did not need emblems or any type of signs to show his state, merited, in Śaṅkara's estimation, a higher status. In general, the advaitins considered the real renouncer as a fifth and superior āśrama and accepted that these high type of sannyāsins were free of any tie or responsibility to laws or social norms. Their scandalized detractors accused the advaitins of being licentious, libertines and polluters, to the extent that their very presence caused sin. Both the conformist viśiṣṭādvaitins and the defiant advaitins, used certain emblems to proclaim their position.

Advaita manifested many similarities with early medieval Śaivaism and its equivalents. Śaivism had more of non-Aryan elements in its religious beliefs and therefore could be more liberal than the Brahmanical society with its strict morality and structure. Viśiṣṭādvaita coincided more with Vaiṣṇavism, which represented a more sophisticated and cultivated manifestation of religiosity and culture of the time, notwithstanding that Vaiṣṇavism also contains an enormous quantity of non-Aryan religious elements. Śaivism was mostly the religious basis of the monastic organizations, while Vaiṣṇavism was more a religion practised at temples. Śaivism, as Hopkins observes, did not
produce many samples of 'high literature'. It was manifested more as a secret doctrine, less intellectual but strong in mysterious practices and mystic knowledge, and became the basis of most ascetic movements. Vaiṣṇavism was better accepted by those who followed the Karmayoga defined in the Gītā — the man in action. Intellectuals responded to it, dedicating to Lord Viṣṇu or to their favourite avatāra, Kṛṣṇa, their best creations.

IV.1 Vaiṣṇavas, the Devi cult and some monastic manifestations in Vaiṣṇavism

IV.1.1 Vaiṣṇavism, a doctrinal outline and some epigraphical evidences about the Vaiṣṇava cult

Viṣṇu evolved from a secondary position in the Vedas to a prominent place during the first millennium B.C. Some Buddhist elements played a major role in the development of Vaiṣṇavism, and some of them possibly were transferred to the Viṣṇu image, as for example the Viṣṇu cakra. In general, Vaiṣṇavism and Buddhism entered into a dialogue in eastern India and both shared various elements like the erotic treatment of images, Tantric symbolism and legends. The Vaiṣṇava-Buddhist mixture occurred during the Pāla period, when Tantric Buddhism was favoured as highly as Vaiṣṇavism. The avatāra-vada theory of Vaiṣṇavism may have had its links with the idea of "the previous Buddhas"; but more probably it was an eclectic formula to synthesize various local gods, heroes and legendary personages in the person of Viṣṇu. All these incarnations were, however, absorbed in the quasi-monotheistic idea of Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa, the Original One.
The *avatāra-vada* theory became a basic tenet of Vaiṣṇavism and was systematized and formalized by Jayadēva, the poet of Lakṣmanasēna’s court. Jayadēva and the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* concurred in that the incarnations of Viṣṇu were Matsya, Kūrma, Varāha, Narasimha, Vāmana, Parāsurāma, Rāma, Balarama, Buddha and the one to come, Kalkin. With the *avatāra* theory Vaiṣṇavism made its own effort to admit in a catholic central corpus, many beliefs and local cults. The tendency towards synthesis may have started at the beginning of the Christian era and probably was accelerated with the universalization that the Guptas, who were fervent followers of Vaiṣṇava traditions, brought about.

All Viṣṇu’s *avatāras* have a respectable native origin backed up by Vedic notions. The cult of Gōpala-Kṛṣṇa, the most conspicuous among them, antedates the Christian era, which disproves Bhandarkar’s theory that the Abhīras brought the cult to India, possibly based on Christ. The Gōpala-Kṛṣṇa (or Gōpalakṛṣṇa) tradition may have its older roots in a very remote period: the first-second millennium B.C. Kṛṣṇa itself, as a native deity incorporated lately in the Sanskrit texts, in his name would reflect its original condition: "dark". The oldest passages of the *Mahābhārata* already had the deity among the principal personages of the Epic. The subject Gōpala was every popular during the Scytho-Kuśāna period and, later, in all Rajasthan, where carvings have been found showing scenes from Kṛṣṇa’s life. The legend of Gōpala-Kṛṣṇa is probably a complex
mixture of various elements, some of them local, plus the prestige of a vedic god, Indra perhaps, and uncountable legends and fables, handed down by generations and exaggerated till transformed into celestial facts. On the other hand, as Sircar has expertly discussed, a king Kṛṣṇa did exist; recent discoveries further substantiate the existence of the old Dwārakā (Dwaraka), now at subsea level, at a location suggested by tradition. A later element in the Kṛṣṇa cult was Rādhā. The introduction of this element contributed to the growth of erotic mysticism in Vaiṣṇavism. Śaktism obviously was at work here, creating an affinity with the Tantric tendencies of the time. In the Bhāgavata, Brahma and Matsya Purāṇas that tendency is clear in the idea of Yoga Māyā. Rādhā came to be considered as Śakti of the Lord, just as Śrī was of Viṣṇu.

In the Vaiṣṇava pantheon the couple Śrī with Viṣṇu or Lakṣmī with Nārāyaṇa takes the leading position. Lakṣmī and Śrī are the wives of Puruṣa; both are the same deity depending upon what source we consult, what attributes are given to her. The couple Śrī or Lakṣmī with Viṣṇu or Nārāyaṇa attained a new force from the Gupta times onwards and commonly the Purāṇas make references to them and their mythology. In a more philosophical sense Lakṣmī is the Śakti of Viṣṇu, both are the combination of Puruṣa/Prakṛti (the passive and active power of the Śāṅkhya darśana). Śrī-Lakṣmī also is Gāndhārī or the Māyā power of Viṣṇu. And Śrī-Lakṣmī as Devī or Mahāmāyā was the Supreme
Mother, acquiring in the Purānas a disproportionate importance. Devī was considered the female aspect of Viṣṇu, and it was said she was manifested in five forms: Durgā, Lakṣmī, Sarasvatī, Sāvitrī and Rādha. They are the pañcavedīs.27 That special belief in mothers (māṭrıkās) was an early medieval elaboration in which were incorporated Śākta and Tantric elements proper of Brahmanical expansion absorbing in the process indigenous and particular faiths. This is borne out by an inscription from the Gupta times found in a niche in the sanctum of Bhāwarāmātā (Bhramaramātā) temple near Chhoti Sadri in Rajasthan and dated A.D.491.28 The text opens with a salutation to Devī, the Mother Goddess, the consort of Hara29 and it is followed by a description of the family, Māṇavāyani-Kula who were possibly a local royal family and very devoted to the Great Mother. The inscription is about the construction of a temple to the goddess by these kings. The seven Mothers (saptamāṭrıkās) are well represented at the Deogarh Fort, Lalitpur, Jhansi district, U.P., where there is also an inscription in which one is informed about the construction of “a very costly and indestructible abode of the mothers”.30 The images are of Brāhmī, Māhēśvarī, Kaumārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Vārahī, Indrāṇī and Cāmuṇḍā. This inscription is of the fifth or sixth century A.D.

In A.D.1024 in the present-day Thana district, Maharashtra, was registered another pious endowment in favour of the Kautuka-maṭhikā temple of the goddess Bhagavatī at Saṃyāna. This was the
gift made by Cāmuṇḍarāja — a feudatory of the Silāhāras — consisting of an oil-mill (ghānaka) to produce oil for the lamp of the temple and for anointing the feet of the brāhmaṇa scholars that might visit the temple.31

Vaiṣṇavism is in marked contrast with Śaivism. The former had an even and progressive growth, devoid of the extreme asceticism of the Śaivas, but embracing a wider manifestation of religious feelings. This may have happened through the contact and interaction of the Vaiṣṇava-Gopālas with other ascetics. As a relevant case, we may refer to the Mahādeva group of temples, located at Ranipur Jharial, in the former Patna State, in Orissa.32 There is the Kanduvalli temple dedicated to Kṛṣṇa, built by one Dēvānanda,33 son of Jōgēśvara; both were perhaps ācāryas of the Kṛṣṇa-Gopala cult. Behind this temple, stands the Mahādeva temple, which is a Śaiva one, founded by the Māttamayūrācārya Gaganaśiva, as it is indicated in the inscription34 which was affixed to the entrance to the sanctum of the temple. This Mahādeva temple contains images of Śiva under the form of Sōmāśvaradēva and Svāmin, Siddhēśvara, and Lakṣmī, all deities installed simultaneously at the time of the foundation, as it is reported in the above mentioned inscription. Both temples, dedicated to Kṛṣṇa and Mahādeva, are dated in the tenth century f.D.35

Vaiṣṇavism was capable of receiving several influences but maintaining an even course, thus attracting the simple folk.
Intellectuals, too, were attracted to it, and gave it an elaborate philosophy. This later gave rise to some monastic schools.

As a religious system, Vaisnavism produced Bhaktism, which was its own mystic movement. Medieval Bhaktism was characterized by monotheism and the devotional way — the Bhakti Marga. Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja, the greatest exponents of Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism respectively, both concurred that the devotional path was the easier one to reach liberation. Bhakti Marga was the sole way to attain God. Mādhva also, indicated that austerities, Yoga, knowledge etc. without devotion to God do not attain freedom. Rāmānuja counselled that Jñānayoga and Karmayoga were necessary preparations for Bhaktiyoga. Those who were reluctant to follow perfectly Jñānayoga and Karmayoga before taking up Bhaktiyoga, could follow the path of prapatti: surrender to a guru — a man "who is intoxicated with God" — who would guide the devotee closer to God. Śaṅkara's Nāma-Dharma, on the other hand, consisted in the devotional and loving recitation of the name of God. Both thus paved the ground for monastic Vaiṣṇavism: gurukulas were the logical culmination of Rāmānuja's postulate; Śaṅkara's celebration of Nāma-Dharma led to the creation of small communities and places devoted day and night to the constant singing of God's name. The first examples of this were its own monastical foundations.
Devotion to God was not something new to Hinduism, but the intensity of love (prema) as it was expounded by Nārada and transformed into emotional ecstasy by Caitanya, shook the Hindu concept of religiosity. Pre-Caitnaya Vaiṣṇavism was mainly divided into four sects in north India: Śrī-Vaiṣṇavism (derived from Rāmānuja, A.D.1017-1137); Haṁsa Vaiṣṇavism (from Nimbārka); Brahma Vaiṣṇavism (descending from Mādhva, A.D.1230-1317) and Rudra Vaiṣṇavism (from Vallabha, A.D.1476-1532). These sects built the intellectual structure of medieval Vaiṣṇavism.47

The Śrimad Bhāgavatam, the text par excellence of the Vaiṣṇavas, explains well the new path offered by Bhaktism. Bhakti replaced karma (action). All that the devotee had to do was to live only for God, doing his duty in Supreme bhakti (complete surrender to the Beloved). Freedom and real knowledge48 came from the surrender. One of the finest manifestations of that sweet surrender was that by Mīrābāī, who renounced her royal position, family and possessions and lived only for God.49

Structures associated with Vaiṣṇava worship, making them Vaiṣṇava sacred centres, date back to the early historical period. An example of this is a pūjā-sīlā-prākāra (a walled place for ceremonies), or a stone enclosure around an object of worship at Hathi-Bada, near Chittorgarh, Rajasthan, with an inscription of the first century B.C.50 This structure indicates the adaptation of local and primitive religiosity to the Vaiṣṇava
faith. At a later date, in the Gupta period, the Vākāṭaka King Pravarasēna II gave a village for the maintenance of a sattra (charitable house) in honour of the footprints of Mahāpuruṣa. The custom of revering the footprints of Viṣṇu probably was taken from Buddhism where the footmarks of the Buddha represent his divine presence in the world.

One of the holiest sites of Vaiṣṇavism is in Ramtek, Nagpur district, M.P. A number of temples and tīrthas related to the Vaiṣṇava cult and centred around the legend of Rāma are built on a hill and scattered around it. The Ramtek Stone Inscription of the time of Rāmacandra, dated around the last quarter of the thirteenth century A.D., gives some data about this tīrtha whose sanctity however can be traced to the fourth century A.D. The temples of Rāma and Lakṣmana (this is where the slab with this inscription is affixed) are the most important buildings on the sacred hill named in the inscription as Sindūragiri and Tapamgiri (or Tapōgiri). The legend about the origin of the tīrtha — or the sanctity of this hill — is apparently in line 23 of the inscription (in part mutilated), and it has relation with the legend of Narasiṁha-avatāra and the demon Hiranyakśipu. The name Tapōgiri was derived from the penances practised there by the śūdra ascetic Śambuka. This tapasvin was killed by Rāma after obtaining from this god three boons: that his mortal remains would be transformed into a liṅga at that same place, that Rāma himself would stay there to worship that liṅga and that the liṅga
should be worshipped before Rāma. A linga named Dhūmrāśvara is still worshipped by the pilgrims before they proceed to the Vaiṣṇava temple. The old legend would reflect the interaction at various levels between the Vaiṣṇavas and Śaivas.

A grant of Prthvīcandra of the Čalukya family of the seventh century A.D., at the temple of the god built by the king at Jayapura (Nasik, see Map section) provides all necessities for worshipping the god Nārāyaṇa (with dance, music, free meals, etc.). Taxes from eight villages were donated to the temple for the celebration of the festivals of the god Nārāyaṇa.

The Tipperah Grant (A.D. 650) of King Lokanātha probably refers to the construction of a Vaiṣṇava maṭha. Built and endowed at the request of the brāhmaṇa mahāśāmanta Pradoṣaśarman, it was meant for ascetic brāhmaṇas devoted to Nārāyaṇa. The temple was devoted to Bhagavān Ananta Nārāyaṇa. The inscription records the portion of land donated to each individual brāhmaṇa, which casts doubt on the ascetic character of the institution.

Another temple to Viṣṇu, in which was enshrined an image of the god in his form of Vāsudēva (Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa) was the one at Udaipur (A.D. 631). The temple was ordered by the wife of Mahāraja Varāhasimha, a feudatory of the Guhila King Āparājīta. The inscription regarding the erection of this temple invokes Viṣṇu with the name Hari-Sauri. A temple to Viṣṇu that is still standing is the Rājīvalīcana temple at Rajin, a holy tīrtha
twenty-eight miles south-east of Raipur, M.P. King Vilāsatuṅga of the Nala dynasty built it around the eighth century A.D. The plan of the temple is unusual: it is oblong instead of square.

Though Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism constantly interacted during the period, they conserved their identity and character. Thus, an inscription on a Śiva temple at Tasai, near Alwar, Rajasthan (A.D. 788) informs of an endowment for the worship (of Baladeva, the brother of Kṛṣṇa) of the deity with light, incense, garlands, saffron and wine. The construction of a Viṣṇu temple is also mentioned.

The strong exchange between Buddhism and Vaiṣṇavism that took place in Bihar is witnessed by an inscription in the Mahādēva shrine in the compound of the Viṣṇupada temple at Gayā, dated c.A.D. 870. It contains: (a) salutations to god Puruṣottama (Viṣṇu), (b) adorations to Murāri (also Viṣṇu), (c) reverence to the munigaṇa (or the community of sages), and (d) adoration to Narasiṁha. Apparently the style of the inscription copied a Buddhist pattern: adoration to the Buddha, to dharma and to the saṁgha. But the deep Vaiṣṇava feeling which permeates all the stanzas indicates the authenticity of this Vaiṣṇava record.

As this inscription demonstrates, Vaiṣṇavas assimilated into their doctrine the different elements they absorbed in the expansion of the religion in several regions, but maintaining
always a general conservative style. They did not take to Brahmanical asceticism as the Śaivas did. Nevertheless, there are instances also of Vaiṣṇava religious complexes where a certain kind of asceticism was practised because of the heterogeneity of the elements present in such places. Probably, they contained more than one Śaiva ascetic element. Such is the case of a religious complex on the outskirts of Bhūtāmbilikā (or Bhūmilika, Bhūmli, actual Ghumli, in the former Nawānagar State of Kathiawar, Gujarat; see Map section). Information about it comes through an inscription of a rāṇaka subordinate to the Saindhava family ruling in the area. The inscription is of A.D. 874-75, and it refers to the grant of village Pippalapadra. Half of its revenues were assigned to a group of temples of Hari, Haridaśva (Sun), Vīṇāyaka and one of the divine Mothers, this last erected by a certain Śivarudra, 'kaptin' (ascetic dressed in rags). The other half of the grant was assigned to the "kasmaichinmathe - pataye" (the head of the maṭha), who apparently, was the main person in the religious complex, which included the maṭha.

Another inscription referring to the foundation of a Viṣṇu temple is that of King Cittralekha, of the Sūraṇena family, dated A.D. 993. The temple was built at Bayānā, Bharatpur, Rajasthan. Also the Karitalai Inscription refers to the foundation of a Viṣṇu temple plus various endowments made by Sīmēśvara, besides a brahmāpura for a group of eight learned brāhmaṇas who attended the worship of the god. The temple
probably was in the area of Karitalai, Jabalpur, M.P. and the date of the inscription would be around the tenth century A.D.

That the Vaiṣṇava faith spread even to Burma is clear from an inscription of Pagàn,²³ (c.A.D.1050), found at Myinpagàn, the capital of the Manōharī kingdom of the Talaing kings, refers to a Viṣṇu temple of Nānādēśī-Vinnagar (i.e. the temple of lord Viṣṇu), and to a gift made to god Viṣṇu by a certain Śrī Kulaśēkhara Namoi, a devotee of the Vaiṣṇava saint Kulaśēkhara.

The Khalari Inscription,²⁴ which testifies to the construction of a Viṣṇu temple by a shoe-maker (mōcī) in A.D.1415, is indicative of the esteem and respect for the faith by merchants and business people. The inscription says that the shoe-maker (mōcī) Dēvapāla of Khalvātikā town, "who is clever in the performance of his work (dharma), who by his goodness is like a follower of the brāhmaṇas and is fond of various pious deeds and whose intellect has become pure by (his) remembrance of the divine Nārāyaṇa, he caused to be constructed a temple of Nārāyaṇa together with a maṇḍapa".

The tables presented in the Appendix A of pages 386-88 use a variety of inscriptions, all referring to Viṣṇu temples and endowments to Viṣṇu.

IV.1.2 Vaiṣṇavism and the cult of Jagannātha-Purusottama in Orissa.

An offshoot of the Vaiṣṇava development in early medieval
times was the Puruṣottama cult in Orissa. The origin and evolution of the Jagannātha-Puruṣottama cult of Orissa is a matter of debate: some scholars maintain that it was a local adaptation of some Vedic deities. Others see in the Jagannātha cult a Buddhist derivation or even a local Jaina modification. K.C.Mishra says that the cult is a combination of several religious systems which went through a process of local adaptation. References to the Jagannātha cult are dated only since the fifth century A.D. onwards. The Skanda Purāṇa collects legends in which Jagannātha-Puruṣottama appears as the deity of the aboriginal Sabara tribes of Nilācala (Puri Hills). Perhaps this local worship was the nucleus for the formation around a peculiar cult which was associated with Brahmanical deities and their theology. The identification of Jagannātha-Puruṣottama with Viṣṇu would have taken place over a few centuries before Anantavarman Cāḍagaṅga annexed the Purī-Cuttack region to his Empire, declared himself devoted to Viṣṇu and gave official support to the Puruṣottama cult, beginning the construction of the colossal Purī-Jagannātha temple. P.Mukherjee also supports the thesis of several religious influences (Buddhism, Tantrism, Śaivism) impressing some elements into the Jagannātha cult which developed as a syncretic faith and finally accommodated itself within the fold of Vaiṣṇavism. Vaiṣṇavism was the final state or doctrinal structure which permitted the Jagannātha cult to acquire predominance and stature.
Cāḍagāṅga’s successors continued the policy of preferential protection of the Purī-tīrtha and showed sympathy towards the Vaiṣṇava-Jagannātha cult, while themselves continuing as devotees of Gokarnāvara (Śiva). Sircar\(^7\) concludes from available information that (a) the cult of Puruṣottama existed long before the Cāḍagaṅga foundation; (b) the god was worshipped by the aboriginal people from ancient times; (c) with the Brahmanization of the region after the extension over it of the Bhaumakara, Sāmavansa and Gāṅga power,\(^7\) the local god began to be identified with a god of the Brahmanical pantheon, namely Viṣṇu; and (d) there is evidence to consider that Gāṅgas from Anaṅgabhīma III onwards took Jagannātha-Puruṣottama as their patron deity. The god was installed in the royal temple in the new capital at Cuttack.

Without doubt the superb structure of the Jagannātha temple represents symbols both of the magic (or holy) mountain and the mystic cavern.\(^2\) In the town around the temple motley old constructions still exist, among them are some old tanks dating from the time of the construction of the temple. The aroma of offerings and the recitation of mantras and sacred texts as dusk descends on this picturesque town silhouetting the traditional architecture, leave an indelible imprint on the visitors’ mind about the sanctity of this great religious establishment. The material available in the library adjoining the temple and discussions with the priests of the temple leave one in no doubt
that Puri was from the beginning the tīrtha of Purusottama, and its importance grew manifold when it acquired a Brahmanical character. With the great number of holy men living in sattras and asylums, drawn to the place by its sanctity, the aura of Puri-Purusottama spread farther. The lofty red standard, flying atop the high śikara, dominates the holy town of Puri. Symbolic of the omnipresence of the deity, it invites the devotee to contemplation. However primitive and human the origins of Jagannatha-Purusottama with his Brahmanical gloss may be, it has attained transcendence, winning a place in the devotion of every pious Hindu. Śrī Caitanya saw in Puri the authentic presence of Viṣṇu. Other Śaiva saints considered him the essence of Mahēśvara. The triad of Balabhadra, Subhadra and Jagannātha continues to be a fascinating mystery and a starting point for philosophical speculation.73

Vaiṣṇavism as a Brahmanical faith was more suited to the man of action. But in Puri, as in other tīrthas, it is the man of renunciation who finds favour. The giant kitchen of Jagannātha, offering food (prasad) to the devotee daily, is a practical manifestation of the call to the devotee to live for the god in the sacred community of devotees and lay aside the distraction of material necessities.

The Two Bhubanesvar Inscriptions confirm the breadth of acceptance of Vaiṣṇavism by the Oriya people, because it
interpreted well their religious feelings. The eulogy of bhaṭṭa Bhavadēva Bālavalabhibhujaṅga,74 prāṣastī composed by the brāhmaṇa Vācaspati, contains an adoration of Vāṣudēva and invocation to Viṣṇu, and then goes on to praise Bhavadēva, the scholar extraordinary. A follower of the Mīmāṃsā philosophy and the author of several works about Śastraṣ,75 he came of a family of distinguished scholars and worked as a counsellor to the King Harivarmaḍēva (? Gaṅga). Adroit "in refuting the devices of cavilling heretics" and "seeing across the ocean of the Saṁhitās, Tantras, Mathematics, causing wonder to all by his knowledge of astrology, he was the author of a new work on horoscopy".76 Truly was he a wise man, for he undertook several pious works like the construction of a tank, setting up an image of the god Nārāyaṇa, building of a Viṣṇu temple and putting there images of the god as Nārāyaṇa, Ananta and Nrṣimha. He also gave to Viṣṇu a number of female attendants and dug a tank in front of the temple to Viṣṇu.

Bhavadēva's transparent scholarship and piety aside, one can deduce from these inscriptions that a good deal about sects characterized these times. Bhavadēva, obviously a leader of the orthodox position was, surprisingly, also an expert in Tantra. It is possible that in the constant intermingling of the local faiths, Śaivism and Buddhism assumed heretical forms of thinking, against which Bhavadēva and other (Vaiṣṇava) scholars took up the cudgels.
Temple life formed the pivot of Vaiṣṇavism. Additionally, several Vaiṣṇava masters created schools or maṭhas in which their tradition was continued from guru to guru. One can get a clear concept of this from the Madhavavijaya,77 which is a chronicle of the life and spiritual deeds of Mādhva or Ānandatīrtha. (The maṭhas of Rāmānuja are another example, but in point of time, they go beyond our period of study). It thus emerges that both temples and maṭhas became abodes of monastic life.

IV.2 Śaivism and its contribution to Brahmanical monasticism.

IV.2.1 From the origins of Śaivism to Śaṅkara.

Śiva was, probably, a non-Aryan deity. Probably also, from times immemorial, the Liṅgam has been the symbol of Śiva.78 The aboriginal Śiva was associated with the Vedic Rudra to become only one central deity.79 The eight names of Rudra-Śiva which are given in the Saṃapaṭha Brāhmaṇa are equally of non-Vedic origin: Sarva, Paśupati, Ugra, Asani, Bhava, Mahādeva, Īśāna, Kumāra. Rudra-Śiva in the Saṃhitās is one of the forms of the Supreme God, non-dual creator of the universe, source of the pair of opposites. He resides in the innermost depth of everything. He is the Lord who saturates the universe with his sparkling power, the source of the Veda, bigger than the universe (mahātomahīyan) and smaller than the smallest ash in the hearth (anorāniyān).

In the Liṅga Purāṇa80 is narrated the story of Śiva and his twenty-eight incarnations. The Lord stands in a Yogic position,
absorbed in meditation in the highest place. But, He as Puruṣa, feels the necessity to intervene into the human time when the Supreme Yoga is forgotten.

A syncretic phenomenon, the Śaiva belief developed early, producing several schools as expression of the variety of opinions and interpretations of the sacred texts. Aboriginal legends and creeds also got absorbed into it as the non-Aryan population and the low castes embraced it in large numbers. Most of the Śaiva teachers were südra ascetics (tapasvis), far more rigorous in their tapas than the sophisticated brāhmaṇas.81

All the early medieval schools of Śaivism acknowledged the Śaiva Āgamas as sources. Āgama means a traditional doctrine or system which probably was revealed at the beginning of time. For that reason Śaiva thought also would be named Śivasāsana or Śivāgama. The Āgama Śāstras were a revelation from Śiva himself. They contained the principles and practices of the system.

Of the many schools current at the time, the more prominent were: the Śaiva Siddhāntas, the Kārukas or Kalānanas, the Pāśupatas and the Kāpālikas.82 The Pāśupata school traces its mythological origins to Śrikanta, the husband of Umā and son of Brahma. The legend of its foundation is related in the Mahābhārata (Śantiparva, 349), the Tantraloka and in the Śiva Purāṇa.83 Its historical period started with Lakulīśa, who was considered an incarnation of Śiva.
In the early medieval period, Śaivism, like several other schools of the time that had their origin in ancient times, took a definite shape. The advance of Śaivism had two major loci: Tamil Nadu – West Deccan and Kaśmīr. In the south, the Nayanārs were for the most part responsible for the emergence of Śaivism through the vehicle of Śaiva bhakti. In Kaśmīr, the support of the royal dynasty, the devotion of people and the spiritual necessity in a time of frequent crisis gave to Śaivism a very good atmosphere for a vigorous growth. However, what was similar in both parts was the doctrinal opposition to Buddhism as well as a relative practical tolerance.

The Śaiva school of Kaśmīr, also known as Trika-śāsana or Ramasya-sampradāya, was the more celebrated. Trika stands for the triad composed by the gods Śiva, Śakti and Nara. They form the One soul with the characteristic of para (highest), parāpara (identity in difference), and aparā (difference). The main Āgamas of Kaśmīr Śaivism were the Śiva Sūtras. These were revealed to counter the effect of Vasugupta’s dualism. Vasugupta was the guru of Kallata, a contemporary of the ninth-century King Avantivarman of Kaśmīr. We may therefore deduce that the Sūtras were revealed in the eighth–ninth century A.D. The only surviving commentaries on the Śiva Sūtras, among the many that were written, are the Vṛtti Śiva Sūtra, the Varttika Śiva Sūtra of Bhaskara, the Vimarśini Śiva Sūtra of Kṣomarāja, and the Śiva Sūtra-Vārttikam of Varadarāja, alias Kṛṣṇadāsa. The Pratya-
bhijñā Śāstra which logically expounds the philosophy of the system became the pivot of Kaśmir Śaivism, which therefore came to be known as Fratyabhijñā-darśana. The most important work of this Śāstra is that of Utpala, the disciple of Sōmananda.

The main doctrinal elements of Kaśmir Śaivism, as synthesized by C. Chatterji, are:

1. Ātman, the Real Unchanged Self of every being in its innermost level, the Beginning One, Caitanya, Paramēśvara, Para Samvit Parama Śiva.

   It is the underlying reality in everything and being in the universe, beyond any limit, all eternal and infinite.

He has two-fold primary aspect:

(i) Immanent Self, pervading the universe;

(ii) Transcendental Self, beyond all manifested form, matter, space or time.

The immanent aspect manifests Himself as the Universe. This power of manifestation is Śiva-Śakti — the feminine aspect of Himself — but which is One with Him. Śakti is the power of self-revelation of Śiva, and possesses five characteristics:

(a) cit Śakti (the Light of Intelligence), or capacity of self revelation;

(b) Ānanda Śakti (Blissful and Joyness), or capacity of realizing absolute Bliss and Joy;
(c) ichchā śakti, or the capacity of feeling the divine wonder or supreme ability;  
(d) jñāna śakti, capacity of bringing and holding all objects in conscious relation with oneself;  
(e) kriya śakti, or capacity of assuming any form or supreme creative power.  

With these five characteristics Śiva-Sakti manifested itself as the universe, only by Herself as the basis of the universe (svabhittau). Therefore, the universe is the expansion of the Śakti of Parama Śiva. Any time Śakti expands or opens Herself, the universe comes to be (unmēati) and when she gathers or closes herself up, the universe disappears (nimēati). This process of manifestation (udaya) and reabsorption (pralaya) is constant and eternal. Each cycle of creation — dissolution (udaya-pralaya) constitutes a Kalpa ("imagining the universe").  

The universe, with its infinite number of manifestations, is made of a few fundamental tattvas ("principles") or first manifestations; these universal elemental materials are the five bhūtas:  
(a) prthivi (earth), or principle of solidity and stability  
(b) ap (water), or principle of liquidity  
(c) agni (fire), or principle of formativity  
(d) vāyu (air), or principle of aeriality  
(e) ākāśa (vacuum), or principle of vacuity
These five bhūtas took form in the human nervous system as the five karmendriyas or five external organs:

(a) upastha, creative and regenerative organ;
(b) payu, voiding or discarding organ;
(c) pāda, the feet, capacity of locomotion;
(d) hasta, the hand, capacity of handling;
(e) vāc, the voice, capacity of expression.

Material existence produces certain causes of sensation which are five, and they are perceived by the five senses:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Five tanmātras (causes of sensation)</th>
<th>Five jñānendriyas or buddhīndriyas (sense-perceptions)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) gandhatanmātra (odour)</td>
<td>a) ghrāṇendriya (sense of smell)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) rasatanmātra (flavour)</td>
<td>b) rasaṇendriya (sense of taste)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) rūpatanmātra (colour)</td>
<td>c) darśaṇendriya (sense of sight)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) sparśatanmātra (feel)</td>
<td>d) sparśaṇendriya (sense of feeling of touch)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e) sabdatanmātra (sound)</td>
<td>e) śravaṇendriya (sense of hearing)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, in order that information collected by the senses would be processed, there are three inner organs. The three antaḥkaraṇas (inner organs) or capacities of a mental operation are:

a) manas, concreation and imagination
b) ahamkāra, self-arrogation and appropriation: ego
c) buddhi, judgement or intellect.
Hence, the knowledge of the reality is conditioned by two principles which define the creation. They are the two tattvas or principles of objective individual limitation prakṛti and puruṣa. On the other hand, the knowledge of the reality also is conditioned by five abstract principles which are the five kauchukas or principles of subjective limitations:

a) kāla (time), limitation in regard to duration of presence and simultaneously of experience;

b) niyati (restriction of space), limitation in regard to presence, space;

c) rāga (attachment), limitation in relation to interest, absorption by the object of interest;

d) vidyā (knowledge), limitation as regards simple awareness;

e) kalā (creation), limitation as regards authorship or capacity to accomplish.

And any knowledge of the reality is completely conditioned by the general limitation, māyā (= non-reality, illusion; here: differentiation power). However, there are five principles which converge in achieving the right knowledge of the reality. These are the five principles of the universal relation subject/object.

a) sad-vidyā, or universal correlation of experience (feeling and consciousness) (Truth or Pure Knowledge);

b) iśvara tattva, identification in the universal experience;

c) sādākhya or sada Śiva tattva, the principle of Being;
d) śakti tattva, the power principle or principle of negation and potentialisation;
e) Siva tattva, "I am", the experience of Pure consciousness or the Pure experiencer.

Cit, the ultimate Reality, is Siva, corresponding in Vedānta to Brahmā, who is Sat-cit-ānanda (the Pure Self who is Consciousness of Absolute Bliss). The Wholeness is in Himself, who creates the universe as an idea from Himself, as a dialogue from his own eternal quietness. He is prakāśa vimarśamaya, i.e., Eternal unchangeable Light, cause of all changes, the "I and This" in unity, Consciousness itself. The Ultimate Reality is Universal Consciousness which contains the Supreme spiritual energy or Supreme Power. He is the anuttara, the Highest Reality, the Absolute.

Manifestation is the natural tendency of divinity, the essence of divinity. He has the Svabhāva (Supreme Creativity). Thus, the manifestation of the universe is the expression of the experience of Parama Śiva. The yogī who experiences the innermost level of Puruṣa, the pure silence, and furthermore, who going through prakāśa vimarśamaya achieves the total bliss of the universal Unity (tat-tvam-āsi), he can produce the creation in his own mind. That is the siddhi, the power of creation turned into action. It corresponds to the process of universal manifestation. That is ābhāsa equivalent to vivarta in the Vedānta.
In all persons ābhāsa is essentially real but not everybody reaches the point of consciousness to be conscious of it. The more awake the consciousness, the clearer is the real experience of the world. In the Vedānta, a distinction is made between nāmarūpa or the current process of thinking in the individual and universal Māyā. Nāmarūpa in ordinary mortals is not equal to the universal Māyā — their knowledge is imperfect. But one who is in full consciousness of sat-cit-ānanda, has his nāmarūpas equal to the Mahāmāyā: his knowledge is total.

Trika and Vedānta concur in considering the yogī as the human Śiva. The yogī repeats the universal creation in his mind. In the quiet of his mind (Śiva tattva — the pure I Am) — which indeed is the ultimate in wakefulness — the yogī creates. An idea, a name, coming from Parama-Śiva simultaneously harmonizes all the body levels with the tattvas. The power of creation is activated into him at the base of his spine (kūndalinī) and the yogī is filled with all power. The will becomes action, helping the universal creation. There is a parallel with the teachings of Lord Kṛṣṇa in the Gītā, III,7 that he who "subjugates all the senses and the mind established in the Supreme God, realizes the Yoga of action (perfect action)."

The tenets of Kaśmīr Śaivism spread widely and the teachers of Trika were eagerly welcomed in different parts of north India. As the systematized knowledge of Śiva it was well received in the
schools and mathas of Siva in the northern part of the subcontinent. It is possible that Trika instructors travelled to south India and exchanged ideas with the southern Siva schools towards the close of the early medieval period.**

The Advaita system was the other scholastic axis which was perfected through the early medieval times and reached its zenith with Šaṅkarācārya. In the conspectus of Brahmanical monastical institutions during the period, Šaṅkara stands out not only as a prominent philosopher but as a religious reformer and founder of a highly respected monastic school.

Śaṅkara (A.D.680-712),*** was brought up in a Siva worshipping family of nāmbūdiri brāhmaṇas of Malabar. He received his early Vedic education in the school of Gōvinda, the disciple of Gaudapāda, both eminent advaitins. Gōvinda introduced Śaṅkara to the main principles of Advaita. A prodigy, Śaṅkara mastered the Vedic literature at a very young age. Before he had learned the ways of the world he rejected them and became a sannyāsin,**** not a recluse but a peripatetic teacher, debating with all types of learned men about the Supreme Truth of Brahman and the real way and the end of the Veda, the Vedānta. Śaṅkara was a perfect yogin and knew also of thaumaturgical practices. He established the four famous mathas of Śringeri (Karnataka), Purī (Orissa), Dvārakā (Gujarat), and Badrinātha (U.P.). Śaṅkara was born at a time of a chaotic variety of practices and beliefs. The decline
of Buddhism (in south India) had given rise to variegated forms of Hinduism. Jainism was at its zenith. The return to Brahmanical ritualism was accompanied by the popularization of the ideas of the Śaiva Bhaktas (adiyārs) and the Vaishnava devotees (ālvārs). Festivals and temple worship related to the rising Pūrānic Hinduism were catching on everywhere. Brahmanism was going through major transformations from its ancient ceremonialism and formulism. A clear search for a new shape moved to the Mīmāmsakas just to exaggerate the value of Vedic rituals. In reaction against these extremes, other groups went in for more simplified ways, influenced by the devotionalism of the bhakti. This transformation was encouraged by the ruling dynasties in central, west and northern India. Also a reaction against the complications of Buddhism, excessively dry and lacking of feelings, gave more opportunities to the new theistic and devotional tendencies.

Kumārila and Maṇḍana Miśra, before they came in touch with Śaṅkara, had propounded the re-evaluation of jñāna and sannyāsa, and the harmonization of karma (the accomplishment of the own duties) with the house-holder stage. But Śaṅkara rose above them all. In the short span of his life, Śaṅkara's genius had formulated a catholic synthesis to reconcile contemporary standards of knowledge and creeds with the ancient texts and traditions.
A champion of the orthodox faith and a very enlightened religious reformer, Śaṅkara re-evaluated the old mysticism of the Upāṇiṣads. He looked for a system which was capable of transcending not only Buddhism, but also Mīmāṃsā and Bhakti. He sought an integral way of experiencing the Veda at the level of individual consciousness, for at a time that was teeming with so many interpretations or negations, the only way to revive the Vedas was to transform them into living consciousness. Śaṅkara’s works were written with the aim of helping the individual to realize the identity of his soul with the Supreme Brahman, which is the means of liberation from sāṃsāras.

Śaṅkara’s monism flowed from his conservatism and his respect for the popular Hinduism, in which he saw the Śakti of God but which needed to be refined. He gathered, for the construction of his own system, all that was valuable in the revival systems. From Buddhism he took the concept of institutional organization and discipline, having observed how that rigour preserved the doctrine pure and strong. Śaṅkara’s formulation was of tremendous importance for the emergence of different schools of monastic Śaivism.

Vedānta was not an invention of Śaṅkara. It had been in gestation for two or three centuries before the great ācārya came on the scene to give it clear shape. Vedānta claims to be the exposition of the philosophical thought in the Upāṇiṣads which is
well summarized in the *Brahma Sūtras* of Bādarāyana. Several scholars, whether of Vaiṣṇava-Bhakta or Śaiva tendency, had commented on them. Śaṅkara synthesized these commentaries giving them a distinct shape. Śaṅkara was not — as the people believed — the creator of the full Vedānta tradition; he only gave it form.

Śaṅkara’s Vedānta is totally based on the *Upaniṣads*. His work consisted in a systematic and distilled exposition of the Upaniṣadic system to known *Brahman*.

The essence of Upaniṣadic knowledge, according to Śaṅkara, is to focus all desire in the supreme aspiration to attain the absolute Truth, *Brahman*; at the service of this high goal, the best method is the control of the senses and detachment from all earthly inclination and will. He demonstrated that there is no contradiction among the different *Upaniṣads* and the *Vedas*, and all of them have as the ultimate end the knowledge of *Brahman*. All Vedic knowledge was a universal system. It was a perfectly assembled system, without inherent contradictions, intended as a guide to reach the supreme goal. Śaṅkara’s commentaries are refutations of wrong interpretations and clarifications of the confused dualistic tendencies which differentiated the goals of *Upaniṣads* and the *Brahma Sūtras*.

Some of the main ideas of Śaṅkara’s Advaita are:

(a) The *Self* (*Brahman*) is the Ultimate and Absolute Truth.
That Self is One without second, however. He appears under infinite forms and acquires different characteristics. The universe is the manifestation of that Self. All things are changeable appearances of the only unchangeable Truth, Brahman.

(b) True knowledge is the knowledge of the Self, Brahman, which underlies the macrocosm and the microcosm.

c) The individual consciousness suffers as long as it has not reached the knowledge of Brahman. The union of the individual consciousness (ātma) into the Supreme Self is the perfect and final state of life. This is the supreme state which realizes the unification of subject and object in the old Vedānta phrase, tat-tvam-asi, "That art thou" (mahāvākya, the revelation of Brahman to Svetaketu in the Upaniṣad). That is the supreme liberation and the end of all sufferings, the level of Bliss and Intelligence.

d) Non-duality is the state of union of subject and object. That is life at the level of Brahman. Below that level always exists the duality of subject-object.

e) The seeker must look for Brahman as his sole interest, and all detachment comes naturally, and acquires a new dimension: full participation in a world which is One with oneself.101

(f) The world is only imagination (māyā), unreal and false. It acquires full reality only when the knower
false. It acquires full reality only when the knower has reached the knowledge of Brahman. That is the real world. That is the right experience of joy and fulfilment. As the perception of the world from the consciousness of Brahman is in terms of "I and I", there are no mistakes, no "many", no "unknown", but the Only universal reality which is the Truth.

(g) Māyā, the non-real world, is wrong knowledge (avidyā), which is dissolved by the sole touch with Brahman, to be changed by the bright Truth (vidyā). Māyā is the appearance of Brahman disguised in infinite forms. The enlightened one, who is in union with Brahman, sees the world in terms of Brahman or unity. That is the total notion of objectivity (dṛṣyatva) and sense of material existence (jadatva), which is not consciousness (ajñānatva) and not selfness (anātmatva). The realization of the knower gives reality to the world, which is pure through ānanda, the Supreme Bliss. The totality of the knower, who has established his consciousness in the Being, realizes the object of knowing, elevating the relation knower—object of knowledge to the maximum, to the level of ānanda.

(h) Ajñāna (ignorance), the cause of illusion and suffering, can positively be overcome and filled with knowledge.
IV.2.2 The Lingam symbolism, Saiva-tirthas and Saiva-mathas

Sāivism bridged Vedic and non-Vedic forms, passing through all the varieties in the "Śaiva spectrum". The Lingam had, by the dawn of the Christian era, become accepted as representing Śiva. The Liṅga Purāṇa,102 spoke of the Liṅgam "which appeared in front of the gods to supress all dispute and to enlighten the devas (on the harmonious driving of the world)." The Śiva Purāṇa records that during the early medieval times the twelve mahāliṅga tīrthas were considered the holiest spots of the world:103

"There is no limit to the number of phallic (liṅgam) images. The entire earth, the entire universe is in the form of a phallus. The holy centres are equipped with phallic images. Everything is founded on these. There is no limit to their number .... The three worlds (gods, asuras and human beings) are pervaded by Śiva in the form of phallic image for the welfare of the gods. In order to bless the worlds, Śiva assumes different phallic forms here in the holy centres (tīrthas) as well as in other places."

The twelve mahāliṅga tīrthas, containing Jyotirliṅgas, were:

1. Sōmanātha in Saurāstra108
2. Mallikārjuna in Śrīśaila106
3. Mahākāla in Ujjayinī107
4. Gākāranāṭha on the bank of the Narmadā108
5. Kedāra (Kedāranātha) on the Himavat107
6. Bhīma Śaṅkara in Dākinī (near Rajmahendri)\textsuperscript{110}

7. Viśveśa in Vārāṇasī (or Viśveśvara)\textsuperscript{111}

8. Tryambake or Tryambakesvara on the bank of the Gautamī, the location itself is called Gautamēśvara, near Nasik\textsuperscript{112}

9. Vaidyanātha in Bengal (Śiva Purāṇa : ... "located in the cremation ground")\textsuperscript{113}

10. Nāgēśa in the Dārukā Forest\textsuperscript{114}

11. Rāmeśa at Setubandha (Rāmesvaram, Tamil Nadu)\textsuperscript{115}

12. Ghusmeśa at Śivālaya\textsuperscript{116}

The doctrine and theology of the Pāṣupatas were based on the visualization of the Śaiva principle.\textsuperscript{117} This was followed later by the Liṅgayat sect which was an orthodox Śaivite sect which rose in north-west Karnataka about the end of the twelfth century and which had many followers among the traders and essential producers.\textsuperscript{118}

Śiva frequently was also worshipped in his terrible character as destroyer and was represented armed with the trident and a necklace of skulls. In another representation he was Bhairava, carrying the weapons of destruction, wearing a girdle of serpents, laughing, dancing and playing the damaru. This was the favourite deity of the Kāpālikas and the Kālāmukhas, two extremist sects that performed the most objectionable rituals merely to scandalize those, who they believed, were in the wrong way and to give them consciousness of the holy presence of God.
even in the most awful things. The practice of strange rituals and the use of wine, drugs and sex was their means for controlling their own fears and shame.\textsuperscript{117}

Śiva as Yogin, naked, his body smeared with ashes, with long hair tied in a knot, represented the highest perfection attained by the practice of penance and meditation, and was the Supreme model for sannyāsins and yogīs. There are not many images of Śiva in this guise because the yogins themselves were considered living temples of Śiva, and they were worshipped as such by kings and people.

Śiva as Mahādeva was the deity with the highest appeal. He was a beneficent god, protector of all good things and human activities: Sciences, Art, Literature and Drama were disciplines under his protection; he was also the insatiable god of love (he is represented usually in loving embrace with his wife Pārvatī). He was invoked by the most prominent writers of ancient and early medieval times; the best of the architecture of the time was inspired by him and was dedicated to him.

Natarāja was another frequent visualization of Śiva, the dancing god in ecstasy at the sound of music.\textsuperscript{120} This form was present in the bronze statuary made in south India.

The Śaiva faith was behind the construction of many temples in India during the early medieval period. Their sites were often
at holy tirthas where small communities of ascetics were already living. Legends connected many of them with ṛṣis, sages, or gods.

We now take up a discussion of Śaiva religious complexes founded during the period. Some of them were clearly related with ascetic activities, others indicated the strong presence of Śaivism in the area, which the presence of Śaiva gurus and their disciples, enhanced.

The Śaiva complexes will be grouped in terms of areas in which they appeared and also in terms of their sectarian affinity in order to make easier the appreciation of their mutual relations and their cultural and religious exchanges. The Kaśmīr area will, however, be treated separately because of its special case of separate development. These areas of affinity are delimited in the enclosed map of page 328-A.

IV.2.2.1 Rajasthan

The Kusuma Inscription, A.D.636, records that a Śaiva temple (saudha) called "The Hermitage of the Sage Kutsa" was built on a hill near village Kusuma, Deodar tehsil, Sirohi district, Rajasthan. There was also a maṭha or āśrama-pada of the sage Kutsa, and the name of the place, Kusuma, came from that āśrama\(^1\) (Kuts-āśrama, the āśrama of Kutsa).

Another Śiva temple complex intimately related with its location was the Kāmyakēśvara temple at Kaman, thirty-five miles north-west of Bharatpur, Rajasthan. The Kaman Inscription\(^2\) of
1. Rajasthan - Central Madhyadeśa (and areas in between)
2. The Gaṅgā-Yamunā basin
3. Bihar, Bengal and Eastern region
4. Eastern Madhya Pradesh, Orissa (and some areas around, like eastern Karnataka and north Andhradeśa)
5. Gujarat and northern Maharashtra
6. Kashmir
A.D.869 or 889 records that the temple complex was built in an old fort. A Śaiva Pāśupata ācārya named Nāgaṭa, was the elder of the community of ascetics who lived there. The "Committee of gōṣṭhikas" which looked after the administration of the complex invested several assets of the temple in the local trusts and guilds. The gōṣṭhikas appear to have been the heads of the Śaiva community; they were from "respectable families"¹²³ and were specially devoted to the god Mahēśvara. All the pious works are attributed to them.

It could be that in the Kāmyakāśvara monastery those coming from distinguished families had a higher status than the simple ascetics. On the "gōṣṭhika level" could mean the spiritual level attained by the elders of the monastery, for in the Pāśupata sect, social distinction was absent. In any event, the gōṣṭhikas were excellent Śaiva ascetics, responsible for the construction of this local temple and maṭha besides a step-well (vāpi) and other works. The inscription has a problem of date, but there is no doubt that it was recorded during the reign of the Pratihāra King Bhājadhēva I.

Apparently, the Pāśupata sect was very strong and widespread in Rajasthan and central India. Near Udaipur, forty-two km to the south of the city, was located Kīśkindhipura which appears in several inscriptions¹²⁴ dating from A.D.654 till the eighth century. These dates give a minimum life span of two
centuries to the city Kishkinda which was, apparently, the capital of the local ruling Guhila branch and a notable Saiva centre. One Amnaya, who desired the attainment of Śiva-sāyuja (absorption into Śiva),\textsuperscript{125} made a donation to the temple of Śūlin (Śiva) there.\textsuperscript{126}

Eight miles east of modern Udaipur were temples of Mahāmahaśvara and Ghaṭṭavāsīṇī (Durgā), which received donations of some lands and shops by a private person. These are mentioned in an inscription of A.D. 813.\textsuperscript{127}

An inscription of the time of King Nāgabhaṭadēva of the imperial Pratihāra dynasty, dated A.D. 815, found in village Buchkala, Bilada district, Jodhpur, Rajasthan, in a Pārvatī temple, is a record of the construction of a temple (dēvagrha) of Paramēśvara (Śiva) by the local feudatory in village Rājyaṅgahaṅgakam — probably the present-day Buchkala village.\textsuperscript{128}

South of Rajor, Rajgadh district, Alwar, Rajasthan, was the old city of Pāranagar, now in ruins. The great temple of the god Lacchukēśvara Mahādēva stood there, named after the Queen Lacchukā who gave grants to this god. In the Rajor Inscription\textsuperscript{129} of A.D. 960, the feudatory Mathanadēva, belonging to the Gūjjarā-Pratihāra family, granted the village of Vyāghrapāṭaka "with land, forest, water, bhōga and mayuta incomes, customary and non-customary shares of sort of grains, taxes (khala, bhikṣā, prasthaka, skandhaka, mārgaṇaka), fines for the ten offences,
gifts, treasures and deposits, the aputrikādhana, naṣṭibharaṇa, plus all the neighbouring fields cultivated by its folks" to the temple of Lacchukēśvara for the purpose of defraying all the expenditures of the religious complex. The administration of the grant was put in the hands of the holy ascetic Oṃkāraśivācārya, disciple of Rūpaśivācārya, disciple of Śrikaṇṭhācārya, all of them of the Sōpurīya school of Śaiva devotees.

This line of ascetics was founded by Āmardaka, an ascetic of the Nityapramuditadēva-māṭha at Rājayapura, which was associated with the Gōpālādēvīṭada (or Gopālī) māṭha at Chatraśīva. The donor of the grant exhorted his successors to "not obstruct but rather always assist the ascetics' disciples and the disciples of the disciples in the management of the property (of the temple complex) for the benefit of the god".
At Shaiknavati, Jaipur, Rajasthan, a community of Śaiva ascetics created a tīrtha with their frequent presence. The place was in need of a temple to consecrate the site. The Harṣa Stone Inscription recorded the erection of such a Śiva temple (Harṣamahēśvara or Śiva as Harṣa) on top of the Harṣa hill, by the Śaiva ascetic Allāta. Allāta’s disciple Bhāvodyata constructed another religious complex where the Śaiva faith was lived intensely. The Cāhamāna rulers who dominated this area showed special devotion to Harṣadēva and patronized this group of ascetics. This group of Brahmanical monks followed the Pāncārtala doctrine — a variation of the Pāśupata school. The spiritual lineage of their master was:

Viśvarūpa, the founder of the group who came from the Ananta country.

Bhāvaryūta, Allāta, the one who erected the temple.

Bhāvodyata, who finished the project of his master.

Allāta was a trāhmanā belonging to the Vārgatika clan and he was a native of the Rānapallika village where a Śaiva form of worship
SAIVA PLACES:
* Ėkaḷinga
* Jābālipura
* Naddūla
* Arbuda
* Śrīmāla
named Šaṁśārika was practised. The entire design and construction of the complex was made by the same ascetics. The architect was a certain Caṇḍāśīva, son of Viṭrabhadra. The temple was finished on 8th August, A.D. 970; seventeen years after the inauguration it received several endowments by the local rulers consisting of lands and villages.

The area enclosed by the modern Jalor and Sirohi districts, with the great tīrtha of Mount Abu as the celestial mountain, was undoubtedly one of the holiest places of western India. A number of ascetic communities of different sects and creeds were settled there. The rulers of the area were generous in giving donations to temples and religious organizations thus seeking to increase their own fame, power and religious merit.\textsuperscript{132} The Ropi Plates of Dēvarāja,\textsuperscript{133} A.D. 1012, issued by the reigning Paramāra prince of Śrīmala, the illustrious Dēvarāja,\textsuperscript{134} registered the donation of some land to the head of the Siddhēśvara Mahādēva temple, the Śaiva master furakācārya, son of Caṇḍāśivācārya. That temple was part of a Śaiva complex erected at Kuśemamathuna (or Mathuna, or Munthala), about ten to eighteen kilometers south-southeast of the modern Bhimmal (the old Śrīmala, the capital of that region).

East of this was another temple which was part of a Śaiva complex — the Sōmanāthadēva temple, now part of the ruins of the old Kośavarddhana fort at Shergadh, Kota, Rajasthan (see Map on the next page). The inscriptions scattered about the place reveal
that the temple of Somanātha received donations from several persons. An inscription that A.D.1050 records the donation of a village by the Paramāra Udayādityadēva. Not far from here at Pāmsulākhēṭaka (Panaheda), eight kilometers east-northeast of Gadhi in the Banswada district, Rajasthan, the Paramāra king Māṇḍalika in A.D.1059 constructed a temple of Samara-ripu or Smarārāti (Śiva).

IV.2.2.2 Eastern Rajasthan and West Madhyadeśa

Apparently, therefore, the region comprising the districts of Kota, Bundi, Bhilwara, Udaipur, Mandasaur, Banswada, Ratlam and Ujjain was strongly Śaiva and supported by the local rulers (Paramāras). Arthuna, also in Banswada district (see Map on the following page) appears to have been an important Śaiva centre.

One mile east of Arthuna was the prominent Māṇḍalēśvara Mahādēva temple. An inscription on its wall, dated A.D.1080, speaks of the foundation of and endowment to this temple by the Paramāra Cāmuṇḍarāja (seventh in that line) "who established the (Śaiva) religion in an unprecedented degree". Cāmuṇḍarāja donated also to another temple in Arthuna, at the end of the eleventh century, now in ruins, some land for the maintenance and for muting the expenses for the worship of the god. The temple was of the god Harīśvara (Śiva) which was built by a person named Hari who did various other pious works.

Another inscription, found in the palace Sarvasuhiya Kothi,
SAIVA PLACES:

PANĀHĒDĀ (Pāṃśulā khetaka)

ARTHŪṆĀ (23° 29½', 74° 9½')

BANŚWARA
RAJASTHĀN
at the Jhalrapatan Chhaoni town in the Jhalawad district, dated A.D.1086, records the construction of a temple of Sambhu by the paṭṭakila Jananaka, a rich man who also constructed other religious monuments. Generous donations were made from this prosperous region to the several temples and religious institutions of the urban centres. Its flourishing commercial activities were on account of the connections between the fertile inner land under the Paramara rule and ports of the Khambhat gulf.

A few miles to the north-west of this region were the dominions of the Caḷhamāna (or Caḥān) family of Marvar with its four main branches: Naḍūlia, reigning from Naḍūla (Nadol), Sōnagarās (or Sōngirās) of Jābālipura (Jalor), Sāncorras with their capital at Sāncor and Dēvḍás of the area of Sirohi (see Map section). Two inscriptions of Jōjaladēva (or Jōjalla Yōyaka, son of Jēndrarāja Jēsala) — one at the Āgēśvāra temple at Sadadi (but probably removed from an older temple) and the other at the Sōmēśvara temple at Nādol — both in Desuri tehsil, Pali district, Rajasthan, speak of the same thing. They give an idea of the religious life in the region under the Caḷhamāna rule, the spiritual power and leading position of the ascetic communities living in the local religious complexes. In both inscriptions appear the orders of the king about the management of festivals of any god. The orders say that:
"when a festival of any god commences, the courtesans attached to the temples of the other gods must also put their best clothes and garments and attend (the festival) with their musicians, to celebrate by instrumental music, dancing, singing and so forth. The king orders that festival must continue, and any attempt to abolish this practice should be intended, neither by ascetics, scholars or old men. They should be prevented from doing so by (this order) of the reigning ruler".\textsuperscript{142}

Both inscriptions are of the initial phase of the twelfth century.

Jālōr, the capital of the Śengirā Cāhamānas also was an important Śaiva centre. It was for some time in the hands of the Paramāras and these rulers were respectful of the religious traditions of the city. An inscription, dated A.D.1118, which is on a stone discovered among the ruins of a mosque built with pieces of old Hindu temples at Jālōr, records that Mēlaradēvi, wife of the Paramāra Mahārāja Vīsāla, furnished the temple of Sindharājēśvara with a golden cupola.\textsuperscript{143}

In regions in the south-east of Rajasthan, the Śaiva ācāryas in charge of the temples and maṭhas were prominent locally. They took part in the administration of the cities, and were members of the principal organisms of each locality. From Nadol, the capital of the Nāḍōlia Cāhamānas, comes a document of
c.A.D. 1150, about the constitution of a local body at Dhālōpa, four miles from Nādol. Witnesses to the resolutions of the local body were the principal religious authorities of the area. They were:

1. Katuka and the brāhmaṇa Sājanu, both representing the bhaṭṭāraka Īla, and residents of the avasara (ōṣrī) of the Śrī Jayasimhadēva temple.
2. The Pāśupata ācārya, the bhaṭṭāraka Vāruṇaśiva of the temple of Anahilēśvara.
3. The Pāśupata ācārya, the bhaṭṭāraka Mahēśvaraśiva of the temple of Jēndrarājēśvara.
4. The Pāśupata ācārya, the bhaṭṭāraka Jēnaśiva, of the temple of Anuparvēśvara.
5. The bhaṭṭāraka Īśānu and the pratibadha (attached) to the bhaṭṭāraka Bhōpā, both of the temple of Prthvīpalēśvara.
6. The bhaṭṭāraka Muktideū of the temple of Jōjaleśvara (this temple was founded by Jōjaladēva).
7. The Pāśupata ācāryas bhaṭṭāraka Vināyaka and bhaṭṭāraka, Śāntiśiva of the temple of Tripuruṣa.
8. The bhaṭṭāraka Mūladēva of the temple of Asalēśvara.
10. The bhaṭṭāraka Kēdāru of the temple of Āsapalēśvara.
11. The abōti Sāgāhāri of the temple of Prthvīpalēśvara.
12. The abōti Jagadharu of the Āsalēśvara temple.
13. The abōti Śrī-Vachhū of the temple Tripuruṣa.
All these personages, it may be noted, belonged to Śaiva temples and virtually all of them also belonged to some ascetic order. The inscription suggests that in north India, the administration of Śaiva temples mostly was in the hands of Śaiva Brahmanical ascetic orders, and that ācāryas were at the same time local spiritual leaders, very important civil personalities and gurus of their own ascetic communities, who received rich donations from businessmen and royalty, permitted them to accumulate enough power as to be real magnates. Their spiritual influence was probably augmented by the material power which allowed them to launch ambitious projects of religious constructions and spread the fame of their doctrine and of themselves (it must be remembered that the guru was the symbol of the doctrine and the faith itself) through charitable deeds. That is seen in the Sirohi Inscription of A.D.1180, which records the royal gift (śāsanakṣarāṇi) to the bhaṭṭāraka Vīsala Udagradamaka "the Supreme ācārya of the Śaivas". The donor was a high royal officer, the keeper of the seals, named Kāvida. The grant consisted in the permission to graze the cattle of this guru free of any charge on the pasturage of village Sāhilavādā (the present-day Selwada, five km north-east of Reodhar, Sirohi). Another inscription at Sirohi, of A.D.1192, records that during King Dhārāvarda's reign was given a gift to the Śiva temple of village Bāmānwarji (fifteen kilometers south-east of Sirohi). In village Nana, some miles north-west of Nadol in Bali tehsil, Pali
district, is an inscription dated A.D.1232 recording the
donation of village Sōdēra to the Nīlakantha Mahādeva temple
there, in order to provide the daily naivēdyā (worship) of
Nīlakanthadēva. At Mount Abu, Sirohi, an inscription of A.D.1321
celebrates the repairs made in the Acalēśvara temple. At the
Chittorgadh fort one of the most important temples was that of
Samiddhēśvara which received a donation of a village from the
Cālukya King Kumārapāla. The king visited this place, at that
time known as the city of Citrakūta, as it is reported in the
inscription, still affixed in the temple of Mokalji at
Chittorgarh, and dated c.A.D.1150. In lines 13–19 of this
inscription is eulogized the beauty of the Citrakūta mountain
(considered a tīrtha), with its many temples, palaces, lakes or
tanks, slopes and woods. It is said that Kumārapāla was delighted
with what he saw at the place and having come to the temple of
the god Samiddhēśvara (which indicates the temple was already
standing there), located on the northern slope (line 22), he
worshipped the god and his consort and gave to the deity several
gifts. Apparently this Samiddhēśvara temple is identical with the
temple of Samiddhēśa or Samādhīśa, which was repaired by the
prince Mōkala, of Mēdapāṭa (Mewad) in A.D.1428, as it is
informed in the inscription of this Guhila king Mōkala also found
at Chittorgarh. Both inscriptions, with a distance time of three
centuries, confirm the special devotion in Chittorgarh to
Samiddhēśvara and in general the importance of Śiva worship in
the area.
IV.2.2.3 The old kingdom of Malaya (Malwa) in Madhyadesā

In the region of the Paramāras of eastern Malaya (Malwa) was the old town of Udayapura, the modern Udaipur, a big village in the Basoda pargana, Vidisha district, Madhya Pradesh. This Udayapura was, apparently, an important Śaiva centre. There still is standing the Udayēśvara temple, in which was affixed an inscription\(^{152}\) of the eleventh century. This record is of the period of the Paramāras of Malwa, to which family belonged Udayāditya (line 22), who was perhaps the builder of the temple. In the same town of Udayapura was (and is still located) the great temple of Nīlakanthēśvara. Another inscription of the time of Udayāditya, and dated A.D.1080, engraved in it recorded the hoisting of a flag to this god.\(^{153}\) Both evidences suggest the special devotion to Śiva in the area. Ujjain was the core of the Paramāra kingdom, and was undoubtedly also one of the most prestigious Śaiva (and religious in general) centres of north India. In Ujjain is the famous Mahākāla temple which contains one of the famous Jyotirliṅgas of India. Inscriptions on a slab set in a small chatri in the compound of the temple record its restoration in the tenth century. The praśasti is full of praises to Śiva.\(^{154}\) It reflects Śaṅkara's criticism of the Mahākāla cult, which was among the doctrines affected by the great teacher's reforms after he visited the place and criticised some cults which had changed the simplest and powerful faith to Śiva. An inscription of A.D.974 records certain donations to the temple by
Vākpatirājadeva, *probably* a local feudal territory of the Paramāras, who had a sacred bath in the Śiva *tadāga* (the cistern) which is in the precincts of the Mahākāla complex.

IV.2.2.4 The Gaṅgā-Yamunā basin

The plains of the Gaṅgā, where the poets saw the mystic āryāvarta, had centuries of Brahmanical culture at the beginning of early medieval times, but epigraphical data about Śaivism are scarce. Literary references to the many holy *tīrthas* along the Yamunā-Gaṅgā valleys are, however, abundant. *Deducing from these plus the available inscriptions we might reconstruct an ambient of devotion to Śiva to whom were dedicated temples in all the main cities, from the Gupta times through the entire early medieval period.*

Yuan Chwang, who travelled the length and breadth of the Upper country, has written extensively about what he witnessed during his Indian sojourn. His testimony confirms archaeological data and literary allusions. Chwang describes the country around Mathurā where "most of the people worship the *devas".* In the city of Mathurā lived pell-mell many sectarian ascetics. *At Jhaneswar (SthāryĪśvara) stood "above a hundred *deva* temples", and in Srughna, the city on the banks of the Yamunā, "one hundred *deva* temples". At Haridvāra (Hardwar) and the "Ganges Gates" stood "a large *deva* temple of many miracles", with a tank in its precincts fed by the waters which passed by a channel from the
Ganges. These were the Ganges Gates. Many thousands of people assembled there and bathed. At Brahmapura and Goviśana "the people were mostly non-Buddhist". At Ahicchatra stood nine deva temples and about 300 professed adherents of other systems (such as) Pāśupatas who worshipped Īśvara (Śiva). Kānyakubja had "more than 200 deva temples" and Ayodhya "ten deva temples" and powerful yogīs. Prayāga boasted of "some hundreds of deva temples and the majority of the inhabitants were non-Buddhists". The confluence of the rivers Gaṅgā and Yamuna was called "the Grand Arena of Largesse" because from ancient times princes and other liberal benefactors came there to make their offerings and gifts. Rigorous penances and austerities were practised, and near the sacred waters "even some wild creatures fasted there till they died".

In Kosāmbī were "more than fifty deva temples and the non-Buddhists (also) were very numerous". In Kōśala country were "one hundred deva temples and the non-Buddhists were very numerous". In Kapilavastu were two deva temples where the sectarians lived pell-mell. In Vārānasī the Chinese traveller observed that there were:

"above a hundred deva temples and more than ten thousand were professed adherents of the sects, the majority being devotees of Śiva; some of these cut off their hair, others made it into a top-knot; some went about naked and some smeared themselves with ashes; they were preserving in
austerity seeking release from moral existence."

Within the capital were twenty deva temples "all of them very ornamented, decorated, with streams of pure water and in one of them there was an enormous Śiva idol". In Vaiśālī were ten deva temples and various sects living pell-mell besides Digambara Jainas. In Nepal the "people believed both: in false and true religion (Buddhism), and the Buddhist vihāras and the deva temples touched each other". The kingdom was ruled by the kṣatriya Licchavis who were almost eminent scholars and believed in Buddhism. At Gayā, Magadha, Campa, Puṇḍravardhana, and Kāmarūpa too he made similar observations about the many deva temples. In Puṇḍravardhana, he said, there was no Buddhist temple while the deva temples were in hundreds.

Early epigraphic evidence, relating to the existence of Śaiva worship in Uttar Pradesh, is available in the form of an inscription of A.D.436 which relates to Liṅga Prthvīśvara at Barādhī Dīh, twelve miles from Faizabad, and near the old city of Ayodhyā. The Liṅga bears the name of its benefactor, Prthviṣena, a brāhmaṇa who was the mantriṇa kumaramatya mahā-balādhiṅkṛta of Kumāragupta I. The inscription makes a note about an important community of Śaiva brāhmaṇas who lived around the place where this Liṅga lay.

At the other extreme of Uttaradeśa, at Madha, Jaunsar Bawar district, in the upper Yamunā, was a temple dedicated to Śiva
(Bhāvanam Kīrttisthānam) by the Queen Iśvarā, Candragupta’s wife.
The queen ordered its construction in memory of her deceased
husband, who was the prince of Jālandara. The praśasti of the
temple of Lakkhā Maṇḍal, which bears this information, is dated
A.D.640. In village Āṅgāra (present-day Mangraon, Buxar,
Shahabad, Bihar) was the temple of Subhadrēśvara (Śiva), which
received a gift of oil for the permanent lamp of the god, by the
Śaiva ācārya Avimuktārya who taught his own system in the Gayā
country.

IV.2.2.5 Eastern India: Bengal, Orissa and eastern Madhyadeśa

The process of Brahmanization of eastern India, on which we
had commented in the previous chapters, is borne out by an
inscription from Assam which testifies to the foundation of a
Śaiva temple complex at Kirtipur, Hapyacha district in
A.D.1184.

Yuan Chwang visited also the middle-eastern region of
Madhyadeśa and Orissa. In the Kaliṅga country he saw "more than a
hundred deva temples and the professed adherents of the various
sects were very numerous, the majority (of them) being
nigranths". This region had a cultural continuity with the
plains south of the Vindhya range. The vast area of Bilaspur,
Raigarh, Sundargarh, Mayūrbhañj, Raipur, Sambalpur, Bolangir,
Gaṅjam, Bastar and Kōśala formed a vast cultural unity with
evident exchanges with northern, western and southern areas. That
cultural influence is seen in the religious architecture, with striking similarities between the Candāla monuments at Mahoba or Khajuraho and the superb Bhubanesvar temples. Doctrinally, Śaivism was strong in this region from ancient times and received new impetus from the surrounding influences.

Thus, in A.D.581 at Dantayavāgiri, Gaṅjam, was registered a gift to the local temple of Rāmēśvara Bhaṭṭāraka. At Jajpur, on the banks of the Vaitarani river which separated Utkala and Kaliṅga, was one of the earliest and holiest tīrthas of the region. The Haimēśvara temple there, built by the Queen Mahādevi, wife of the Bhaumakara King Subhākara, c.A.D.670, was visited by thousands of pilgrims. This great religious centre, which was mostly a Śaiva one, was protected by the Sāmavāṃśī dynasty and after them by the Bhaumakaras who transformed it into their capital, seeking to enhance their political power and dominion on the basis of the religious prestige of this tīrtha. Jajpur was also a centre of Tantric worship and the cult of Śiva existed side by side with that of the Mother Goddess. A Śaiva ācārya, the head of a Śaiva ascetic community, appears in the present inscription conducting the installation of a Śiva image at the Haimēśvara temple.

In the Kaliṅga country to the south (see Map in the previous page), King Dēvēndravarman of the Early Gaṅga dynasty gave to his rājaguru, the Pataṅga Śivācārya, c.A.D.678, village
Haduvaka (or Sudava) at Parasākimēdi, Gaṅjam, where existed the
Dharmalingēśvara Śiva temple.\textsuperscript{107} In Utkala, near Guhēśvarapātaka,
which was one of the capitals of the Bhaumakaras, was the
Nānēśvara temple to god Umamahēśvara (Śiva). An inscription from
c.A.D.800 of the Queen Tribhuvanamahēdevi granted land to this
temple, in order to provide garments and medicines to the
ascetics living in the temple complex, food and clothing for the
brāhmaṇas and for the maintenance of the family of the head of
this religious Śaiva centre (the dānapati).\textsuperscript{108} Also in Utkala, in
Khīnjali maṇḍala was the great Vijaēśvara (Vijayēśvara) temple
which received the grant of village Vēhiravādā on the banks of
the Mahānādi.\textsuperscript{109} At Bhubanesvar an inscription of A.D.825\textsuperscript{110}
gives information about the Parasēśvara (or Parēśārēśvara)
temple, one of the earliest of the old Ėkāmra. The record is
about a grant for the daily offerings of the Lord Parasēśvara
Bhaṭṭāraka (Śiva). Some centuries after, during the times of the
great Avantavarman Cōḍagangā, was recorded in A.D.1114 the grant
by this king of a perpetual lamp to the Lord Kīrtēvasa (Śiva),
enshrined in the Liṅgarāja temple of Bhubanesvar.\textsuperscript{111} Another
inscription dated A.D.1169 records the grant of a perpetual lamp
for the same god Kīrtēvasēśvara, or Śiva worshipped in the form
of a great liṅga.\textsuperscript{112} The compound of the temple accommodated a
large number of brāhmaṇas, many of them ascetics belonging to
Śaiva order. In Puri district, at Khilor, another Śiva temple was
effectively administered by a community of ascetics who resided
there. An inscription of A.D.1158,173 which engraved on the door of the temple, records that a rich man gave a piece of land to maintain a perpetual lamp to the god Śiva. The gift was put in the hands of the tapodhanas, i.e., the community of ascetics who administered the temple.

Another important Śaiva temple at Bhubanesvar was that of Mēghēśvara, built by the pious Svpnēśvaradēva, general and chief of staff of the Gaṅga King Rājarāja. This very religious general built the temple, gave a number of female attendants to the god, built a tank, and built many other works. He gave a brahmapura to the brāhmaṇas which was administered by the Śaiva ācārya Viṣṇu, who also was the consecrator of the temple.174.

There are some relevant passages in this inscription which must be commented upon separately;

i) the endowments made by Svpnēśvara to the Mēghēśvara complex indicate the size and importance of this Brahmanical (Śaiva) foundation:

[verse 25] Upavanam - atha cakrē tēna Mēghēśvarasya sphurita-
kusuma - rēṇu-ūrēṇi-candrātapa-ṛi |
avirata - makaranda - syanda - sandhāvargāir = ddhrēta -
Ratipati - 1īlā yantradhārāghṛhatvaṁ ||

In verses 26, 27, 28 it says that the king also ordered the construction of a garden near the complex, a tank and in connection with it, a maṇḍapā.
(ii) Immediately afterwards there is a general description of other pious works (verse 29) made by the king. It is, however, not clear whether the reference is to this particular complex or would relate throughout the kingdom:

Apāṃ śālā mālāḥ pathi taḍāgāḥ pratipurāṃ pradīpāḥ
sampūrṇāḥ prati-suracṛhatā yasya vimalāḥ |

(wells and tanks on roads, wells in towns, light in temples)

We say this, because right away follows the next paragraph:

maṭhā vedaḷādīnāṃ dvijapura-vihārāḥ prati-dīśāṃ virājantē
sa[tt]rāṇya=api ca paritas = sētunivahāḥ ||

So, it may be suggested that, firstly, the king supported the traditional teaching of the Vedas at maṭhas, which had become the most crucial institution in the early medieval monastical Brahmanism. Secondly, the king was interested in the diffusion of such institutions and in this manner he put maṭhas everywhere. And thirdly, it would be supposed that, if the king ordered the foundation of maṭhas for teaching the Vedas everywhere the first maṭha must have been founded at the same Mēghēśvara complex which was having the accommodation and facilities for such a task. Therefore, as an operative conclusion at this stage here, we have localized a typical Brahmanical monastical complex in Orissa, for the twelfth century A.D. which had temples, tank, gardens, maṭha, and a staff of servants attached to the complex. But, there are no specific references to students in the inscription.
In the town of Kṛṣṇapura (or Kṛṣṇapur) in Cuttack (or Kataka) was the Kāmāntaka or Cāṭēśvara temple. An inscription in the temple records its construction by the minister of the king Anāṅgabhīma III, Viṣṇu.\textsuperscript{176}

The old Bastar area is culturally in close relation with Kaliṅga and Kōśala. At Barsur (see Map of page 344-A), fifty-five miles from Jagdalpur, there is an archaeological site with many ruins. Among these is a great Śiva temple, with two sanctuaries and a common maṇḍapa supported on thirty-two pillars, another Śiva temple with a maṇḍapa supported by twelve pillars and a third temple or Māna Bhānja ka mandir with interior carvings.\textsuperscript{176}

The three are in Brahmanical style. The first one is reminiscent of the maṇḍapa of the great Jagannātha-Puruṣottma temple of Puri.

Two miles from Śrīpura (present-day Sirpur) in village Sēnakapāṭ, on the right bank of the Mahānadi, was the temple of Sēnakapāṭ Śiva. An inscription there eulogizes the construction of the temple and records the donations, grants and endowments given to the temple and to the ascetics living in that tīrtha.\textsuperscript{177}

This foundation was made by Durggarakṣita, a brāhmaṇa descending from an important family of royal officials (verse 5-11). He himself was a loyal servant of the ruling paramamāheśvara Śivagupta Bālīrjuna, king of Kōśala (verses 1-5; 10-11). Durggarakṣita's pious activities are the main theme of the Sēnakapāṭ inscription under discussion. And among these laudable
deeds, was the foundation of a great Śiva temple complex. Apparently Śiva here was of the form of Madanārāti. It is mentioned in verse 15, by means of (missing) charter, that this god was granted two halas of black-soil land (krṣṇa-tala) in the village called Guḍaśarkanaka. This plot of land is mentioned again as the tala-pāṭaka of the temple in verse 26 below. Durggarakṣita put as head of the complex a Śaiva ascetic named Sadāśivācārya, who was disciple of another ascetic engaged in austerities (tapovrātata) named Sadyahāvācārya, this last hailing from the penance grove (tapōvana) entitled Āmardaka (verses 16, 17, 18). Durggarakṣita made over the Śiva temple built by him in favour of Sadāśivācārya and his spiritual successors (śiṣyas) for enjoying and protecting it as long as the moon would endure (candra kālam anupālayitum ca samyak). It is further stated (verse 20) that the Śaiva ascetic also received the grant of four halas measurers of black-soil land in a village called KōḍāsImā. Besides, two other plots of black-soil land, each measuring two halas were also given to the head of the establishment respectively in the village of Viyāṇaka and in a locality called Lāṭa in Śrīgarṇikāgrāma. It is interesting that in the inscription the term maṭha is not used. However, it is clear that in the complex prevailed a tradition of master-disciples, all of them engaged in the practice of austerities (tapovrātatas). Also, this complex, unlike in other inscriptions does not seem to have had a head (like a maṭhapati, maṭhādhipati, sthānādhipati). This
may indicate the early development—seventh or eighth century A.D. — of this Brahmanical monastical institutions. The gifts given to the complex are grants to a person, always mentioning the name, but the creation of the position of head is not clear yet. The above statement would be verified going through verses 16-21 of the inscription. Despite the possible absence of an institutional read, it was Sadāśivācārya who led the other tapōdhanas of the complex, "rich in austerities". These ascetics had to arrange for a sacrificial ceremony (yajña) as well as for the initiation of people into the Śaiva faith (dīkṣā) which — it says is capable of securing spiritual emancipation. (The ascetics must be concerned by) the exposition of the Śaiva doctrine (samayasya vyākhyā) and the running of a free feeding establishment (annasya sattram) every year during the full moon day of the months of Aṣāgha, Kārttiaka and Māgha. Further, in verse 24, it is stated that the ascetics (tapasvins, tapasvibhis) would have to stay at the place, i.e., the temple compound, and it is given the instruction that they should not lend money for the sake of interest (vyṛddhyartham artham asṛjadbhīḥ).

The boundaries of the land gifted to the temple complex (talapāṭaka) are cited. All of them were located at the villages of Gudaśarkarakaka, Kōdāśīmā, Vajayanaka and Lāṭa, all of them near Sēnakapāṭ.

Twenty-two miles from Jagdalpur was the old city of Krśnapura (present-day Kuruspal). Among the many ruins of old
tanks and temples there are the remains of the Kāmeśvara temple. An inscription of A.D.1069 lying in the temple says that the Queen Dharana Mahādevī, wife of the Lord (bhava) who ruled over Bhāgavati, Mahārāja Śūmeśvaradēva, granted land to the god Kāmeśvara.

Bhairamgarh is another archaeological site of the region, seventy miles from Jagdalpur, with remains of temples, tanks and a fort. An inscription of A.D.1111 of the Queen Guṇḍa Mahādevī, wife of the Nāgavamśi King Dāravara, speaks about the gift of land to the Lōkeśvara temple.

Kanker in Raipur is the place where was Sihāwā, the old capital of the Kākaśira kings. An inscription of the Kākaśira King Karpāraja, or A.D.1191, discovered on a wall of the Karpēśvara (Śiva) temple among the ruins of the old capital, records the construction of five temples, Sihāwā (original name Siṃhāya or Dēvahṛada, i.e, "the holy lake of the gods"), the text says, was next to the abode of the ṛṣi Aṅgirasa and the āśrama of the great sage Mucukunia. At Devakūṭa, ten miles from Sihāwā, is the holy hill where there were two old temples, one of them of Śiva. Another inscription from Sihāwā, dated A.D.1213, eulogizes the pious works of the nāyaka Vāsudeva, the minister of the Kākaśira King Bhanudēva. This Vāsudeva built two temples to Śiva, dug tanks and performed several other charitable acts. The remains of both temples and the tanks can still be seen at
Sihāwā. Another instance of the tendency of the rulers to build their capitals at a *tīrtha* was that of the Kākairas who created their political centre in the middle of an area with intense religious activity.²⁰₄

At Dhauli, which lies between Madhyadesa and Orissa, is a temple on a hill to Śiva with an enormous *liṅga*. The entrance to a cave near the temple bears an inscription²⁰⁵ giving details about the construction of the temple (*maṭha*) of god Śiva by a *brāhmaṇa*, in A.D.865, during the reign of Śāntikaradēva. At Tumāṇaka (Tummāra, the present-day Tuman, see Map of page 344-A), sixteen miles from Bilaspur, was a superb Vaṅkēśvara temple, today in ruins. An inscription of A.D.1079 of Prthvīdēva, Lord of Kāśala, records the grant of a village to this temple through the *brāhmaṇa* Kēsāva: "who had come from the Hastiya-maṭha".²⁰₆ At Kotgadh, Janjir *tehsil*, in Bilaspur, the King Prthvīdēva II of the Kālacuri dynasty ordered the construction of a Śiva temple and several donations for its maintenance, as the Raipur Inscription of A.D.1147 informs.²⁰⁷ On the left bank of the Arpa, ten miles south-east of Bilaspur, near village Koni, there was a monumental Śiva temple of the Śivapañcayatana type (with five shrines), constructed by Puruṣottama, a minister of Ratnadēva II, the predecessor of Prthvīdēva II of the Kālacūri family.²⁰₈ At Dhangaon (Dhanpur village) there are remains of many temples and important buildings. An inscription of A.D. 1163 records the several charitable works undertaken by Brahmadēva, a feudatory of
the Kalacūrī Prthivīdēva II of Ratanpur who constructed a temple of Dhūrjhaṭi (Śiva) and excavated a tank at Mallāla, and built ten shrines of Tryambaka (Śiva) (the name of the locality is lost). The temple of Dhūrjhaṭi had a complex of buildings with a dēvakula or school for brahmacārins.207

In Sheorinarayan, on the left bank of the Mahānadi, thirty-eight miles south-east of Bilaspur, is the temple of Candracūdēśvara (Śiva) with an inscription dated A.D.1167210 which records the donation of a village by a Kalacūri prince for the expenditures of worshipping the god and the erection of a temple of Durgā by other members of the same family. The inscription also speaks of the erection of a temple of Śambhu at Sōnthīva (present Sonthi, eleven miles north of Akaltara). Jajalladēva II of the Kalacūri-Cedi family was then reigning at Tummāna.211 Another inscription issued in the same area and the same year (A.D.1167) records the construction of a Kēḍāresvara (Śiva) temple at Mallar (Malhār or Mallāla), by the brāhmaṇa Sōmarāja who is described as an outstanding learned man.212 A few years later, in A.D.1181, at Ratnapura or Ratanpur, was issued an inscription of Ratnadēva III, the Kalacūri king of Ratanpur, in which is praised his minister Gaṅgādhara, virtuous and religious man.213 This Gaṅgādhara made various pious foundations: he built a Śiva temple plus a wooden maṭha for the ascetics, and he built various other Śiva temples and to other gods.
Some important Śaiva centres in the Kalacūri region Dakṣiṇa Kōśala

BUNDALKHAND

BAGHELKHAND

TRIPURĪ

DAKṢIṆA

KŌŚĀLA

TUMMĀNA

RATNAPURA

MAYŪRBAṆJ

PRAYĀGA

VĀRĀṆĀŚĪ

GANGA

Jabalpur

Ratanpur

Bilaspur

Raipur

Sarangarh

Sambalpur

Arunachal Pradesh

Yamuna
In. A.D. 1189, at Sāmbā near Ratnapura, was registered the construction of a Śiva temple under the name of Bilvapāṇi. An inscription was put into this temple but then was transferred to the fort of Ratnapur. The inscription eulogizes the size and beauty of the temple of Bilvapāṇi. This construction was during the reign of Pṛthvīdēva III, the last Kalacūri of Ratnapura.

It can be concluded from the above that in this region there was fervent religious activity, and a strong Śaiva movement, shown explicitly in the Map on page 354. It is clear that during the period was registered an increase of the communities of ascetics. This was true also in the west, and the central part of Madhyadesa (the heart of India) which comprises the vast region of Bundelkhand, Baghelkhand, Jabalpur, and Narsimhapur.

Going downstream Narmadā we arrive at the region where Central India, Western India and the Deccan merge. This area is also the spatial limit in the present study.

IV.2.2.6 The central region of Madhyadesa, Baghelkhand, Bundelkhand, and Upper Narmadā basin.

In Bundelkhand, rich in tradition, was the kingdom of the
Candellás, the builders of the amazing temples of Khajuraho. In one century spanning the period A.D. 950-1050 were built these superb examples of architecture off the trade routes and far from the cities, bringing together an enormous quantity of manpower and material. It is difficult to determine why the Candellás concentrated such large number of temples in an isolated place which they transformed into their political centre. Epigraphical data are of no help in solving this riddle. Probably it had something to do with creating a centre of prestige and wonder that would help in the task of consolidating their rule over an area of tribal groups. As we saw in Chapter III, Brahmanization and consolidation of monarchical power were mutually supportive processes. The Candella kingdom is a good example of this and their religious foundations bear testimony to such a process.

The Vaidyanatha temple at Khajuraho, built probably c.A.D.1000, has an inscription that says that Prince Kōkkalla, son of Jayadēva, belonging to the local feudatory Grahapati family, ordered the construction. The temple complex included various religious buildings for the use of the brāhmaṇas who resided there. Forty miles north-east of Khajuraho in Banda district, was the old city of Kālaṇjara where stood the temple of Nilakantha. An inscription of A.D.1090 announces the construction of a manḍapa for that temple by Śrīmurti, the guru of the Candellā King Kirtivarman. It mentions the communities of Śaiva ascetics living there, many of them belonging to the
Pāśupata sect, under the guidance of their ācārya named Varika.217

Downstream Narmadā are the two great Śaiva centres of Māndhata and Māhēśvar (see Map on previous page). At Māndhata was the great Amarēśvara temple; the "Māndhata Grant of (the Paramāra King) Jayasiṃhadēva"218 of A.D.1056 gifted the village of Bhīma, situated in Furnapathaka maṇḍala, for the maintenance of the brāhmaṇas residing in the paṭṭa śālā (tent house) of the Amarēśvara complex. Another inscription of A.D.1063 on a wall of this Amarēśvara temple gives information about the ascetic activities in the area. The record refers to the Pāśupata ācārya bhaṭṭāraka Śrī Bhavavālmīka who resided in the city of Bhōja (Bhōjanagara, which probably is Dhārarā) at the Sōmēśvaradēva monastery.219 This Bhavavālmīka was a prominent religious personage of the area. His disciple bhaṭṭāraka Śrī Bhavasamudra was to be his successor on the pontifical seat at the Sōmēśvaradēva maṭha. Sōmēśvaradēva I, the Calukya king who occupied for a time the city of Dhārarā, built this maṭha, probably in order to give religious support to his rule over that part of the Mālava country. A pious foundation, such as a monastery, could justify or lend legitimacy to his dominion over the area, and produce a degree of sympathetic response among the influential levels of society and among the chiefs of the ascetic communities. The writer of the cited prāsasti was Paṇḍita Gāndhachhvaja, disciple of Vivekarāśi, who was disciple of
parambhāṭṭarāla Śrī Supujitarāśi, all of them adherents of the Pāṣupata sect.

The Amareśvara temple at the Māndhatā island received several grants and endowments to maintain its leading activities. An inscription of Jayasimhadēva, son of Bhōjadēva, the lord of Dhārā, dated A.D.1056, confers a grant to the Amareśvara tīrtha consisting of village Bhīma (in the same Nimār district) plus "rights on the grass and pasturelands, rents and share of the produce".220 The grant was made to the temple and the learned brāhmaṇas living in it. At Māndhatā also was built the Siddheśvara temple, as the inscription of c.A.D.1200221 states. At Mahēśvar, site of the famous Jyotirlinga, were various Saiva temples and ascetic institutions related with the tīrtha. The inscription of the times of Bhōjadēva, dated A.D.1046, states that Jasōrāja of the Śravaṇabhadra family (feudatories of Bhōjadēva) donated to the Śaiva ascetic Dinakara — "who were as Śakara incarnated" — a village named Viluhaja and some land, for the worship of Ghaṇṭēśvaradēva, enshrined in a temple, which was at the confluence of the Manā and the Narmadā, and locally known as the temple of Dakshinamūrti Maṇḍesvara.222

Sixty kilometers south-east of Māndhatā is Harsauda (the modern Harsud, which is connected with Khandwa). An inscription of A.D.1218 recorded the construction of a temple of Śambhu there by a certain Keśava, a rich merchant and pious man, who also
excavated a tank and put up images of Hanumat, Kṣetrapāla, Ganeśa, Kṛṣṇa, Nakulīsa (Lakulīsa ?) and Ambika.223

Immediately to the south of this area were the dominions of the Yādavas of Devaγiri. The Yādavas were initially feudalatories of the Rastrakūtas of Mānyakheta and of the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇa, but with the decline of both powers the sagacious Yādavas took possession of a wide territory in Gujarat-Maharashtra.224 The actual Kāndesh district was in the centre of the Yādava territory. There, near the modern Chalisgaon, where the present day village Vaghli stands (see Map on page 356-A) was an important Śaiva centre. In an old temple is inscription of A.D.1069 containing information about the donations to a Śiva temple and the erection of another temple to Siddhesanātha (or Siddhēśvara) plus some building to accommodate the ascetics who lived in the place and gave shelter to travellers, pilgrims and indigents.225 The remains of three old temples — the Madhāidēvi temple, the Mānbhāva temple (belonging to the Mānbhāva sect, which is a Śaiva one) and another smaller one — lie scattered around. The present inscription was in the Mānbhāva temple. The donor was Gōvindarāja in the name of his mahāmandalaranātha, the illustrious King Seuṇa.

To the east, in Yeotmal district, Berar, at Dongargaon village, was discovered an inscription in a temple in ruins recording that the Paramāra King Jajadeva donated village
Dondaragrama (the actual Dongargaon) to the brāhmaṇa Śrīnivāsa and that this brāhmaṇa constructed there a big temple to Hara (Śiva). 226 About one hundred miles south-west, at Kadagaon, was another place with Śaiva activities, to go by the inscription of A.D.1162227 which records the repairs of the Śiva temple by the rājaguru Vēdesīva and one bhōpaka Vyomaśīva, both Pāṣupata ācāryas, probably in charge of the religious complex mentioned.

IV.2.2.7 Gujarat coastal areas and the Gulf of Khambhat

Gujarat, too, had various important religious centres. Dwāraka (Dwarka) is one of the major Vaiṣṇava centres but attracted religious men of other sects too (see Map section, "Gujarat"). The Śaiva faith had one of its leading sanctuaries in Sōmanātha, Juragadh district. Kings from remote countries visited it.228 The route to Sōmanātha crossed the plains of Gujarat towards northern Rajasthan or in the direction of Madhyadesā. A frequent route went downstream Mahī to arrive at the busy region of the Khambhat gulf. Many vessels sailed from there along the coast of Kathiawar, passing by the headland of Diu till Sōmanātha which was an obligatory stop on the way to Dwāraka and Sind. Sanctuaries or places of worship lay along the route. At Sarnal, on the banks of the Mahī, was a Śaiva complex — the Śivanātha tīrtha — mentioned in the Harsola Plates.229 From the heart of Madhyadesā a usual route was downstream Narmadā till Bharoch.230 The Deccan was connected to it through Surat and the Arabian Sea along the coast.231 The stop at Sōmanātha was sanctified by
custom for merchants, sailors, travellers and pilgrims. By land and by sea, people came to Somanathā in large numbers. As a matter of course, Somanathā became an affluent urban centre. The religious institutions, with the number of gifts, grants and donations they were collecting, became powerful and attracted holy men from far-off places. Brāhmaṇas, ascetics, sādhus and all types of religious people congregated there. The Thana Stone Inscription of A.D.1185 says that the mahāpradana Lakṣamaṇa Nāyaka, son of Bhāskaranāyaka, the mahāmatya of the Silāhāra king of Kōṇāla Aparādityaśeṣva, visited Somanathā-tīrtha, and after bathing at the sea there, he gave various gifts to the god Somanātha. The god Somanātha was worshipped on the five auspicious occasions with the special ceremonies of caitrika, pavitrika, śivarātri, dakṣiṇāyana and uttarāyana.

Enroute downstream Mahi to Khambhat was the sanctuary of Kāvi, and an important Śaiva centre. More to the north, at the corner of the bay was the city of Khambayat, humming with life and commerce, and in its vicinity, the very holy place of Stambhatīrtha near the mouths of the Sabarmati river. Upstream Sabarmati were the cities of Khetaka and Dholka with their monasteries and temples; Sarkhej, also a holy city; Kheralu, the old Ahmadabad; and Māhiṃsaka with its Uttarēśvara temple. All this evidence and the distribution of the temples suggest that this region represented another nuclear area for early medieval Śaivism in Gujarat.
NOTES


5. Ibidem, and the texts in Vol. II.


18. A select bibliography for the study of Kṛṣṇa cult, its origin and development, would comprise the following titles:

- Majumdar, B., *Kṛṣṇa in History and Legend*, University of Calcutta, Calcutta, 1969;


21. Cf. with the *Lakṣmī Tantra* (A Pañcarātra Text), Tr. by Gupta, Sanjukta, E.J.Brill, Leiden, 1972, I, 23 ff. (pp.3 ff.).

22. "Māyā or Yo'gamāyā is a mind-born mother, emanation of the same Lord Viṣṇu", *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, op.cit., Skanda X. 2, Ch.II. 6-21 (Vol.IV, pp.1263-65); Cf. *Matsya Purāṇa*, Akhtar, Jamna Das, (ed.) Oriental Publishers, Delhi, 1972,
Ch. 72, 18-22 (Part II, pp. 72-3), Māyā is Śakti, Māyā is born from the hearth of Narasiṁha, vide Ibidem, Ch.179. 64 (Part II, p. 73).

23. Jīva Gosvāmī thought that Lakṣmī is the foremost embodiment of the teaching of Bhakti. She is greater than Śiva, she is the highest companionship of the Lord Nārāyaṇa (parama-sakhya); quoted in De, Sushil Kumar, Early History of the Vaisnava Faith and Movement in Bengal, K.L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta, 1961, p. 248. The Antarānga Mahāśākti of the Lord is Lakṣmī or Mahālakṣmī, who forms his svarājpa, being the first manifestation, and is the ground of or āśraya of all other Śaktis. One of that is Māyā or Bahiranga Śakti. Ibidem, p. 287; Cf. Varāha Purāṇa, Tr. by Venkitasubramonia Iyer, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1985, Ch. 144.29-184 (pp. 400-9); Ibidem, 144.47: "Your Supreme Power (Oh, Viṣṇu!) is the Universal Mother, she is called Yogāmayā, Prakṛti and Pradhāna." Cf. also those concepts in Sheth, Surabhi, Religion and Society in the Brahma Purāṇa, Sterling Publishers, New Delhi, 1979, pp. 180-83.


29. Devī here is the consort of Hara who is Viṣṇu or Śiva in the Ardhanārīśvara conception.


32. The Ranipur Jharial Inscriptions, EP.IND., XXIV, no.32, pp. 239-45.

33. Kenduvalli Temple Inscriptions, EP.IND., XXIV, no.32, p.244.
The above mentioned Ranipur Jharial Inscriptions would suggest interaction between Kṛṣṇa devotees and Mattamayūra ascetics; Cf. Raychaudhuri, Hemchandra, op. cit., "Bhagavatism and the non-Brahmanical Creeds in India", pp. 71-97.


Śaṅkara (AD. 788-820), a Nāmbūdiri brāhmaṇa from Kerala, led the Brahmanical resurgence against Buddhism. He is often only associated with the Advaita Vedānta system, his great contribution to the formulation of a pan-Brahmanical orthodoxy, however, the great ācārya also was very interested in bhakti as well as in theistic discussions in his confrontation against the Buddhists. In that context, Śaṅkara was also a respecter of Vaiṣṇava principles: Cf.

- Mishra, A.P., The development and place of bhakti in Śaṅkara-Vedānta, Sanskrit Department, University of Allahabad, Allahabad, 1967;
- Bhattacharya, K., "Śaṅkara's criticism of Buddhism", in Journal of the Indian Academy of Philosophy, no. 1, 1962, pp. 53-64.

Rāmānuja (f.D. 1017? - 1137?), the great ācārya of the Śrīraṅgam temple, and also the author of the Viśiṣṭādvaita ("Qualified Non-Dualism"), disciple of Yāmunācārya (tenth century A.I.), who reconciled the Pāṇcarātra theism and Vedānta. Some important works on Rāmānuja’s philosophy are:

- Bhatt, S.R., Studies on Rāmānuja Vedanta, Heritage Publishers, New Delhi, 1975;
- Majumdar, A.K., Bhakti Renaissance, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1965;
- Srinivasachari, F.N., The Philosophy of Viśiṣṭādvaita, Adyar Library, Adyar, 1946 (Adyar Library Series, no. 39);
- Vidyarthi, P.B., Early Indian religious thought: A study in the sources of Indian theism, with special reference to Rāmānuja, Oriental Reprint, New Delhi, 1976;


41. Mādhva or Madhva, Mādhava (AD.1197-1296?), from Udipi, Karnataka, was the founder of Dvaita ("dualistic") Vedānta. The works of Mādhvācārya have been translated from Sanskrit and published several times. Among others, vide:
- Krishnamurti Sharma, B.N., Śrī Mādhva’s teachings in his own words, (third edition), Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1979;
- Nagaraja Sarma, R., Reign of Realism on Indian Philosophy, National Press, Madras, 1937;
- Subba Rau, S. (Tr.), The Vedānta-Sūtras, with the commentary by Śrī Mādhvācārya, (2nd edition rev.) Śrī Vyasa Press, Tirupati, 1936;


- id. -----, Philosophy of Śrī Mādhvācārya, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1962;
- Siauve, S., La doctrine de Mādhva, Dvaita–Vedānta, Institut Français d’Indologie, Pondicherry, 1968 (Series of the Institut Français d’Indologie, no.38; of the same author, no.43 and 6 contain translations from works of Madhval.

46. The foundation of the four mathas by Śaṅkara, in Śrīnjeri, Purī, Kāṭcī, and the Himalayas, for the study and spread of his philosophy, in the testimony of Mādhva, called Vidyāraṇya, Śaṅkara-dig-vijaya or the traditional life of Śrī Śaṅkarāchārya, Tr. by Swami Tapasyananda, Śrī Rama-krisna Math, Madras, 1978.


50. Hathi Bada Brahmi Inscription at Nagari, EP.IND., XXII, no.31, pp.198-201.


55. Tipperah Copper Plate of Lokanātha, EP.IND., XV, no.19, pp.301-15. (text: pp.310 ff.).


57. Rajim Stone Inscription of the Nala king Vilāsatunga, EP.IND., XXVI, no.3, pp.49-54.

Another inscription incised on a stone slab and encased in the left wall of the *mandapa* of this Rājīvalīcana temple, is that of Prithvīdeva II and dated 3 January, A.D.1145. It records the construction of (another) temple dedicated to Rāma and the grant of a village by the feudatory Jagapāla (or Jagatśīla) for the offerings of food to the deity; Rajim Stone Inscription of Prithvīdeva, CDRT. INSC., INDIC., "V-II", no.68, pp.50 ff.

58. Tesai Inscription of (Harsha) year 182, EP.IND., XXVI, no.7-2, pp.48-51.

60. Grant of Rānaka of a subordinate Saindhava Branch, EP.IND., XXVI, no.27-D, pp.212-217.

61. The Bayana Inscription of Chitralēkhā, EP.IND., XXII, no.20, p.120 ff.


65. Jash, P., op.cit., pp.208-10. The Buddhist influence was from the monastic establishments near Cuttack. Cf. Mittal, Amar Chand, An Early History of Orissa, Jain Cultural Research Society, Banaras Hindu University, 1962, pp.370-90. The occupation of the caves of Udayagiri and Khandagiri is from the second century B.C. and it was continued until the eighth century A.D. Yuan Chwang (or Hiuen Tsang) also referred to that establishment. Si-Yu-Ki, Buddhist Records of the Western World, Tr. by Samuel Beal, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1981, pp.204-6.

Besides, the recent excavations at Ratnagiri and Udayagiri hills have led to the discovery of the "Ratnagiri Vihāras" and "Madhavapura Vihāra". The "Fuṣṭagiri Vihāra" was another of the several Buddhist monasteries at Orissa. Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India, Delhi, 1987. Cf. Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, Calcutta, 1930, pp.6-13.


67. Puri Inscription of Chōdagaṅga. EP.IND., XXXIII, no.35, pp.181-85. This is the only inscription of Anantavarman Chōdagaṅga discovered at Puri, confirming the foundation by this king of the great temple, after the annexation of this area to the Gaṅga Empire, in the early years of the twelfth century.


The author also alludes to the intense cultural life around the great religious centres of Orissa: Puri, Bhubaneswar and Jajpur. Around the great temples of these places took place all cultural life, festivals and ceremonies, simple and highly intellectual life. Temples were seats of learning where brahmanas resided and studied the Vedas. These three sacred places reflected the cultural life of early medieval Orissa.
74. EP.IND., VI, no.17-B, pp.203-4.

75. Bhavadeva was the author of the Hōra Śāstra, and apparently was commentator of Kumārila, from whom he knew his Mīmāṃsā Tantra Vārttika.

76. EP.IND., p.204, verse 21-22.

77. See the Srikurma samādhi inscription of Naraharatiratha, EP.IND., VI, no.25, pp.260-63. In the inscription is given the spiritual lineage of Mādhva's (or Mādhava, Madhva) school:

Puruṣottama Mahātirtha (or Agyutaprieksācārya)

Anandatiratha or Mādhvacārya, or Pūrnāprajña or (AD.1238-1317) Bhagavatpādācārya

Padmanātha- Naraharī- Madhavatirirtha Aksobhya-
bhātiratha tirtha tirtha

* 1317 * 1324 * 1350

(* year of accesion to the pontifical seat)

In this same inscription are found references to some mathas foundations made by the disciples of Mādhva, who used to symbolize the seat of the master with the images of Rāma and Viṣṇu.

78. Siddhantabhastree, Rabindra Kumar, Śaivism through the Ages, Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi, 1974, pp.64-67.


83. Śiva Purāṇa, Tr. by a Board of Scholars, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1988 (1970), vide the "Vāyavīya Śāhīhitā", Ch. V, 11 ff; IX, 3 ff., pp.1904 ff.

84. Śiva Śūtras, The Yoga of Supreme Identity, Tr. (and with a study) by Jaideva Singh, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1988.

85. The Pratyabhijñā System, in Radhakrishnan, S., Indian Philosophy, George Allen and Unwin, London, 1941 (1923), pp.731-34. Āgamas were also the basis of Kaśmīr Śāivism, however the later works showed a distinct leaning to Advaitism. The Śiva Śūtras, it is said, were found by Vāṣugupta (eighth century A.D.). The principal authors of Kaśmīr Śāivism, like Kallata, Sūmāṇanda, Utpala, Abhinavagupta and Kṣemarāja accepted the Śaiva Āgamas and the Siddhāntas, as authoritative and modify them in the direction of Śāmkara Advaita. But, in general all these authors represented different opinions and monistic idealism, however, all of them constituted the Trika school; vide also Śiva Śūtras, op.cit., Introduction, p.S.


87. Śiva Śūtras, op.cit., Introduction, XVII.


90. The five bhūtas are as in the Śāmkhya darśana.

91. The yogi thinking as ābhāsa or reproduction of the universal manifestation corresponds to the siddhi experience, as was explained by Patanjali, Yoga Śūtras, Tr.

From *sādhana* (concentration), the *yogī* creates the pure action which could be as *vibhūti* (a power).


93. This is the date proposed by R.G.Bhandarkar, quoted in Radhakrishnan, S., Indian Philosophy, George Allen, London, 1941, Vol.II, p.447. There are several opinions about the date of Śaṁkara, putting it between the seventh and ninth century.


96. The phenomenon of acceptance into Brahmanism of Buddhist ideas was characteristic of all areas where both religions were in touch, more so in eastern India in general, where Buddhism continued to exist without decadence till quite a late date. But Buddhist masses were gradually absorbed into the Brahmanical society. That exchange can be seen in the Nārāyappur Vinayaka Image Inscription, Indian Culture, Vol.IX, pp.121 ff. and in the Chandin Stone Inscription, EP.IND., XXXIII, no.54, pp.297-98.

This last one is on a stone which was the lintel in the doorway of an old temple at Chandil, Singhbhum district, Bihar. The inscription is of the eighth or ninth century, and it records apparently the construction of the temple where the slab was affixed. The temple was built by a person named Dāmappa who apparently came from the Kannada country and who was devoted to the goddess Trailōkyaśakti to whom the shrine was dedicated. This goddess is probably the Śakti of the god Trailōkyaśakti, who was a Buddhist god and was originally created to humiliate the couple Śiva and Pārvati, which is the opinion of D.C.Sircar, editor of this inscription discovered at the village of Chandil EP.IND., XXXIII, p.2973. Curiously Trailōkyaśakti/Trailōkyaśakti ended up identifying themselves with Śiva and
Pārvatī. The inscription presents a problem of translation, which if we follow the proposition of D.C. Sircar, would mean that Jānapada believed (as it was very general in early medieval India) that his devotion to the goddess Trailokyavijaya would lead him to his communion with Trailokyavijaya (Siva) going through the mystic steps of:

i) sālōkya (being in the same world as the god to whom one is devoted)
ii) sāmīpya (nearness to the object of devotion)
iii) sārūpya (assimilation or conformity with the deity)
iv) sāyujya (absorption into the deity)

The goddess Trailokyavijaya was like the Šakti of Siva and an adequate vehicle to attain communion with Siva.

97. The main works of Śaṅkara are the commentaries (Bhāṣya) on the ten Upaniṣads: Īśā, Kena, Kaṭha, Praśna, Munḍaka, Māṇḍukya, Aitareya, Taittirīya, Brhadāraṇyaka and Chandogya and the commentary on the Brahāna Sūtras, in Complete Works of Śri Śaṅkaracārya, Samata Books, Madras, 1981 (1910), Vols. I-X.

98. Bhakti had a fine expression in Śaṅkara also. Besides, the great ācārya explored the dimensions of Saktism looking for a better way to have access to the deepest philosophy of the Supreme Being. In the Saundaryalahāri or Flood of Beauty (edited by Brown, Norman W., The Saundaryalahāri, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1958) which is traditionally ascribed to Śaṅkarācārya, there are verses of warm eroticism and mad love to express always the permeating transcendency of the Being and the infinite attraction of His light for the human souls; Cf. some passages such as these:

[72, p.76] "O Devī, the pair of your breasts simultaneously sucked by Śkanda and the elephant-faced one (Gaņeśa), may it here remove our distress, its nipples ever flowing; on seeing it, with heart confused by doubt, inciting laughter, Heramba (Gaņeśa) suddenly touched the two bosses on his forehead with his trunk".

[90, p.84] "Tell me, mother, when in proper season the lac-mixed water in which your feet have been laved I may drink, eager for knowledge ....". Also, vide stanzas 92-100 [pp.84-89].

100. Vide the article about "The Hastāmalaka's Summary of the Śaṅkara Vedānta doctrine", by Cowell, E.R., IND.ANTIQ., IX, pp.25-27.

Hastāmalaka was one of the best disciples of Śaṅkara, but he replaced the name of Brahma, as the Self, by Viṣṇu. The summary of the propositions contained would be: The Supreme Soul is the only existing reality. All separate consciousness of individuals are the reflections of the One Soul on the multitudinous internal organs which are the creation of ignorance (illusion). To reach the Ultimate Reality the seeker must strip off the successive veils:

1) The illusions of the world which confuse the soul by the gross effects of that which is not.
2) The illusion of the world of dreams, where the soul is deceived by the subtle effects.

Knowledge of the highest Truth abolishes ignorance and destroys the personality in his germ. The individual soul discovers its identity with (Brahmā) Viṣṇu and is fulfilled with Bliss, Joy and Intelligence. The Intelligence that flows from the Self is not exercised by objects and is not produced by the internal organ (mind) but is the permanent certainty of I am (Brahmā) Viṣṇu and that is (Brahmā) Viṣṇu, "Tat tvam asi", the last vision of the perfect mystic and gives to man the constant sensation of "my place is no place, my sign is without sign, I have neither body or soul. I am the Soul of my Beloved."

101. This is Śaṅkara's rejection of asceticism without goal, or intellectualism without a clear end.


109. Śiva Purāṇa, op.cit., p.1327.


Also, vide, Inscription of Managoli, EP.IND., V, no.3-A, pp.9 ff, of A.D.1161; which is about a temple of Kalirēvēśvara, built by the Brāhmaṇa Basava who, together with Mādīrāja were the founders of the Vīraśaivas or Liṅgāyats; besides, the works of Nandi, Ramendra Nath, Social Roots of Religion in Ancient India, K.P. Bagchi, Calcutta, 1986;
- idem, "Origin of the Vīraśaiva Movement", in Indian Historical Review (I.H.R.), 2, 1, 1975, pp.32-46;


120. Kūrma Purāṇa, op.cit., Vol.II, pp.354-59, "Śiva’s dance". It was believed that Śiva’s dance was to relieve the suffering of the devas. The dance of Śiva was the symbol of the action of the cosmic energy creating, preserving and destroying the world.

121. EP.IND., XXVI, no.7, pp.47 ff.


123. EP.IND., XXXVI, p.53, lines 6-7.

124. Inscription of the Maharāja Bhatti (the local feudatory belonging to the local Gahila branch), EP.IND., XXX, no.1, pp.1-7; no.25, pp.140-43, and Two Inscriptions from Kalyanpur, EP.IND., XXXV, no.5, pp.5 ff., Two grants of Early Gahilas (of the year 689), EP.IND., XXXIV, no.26, pp.167-76.

125. Vide, "sāyuja", supra note no.87.


128. Buchkala Inscription of Nāgabhaṭa, EP.IND., IX, no.27, pp.198 ff.


132. Vide, Supra, Ch.III, p.238-44.

133. CORP. INSC. INDIC., VII-II, no.91, pp.318 ff and EP.IND., XXII, no 30, pp.116 ff.

134. He is the same Paramāra prince mentioned as predecessor of Kṛṣṇarāja, also "lord of Ābu", in the Bhinmal Stone Inscription of the time of Kṛṣṇarāja, CORP. INSC. INDIC., VII-II, no.92, pp.320 ff.

135. Two Inscriptions from Shergadh, EP.IND., XXIII, no.20, pp.131-4; and Shergadh Stone Inscription of Udayādityadēva, CORP. INSC. INDIC., VII-II, no.23, pp.72 ff.


137. Arthuna Inscription of Paramāra Chāműndarāja, EP.IND., XIV, no.21, pp.295-309; and CORP. INSC. INDIC., VII-II, no.94, pp.286-89.


140. The old ports of western India had intense commercial exchange with the West since ancient times. There are evidences of exchange through all ancient period, vide, Haig, M.R., The Indus delta country : A memoir, chiefly on its ancient geography and history, Indus, Karachi, 1972; Mehta, R.N., "Khamhāt (Cambay) : Topographical, Archaeological and Toponymical perspective," in Journal of the Maharājā Sayajirao, University of Baroda, no.24-1, Baroda, 1975, pp.17-29; Wilberforce-Bell, H., The History of Kathiawad from the earliest times, Ajar Book Service, New Delhi, 1980. However, the collapse of the Roman Empire (A.D.400-450) meant the loss of the best client for the many intermediaries and merchants who operated between the different points of the Arabian Sea. Nevertheless, the commercial lines soon changed in new directions. Already the fall of the Roman Empire, several new kingdoms in the Middle East arose in power, such as Palmyra, Dura-Europos and Antiochia (vide, Rostovtzeff, Michael, Out of the Past of Greece and Rome, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1932,
pp. 45-92: "The Oasis cities of the Middle East"]. They also were good consumers of luxury goods coming from India and besides, they were intermediaries in the re-exportation towards the Eastern Roman Empire. With the increase of the power of the Byzantine Empire in the region, the traffic of exotic goods continued being developed. After sometime a change in the political scenario of the Middle East altered the economy of the Arabian coasts. The powerful Sassanian Empire came to fill all vacuum and to unify the region, from the Eastern Mediterranean coast to the western Punjab. The rich Sassanian aristocracy replaced well the Romans in being the best consumers of Indian commodities [Ghirshmann, the Roman, Irán: Partos y Sasánidas, Aguilar, Madrid, 1962, (vide the collections of coins, in particular the Indo-Sassanian coins); idem, L'Iran, Des Origines a L'Islam, Payot, Paris, 1951]. When the Sasanians fell to the Arabs in A.D. 641, Indian business lost a valuable client. A century later, however, the same Arabs, under the mighty Abbasids, became the most important market for Indian luxury goods, rare things and artefacts (vide, Dermengem Émile, Les plus beaux textes arabes, La Colombe Editions, Paris, 1951. This is a collection of court-poetry, in which is frequent the description of gardens where royal princesses fed peacocks brought from far countries, the luxury dresses of princes made of pure silk, and the mighty army which based its power on the elephants imported from Indial. The change of clients, however, did not modify the nature of the business. The demand was the same for centuries: silk, perfumes and essential oils, ivory, garments and precious stones, peacocks, spices, exotic woods, elephants and other animals [for example, vide the imports from India by the Sasanians in Frye, Richard, The Heritage of Persia, Mentor Book, New York, 1956; Cf. with the works about the economy of the Roman Empire of Rostovtzeff]. Apparently the variety of goods exported from the Gulf of Cambay increased with time, reflecting the development of Indian industries and crafts, vide the works of Majumdar, Asoke Kumar, Economic Background of the Epic Society, Progressive Publications, Calcutta, 1977;


142. Translation by the author.


145. In other inscriptions similar situations have been recorded. The term used in such cases is samayācārya or samayācārī (=daśari, a censor of moral), which was a religious cum administrative usage consisting in the supervision of the religious and social life of the people. These samayācāryas were acknowledged religious men invested with extraordinary powers. Vide in Subramanian, T.N., South Indian Temple Inscriptions, quoted by Sircar, D.C., Indian Epigraphical Glossary, op. cit., p. 291.

146. Hathal Copper Plate Inscription of the time of Dhārāvarsha, CORP. INSC. INDIC., VII-II, no. 68, pp. 245-47.


Dhārāvarsha, a king of the junior Paramāra branch of Abu, reigned between A.D. 1163 and 1219. He is the same Dhārāvarsha of the Hathal Inscription.


149. Mt. Abu Inscription of Luṇṭigadēva (Cāhamāna of Naddūla), EP. IND., IX, no. 9-10, p. 79.


152. Udaipur (Udayapura) Stone Inscription of the Paramāra rulers, CORP. INSC. INDIC., VII-II, no. 24, pp. 80-1.


155. Dharampur: grant of Vakpatiṅgadhēva, CORP. INSC. INDIC., VII-II, no. 4, p. 10.


161. Watters, Yuan Chwang, op. cit., p. 322.


164. Ibidem, pp. 331-32. There is no certainty that this was Āhichattra.


169. Chwang points to the coincidence of this miraculous fact with the visit of Śīlāditya to the place.


173. Watters, op. cit., Part II, pp. 46-47. Kuśinagara probably was at the south-eastern corner of Gorakhpur district at the site of Kasia.


184. Santi Ecmmali Plates of Indravarman, EP.IND., XXV, no.20, pp.197-98.
185. Harmēśvara temple Inscription of the times of Bhaumakara, EP.IND., XXVIII, no.32, pp.179-82.
186. The Pātiakella Grant of Mahārāja Śivarāja, EP.IND., IX, no.40, pp.285 ff., which is dated between A.D.575 and 650, and issued at Vṛttanāka, the capital of the dynasty to which this Śivarāja belongs, confirms the strong Šaiva movement in Utkala and Tōsali. In this grant the king and the numerous brāhmaṇa donees are Šaivas.
188. Two Plates of Tribhuvanamahādēvi from Baud, EP.IND., XXIV, no.30, pp.210 ff.
190. Parasurānēśvara Temple Inscription, EP.IND., XXVI, no.15, p.127.
192. Bhubanesvar Inscription of Raghava (Raghava is one of the sons and successors of Anantavarman Cōdagañga), EP.IND., XXX, no.58, pp.160-61.
193. Two Eastern Gañga Inscriptions, EP.IND., XXXV, no.15, pp.115-17.
194. Inscription of Svapnēśvarā of the time of Aniyaṅkabhīma, EP.IND., VI, no. 17, pp. 200-03.


197. Senakapat. Inscription of the time of Śivagupta Balarjuna, EP.IND., XXXI, no. 5, pp. 35-6.

198. Ibidem, p. 36, verses 1-:

[16] Āṣit = Īdyaḥiśvācāryah śrīman = varyas = tapōvatām (tām) | Śrīmad - Āmardaka - khyāti - tapōvana vinirggatah |

[17] Śrīmān = Śadāśivāc [āryas] = tasy = āsti stutibhāg = bhuvi | bhrātr prāśiṣya-tilakas-tilakah śamadhārīṇām (ṇam) |

[18] Yō ravir = anyō mānyō rājati jagatītalē = sta - saṃtāpah | dōq-ōdayē] = py = amandaṁ bhindann = ajñaṇa - timiram = alam (lam) |

[19] [Ta]i syai (smai) tad = āyatanaṁ = arppitam = ādarēṇa śrī- Durggarakṣita iti prathitēna tēna | śiṣya-praśiṣya- paripāṭi - vasēna bhōktum = ā - candra - kālam = anupā- layītum ca samyak |


202. Sihawā Stone Inscription of Karnarāja, EP.IND., IX, no. 24, pp. 185-86.


204. Kākaira was the capital of the Kākaira dynasty for a long period until they apparently moved their headquarters to Kanker.
205. Dhauli Cave Inscription of Śāntikaradēva, EP.IND., XIX, no.45, pp.263-64.


211. Tumāna was the first capital of the Kalachūri-Chedi dynasty. After that they shifted to Ratnapur.

212. CORP.INS.INDIC., IV-II, no.97, pp.512 ff; and EP.IND., I, no.6, pp.39-45.


215. Vide supra, Ch.III.


218. Māṇḍhatā Grant of Jayasiṁha, CORP.INS.INDIC., VII, no.18, pp.61 ff.

219. A note on the Halāyudha stotra in the Amāreśvara temple, EP.IND., XXV, no.17, pp.173-85; about the Sāmēśvaradēva monastery, p.185, lines 51-53. Halāyudha was a very famous Sanskrit Śaiva poet. He lived some years before the date of this inscription.

221. Māndhātā Plates of Dēvapāla, EP.IND., IX, no.13, pp.103-17.

222. Tilakwada Copper Plate Inscription of Bhōjadēva, CORP.INS.C. INDIC., VII-II, no.19, pp.50 ff.


228. Supra, Ch.III.

229. Harsola Copper Plates; EP.IND., XIX, no.39, pp.236-44.

230. Bharoch, or Barygaza, or Barukhwa. The region close to the mouths of the Narmada river with the city of the same name, is described by Yuan-Chwang who, however, located Bharoch and Balabhî (Valabhi) in southern India. The sea-port city had the Sanskrit name of Bhrgukaccha, but because of the many travellers who came there, the name was recorded in several manners. Already in the first century A.D. the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea refers to its Greek form Barygaza and highlights its unparalleled importance as an emporium. Vide in Cunningham, Alexander, The Ancient Geography of India, reprinted by Low Price Publications, Delhi, 1989, p.275. Also, the accounts of the Arab travellers recorded information about the area and the intense commercial activity in the area in a late period.

231. The Arab accounts refer to these movements and traffic. Vide: Ahmad, Queyamuddin (ed.), India of Al-Birūnī, National Book Trust, New Delhi, 1983; Sachau, C. (Tr.), Alberuni's India (Vol.I and II), reprinted by Low Price Publications, Delhi, 1989; also, the collection of articles edited by Said, H.M., Al-Birūnī : Commemorative Volume. Proceedings of the International Congress held in Pakistan

232. Sūmanātha, one of the earliest notices about it is contained in the brief account of the campaign of Mahmūd of Ghazni, vide Cunningham, A., The Ancient Geography of India, op.cit., pp.269-74; Habib, Mohammad, Sultan Mahmūd of Ghazni, Cosmopolitan Publishers, Aligarh, (?) 1957, "Sōmanath" (the temple, the place, the battle for), pp.51-7.

233. Thana Stone Inscription of Aparādityadeva II, CORP.INSC. INDIC., VI, no.31, p.158; and EP.IND., XXIII, no.43-D, pp.277-78.

234. Ahmadabad Inscription of Vīsadaśe, EP.IND., V, no.12, pp.102-03.
## APPENDIX-A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Document</th>
<th>Benefactor or Donor</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Vaishnava Matter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Pathari Pillar Inscription of Parabala, belonging to some Rastra-Kuja branch.</td>
<td>A.D. 681</td>
<td>Pathari, Bhopal, M.P.</td>
<td>This King founded a Sauri (Hari-Vigui) temple, before which was erected a Garuda-crested pillar on which the inscription was engraved — Testimony of other Visnu temples in the area.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Inscrip. of Visvaditya, belonging to a brhaana family ruling at Gaya.</td>
<td>A.D. 1053</td>
<td>Gaya</td>
<td>The chief Visvaditya built the temple (kirtana) of god Janardana (Krpa-Vigui).</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>3. Chhapri Statue Inscrip. of Gopaladeva, Chhattisgarh Div., M.P.</td>
<td>A.D. 1045-49</td>
<td>Chhattisgarh Div., M.P.</td>
<td>The statue represents an illustrious person ‘who was proficient in all arts’ and was a real incarnation of Kama. This person was Jogih Kanh, an advisor of the king who directed the construction of a temple of Visnu.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Chamba Copper Plate Inscrip. of Samavaradeva and Asatadeva.</td>
<td>A.D. 1050</td>
<td>near Bhdr-Chamba, Punjab</td>
<td>Grant of land given as an agraha to a temple of Visnu. This temple is the Lakshmi-Narayana temple mentioned in Archaeological Survey of India (ASI), XIV, pp.112-14.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Arthuna Stone Inscrip. of the time of Camaugara who belonged to the Vagada branch of the Parama ras.</td>
<td>A.D. 1080</td>
<td>Arthuna, Banswada, Rajasthan</td>
<td>An official of Camaugara, by name Anantapala, built a temple to Visnu and carried some repairs sometime subsequently.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. The Sasbahu temple Inscrip. of Mahipala, INC., M.P., eastern walls</td>
<td>Circa A.D. 1100</td>
<td>Eswar fort, M.P.</td>
<td>These are the two famous Brahmancal temples in the Eswar fort, known as ‘the mother-in-law and the daughter-in-law’. Both were devoted originally to Visnu. The inscription gives information about the endowments which received the temple and some charitable benefactions.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Document</td>
<td>Benefactor or Donor</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Place</td>
<td>Vaisnava Matter</td>
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<tr>
<td>7. Inscriptions from Bastar, EP.IND., IX, no.19, pp.161 ff. (Nārāyaṇapal Inscl.)</td>
<td>Queen Bunda Mahā- devi, mother of Śimēśvaradēva of the Nāgavamsa dynasty.</td>
<td>A.D.1111</td>
<td>Nārāyaṇapal, Bastar, M.P.</td>
<td>The grant of village Nārāyaṇapura to god Nārāyaṇa, i.e. the temple of Nārāyaṇa probably in the same village.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Plate of Vijayacandra and the Yuvārāja Jayacandra, EP.IND., IV, no.11-0, p.117.</td>
<td>Vijayacandraśrīdēva of Kanaṣj, gave his consent to his rājaputra Jayacandra.</td>
<td>A.D.1168</td>
<td>Jñāvalī Pattala, near Vārāṇasī.</td>
<td>Jayacandra gifted the village Haripura to the preceptor of the performance of the Vaiṣṇava worship (which had place in the local Viṣṇu temple) for the continuous worship of Viṣṇu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Girvad Stone Inscl of the time of Pratāpaśiśa, CORP.INSC.INDIC., VII, no.82, pp.270 ff.</td>
<td>Under the Paramār king of Candrávali, Pratāpaśiśa, his minister conducted repairs.</td>
<td>A.D.1288</td>
<td>Grīvīda or Girvad 12 km west of Abu Road, Rajasthān.</td>
<td>The repairs conducted at the temple of Pata-Nārāyaṇa (or Paṭṭa-Nārāyaṇa) at Grīvīda by a brāhmaṇa minister of Pratapasiśa. Plus several endowments to the temple and benefactions to the temple.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Document</td>
<td>Benefactor or Donor</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Place</td>
<td>Vaisnava Matter</td>
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<tr>
<td>13. Bonepur plates of Mahā-Bhaveīgupta II, Janamejaya, EP.IND., XXIII, no.40, pp.248-56.</td>
<td>The Somakuli PMP Mahā-Bhaveīgupta-rajādeva II Janamejaya.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Orissa.</td>
<td>The king donated a village to a merchants' association (kamalavana vanik), and they transferred the gift to a temple of Viṣṇu (and another of Īḍityāl, Śrī Keśava Bhaṭṭāraka Devakula), for worshipping the deities and repairs of the temples.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Methi Inscription of Yādava Kṛṣṇa, EP.IND., XXVII, no.49, pp.213 ff.</td>
<td>The Yādava of Devagiri king Kṛṣṇa.</td>
<td>A.D.1254 Methi, 30 miles from Dhuila, W. Khandesh, Maharashtra.</td>
<td></td>
<td>The gift of village Kurukavāṭaka for the daily worship of the god Bhadraḥari (Viṣṇu) and for the welfare of the brahmāgas in charge of sacrifices. It refers to the temple of Bhadraḥari or Kṛṣṇa temple.</td>
</tr>
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</table>
### APPENDIX-B: Schematic Presentation in Chronological Order of Saivite Religious Institutions mentioned in Epigraphy

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DATE AVAILABLE</th>
<th>TEMPLE, COMPLEX, MATHA</th>
<th>SECTARIAN AFFILIATION</th>
<th>PLACE</th>
<th>REFERENCES</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. A.D.581</td>
<td>Ramēvara temple</td>
<td>Śaiva</td>
<td>Dantyavagiri, Banjam, Drissa.</td>
<td>Śanti Kamalipal Plates, EP.IND., XIV, no.20, pp.197-98.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. 7th to 8th century A.D.</td>
<td>Senakapāṭ Śaiva complex</td>
<td>Śaiva</td>
<td>Senakapāṭ, Sirpur, Drissa.</td>
<td>Senakapāṭ inscription of the time of Śīvagupta Balarjuna, EP.IND., XXII no.5, pp.35-36.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. no date</td>
<td>Śiva temple (remains)</td>
<td>Śaiva</td>
<td>Barsur, old Bastar, M.P.</td>
<td>Inscriptions from old Bastar State, EP.IND., IX, no.19, pp.160 ff.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. 8th century</td>
<td>Śūlyir temple at Kīśik- dhipura</td>
<td>Śaiva</td>
<td>Udaipur, Rajasthan.</td>
<td>Two Inscriptions from Kalyanpur, EP.IND., XIV, no.5, pp.55 ff.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DATE AVAILABLE</td>
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<tr>
<td>16. A.D.865</td>
<td>Śaiva matha of Dhauli</td>
<td>Śaiva</td>
<td>Dhauli, M.P.</td>
<td>Dhauli Cave Inscription of Santikaradeva, EP.IND., XII, no.45, pp.265-04.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DATE AVAILABLE</td>
<td>TEMPLE, COMPLEX, PATHA</td>
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<tr>
<td>25. A.D.1012</td>
<td>Śiddhiśvara Mahādeva in the great Śaiva complex at Kiṣeṇamathuna</td>
<td>Śaiva</td>
<td>Mathura, Bijnal (the old Śrīmala), Sirohi, Rajasthan.</td>
<td>Rapi Plates of Dēvarāja, CORP. INSC. INDIC., VII-11, no.91, pp.318 ff.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. A.D.1046</td>
<td>Śaiva temples at Mahāśvara the Ghaṇṭēśvara-Deva or Dakśinamūrti Mahēśvara temple</td>
<td>Śaiva</td>
<td>Mahēśvar, M.P.</td>
<td>Tilakwada Copper Plate Inscription of Bhaja-Deva, CORP. INSC. INDIC., VII-11, no.15, pp.50 ff.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. A.D.1050</td>
<td>Śēmanathadeva temple and complex</td>
<td>Śaiva</td>
<td>Koṣavardhana, Shergah, Kota, Rajasthan.</td>
<td>Two Inscriptions from Shergah, EP.INDI., XXIII, no.20, pp.131-41; Shergah Stone Inscription, CORP. INSC. INDIC., VII-11, no.23, p.72.</td>
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<tr>
<td>31. A.D.1069</td>
<td>Siddāsesānātha complex and other Śaiva temples at Vaghī; the Mad-vādēvi Mānhēvasa</td>
<td>Śaiva</td>
<td>Vaghī, in Kandesh, Maharashtra</td>
<td>Stone Inscription at Vaghī, EP.IND., II, no.16, pp.221 ff.</td>
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<tr>
<td>34. A.D.1080</td>
<td>Manḍālēśvara Mahādēvā complex</td>
<td>Śaiva</td>
<td>Arthuna, Banswara, Rajasthan</td>
<td>Arthuna Inscription, EP.IND., XIV, no.21, pp.295-309; CORP. INSC. INDIC., VII-11, no.84, pp.285-89.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Temple, Complex, Matha</td>
<td>Sectarian Affiliation</td>
<td>Place</td>
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<tr>
<td>40. A.D.1114</td>
<td>Kirttīvasa or Kirtīv-śēśvara Lingarāja complex</td>
<td>Śaiva</td>
<td>Bhubanesvar, Orissa</td>
<td>Bhubanesvar Inscription of Chōḍagāṇaṇa, EP.IND., XII, no.7, pp.31-2; Bhubanesvar Inscription of Raghava, EP.IND., XXX, no.28, pp.160-61.</td>
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<td>Pṛthvīpālēśvara</td>
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<td>Dōjalēśvara</td>
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<td>Asalēśvara</td>
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<td>Pāmā Ēśvara</td>
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<td>Āsāpē Ēśvara</td>
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<td>Anahi Ēśvara</td>
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<td>Jendrājēśvara</td>
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<td>Ānupāvēśvara</td>
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<td>Tripu 'uṣa</td>
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<tr>
<td>46. A.D.1159</td>
<td>Śaiva complex at Khilor</td>
<td>Śaiva</td>
<td>Khilor, Puri district, Orissa.</td>
<td>Two Eastern Gangā Inscriptions, EP. IND., IV, no.15, pp.115-17.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51. A.D.1186</td>
<td>Śaiva māṭha</td>
<td>Śaiva</td>
<td>Selwada, Sirohi, Rajasthan.</td>
<td>Hathal Copper Plate, CORP. INSC. INDIC., VII-11 no.72, pp.245-47.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52. A.D.1181</td>
<td>Śiva temple plus māṭha</td>
<td>Śaiva</td>
<td>Ratanpur (Ratanpur), M.P.</td>
<td>Kharod Inscription of Ratnadeva III, EP. IND., XXII, no.26, pp.159-63.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53. A.D.1185</td>
<td>Śomāṇītha tīrtha</td>
<td>mostly Śaiva</td>
<td>Śomāṇītha, Gujarät.</td>
<td>Thana Stone Inscription of Aparādityadēva II, CORP. INSC. INDIC., VI, no.31, p.156; EP. IND., XXIII, no.43-D, pp.277-76.</td>
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<tr>
<td>A.D.1218</td>
<td>temple of Śambhu</td>
<td>Śaiva/ Pāñcupata</td>
<td>Harsauda (Harsud), Enimār district, M.P.</td>
<td>Harsauda Stone Inscription of the time of Dēvapāla, CORP.INSCE. INDIC., VII-II, no.50, pp.171 ff.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.D.1251</td>
<td>Uttarēśvara temple</td>
<td>Śaiva</td>
<td>Mahiṣakā, Gujarat.</td>
<td>Ahmadabad Inscription of Vīslādēva, EP.IND. V, no.12, pp.102-03.</td>
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</table>